

Spain's 1939 Exiles in the Americas and Maryland: Eighty Years, Alive in our Hearts

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*In memoriam José Ramón Marra López, Graciela Palau-Nemes,
Gonzalo Sobejano, María Elena Zelaya, all seeds of the 1939 Spanish
Exile Hispanism in the USA and Maryland*

Exile is a global, plural, and protean phenomenon that has touched every people and nation at one particular juncture of their history. Contemporaneously, it is identified by political forms of exclusion that banish *sine die* large groups of opponents, e.g., from the modern nation-states created after the liberal bourgeois revolutions. Exiles and diasporas are politically motivated, as well as humanly disastrous, and keep displacing millions of souls on every continent, coined as *refugees* by international conventions since 1922. These modern political banishments affected liberal democracies particularly during the rise

of 20th-century totalitarianisms that led, among other conflicts, to the 1936-39 War in Spain that vanquished the democratic Second Spanish Republic¹. A cataclysm in which modern historiography has unveiled its local and international military Italian Fascist and Nazi plotting roots, as well as the dismal Non-Intervention League of Nations policies and the USA arms embargo. In fact, the conflict anticipated the Second World Clash and other civil strifes that plagued most of the rest of the century, leaving over 50 million refugees.

While Mexico's open arms for about 30,000 Spanish refugees, contradicted its long standing closed immigration policies, USA administrations were particularly restrictive about the influx of Spanish exiles or other refugees, until the slight improvement through the cumbersome Displaced Persons Act of 1948. For Spanish refugees, among their half a million diaspora, USA numbers were marginal, somehow in line with earlier lesser immigration numbers from Spain, but this time, mostly representing academics, thinkers, artists, and professionals, backed by personal and institutional affidavits of support that could also circumvent the fluctuating 230 yearly Spanish entry quotas to the USA, set in 1930. Furthermore, ideologically left leanings backlashes undermined the exiles in the USA. For example, the Cold War type official crackdowns against those in favor of the Spanish Loyalists, or the chasms between Liberals and Stalinists versus the closed ranks among conservative pro-defenders of the Francoist usurpers. The rhetorical and physical repatriation to the USA of the *ad hoc* aid to Spain through the surviving volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1936-1938), or the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy's offspring, the American Medical Bureau, was another spark that ignited pre McCarthyism against Spanish Republican proselites. The subsequent 1942 Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee, eventually fell prey to prison sentences in 1950 through the Committee for Un-American Activities and the *red scare* for refusing to surrender their records of support to Spanish refugee in France,

1 A plural conflict, I have coined, *Guerra de las Españas*: civil and regional clashes, an international war, and a conflict of classes...

among them, survivors from Nazi extermination camps at the Walter B. Cannon Varsovie Hospital in Toulouse. Later, Dominican Republic dictator Rafael Trujillo's sponsored disappearance of Basque politician Jesús de Galíndez in 1956, an FBI informant among his fellow refugees, the cover up of the affair, or the financing of *the Congress for Cultural Freedom*, were clear signs of the USA stand against any of the exiles' liberating hopes.

Nevertheless, several noted Feminists, and Human Rights advocates from progressive Spain, who had come to the forefront of public affairs in the wake of the 1933 universal voting rights, like former parliament deputy Victoria Kent, or journalists Constanca de la Mora and Isabel de Palencia, were examples of the exiles' attempts to sway USA public opinion to support the removal of the dictatorship through the recently created Organization of United Nations. But a parallel diplomacy was taking place in which France's more expeditious moves (border closure from March of 1946 to February of 1948) were systematically countered by Great Britain's long standing Non-Intervention, and the United States' lukewarm opposition to the Franco dictatorship. *The Leader of the Free World* systematically resisted intervening in what it considered a domestic matter where any Soviet influence could not be risked, while tempering its stand-off policies: it eventually facilitated financial aid to the Franco regime, the lifting of the 1946 UN resolution boycotting the regime, the reinstatement of an ambassador in Spain (1950), and the signing of the Madrid accords on September 26, 1953 for the establishments of four USA military bases—one of them still open at Rota (Cádiz). These successive setbacks, corroborated by the admittance of Franco's Spain to the UNESCO in 1953, and to the UN in 1955, or the visit of president Eisenhower to Madrid in 1959, forced the Spanish exiles to wait for the passing of the dictatorship and the return of liberties to Spain in 1977.

All things considered, the vast network of USA institutions benefited from selective but solid group of exiles that upgraded, in the coattails of USA pan-Americanism, the prestige of Spanish language, literature and culture, and the Modernist Iberian and American legacies (Jiménez *El modernismo*). Some, like Francisco Ayala, had re-

emigrated from Latin America, particularly from the intellectual hub at the University of Puerto Rico-Río Piedras, which later attracted other émigrés from Spain like Aurora de Albornoz o Ricardo Gullón. Overall, the prestige of this unique but non-exhaustive crop of *Silver Age* and younger intellectuals thrived and mingled on USA campuses, such as the Summer Spanish School at Middlebury, as well as film, scientific or artistic institutions. These supported them across the vast USA territories, away from the fascist transnational perils, besides the paradoxical official contradictions toward their democratic hopes.

Journals such as *Ibérica: for a Free Spain* (1953-1974), edited by Victoria Kent and Louise Crane, which also supported a relief organization for Spanish exiles in France, Nancy Mc Donald's *Spanish Refugee Aid* (1953-1977), and *España libre* (1939-1977) of the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas*, also displayed consistently their antidictatorial barrage of ideas. The latter, regrouped in 1937 over two hundred popular Spanish antifascist diaspora cultural and mutual societies, gathered over 60,000 members, its working class authors and artists agitated the readers with articles, books, cartoons and/or plays, while more than \$2,000,000 were collected for the support of Republican refugees, political prisoners and clandestine resistance in Spain. And Eliseo Torres & Sons was a referent as a Spanish bookstore and publisher.

Meanwhile, other exiles contributed through the arts and letters, thanks to pre-war established educational contacts between Spain and the USA (Fuentes "Exiliados" 52-53). Notably, 1956 Literature Nobel recipient, Juan Ramón Jiménez, back from Cuba to Florida in 1939, after having acted, in 1936, as "honorary cultural attaché" in the USA, alongside his feminist companion, Zenobia Camprubí. In the Maryland area, they kept up their *Political Poetics*, from Washington, D.C. to the University of Maryland [UMD] (1942-1951), while nurturing all along a relationship with progressive USA Vice President (1941-1945) and 1948 Third Party Presidential Candidate, Henry Wallace. Filmmaker Luis Buñuel was present at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) and Hollywood; Luis Quintanilla's drawings were prefaced by Ernest Hemingway; Surrealist artist Eugenio F. Granell, later celebrated for his paintings in postdictatorial Spain, taught literature;

philosopher José Ferrater Mora was selected by Bryn Mawr College in the stream of the peace activist, Bertrand Russell; cellist Pau Casals was a frequent guest at the White House; or Josep Lluís Sert, one of the designers of the Republican pavilion for the 1937 Paris World Fair, became Dean of the Harvard School of Architecture. There, a great many antifascist artists had displayed their aesthetic commitment to the Spanish Republic: from Alexander Calder's *Mercury Fountain*, Eduardo Vicente's *Men in the Trenches*, or other exiles like later U.S.S.R. refugee Alberto's *Spanish People Have a Road Leading to a Star*, and Joan Miró, a key referent for the USA post war abstract expressionism, with his homage, *The Reaper*. These last two pieces vanished, as a potent metaphor for that exile. While ambassador Fernando de los Ríos vacated Spain's legacy in Washington, D.C., and joined the NYC New School, enriched by other European exiled intelligentsia, Picasso's *Guernica*, also firstly exhibited in Paris, was brought over in 1939 by Spanish Prime Minister Juan Negrín, to lobby for the loyalist cause through the MOMA. It eventually remained there until its final journey to Madrid in 1981, as a key emblem of the return of a handful of exiles and democracy to Spain.

As a vivid example for this Republican saga, Negrín's disciple, Severo Ochoa, was the 1959 Nobel Prize Laureate in Physiology, while NYU hired historian Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, the son of one of Negrín's successors at the Republican helm: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1962-1971). Ironically, Nicolás had fled from the Cuelgamuros concentration camp, set up to build the standing mausoleum (the Valley of the Fallen) I have coined *The Un-Civil Mountain (Entre alambradas y exilio 363)*. The dictator, through his family's conniving, defied until the second day of our meeting (Oct 24, 2019), and almost *eternally*, his exhumation, as a liberating moment for the memory rightfully sought, and owed, to all of these exiles and other victims: "an admirable wandering *Numancia* which prefers to fade away than accept defeat" (Luis Araquistain [qtd. in *El exilio español 235*]).

This Symposium at UMD (Oct 23-24, 2019) was preceded by *El exilio de las Españas de 1939 en las Américas: "¿Adónde fue la canción?"* [Spain's 1939 Exile in the Americas: Where Did the Song Go?] (Oct. 18-20, 1989), which had coincided then with a more balanced diplo-

matic accord on the USA military bases in Spain. It was followed by “Los exilios de las Españas de 1939: Por sendas de la memoria” [1939 Exiles from Spain: Memory Seeds] (Oct 21, 1999). Finally, the present one bore the dictator’s remains transfer. Thus, these 1936-1939 displacements have kept an endless shining flame among a half a million potential hi-stories, some of which we have strived to highlight throughout the last three decades at UMD: a shelter to this most relevant Spanish diasporic presence in the Americas, the USA and Maryland.

The Symposium and this Volume

The texts edited here and presented at the meeting were accompanied by a film series during the Fall of 2019 (Sept. 10-Nov. 19, 2019) at the Cultural Services of the Embassy of France, the Mexican Cultural Institute and Spain’s Cultural Office in Washington D.C.² Both the film series and symposium were directed to the broadest possible audience across all the UMD College of Arts and Humanities and Graduate School (UG, Graduate students, faculty) as well as the general public. The Symposium could not have been possible without the decisive contributions by the UMD College of Arts and Humanities and Dean Bonnie Thornton-Hill, the Graduate School and Dean Steve Fetter, the Miller Center for Historical Studies and Dr. Karin Rosenblatt, the Department of Spanish and Portuguese (SPAP) and

2 *La nueve. Los olvidados de la victoria* (2010) Alberto Marquardt; *La guerre est finie* (1966) Alain Resnais; *El misterio Galíndez* (2003) Gerardo Herrero; *En el balcón vacío* (1962) José Miguel García Ascot-María Luisa Elío; *Refuge / Un peuple attend* (1939) Jean-Paul Dreyfus / Jean-Paul Le Chanois; *Beltenebros* (1991) Pilar Miró; *Visa al paraíso* (2010) Lillian Lieberman; *Soldados de Salamina* (2003) David Trueba; *Le Vernet d’Ariège: Photographies d’un camp* (1996) Linda Ferrer-Roca. Many thanks to Dr. Nélica Devesa-Gómez (U of Maryland), Dr. Kathryn Taylor (Towson U), Lillian Lieberman, Anaïs Naharro-Murphy, and my colleagues Profs. Joseph Bami, Pierre Verdaguer and Juan Uriagereka (U of Maryland) for the introductions and/or discussions about the films.

its head Dr. Eyda Merediz, within the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures and its Director Prof. Fatemeh Keshavarz, Spain's Cultural Office in Washington D.C. through its Counselor María Álvarez de Toledo, and the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington D.C., through its Director Beatriz Nava. And last but not least, this edition is possible thanks to the generous contribution of Spain's Cultural Office of the Spanish Embassy in Washington D.C., presently headed by Miguel Albero, the UMD College of Arts and Humanities and SPAP.

Special thanks are due to my colleagues: Prof. Juan Uriagereka who coordinated Institute Professor Emeritus, MIT and Laureate Professor U. of Arizona Noam Chomsky's intervention; Distinguished University Prof. Steven Mansbach, whose introduction to Francesc Torres's paper is also included; Prof. Joseph Brami, Dr. Daniela Bulanksy, Dr. Nélica Devesa-Gómez, Dr. Rachel Linville, Dr. Mehl Penrose, Dr. Mariana Reyes, Dr. Kathryn Taylor and Dr. Ricardo F. Vivancos-Pérez for chairing different sessions, as well as ABDs Cecilia Batauz and Sofía Maurette. ABD Juan Díaz handled the publicity, and Janel Brennan, our Language Instructional Technology Specialist, ensured our videoconferencing and taping, along with Dr. Nélica Devesa Gómez, who has also co-translated Prof. Fuentes's contribution and co-transcribed Prof. Chomsky's dialogue. And a special remembrance for our colleague, who unfortunately left us in 2021, Prof Michael Long, who chaired Dr. Feu's session, and in line with Orwell's ideas, lived in admiration of anarchism, particularly the kind that flourished in Republican Spain during those key years.

In this volume, readers will find a group of academic texts from Section 2 through 4: *Transnational Spanish Exiles in Maryland and the Americas: From Zenobia Camprubí, Juan Ramón Jiménez, and Pedro Salinas to the Present; Getting There: United States Contradictions, Mexico, and Popular Resistance*; and *France: A Stepping Stone toward the Americas*. Meanwhile, Section 5 is devoted to texts dealing with *Film, Poetry and Music Around the 1939 Spanish Refugees* presented during a filmic and musical homage. And, finally, the last section, *Eyewitnesses of Spain's 1939 Exile in the Americas: The Privilege of Time and our*

Heartful Debt, features the voices of various witnesses and interpreters of the 1939 Spanish exiles' legacies in the Americas. Finally, I want to thank for their contributions the sizeable group of participants affiliated with the Asociación para el Estudio de las Migraciones y Exilios Ibéricos Contemporáneos [AEMIC.org], and María Pizarro for her patient editing.

Transnational Spanish Exiles in Maryland and the Americas: from Zenobia Camprubí, Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas to the Present

The Symposium addressed transatlantic and transnational implications and debts of some Spanish exiles in the Americas, as some of them transitioned from France and its ominous concentration camps across the Atlantic to eventually land in the USA, with many journeying through the Southern cone, the Caribbean and/or Mexico. This is further proof of the necessity to diversify our approaches and points of view on such a plural and unseizable corpus that exile refracts as an even more fractured cultural that problematizes the nation, gender and identity, generations, any canon, telos ... Former UMD students, now faculty at several USA universities and colleges, displayed at our campus the impact and repercussions of some of these plural legacies in the Americas and Maryland, particularly during the Centennial of the UMD Graduate School. These researchers carry this Spanish exiles' torch of excellence, seeded from our first landmark Symposium on the subject held at UMD more than thirty years ago.

And, particularly, we highlighted exiled tradition in the state of Maryland, where eminent voices of Spanish literature such as Juan Ramón Jiménez with his companion, Zenobia Camprubí, and Pedro Salinas taught in area institutions during the 1940s. As faculty at the University of Maryland and Johns Hopkins respectively, their example was continued, in the case of the 1956 Literature Nobel awardee, by his disciple, Gracia Palau-Nemes, a key name in seeking that award, who also left us in the Fall of 2019. Other symbols for this exile were

also present at UMD throughout decades: my predecessor, Prof. José Ramón Marra López, author of an early *Narrativa española fuera de España 1939-1961* (1963), whose disciple, María Elena Zelaya Kolkner (1926-2021) pioneered a transnational study, *Testimonios americanos de los transterrados españoles de 1939*. She was a paramount influence on the immigration to the USA (U of California-San Diego) of one of the younger Spanish exiles in Mexico: Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (1926-2013). We also dedicated our 2019 gathering to another USA noted immigrant, and one of my intellectual guides at the University of Pennsylvania, who also taught at UMD as a Visiting Professor: Gonzalo Sobejano (1928-2019). These isotopies further explain the continuity for these studies at the College Park campus three decades later, through six UMD PhDs. They offer their diverse points of view on some of these questions, as proof of the presence and marks of these exiles and their disciples in the Americas.

Dr. Anne Giller-Wilde (Catholic University) in *Remembering the Spain of the Pre-Exile: Juan Ramón Jiménez, MacKinlay Kantor and 1956* presents a subtle exercise in comparative studies of exile, matching the Spanish writer and his USA counterpart and that same year Pulitzer awardee for his North American Civil War novel *Andersonville*, which happened to be written in Francoist Spain. It echoes the concentration camp literature so symbolic for the Spanish Republican exiles, since it details the presence of the eponymous prison camp for Union soldiers in Georgia, from its construction to its liberation after the end of the USA Civil War. Among the Union prisoners who often digress in remembrance of their home life and the circumstances which led them to fight and their subsequent enclosure, we find Nathan Dreyfoos. He traces a journey through the countryside of 1850s Málaga, as Jiménez's *Platero y yo* details an itinerary through southern Spain in Moguer. Dr. Giller matches the journeys on donkeyback through the rural landscape of southern Spain from the perspective of an exiled Spaniard in the Americas and an American in Francoist Spain.

Dr. Mariluz Bort Caballero (University of Huelva) in *Forgotten Legacies: Verses from an Exile in (the) Feminine* recovers in a timely fashion exiled women writers' forced journeys, which had been rel-

egated to an inferior critical level and/or the confines of oblivion. Their poetry is proof both of a sublime experience and a form of testimony and protection for the defeated and exiled. Bort's essay establishes geographies of memory through the verses of four women writers in the American continent: Concha Méndez, Ernestina de Champourcin, both exiled in Mexico in 1939, and Concha Zardoya and Aurora de Albornoz who fled during the 1940s to the USA and Puerto Rico, respectively. The latter became one of the relevant sequels to Juan Ramón Jiménez's voice. But all these poems derived from war and uprooting break a masculine yoke of silence, and posit identity seeds for exiled women writers.

Dr. Kathryn Taylor (Towson University) and her *Memory and Resistance in the Exile Texts of María Teresa León* revisits this woman writer's role which has been eclipsed by her companion, Rafael Alberti's dominant presence in the canon. As a continuation of the antifascist battles during the Spanish conflict, Taylor clearly displays how Spain becomes increasingly unrecognizable to León while she fears that her generation of intellectual companions will be forgotten in the official Francoist cultural discourse. By exploring some of León's lesser-known texts, *Fábulas del tiempo amargo*, and the play, *La libertad en el tejado*, written in exile, she displays María Teresa's no less prevalent cultural and political engagement when compared to Alberti's. Particularly, through the short-story collection, where León imagines a Spain in which small spaces of Republican resistance memory remain.

Dr. Nélica Devesa-Gómez (Howard University) in *Carmen de Zulueta: Creating and Recreating Memories as a Spanish Republican Woman through her USA Exile* dwells on rewritings through this Hispanist's memories published in the XXI Century, but seeded in her deep Spanish Republican past that grounded her throughout her long USA refuge. As a key witness to the educational and lifestyle changes undertaken by the Second Spanish Republic, Zulueta carried forward her displaced identity as a source of knowledge for a past transcended through an existential utopia.

Dr. María Gómez Martín (California State U. San Marcos) in her *Manuel Durán and Roberto Ruiz: Exiled Writers in the USA* renders a pertinent study of the voice of two children from the Spanish Civil

War, who eventually moved from Mexico to the USA academia (Yale U. and Wheaton College, respectively). She focuses on the brutality of a war based on the testimony of these *nepantla* (a náhuatl word for “in between”) liminal second generation writers who reconsider their nation’s historical, political and moral truths, in addition to questioning its boundaries, normative identities and memories as alternatives to official historiography. Her contribution draws on the traumatic American journey of Roberto Ruiz and Manuel Durán, in order to understand their different *lost* Spanish imaginaries, as well as their double alienation and lack of belonging beyond their Spain-Mexico-USA trident as changing existential interpretations.

Dr. Rachel Linville (The College at Brockport) in *From Max Aub to El Mazucu: The Spanish Exile and Its Legacy* draws meaningful analogies between one of the Asturias Civil War sites and remains, the 1937 Battle of El Mazucu, and Max Aub’s works. According to Dr. Linville, they share a relationship with exile and return of those 1939 Spaniards, and are relevant to our contemporary culture, at the juncture where certain politicians and intellectuals attempt to simplify and criminalize the crossing by water or land borders to Europe and the United States. She analyzes Aub’s critical reading of the absurd condition of humans, obsessed with papers, borders and laws in *Manuscrito cuervo*, where the satirical voice of a crow depicts life in the French concentration camp of Le Vernet d’Ariège (France). She contends that this is a place of memory similar to visits to El Mazucu during Summer conferences organized yearly by this underwriter in Llanes, Spain. Both display and help to keep alive recollections of the Spanish Civil War and the exile it caused.

As a faculty at one of our neighboring universities, (George Mason U.) Dr. Ricardo F. Vivancos-Pérez, in *Two Visions of the United States in the Fiction of Spanish Exiles in the 1940s: Manuel de la Sota and Pedro Salinas*, studies the post-1936 new focus on cultures of destination in the fiction of these first-generation Spanish exiles in the United States: de la Sota’s *Yanqui hirsutus* (written in 1946 but published in 1949) and Salinas’s fiction of the late 1940s, the uncomplete narrative *El valor de la vida* (written in the late 1940s but

not published until 2009) and the novella *La bomba increíble* (1950). This contribution examines how USA national identities and cultures are drawn with ambivalence, depicting a tension between accepting the resources, options and liberties that the USA offered them, and advancing a critique, also seen in Salinas's poetry, of the material and immoral aspects of capitalism with diverse levels of irony and satire.³

As a sample for multifaceted territorial cultural exiled expressions from Republican Spain, Prof. Iker González-Allende (University of Nebraska-Lincoln) in *An Exiled Basque Woman in the United States: Gender and Nation in "Basque Girl" (1940)* by Mirim Isasi, discusses Rosita Durán's autobiographical novel signed with a pseudonym, after having studied in England, gone through exile to Mexico in 1937 and eventually to the United States. In this text, she describes her national pride and presents an essentialist vision of the Basque Country: ancestry, traditions and the countryside, in order to deal with the uncertainties of displacement, and match the Delegation of the exiled Basque Government in the United States' propaganda efforts. Nevertheless, the protagonist's return to her homeland dramatizes the connections between gender and exile, after having lived in England as a dancer, and broken away from traditional gender roles imposed back in the Basque home by her family (dependence, marriage . . .) Therefore, she ends up forging a liminal national identity, between her Basque origins and a positive, independent and freer modernity in exile that overcomes the nostalgia caused by being uprooted from her homeland.

To these contributions, I have updated one on the aesthetic and ethical issues that Zenobia Camprubí and Juan Ramón Jiménez faced while staying in Washington D.C. and Maryland: *Juan Ramón Jiménez and Zenobia Camprubí in the USA: Between the Hard Rock of Ethics and the Wall of Aesthetics 1936, 1939-1951 (Contra el olvido, pp. 61-79)*. It highlights some of the transnational issues that exile in the Americas presented to this engaged couple, with particular attention

3 Dr. Bécquer Seguin (Johns Hopkins U.) added a chapter about Salina's years in Baltimore (not included in this selection).

given to their homeland liberation, their 1948 trip to Argentina and Uruguay, the projection of Spanish literature and culture in the USA, as well as the post New Deal positions of Henry Wallace, and the key role of the USA and Latin America within the Spanish Civil War and beyond. These are subjects that will return in Dr. Andreu Espasa's and Prof. Chomsky's contributions.

Getting there: United States Contradictions, Mexico, and Popular Resistance

Dr. Andreu Espasa, (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, UNAM) in *Mexico, the United States and the Spanish Civil War: Diplomacy, Arms and Refugees* discusses the confluences of the Lázaro Cárdenas Mexican administration and USA President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies toward New Deal issues vis à vis the divergences in relation to the Spanish Civil War and its subsequent exile, while drawing the triangular relationship between Mexico, the United States and Spain in the late thirties. While Mexico supported the diplomatic cause of the Second Spanish Republic through arms sales and refugee humanitarianism, the Roosevelt Administration applied an uneven arms embargo to both parties: actually degrading the international and democratic status of the Republic and equating it to the rebel cause aided by the Fascist powers, while acting unsupportively towards the refugees, and even rejecting Spanish children from the Republican side. Such strategies have to be understood within the USA so-called appeasement policy, in order to avoid confrontation with Hitler and Mussolini by making continuous concessions to their challenges, and breaking the status quo from the end of World War I. On the contrary, the Mexican government decisively opposed such responses, and engaged itself in the League of Nations, an institution ironically drawn from the efforts of Woodrow Wilson, but never joined by the USA, as an instrument to guarantee international law and collective security. However, Dr. Espasa also studies the late shift for the Roosevelt Administration toward the conflict when considering the dire consequences in Latin

America of the Franco victory. It also affected dramatically relations between Mexico and the United States, and led to a negotiated solution for the nationalization of Mexican oil in March 1938, within the decisive context of the European empires' decline and the rise of Washington's geopolitical power.

Meanwhile, Dr. Montse Feu, (Sam Houston State U.) in her *USA Hispanic Women Fighting Fascist Spain: Print Culture and Activism*, draws a fascinating picture of the impressive pro-Spanish Republican activism in the USA with the determined involvement of women. As a counterforce to USA hesitancy toward the Spanish Civil War and its refugee crisis, in the 1930s, Anarchists and Socialists among Spanish immigrants living in the United States affiliated with the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas* (SHC) fought through *España Libre*, a periodical created as an answer to the Fascist takeover in their homeland. Worker-oriented and staunchly antifascist, these grassroots efforts where women were prevalent raised money for refugees and political prisoners while advancing left-wing culture and politics, while diversifying an apparently elitist Spanish exile in the USA.⁴

France: s Stepping Stone Toward the Americas

France as a geographical strategic neighbor was the key transnational spinning wheel for the 1939 Spanish exile. Many ships full of Spanish Republican hopes left French ports for the Americas, while some refugees kept a sentimental footing in the *Hexagone*, highlighted in our volume.

Emeritus Prof. Pierre Verdaguer (UMD), in *A "Carabiniere"'s Tale of Survival: 1936-1945*, included in Section 6, displayed the seeds of a transatlantic and transnational vocation set up by his father, Emilio Verdaguer, a Catalanist Spanish Republican Customs Officer who, starting in 1936 until 1945, displayed one of those thousands of exile

⁴ It may also be traced through *Data Feminism* (2019), the humanities digital project: *Fighting Fascist Spain*.

and epic survival and resistance narratives on French soil, which eventually persuaded his son to pursue an academic career in the Americas and Maryland.

Prof. Zoraida Carandell (University Paris-Nanterre) in *The Spanish Republican Exile in Host Literatures, from France to the USA: a Transnational Approach*, studies the comparative and evolving issues on both edges of the Atlantic (France and the USA) that eventually blocked literary exile into a dead end, unable to be accepted when facing the host French or North American dominant forms.

Film, Poetry and Music Around the Spanish Refugees

We were also able to present a sample of the film and music legacies of Spanish exile in the USA through two concerts each evening (Oct. 23-24, 2019) at the Embassy of Spain Cultural Office, and the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington D.C. The first one displayed a new musical score for Jean-Paul Étienne Dreyfus-Jean-Paul Le Chanois's mythical reconstructed film: *Refuge*. Intended for relief propaganda, it was hardly seen in the USA with its clandestine images of 1939 French Concentration Camps for the Spanish exiled Republicans. In her discussion of the film, *Portrayal of Displacement: A Spanish Civil War Film and The Propaganda Machine*, artistic director of the Philadelphia based *ENAensemble*, Spanish-American soprano Anaïs Naharro-Murphy, adds to her antecessor's contributions on the former Spanish Republican president in exile, Luis Jiménez de Asúa, a precursor for universal justice, in the 1991 volume,⁵ as proof of this long-standing exile transmission in the Americas (<https://youtu.be/R1Iq pOop>).

A second musical score was composed by Dr. Carlos José Martínez Fernández: *Itineraries. From Exile to the Inner Voice*. Dr. Martínez adapted a number of primarily USA and Mexico based exiled Spanish

5 José María Naharro Mora, "Luis Jiménez de Asúa en el exilio." *El exilio de las Españas de 1939 en las Américas*, pp. 111-123.

poems by Luis Cernuda, Ernestina de Champourcin, Jorge Guillén, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Pedro Salinas, as well as Federico García Lorca, a former NYC visitor https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_32ncpnNELo&list=PLwIwEKro8bRjdSepyCFHHfHsFIB-RUU0z&index=6. This program, where Carlos Guastavino's score for Rafael Alberti was added, was made possible, in part, thanks to a PICE fellowship for the dissemination of Spanish Culture awarded by Spain's Acción Cultural.

Eyewitnesses of Spain's 1939 Exile in the Americas: the Privilege of Time and our Heartful Debt

The USA-based conceptual Spanish artist, Francesc Torres, in *Ab! Distance* debates the pertinence and origins of images in order to establish historical truths. From the vantage of photographic hybrid USA-Spanish installations such as *Belchite-the South Bronx: A Trans-Cultural and Trans-Historical Landscape*, Torres has kept searching for a Spanish historical identity linked to the Civil War and its consequences, where art and memory and historical consciousness are not possible without images (see his photographs, pp. 314 and 318). He has established a strong reputation in order to "illustrate the supreme importance of an ideal," as in his most recent installation (2021) *Aeronautics Interior [Flight]* (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya) where he studies the moving impact of life and death through a changing point of view. In our volume, he recalls how contemporary USA art culture and Spanish memories feed each other within his most autobiographical work from 2004, *Dark Is the Room Where We Sleep [Oscura es la habitación donde dormimos]*.

The symposium also reevaluated the analogies and legacies of the 1939 Spanish refugees at a time of *another* migration crisis in the Americas, while paying attention to a few remaining protagonists, as a homage to a chosen group of eyewitnesses: Emeritus Prof. Víctor Fuentes (U California-Santa Barbara), already present at our 1989 UMD exile gathering, Emerita Prof. Marysa Navarro-Aranguren

(Dartmouth College), and Noam Chomsky who participated through a video conference.

Unfortunately, we are not able to offer here to the readers Emerita Prof. Navarro-Aranguren's testimony about her childhood emigration from Pamplona to the French borders, schools, and eventually the Americas. But Emeritus Prof. Víctor Fuentes in *Memorable People and Works from the New York Republican Exile in Oblivion* read a poignant account from those years when he had just landed in NYC, memories, finally rendered here in English ("Exiliados republicanos en Nueva York" / *mOrIr en Isla VisTA*). A Francoist army draft dodger exiled in 1950, who probably coincided with Marysa Navarro-Aranguren during the Civil War in the same evacuation camp for children in Bayonne (France), Fuentes renders vividly the Spanish émigré and exile landscape he encountered. It harbored many of the protagonists that Dr. Feu's essay or Prof. Chomsky's dialogue described from the 1930s and beyond. Therefore, Fuentes may be one of the last links relating the LatinX presence to other exiles from Spain and post 1977 Iberian newcomers to the USA.

Above all, what distinguished those Spanish exiled communities was their spirit of solidarity that maintained the Spanish Republican hopes, at least, *alive in their hearts*, despite the many setbacks they encountered through their long and winding resistance road. Noam Chomsky described, in his dialogue with Juan Uriagereka and myself, how policies set up around the War in Spain and conflicts like Manchuria and Ethiopia⁶ were paramount for establishing Post-War domination strategies for the emerging USA empire, which should remind us of the hopes and contradictions today during the present war in Ukraine. Spain's international conflict was a decisive turning point for the fate of the remainder of the world in the 20th century. Non-Intervention, and "the Century of Fear" as coined by Henry Wallace, Jiménez's congenial intellectual soul, were tipping points where Spain's fate and exile were sewn into evolving global crossroads. But Spain's future was put on hold for several decades under Franco's dictatorship de-

6 Issues studied by Jorge.

spite the antifascist ethics of responsibility that should have guided the Post-war years and the birth of a “new world order” under the United Nations guidance. Even with clear forewarnings well known to the USA State Department about the totalitarian intentions and acts executed by the Francoist regimes, the ethics of *interested* imperial principles prevailed.⁷

Spain’s 1939 Exiles’ Legacies and Analogies

Inside the USA, the universities where many of the Spanish exiles taught, were thriving, in part, thanks to the GI Bill that gave WWII veterans a rewarding chance of a higher education. Unfortunately, today, the financial and economic well-being of the USA student population is being threatened by the burden of rising tuition, rising costs of living, and rising debts. In fact, many of us believe that the USA student population debt crisis is the biggest danger for the stability of the nation. Excellent students are no longer able to join our ranks in higher learning because of the fear of being unable to avoid a crumbling life of debt. But this hardship not only touches those expecting to get ahead through a college and graduate education. It also undermines those already admitted within our institution(s), who are unable to gather sufficient resources to provide for their daily living requirements. Students on USA campuses may be having to resort to housing quarters in the most unusual fashion in order to compensate for insufficient resources. These students are also being prevented by their own programs from seeking alternative working means that could supplement their meager income through underfunded fellowships or scholarships. Not only are some of our best students feeling the burden of long but low compensated hours that often infringe upon their contract stipulations: they are also incapable of finding alternative sources of support. Therefore, under such state of affairs,

7 <https://www.lavanguardia.com/historiayvida/historia-contemporanea/20210808/7552315/plan-dictadura-exterminar-rojos.html>.

we may be failing as educators, since we are not even able to provide to the most needy, and yet key contributors of our population, the necessary material means for their success.

Connected to the plight of the Spanish exiles, I often teach my students the writings of Langston Hughes, that constant, gigantic and shining figure in aesthetic brilliance and social equanimity. And I try to point out to them how Hughes's denunciations went beyond his time. Back through the hardships of the 1930s, he clearly stated that "Negroes of America are tired of a world divided superficially on the basis of blood in color, but in reality on the basis of poverty and power—the rich over the poor no matter what their color. We Negroes of America are tired of a world in which it is possible for any group of people to say to another: You have no right to happiness, or freedom, or the joy of life. We are tired of the world where forever we work for someone else and the profits are not ours," he added, when presenting his thoughts to the Second Congress of Antifascist Intellectuals, amidst the bloodshed in 1937 Spain. He probably did not want to anticipate that many of his Spanish comrades would have to flee their homeland in defeat, and that only a few would be admitted, write and teach in his unjust and *inner exile USA*.

Langston Hughes's words, as much as they are lucidly inscribed in history, remain among us as unavoidable marks for our present memory. When delivering them so many years ago in that distant land called Spain, he had understood that preserving those inequalities were also at the root of an unjust war that would eventually spread worldwide. And above all, he was anticipating our pending challenge today, as individuals, as institutions, and as a society, full of so many advances but often void of the minimum human dignity and humanity that also threatens many with despair and conflict. Again, this was one of the most determined messages and teachings that the 1939 Spanish exiles brought and taught in the Americas.

Therefore, this is a necessary publication for keeping these exiles' studies alive, as a continuation of our earlier ones, and particularly in view of a certain negative outlook for other Spanish traces in the USA. While episodes of Spanish colonial history on the continent are critically challenged under sometimes stereotypical revisionisms,

we may be missing other subtle episodes where Spanish actors were not victimizers but victims, while never having a chance on a chessboard manned by those who claimed to be *righteously free*. As an extension of what Prof. Chomsky dissects, Orwell privileged eyesight was forged, among other areas, in the heart of the 1936-39 Spanish clash. Ideologies eventually may hide the trees of ordinary events and *common decency*, so dear to those Spanish exiles in the Americas. Their cries about totalitarian menaces kept falling on deaf ears internationally (from Max Aub, Victoria Kent, Juan Ramón Jiménez, María Teresa León, Constanca de la Mora, Juan Negrín, Isabel Oyarzábal or Ramón Xirau, to remind us of just a few).

These traces should be contextualized, particularly today amongst post-truth imaginaries spun through cyberspace, when history, as an attempt to understand the past and forewarn the future, is over-mixed and undermined through memory as a privileged stepping stone for reaching and imposing rectitude, or is used within asymmetrical challenges that feed unto demagogic and populist extremisms that undermine democratic exchanges (Kosseleck), while postmodern anachronisms disseminate chronological contradictions. History appears helpless, caught between all kinds of past and future paradoxes, and lost among the thick and foggy present blindfolded by the imperatives of past redressing sought by generations void of time but obsessed by it (Hartog). Today, critical discourses are being refurbished through an idealized *cancel culture*: liquid equity and diversity higher education mandates within supposedly liberating, multicultural and endless differing schemes that may be, in the final analysis, just inverting former types of excluding dualisms: race, gender, class, origin, religious, etc. identities and dominances. These strategies may not be divergent from earlier dogmatic and muzzling practices, that late and *glocal* capitalism can also remarket in its favor.

Consequently, claiming the old tale rewritten by Hans Christian Andersen about the *Emperor's New Clothes*, where the monarch appeared naked, may be taken for an apology of some reactionary orthodoxy. But Orwell's critique on how Stalinists were abjectly rewriting what Hitlerism had burned, and reinstating another dictatorial cultural *revolution* may serve as a profitable analogy for our present

within our past.⁸ Invoking the Spanish exiles' traces in the USA, could further remind us of the double standard of morality denounced by that tale dear to Orwell, that had landed on the Iberian peninsula, through an oriental corpus, *Calila et Dimna*, retaken by Don Juan Manuel's *El libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (1335) [*The Book of Exempla*], on the path of the Medieval Iberian *three cultural* legacies. This being so timely today as the Talibans have entered Kabul, Non-Intervention is the law of the land, *once more*, and the latest conflict in Ukraine reflect our historical incapacity to prevent diasporic repetitions or comply with universal policies for refugees. A moving exile, an expelled and specular Iberian *vividura* rooted in the forging of a way of life within Christian, Muslim and Sephardic traditions and beliefs, eventually shattered by an usurping monarch like Isabella of Castille, who overturned them into a monolithic Catholic orthodoxy entrenched in absolutism and traditionalism (Ridao 253), that the exiled Américo Castro studied at Princeton. He highlighted their *old blood* hypocrisy and exclusion rooted in an exclusive Judaism, the inquisitorial dominance of univocity from a single believing Islam, and the appreciation for false and established villainous appearances, among a set of ideological and theological constructs, through Cervantes's lucid version of the tale dear to Orwell: *El retablo de las maravillas* [*The Altarpiece of Wonders*].⁹

8 Ideological-theological paradoxes were also denounced, in the modern era of exile, by one of the first and sharpest of Spanish deterritorialized intellectuals, José María Blanco White. When describing the fallacies of the nation's independence movement in 1808, he signaled: "the religious character which the revolution has assumed, is like a dense mist concealing or disfiguring every object which otherwise would gratify his mind. He can see no prospect of liberty behind the cloud of priests, who everywhere stand to take the lead of our patriots" (441-442).

9 "Cervantes' sarcasm is an aspect of his own artistic technique, in which the expression of the experiential and the imaginable, the mockery and truth are inseparable (as I have shown it in other places)" [El sarcasmo de Cervantes es un aspecto de su misma técnica artística, en la cual son inseparables (según he hecho ver en otros lugares) la expresión de lo experimentable y la de lo imaginable, las burlas y las veras] (Castro 209). "That is why Américo Castro, instead of being a diplomatic agent of his own national culture —suppressing its inner oddities

But the whispering examples of that wandering Spanish Republican Quixotic diasporic spirit, perched today on too few monumental mementoes and diminishing educational anchors in the USA, could be threatened further by a superficial *cancel* tagging crusade, as if those refugees had emanated from colonialism, or were rooted in white supremacy and structural racism, beyond any of the Weberian paradoxes of the ethics of principle and responsibility, or the salutary reflections of sound historic and cultural critical thinking. Analogously to Castro's assertions, John McWhorter denounces: "America's sense of what it is to be intellectual, moral, artistic, what it is to educate a child, what it is to foster justice, what it is to express oneself properly, and what it is to be a nation is being refounded [in 2021] upon a religion" (58). And he criticizes *The Elect*, a prominent group of high-placed academics who have framed a complex past and present through a performative ideology "as a religion" (23).

McWhorter's comments also mirror Ortega y Gasset's prophetic forewarning about a critical and perspectivist history, almost a century ago, when lamenting, *avant la lettre*, a satisfied and liquid modernity, or the blooming of totalitarianisms that led to a global catastrophe: "Europe has no remission if its destiny is not placed in the hands of truly contemporaneous people who feel underneath themselves the entire historical subsoil, who know the present altitude of life and feel repulsion for every archaic and wild gesture. We need an integral history to see if we can escape from it, not to fall back on it" (my trans. 159).

A set of ethical and aesthetical oxymorons, among others, kept alive those diverse and contributing Spanish *elects* exiled in 1939 along their American diasporas, and some of their examples that we studied at our symposium, should warm our hearts, eight decades later, when searching for a few of our common truths and decencies.

Celorio, Asturias - Baltimore (Late Summer 2021-Spring 2022)

and rounding its hurting corners— has chosen to be a major strategist in Spain's centuries-long intellectual battle with itself" (Marichal 42).

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