

*Transnational geography and identity through translation and distribution
in Germany, Spain and Latin America*

In the following paper I will discuss specific examples of sharing of common geography, identity and language in German and Spanish presentations in Spain and Latin America by German, Spanish and Latin American authors during the Spanish Civil War and afterwards in *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul* in Spain and *Alemania Libre/Freies Deutschland* in Mexico (and beyond). Past discussions have focused on the broad range of politically or ethnically ‘exiled’ authors (democrat/communist/anarchist or Jewish), single authors (Regler, Uhse, Seghers, or Neruda), concentrated publications (such as *Freies Deutschland*) as well as general German or Spanish connections/relations in Latin America and their legacy – I uniquely contribute to this discussion by emphasizing and exploring a sense of common ‘space’ (as in a physical space of printed materials, audience/authors, and geography, intellectual space of ideological perspective, rhetoric/argument and identity, and time both lived/experienced and created/imagined) as exemplified and accessed through the abovementioned three publications. A deeper, more profound understanding and discussion of this past ‘space’ and its place in contemporary and future discussions will be further contemplated.

The Spanish Civil War attracted international attention and involvement from many countries, groups and individuals, and this internationalization was evident in the presentations of the war. Distinction between a civil and military audience were ever less defined. Authors and audiences of literature of the Spanish Civil War became increasingly international. The Spanish audience was increasingly exposed to international authors. Literariness and political commitment embraced each other ever more intimately. During the Spanish Civil War and thereafter, numerous literary

strategies (varying genres) and forms of publication were employed, including poetry – in collections or printed in newspapers, magazines or political pamphlets (notably by Miguel Hernández and Antonio Machado), historical accounts (such as Ramón Sender’s *Contraataque*), theater (such as that by Rafael Alberti or Max Aub, performed both in the cities and at the fronts), short stories and essays, and even songs (to boost morale, sung over the radio, in defense of cities, or at rural fronts). The Spanish Civil War was a space to which many authors felt themselves drawn – both intellectually and physically entering with pen, and (later) with arms. Amongst the international authors (and alongside their Spanish counterparts) were numerous Latin American and German-language authors.

German and Spanish-speaking audiences and authors shared a common lived and aesthetic space within the geography of Spain and Mexico. Many German presentations were translated into Spanish and visa versa. I will explore a developing sense of re-definition of the concept of ‘foreign’ and ‘commonness’ beyond simply national borders, identity and language. The impetus for an alternative, international, inter-continental and even revolutionary ‘space’¹ was produced via comparable Spanish and German-language aesthetic and ideological strategies in presentations opposed to ardent, mono-lingual, geographically-bound nationalism (Monteath (1992), Eyckman (1992), Janué i Miret (2008)) and often business/economically motivated connections (Pommerin (1977), Mühlen (1988)).²

¹ As defined by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*.

² Considering the international dynamic of the Spanish Civil War historically enables a basis for it’s intercontinental spatial presentations. In the summer of 1936, when the Spanish Civil War officially ‘broke-out’, it reached a much broader scope than simply a confined ‘national’ Spanish conflict becoming (and was presented as) an international conflict with Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy officially supporting Franco and (Lázaro) Cardenas’ Mexico officially and Stalin’s Russia unofficially supporting (i.e. late) the Republic [here support (planes and technical support) and coalition disruption (political purges) came from Russia – reference Trotsky’s *The Spanish Revolution*, Orwell’s *Homage to Catalonia* and *The May Days: Barcelona 1937* for further discussion]. Claude Bowers, (former) U.S. ambassador to

The German-language periodical *Das Wort* was founded in 1935 of the initiative of the Pariser conference in defense of Culture.³ *Das Wort* was distributed to many exiled Germans, notably also many self-proclaimed Antifascists in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. The essence of the publications was short prose articles, talks, poems, *Nachdichtungen*, novel excerpts, and reports by witnesses of the war. Within this same physical geography of Spain and support of the Republic and/or in combat against

Spain during the 1930s sees it (and he is not alone) as the beginning of the Second World War (i.e. *My Mission to Spain*). Franco brought North African and Foreign Legion troops into Spain in support of the insurgents while the International Brigades attracted volunteers from over 50 different countries in support of the Republic. The governments of England, France and the United States followed a line, amidst stark debate and much public criticism, of ‘non-intervention’. Many governments of Latin American countries, albeit confronted with heated debate and in many cases having popular sympathy with the Republic, also officially remained neutral. According to Falcoff and Pikes (in *The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939. American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Nebraska Press 1982), although officially neutral and albeit amidst the beginnings of Batista’s rule, a “greater proportion of the Cuban population seemed to have sympathized with the Republic than any other in Spanish America” (123). Within a week of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, both houses of the Colombian Congress unanimously adopted resolutions of solidarity with the Loyalist regime – although Colombian opinions on the struggle were deeply and bitterly divided (159). Peru’s military dictator Benavides was one of the most pro-Nationalists governments in the hemisphere (220). The pro-Nationalist press in both Peru and Colombia was much more prevalent than pro-Republic press. Chile was officially neutral under Alessandri, although swayed pro-Loyalist with the new Popular Front government in 1938 (260). Argentina’s government originally recognized the Spanish Republic – also for Uruguay once it cut ties with the Republic - amidst popular support for the Republic, although after 1938 took on a more neutral stance (313). Falcoff and Pikes’ scholarship has been very critically questioned in reviews by Thomas Knight (*The American Historical Review* 1983) and Carolyn Boyd (*Latin American Research Review* 1985).

³ It’s principle editors were Willi Bredel in Moscow, Bertolt Brecht in Danish Svendberg, and Lion Feuchtwanger in Southern France. Critic Werner Reick calls *Das Wort* “eine neue zeitgeschichtlich orientierte Qualität in die deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur des Exils” (58). Other comparable ideological literary mediums in German were *Maß und Wert* (Zürich), *Internationale Literatur – Deutsche Blätter* (Moscow), *Die neue Weltbühne* (Prague), *Weg und Ziel, Kommunistische Schriften*. German-language authors of the Spanish Civil War can further be referenced in A. Kantorowicz (*Die Exilsituation in Spanien* 1989), Martin Franzbach (*Die Spanienkriegsliteratur* 1985), as well as the anthology *Die Kinder von Guernica* (2004). Furthermore, there were likewise many Rightist German-language publications. Peter Monteath writes: “the period immediately following the return of the Conder Legion up until the outbreak of WWII represents the climax of the production of Nazi literature of the Spanish Civil War; Hannes Trautloft’s *Als Jagdflieger in Spanien. Aus dem Tagebucheines deutschen Legionärs* (1940) – the most lasting impression of this work is the enthusiasm with which the war is confronted” (Monteath 135-6). Joachim Schmitt-Sasse writes of the presentations in *Frankfurter Zeitung, Völkischer Beobachter, Deutschland-Berichte* and *Das schwarze Korps* in which “nationalist troops are drawn as heroes with human faces, they are opposed by anonymous Muscovite hangmen and anarchist gunslingers who practices their art on us in Germany in the unfortunate days of the Hamburg and Berlin riots” (150). “Jews and members of the International Brigades are especially maligned in Nazi publications (i.e. Otto Schempp’s book *Das autoritäre Spanien*), the National Socialist image of Spain during the Civil War also contains critical assessments of the Freemasons, the Catholic Church, the big capitalists, and the landowners“ (Eyckman 169).

Franco's insurgency, the predominantly Spanish-language periodical *El Mono Azul* (1936-1939) was published by the Spanish section of the International Spanish Alliance of Antifascist Writers. *El Mono Azul* called on intellectuals, artists, writers and professionals, all friends of 'culture' – "The historic hour demands that we fraternally unite" (Monleón 35).⁴ With the official end of the Spanish Civil War (1939), *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul* were no longer published; many of their authors continued to publish, and a number of their previous works from the Spanish Civil War as well as new works found a common medium in Mexico and other countries of Latin America through *Freies Deutschland*, first published in November 1941.⁵ Through physical exile and political-cultural, literary production, these authors created a spatial *Ausdehnung* within Latin

⁴ In Spanish: "la hora histórica exige que nos unamos fraternalmente." Those not yet in the space were called to actively enter. There is appeal to actively join, "la política de neutralidad ya aparece a los ojos de todo el mundo como una traición" (Charles Vildrac in Monleón 37). "Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defense de Cultura," founded in 1935, the magazine was published from August 1936 to February 1939, releasing forty-seven issues in all. The name translates as 'The Blue Overall' and was developed by José Bergamín and Rafael Alberti, while "la mayor parte de los contertulios (i.e. los escritores que constituían el grupo fundacional) vestía con mono azul" (Monleón 15, Seoane 32). Others principally responsible for the publication included María Teresa León, Rafael Dieste, Lorenza Varela, Vicente Salas Viu and artists Antonio Luna and Arturo Souto. The list of contributors is very large, including Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado. *El Mono Azul* - as for example *Hora de España*, *Madrid*, *Nueva Cultura*, *Solidaridad Obrera* - was in stark contrast to Nationalist publications during the Civil War such as *Arriba España* (Pamplona) or *Jerarquía* (Navarra) whose primary interest seemed to propound a cultural aspect; these publications were more ideological, intellectual and literary than informative and under a "vaso de prosa imperial", writers employed "el rebuscado esteticismo, el barraquismo lírico, la exquisitez verbal, y la manía arazante" (Seoane 29) (from M.C. Seoane "Las revistas culturales en la guerra civil," In *Periodismo y Periodistas en la Guerra Civil*. Fundación Banco Exterior, Colección Seminarios y Cursos. Madrid: Novograph 1987. Pp.23-36).

⁵ *Freies Deutschland* was published monthly from Nov. 1941 to June, 1946. Other Center/Left anti-Nazi publications in Latin America included: *El Alemán Antinazi/Freie Deutsche Zeitung* (Santiago de Chile 1941-45), *Deutsche Einheit gegen den Faschismus* (Uruguay, 1939), *Europa Libre/Freies Europa* (Bogotá 1942), *Das freie Wort* (Montevideo, 1943-46), *Freies Deutschland* (Chile, 1943-46), *Jüdische Wochenschau* (Buenos Aires, 1940), *Informationsblatt des Deutschwehen Antifaschistischen Komitees* (Montevideo, 1943-46). Some Right/Center publications ideologically countering *Freies Deutschland* were: *Deutsche Zeitung von Mexiko*, der N.S.-Herold, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Volksgemeinschaft*, das *Bulletin der Deutschen Handelskammer in Mexiko*, das *Gemeindeblatt der deutschen evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Mexiko*, *Die Pflugschar* (Zeitschrift der Vereinigung christlicher junger Deutscher), and in Spanish: *Diario de la Guerra*, *La Voz del Pueblo* and *La Noticia* (Kiessling, V.1 pp.31-32). Here, Patrick von zur Mühlen writes of *Das andere Deutschland* and *Jüdische Wochenschau*, the "Fünfte Kolonne" in Argentina, Brasil, Uruguay and Bolivia, the extreme conservative, monarchic and clerical "Strasser-Bewegung" and *Das schwarze Front*, *Die Zeit* and *La verdadera Alemania* (110-115). Reiner Pommerin can be further referenced in *Das Dritte Reich und Lateinamerika* (1977).

America, and from Latin America back to Spain and Germany. Egon Erwin Kisch, contributor to *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul* in Spain and *Freies Deutschland* in Mexico, wrote that the “Hauptträger der Kultur ist in Mexiko – und nicht nur in Mexiko – die Monateschrift “Freies Deutschland,” sie ist das Organ der Bewegung gleichen Namens, die bereits heute die aktiven antifaschistischen Verbände aller lateinamerikanischen Staaten umfaßt” (BB 218). Through *FD* an “Aufrufen zur überparteilichen Einheit” was executed (Pohle, 2, 4) amongst the “Sammelbecken aller Exilierten” with “internationaler Verbreitung” (von bis zu 4.000 Exemplaren kontinuierlich bis Mitte 1946) (Pohle 2).⁶

These three publications were both political and aesthetic. Writing about authors’ writing, the role of art, the author and their works are all addressed in each of the publications. Some examples in *El Mono Azul* include: “El Mono Azul, en la calle” (n.2, p.2), “Importancia de las traducciones” (n.47, 7/38), “la responsabilidad del escritor” (pn.47, Julio 38) from Cesar Vallejo, and “teatro de arte y propaganda” (n.42). In *Das Wort*, examples encompass Alfred Döblin’s “Der historische Roman und wir,” Rudolf Fuchs’ “Übersetzen als Kunst und Schicksal” (III, 12), and numerous articles discussing Expressionism and Realism (G. Lukacs, A. Zweig). In *Freies Deutschland* exemplary are the articles: “Der Schriftsteller und der Krieg” from Ludwig Renn (N.3, Feb ’43 p.31/2), “Verantwortung und Pflicht in die deutsche Schriftsteller 1914/18 und heute” from B. Uhse (N.11, Oct ’43), and “Pflicht der Schriftsteller” from Ilja Ehrenburg (N.6, Mai ’44 p.27).

⁶ To note here are the presence of *Auslandsdeutschen* and Jewish emigrants, and then the addition of an active, political group of an array of ideological views – Communists - from Russia-aligned Willi Bredel to Latin American interpretive Paul Merker – especially the view of Jewish issues (discussion in Herf’s *Divided Memory*), ex-communists such as Gustav Regler, anarcho-syndicalists Austin Souchy, Left-Socialists like Max Diamant as well as Otto Katz. Here the production, trajectory and role of Republican exiles in Mexico is brilliantly discussed by Sebastiaan Faber in *Exile and Cultural Hegemony*. Marcus Patke further comments on German exiles in Mexico in *Zur Nahe der Sonne*.

Here, paralleling text examples in *Das Wort*, *El Mono Azul*, and *Freies Deutschland/Alemania Libre* gives evidence of common geographical, linguistic and ideological ‘space’ between Germany, Spain and Latin America. The geographical space I see as created in Spain and in Latin America through the lived experiences of authors and the physical distribution of the publications as well as in the numerous strategies and examples of presentations. German, Spanish, Cuban, Peruvian, Chilean, and Mexican (and other) authors and intellectuals were in Spain and then different parts of Latin America as were their publications of the Spanish Civil War distributed in Spain and then in Latin America. Enhancing a sense of international, intercontinental geographic space – as actually lived and then created in presentations – is the linguistic element, which will be examined between Spanish and German. I argue that an ideological aspect (not just a single party-line, but a broader scope, *überparteiliche*) as defined in opposition to a common (international ‘nationally-defined’) ‘other’ further strengthens the spatial metaphor I seek to explore.⁷ I ascertain that authors created a perspective of ‘space’ as an alternative and as resistance to that which they deemed as dominant (at their time) through their lived experience and art/writing (this connects with Henri Lefebvre’s discussion of space⁸). Through art – literary perspectives of place (physical space) were

⁷ This can be seen ‘opposed’ to the sort of official ‘Right’ space sought created as explored by Nazi-Kulturpolitik in Spain, discussed by Maricío Janué I Maret (*German Studies Review*, I 2008).

⁸ In understanding ‘space’ within a discussion of presentations, considering the work of Henri Lefebvre (in *The Production of Space*) is useful. For example, Lefebvre writes: “(social) space is a (social) product” (26). I see space as a product of physical action and presence (i.e. of authors and publications) as well as produced in literary presentations. Lefebvre discusses space as both an alternative and as resistance to the dominant (which then by natural association, being dependent on the perspective and experience of the artist). Spatial creation or production through these publications further connects with contemporary critiques of globalized ‘capitalist’ space and ideas of ‘alternatives’ as discussed by David Harvey and Arturo Escobar. Here Escobar is especially interesting in considering the presentation (albeit from usually European-based perspectives) in *Freies Deutschland* of non-modernist spaces. I see this as an early impetus/impulse (albeit not developed and somewhat flawed/contradictory) to contemporary Afrolatino-indigenous creations of alternative spaces of plural-ethnicity and ‘outside’ the so-called ‘modernist’ *Weltanschauung*.

created or produced which, in-turn, convened or were defined as much through their ‘physical-ness’ as through their associated ‘intellectual’ character (ideology).

Beginning in Spain within the complex of presentations presented during the Spanish Civil War, Latin America’s geography and authors are connected to Spain and shared ideological perspective in publication in both Spanish and German as evidenced through *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul*. For example, *El Mono Azul* published numerous articles and works from Latin American authors such as Peruvian Cesar Vallejo, Cuban Nicolas Guillen, and Chilean Pablo Neruda.⁹ Latin American literary names were brought into Leftist or “Antifascist” Spanish space and to a Spanish audience. *El Mono Azul* reported the declaration of solidarity of the central organ of the league of revolutionary authors and artist in Mexico, *Frente a Frente* (Baumann 165).¹⁰ Support from Chile and Cuba and news of Costa Rica’s democracy were also published with titles such as: “Carta de nuestros camaradas de Chile” (n.15), “El primer congreso de escritores

⁹ Both Vallejo and Guillen were published in Spain in German and Spanish. In César Vallejo’s *España, aparta de mi este caliz*, Spain and Germany (Berlin) specifically come forth in the same lines. He makes numerous references to the international “voluntarios” amidst the physical spaces of the war (Bilbao, Guernica, Malaga, Extremadura, Gujon, Madrid, Aragon, Teruel, etc...). In Nicolas Guillen’s *España – Poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza*, Spain is a part of the same space; through the Spanish Civil War the oceans no longer separate Spain and the Caribbean/Western Hemisphere, and borders no longer are borders “...y hoy impetus para desbaratar fronteras...para unir en mazo las isles del Mar del Sur/ y las isles del Mar Caribe; para mezclar en una sola pasta herviente la roca y el agua de todos los océanos.” He creates *una esperanza* and uses words like “lejanos milicianos” who are yet “cercanisimos hermanos” (in “primera angustia”). Guillen compares the other (Franco, Hitler, Mussolini) with “el viejo metal imperialista” and writes of the ‘floreciendo en lenguas ardorosas’ (angustias segunda). A further poetic contribution is Mexican Octavio Paz’s Spanish Civil War poem: “No Pasarán”: No pasarán/ Cómo llena este grito todo el aire/ y lo vuelva una eléctrica muralla!/ Detened el terror y a las mazmorras/ para que crezca joven en España, / la vida verdadera/ la sangre jubilosa / la ternura feroz del mundo libre / detened a la muerte, camaradas. / No pasarán/ Amigos, camaradas/ que no roce la muerte en otros labios / que otros árboles dulces no se sequen/ que otros tiernos látigos no se apaguen/ que no pasen, hermanos (*Repertorio Americano*, Oct. 31 de 1936). Further Latin American authors who wrote of the Spanish Civil War included Miguel Asturias of Guatemala, Félix Pita of Cuba, Córdova Iturburu, Pablo Rojas, and Amparo Mon of Argentina, Blanca Lidia Trejo of México, and Vicente Huidobro Romero of Chile (Baumann, *Peru*, 34). Further, “el famoso triunvirato muralista de México, Diego Rivera, Clemente Orozco y David Siqueiros, se identificó con la República” (Baumann *Peru*, 34).

¹⁰ Also “aparece un saludo a los escritores mexicanos, por parte de los intelectuales de *Mono Azul* y Juan Chabas firmó un artículo saludando a los escritores y artistas mexicanos y cubanos de paso en España” (Baumann 165).

de Chile” (n.16, 1.5.37) and “Defendamos la democracia de Costa Rica, hoy en peligro” (n.18, 3.8.37).¹¹ Many Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, and Costa Rica, were brought into the same ideological space in *El Mono Azul* (i.e. ‘in print’) – with titles such as: “América ante la mera España” (n.4, p.8) and “Mexico y España” (n.7, n.3).¹² A common presentational front permeated linguistic boundaries as Latin American geography and congruent ideological perspectives were also in German publications in Spain as works and speeches from Mexican author and intellectual Jose Mancisidor,¹³ Peruvian Cesar Vallejo, Argentine Paul Gonzales Tuñon, Costa Rican Vicente Saez, Cuban Nicolas Guillén, and Chilean author Pablo Neruda were published in German in *Das Wort*. Language, geography and ideology are shared in Peruvian Cesar Vallejo’s translated words in *Das Wort*:

... Auf der Erde der Ruben Dario, Jose Asuncion Silva, der Herrea, Reissig, Enrique Bauchs und unser geliebten Pablo Neruda sind die Dichter Spaniens niemals so gekannt und verehrt worden, wie heute. Und hier, zwischen Tränen und Lachen, öffne ich mein glühendes südamerikanisches Herz, mein spanisches Herz, das niemals spanischer fühlte: in dem ruhmreich älternden Antonio Machado begrüße ich die hohe Tradition Spaniens, im Gedenken an Federico

¹¹ Cuba and Leftist Spain are presented commonly in “Cuba quiere que América media en el conflicto español” (n.37). An interesting historical ideological-geographical comparison between Cartago and Berlin is made in *Ayuda* (La Habana, Mayo 1938) in Cuban Eddy Chibás article “Delenda est Cartago!! Delenda est Berlín!!” (reprinted in *Cuba y la defensa de la República española (1936-1939)* (La Habana 1981)). Chibás writes of “...el grito de la república democrática de Roma contra el imperio cartaginés, “Delenda est Cartago”, lo hagan hoy las democracias su consigna de union y de combate contra el fascismo: “Delenda est Roma” “Delenda est Berlín”” (275).

¹² Noteworthy are the many specific references in *El Mono Azul* to solidarity with Latin America. Numerous examples of geographic commonness between Spain and Latin America in *El Mono Azul*. Further presented is an analysis of “presidente Cardenas y Azaña” and “reaccionarios mexicanos” represented by “la gran Prensa (“El Nacional”)” as well as “la Falange Espanyola (Jose Vega) con apoyo italiano y aleman, el latifundismo, la Iglesia,...” Further article titles are: “la copa al servicio de la Revolución” from Raúl Gonzales Tuñon (argentino) and “Salud a los intelectuales mexicanos” (n.15, 11.2.37), “Palabras para Cuba” from Juan Marinello, Albert Martí (n.41), and “Madrid 1937” from Cuban poet Emilio Ballagas (n.46).

¹³ Mexican author and intellectual Jose Mancisidor appears in Spain in Spanish in *El Mono Azul* (and later in German in *Freies Deutschland* in Mexico). As it dedicated “unas líneas al libro de Mancisidor, *De una Madre Española*, que trata de acontecimientos madrileños al comienzo de la sublevación. El mismo autor publica un artículo “Somos tan españoles como los españoles” y aparece una foto suya en el periódico” (Baumann 165).

Garcia Lorca erneue ich den Protest ganz Südamerikas angesichts des endlosen Verbrechens des Faschismus” (II 10 86).

As here ideology and geography is emitted from Latin America to Spain in sharing, this also took place from Germans in Spain towards Latin America. An example of lived common space is German authors G. Regler and L. Renn’s trip to Cuba and the Americas during the Spanish Civil War (Baumann *Peru* 33). After the Spanish Civil War, both Regler and Renn wrote while exiled in Mexico. There is a direct connection of ‘lived’ experience which is then also a relational connection between later works published in Latin America and earlier works published in Spain. Kiessling writes of the first contact between German Antifascists in France and Mexico founded/established already in 1937:

als Ernst Toller, einer der Mitunterzeichner des programmatischen Aufrufs zur Bildung der deutschen Volksfront vom 21. Dezember 1936, zu einer Vortragsreise über den Atlantik gefahren war. Im Verlauf einer Mexiko D.F. von deutschen Emigranten, demokratischen Auslandsdeutschen und fortschrittlichen Mexikanern einberufenen Kundgebung gegen den Nazismus, auf der Toller über Aufgaben und Ziele einer deutschen Volksfront sprach, wurde die Liga für deutsche Kultur in Mexiko (Liga pro Cultura Alemana en México) gegründet (Bd.I, 38).

Specific example of German and Latin American authors sharing a common geography – lived and produced – in Spain through Spanish and German are exemplified in presentations of Maria Osten¹⁴ and Pablo Neruda. Osten’s article “Primavera en Madrid” was published in *El Mono Azul* (30.9.37, n.34), translated from its original title “Frühling in Madrid” (28.4.37).¹⁵ The city, Madrid, is the space of the Civil War in this piece. Technology from the ‘other’ threatens revolutionary and human spaces. It pierces

¹⁴ Worked, d.i. ‘Maria Gresshöner,’ as editor for *Das Wort* from Paris.

¹⁵ The article starts out: “Es ist keine Anklage. Es ist kein Aufruf. Beides hielte die Feder aus. Was schwer ist, ist die Wahrheit, die Wirklichkeit auf Papier den Menschen so nahezubringen, dass sie den Krieg führen.” Here, the reality in the Civil War space is relayed through the author. The author is the active medium to spread this element of the revolution to ‘other’ spaces, to increase consciousness.

not only physically – disrupting time as it is unleashed, but also intimidates and infiltrates through weak boundary points in the intellectual space. The city is being bombed and the author hears this. It is cruel; there is blood on the sidewalk. In crossing the street, a dead child is found, “der kleine Körper ist tot/el cuerpecito está muerto”.¹⁶ There is death of an innocent child in the street.¹⁷ Here, there is no mention of Spanish or German, there is no mention of Red or Fascist; there is simply death in the Civil War space. There is inhumanity through coldness of technology, through the impersonal offense and violence of the ‘other’. The ‘other’, that outside and foreign to the space of the revolutionary Civil War, attacked and killed from a distance, and showed no face, no identity – only the result of death.¹⁸ Osten’s created space overlaps with Neruda’s Spanish Civil War poetry collection, *España en mi corazón*.¹⁹ This literary spatial overlapping is most evident in a commonly created imagery, in both Neruda’s “Explico algunas cosas” and “Madrid (1936),” of “por las calles, la sangre de los niños...,” i.e. the street stained with the blood of innocent children. Neruda, as Osten, proceeds to give cause to the consequence of death in technology, creating tangibility in the airplane bombings of the “traidor avión” (in “Tierras ofendidas”) (72).²⁰ The ‘other’ is thus not defined necessarily through nationality or language, but through their destructiveness and as a perpetrator of killing of

¹⁶ As in other examples, the space of the street (*la calle*) and identifying with the people (*el pueblo*), often surface in *El Mono Azul* (Monleón 17).

¹⁷ Maria Osten’s literary presentation dovetails with direct reportages of the plight of “Spanische Kinder” during the war. Osten not only wrote of children, but also adopted a young Spanish child herself, which is discussed in Ursula El-Akramy’s *Transit Moskau*.

¹⁸ Through writing the passing of this occurrence is produced; the remembrance and significance of the innocent’s death - not to be in vain. In 20th century literature, writing of and remembering death – whether of the unknown soldier or civilian – or the heavily documented – was a big deal. This past reference to Osten was also discussed in Nissler’s article in *Finding the foreign* (Cambridge Scholars Press 2007).

¹⁹ Neruda’s Spanish Civil War poetry was published and discussed in Spain in *El Mono Azul* (n.1, 22, 45) and *Das Wort* (II 10, III 10).

²⁰ The perspective of the ‘bomber’ is radically different as note for example in Johannes Trautloft’s diary of the Condor Legion (*Als Jagdflieger in Spanien* 1940), where ‘bombing’ is described simply as just another ‘day’s work’ at the office. Furthermore, the Nationalist space he describes is quite derisive and fragmented with little linguistic or cultural intent to connect.

the innocent. Although the author Neruda is a Chilean in Madrid, he writes “Mirad mi casa muerta...” The perspective of the author shares their identity with the victims of the ‘other’ and thus also perceive the geographic space, not as foreign, but as common (“Explico algunas cosas,” 59).²¹ Ultimately, Osten and Neruda, albeit from different languages and in different presentational forms, created overlapping narrative images in geography and associated ideology - and thus overlapping space.²²

Through Osten and Neruda’s example, a common German-Spanish-Latin American space in Spain during the Spanish Civil War is evident. This space continued to be created as well from Latin America. Principle editors and contributors of *El Mono Azul*, Spaniards Rafael Alberti and José Bergamin, were published in German in *Das Wort* and Bergamin also contributed, translated into German, in *Freies Deutschland* in Mexico in his articles “Spanische Guerrilla” (Feb 45) and “Don Quijote” (Nov 41). Other Spanish authors such as Max Aub and Antonio Mije also were published in German in *Freies Deutschland*. Many German authors – published in *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul* were again published in *Freies Deutschland* (amongst others: Buho Uhse, L. Renn, W. Bredel, E.E. Kisch, E. Weinert, Maria Osten, Bertolt Brecht, A. Kantorowicz). Not only authors, but Civil War figures shared common space. Dedication for the efforts and ultimate sacrifice in death of the German Hans Beimler was written of numerous times in *Das Wort* in German (II 1 6, II 4-5 86, II 10 64f, III 1 126 f. 130, III 3 150, III 12

²¹ Neruda writes to the ‘Brigada Internacional’ (66), calling them ‘hermanos’ (68); that is to say not distinguishing them according to nationality. Neruda’s autobiography *Confieso que he vivido* (Editorial Seix Barral, Barcelona 1974) can be further referenced.

²² Here Carmen Vasquez writes of how Neruda’s Spanish Civil War poems are a “grito contra la injusticia, contra el dolor, la muerte, la traición” (155) and especially in “Explico algunas cosas”, “la muerte, de los niños, de las mujeres, de los hombres en general, ocupa entonces el lugar esencial” and “la lucha incesante se extiende por todo el territorio” (156).

72) as well as in Spanish in Spain.²³ His picture was shown in Spanish and in German, now from Mexico in *Freies Deutschland* (12/45) next to the lyrics of the song “Hans Beimler” (written by Ernst Busch).²⁴ Under the picture are words in Spanish: “Hans Beimler/ Muerto en el frente de Madrid, Dic. de 1936” (p.31).²⁵ Here not only the image, the concept and perspective of this figure, from Germany, who went to Spain and died there was being remembered and published again in Mexico, but language shared common space as both German and Spanish were used in presentation.

A created Spanish geography of the Spanish Civil War is stretched across continents and time in presentations of Budo Uhse and Rafael Alberti. Uhse’s “Begegnung in Sevilla”²⁶ published in Mexico in *Freies Deutschland* (March 42) and Alberti’s theater piece “Radio Sevilla” - published in Spain in *El Mono Azul* (n.45, 5/’38) commonly present the geography of Seville.²⁷ In Alberti’s theater, a Spanish Nationalist

²³ That is to say in numerous periodicals (*El Sol* (2.12.36) and *Madrid honra Beimler*) as well as in poems, such as by Rafael Alberti).

²⁴ Common space was created through writing as well as photography, exemplified by the numerous pictures of German, Spanish and Latin American authors in *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul* and now in *Freies Deutschland*. German photographer Gerda Taro was written of in *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul*.

²⁵ Kurt Stern’s article “Unsere Heimat ist heute vor Madrid” and Erich Weinert’s “Lied der Internationalen Brigaden” were published alongside Beimler’s picture (pp.31-32).

²⁶ An excerpt from his novel *Leutnant Bertrand*.

²⁷ Various reviews of Uhse’s work were posted in *Freies Deutschland*. Anna Seghers wrote of Uhse’s novel in *F.D.* (n3/44) - with the first part presenting the “Sturm auf die InselWyst” and then the repetition on Guernica - that for perhaps the first time, “ein antifasistischer Schriftsteller” wrote of “die Atmosphäre in der deutschen Wehrmacht,” in an “unverblümete Schilderung seines Lebens...in dem faschistische Offiziere im Denken und Handeln dargestellt sind.” Seghers further writes of the aesthetic value in Uhse’s political novel, aligning it within discussion of T. Mann’s *Zauberberg* and Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*. Within a sense of spatial discussion, she also brings Uhse’s Republican Spanish fighters – concerned with their Spain and fighting valiantly, perhaps moreso than any other European people (with similar reference to Börne) - in stark contrast to the ever-hungry expansionism of their Nazi opponents. Hub. Hermans discusses Alberti’s *Radio Sevilla* as a “sátira del ejército nacional” and “critica de la campaña radiofónica de Queipo y de la intervención de tropas italianas y alemanas” (160) in *El teatro político de Rafael Alberti* (Salamanca 1989). Interestingly, Hermans sees Alberti’s piece along similar technical lines as Brecht’s alienation – as the “personajes de la farsa aparecen como peles o marionetas de un teatro guiñol” (163). Hermans further comments on the accompanying pictures that were printed along side the theater excerpts in *El Mono Azul* as well as includes quotes from an interview with Santiago Ontañón (with José Monleón) in which he states that “muchos soldados acudían a ver *Radio Sevilla*...era una obra típica del teatro de urgencia” (172). Ontañón continues in mentioning Alberti’s phonetic play of words, “italianos, alemanes, y moros hablaban castellano con palabras que parecían de sus respectivos idiomas” (172). Herman and

general, Quiepo, is ridiculed and shown to be a pawn of the Italian Fascists, and especially German Nazis. The voice of a “soldado del pueblo” who now is clandestinely in the Spanish Falange ranks, is brought into conversation with “una muchacha” who is trying to escape after Seville’s fall to Franco’s troops. The program “radio sevilla” is blared intermittently. A German officer, is presented, not believing in the Latin race (as does for example the Italian officer) nor of mixing, states “Oh, la España romántica,” calling the Spanish “cerdos” (pigs) and demanding that the Spanish general Quiepo clean his boots, “de rodillas” (from his knees) with his “pañuelo” and “cante.” The German officer states, “Arriba Alemania.....nuestro Estado Mayor,” versus Spain, the “país poco científico.” In the end, it will be off to Germany. The figure ends, stating: “Wunderbard! Wunderbard!”²⁸ The Nationalist side coalition is satirically portrayed, farcically lacking both cohesion and humanity.

In Uhse’s excerpt, there are again – as in Alberti - Spanish, Italian, and German officers presented in Seville. This time the central conversation takes place amongst the German officers, but it is noted that there are numerous languages being spoken – contributing to “Verstaendnisschwierigkeiten.” Here the German Hartneck warns of war being “ein romantisches Abenteuer” amidst conversation of the Italian’s loss in Gaudalajara and the bombings and fight for Madrid. Both authors, Uhse and Alberti, create a Nationalist-side perspective, permeating from Seville, outwards toward further expansion of the war at the fronts (Madrid, Guadalajara, Malaga, Cartagena). Each critically presents this Nationalist-side as distinctively non-international – as identity,

Ontañón’s statements support my ascertainment of an international mixing of languages and creation of space according to ideology. Alberti’s memoirs can be referenced in *La Alrboleda Perdida* (Editorial Seix Barral, Barcelona 1987).

²⁸ ‘Wunderbar’ signifies ‘wonderful/good/great’, and ‘wunderbard’ almost sounds like ‘wonder/miraculous’ and ‘beard’ – perhaps a hint of humor on Alberti’s part.

geography and time are presented pulling in different directions. In Alberti, the Germans are thinking only of their home country (as are the Italians and Spanish) and of going back to Germany after sort of ‘meddling’ in Spain for a bit. Uhse’s German officers are not presented in conversation with any Spanish comrades (or Italian for that matter) and are also amidst conversation that ends with one of the officers stating that he recently became engaged to a German woman and hopes to go back to Germany soon.²⁹ These presentations are very similar, albeit in different languages, in creating a common literary perspective, one in Spain in Spanish, another in German in Mexico, sharing both place (Seville) and time (Spanish Civil War). Alberti and Uhse created a space of the ‘other’ in stark contrast to those of the Left or Antifascist perspective and internationalism, working together with fluidity between languages and subordinating national identities.³⁰

The sense of common ideological and geographical space being created in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and thereafter in Latin America is dependant on overlapping of language. There exists a continuity of fluidity between languages, it was translate-able and permeable; rather than alienating and hierarchical, it was used to bring together and find common perspective.³¹ Fluidity of language between Spanish and German in the Left’s creation of spatial commonness is clear. *El Mono Azul* published two issues, numbers 33 and 34, with both Spanish and German titles: “Deutsche

²⁹ Hannes Trautloft writes of the Right’s non-sharing in his diary as a member of the Condor Legion, also this versus for example Relger writing of a German marrying a Spanish in *Juanita*.

³⁰ For example, in Uhse, even the German officers feel estranged from one another, “Ihm war, als redete da ein Fremder” (24). Monteath writes: “The sense of international solidarity, a prevalent feature of the pro-republican literature of the war, is absent (in Nazi literature); the members of the Condor Legion generally preferred to remain amongst themselves; its leader had serious doubts about the military ability of the Spaniards and Italians” (139).

³¹ Think here for example of the over 20 different languages that *Le Voluntaire* of the international brigades, encompassing over 50 different nationalities, was published. Noteworthy here are also E. Arendt’s translations of Spanish works into German. Arendt wrote numerous poems of the Spanish Civil War, and then translated a good number of works from Spanish and Latin American authors into German. He further published his own works of Colombia and was published in *Das Wort* and *Freies Deutschland* (mentioned in *El Mono Azul*).

Schriftsteller mit Spanien/Los escritores alemanes con España.” Even Alberti works in ‘German’ in his Spanish piece in *El Mono Azul* (“wunderbart” and German pronunciation of Spanish words).³² In *Freies Deutschland*, there are ample examples of a quasi-dual language publication. The title itself is presented in both languages: “*Freies Deutschland*” and “*Alemania libre*.” In a great majority of the issues (especially in the first 2 years), there are letters of support in Spanish from various Mexican politicians and intellectuals. A special edition (*Sonderausgabe*) published in June 1943 was devoted to Mexico and a number of the publications and proclamations are translated from Spanish into German, often with short explanations or further commentary in Spanish.³³ Language is a key element of accord, not division, created and produced between, through and in German and Spanish, in Spain and Mexico (and other parts of Latin America).

Fluidity of language (through translation) and common space (as in common publication media, geography and audience) are evident in poetry of Pablo Neruda and Bertolt Brecht – authors whose works were presented in all three publications. Neruda’s poem “Llegada a Madrid de la Brigada Internacional” - originally published in Spain as a part of his *España en el corazón* collection, was translated into German, dedicated to

³² An interesting note here, when one thinks of the bilingualism or multilingualism of this/these publications, a peculiar example surfaces in *El Mono Azul*, May of 1938 on page 3, where a poem is published under the title: “¡GERMANS! ¡HERMANOS!” As a native English speaker/reader analyzing German-Spanish commonness in publications, the irony of this title is great. Here, as if in English is blared out “Germans!” and then “Brothers” (in Spanish). As one reads the poem, it continues, with phrases in both Catalan and Spanish (written by José Luis Gallego). This is striking; that an almost confusion of boundaries between language is created; it may be a stretch to speculate a possible irony created purposely by Gallego, but regardless of intent, the permeability of (ideological, intellectual, geographical) commonness in print is stark.

³³ For example, in the June, 1943 issue, Antonio Castro Leal’s “Moderne mexikanische Dichtung,” Jose Mancisidor’s “Der mexikanische Roman” and Xavier Guerrero’s “Mexikanische Fresken” were translated into German as was Enrique González Martínez’s poem “Der Abschied” (from Paul Mayer).

Ludwig Renn, as “An einem eisigen Wintermorgen” (p.13, 11/41).³⁴ Brecht’s poem “Warnung”³⁵ was published in *Das Wort* during the Spanish Civil War in 1937 and then again in Mexico in *Freies Deutschland* in 1942. Both authors shared in lived experience in Europe during the Spanish Civil War and both had their work published in Spanish and German during the Spanish Civil War in Spain thus reaching a common sphere of audiences and affect. Both then were published again in *Freies Deutschland* in Mexico in German, which contributes to the logistical breadth of the reach and overlapping of their international, transnational and trans-continental space.

The fact that Brecht’s poem is presented in *Freies Deutschland* with a reference to it’s previous publication, explicitly printing *Das Wort - 1937* is a visual concrete

³⁴ An einem eisigen Wintermorgen,/In einem sterbenden elenden MONat, der befleckt war von Schmutz und Rauch,/In einem trostlosen klaeglichen Monat voll von Trauer, Belagerung, Missgeschick,/Als in mein Haus durch die feuchten Scheiben, das Gejaul der Schakale eindrang,/Der afrikanischen, mit ihren Flinten, mit ihren blutigen Zaehnen, damals,/ Als wir keine andre Hoffnung mehr hatten, als auf ein wenig Schiesspulver, als wir schon glauben,/ Diese Welt sei ausschliesslich bewohnt von reissenden Bestien und Furien/Damals durch den Reif des madrider Winters, durch den Nebel der Morgendaemmerung,/ Sah ich mit meinen eignen Augen, sah ich mit meinem eignen Herzen,/ Die Brigade, die reinsten, die kraeftigsten Kaempfer,/Hart, gluehend, steinern, heranruecken./ Das war die qualvolle Zeit, in der alle Frauen,/ Krank waren von Abschied,/ Und der spanische Tod, schaefer und bitter als andre Tode./ Den Acker belud, der sonst nur ehrbares Korn trug./ In den Gassen verschwamm das Blut/ Mit dem Wasser das aus dem Innern zertruemmerter Haeuser hervorquoll./ Und die Stuecke zerfetzter Kinder, und das duestre, zerreissende Schweigen der Muetter./ Die fuer immer gebrochenen Augen der Wehrlosen./ Waren wie ein bespuckter Garten, Trauer, Verlorenheit,/ Glaube und Bluete fuer immer zertreten./ Brueder,/Damals,/Erblickte ich euch./Seitdem ist mein Blick wieder stolz./ Seit ich euch anruecken sah durch den Morgennebel/ Gegen die reine Front von Kastilien./ Still und stark/ Wie das Morgenlaeten./ Feierlich, ihr, mit den blauen Augen, von weit her und von noch weiter./ Anrueckend aus allen Winkeln eurer verlorenen Vaterlaender, eurer Traeume, / Sanft und hart, mit euren Gewehren,/ Um die spanische Stadt zu verteidigen, in der die umzingelte Freiheit/ Fallen konnte, zu Tode gebissen/ Moege von da ab, Bruder, / Eure Reinheit und Eure Kraft, eure erhabne Geschichte,/ jedes Kind, jeden Juenglig erreichen, jedes Weib, jeden Greis/ alle, die ohne Hoffnung sind, drunten, in den schwefel-zerfressenen Bergwerken/ Droben auf der unmenschlichen Sklaventreppe/ Moegen die Sterne selbst und alle Aehren Kastiliens und die Welt/ Euren namen bewahren, euren unerbittlichen Kampf./ Und euren Sieg, stark und irdisch, gleich einer rotten Eiche./ Weil ihr den verlorenen Glauben, durch eure Opfer/ Wieder erweckt habt in den fluechtigen Seelen. Das Vertraun in das Irdische./ Durch Euer Euchwegschenken, durch euren Adei, durch eure Toten./ Wie wenn durch einen Abgrund aus Blut/ Sich ein unermesslicher reiner Strom bahnt aus Stahl und Hoffnung.

³⁵ General, dein Tank ist ein starker Wagen./Er bricht einen/Wald nieder und zermalmt hundert Menschen./Aber er hat einen Fehler:/er braucht einen Fahrer./General, dein Bombenflugzeug ist stark./Es fliegt schneller als ein Sturm und traegt mehr als ein Elefant./Aber es hat einen Fehler:/es braucht einen Monteur./General, der Mensch ist sehr brauchbar./Er kann fliegen und er kann toeten./Aber er hat einen Fehler:/er kann denken.

connection to the earlier publication – which entails a temporal and ideological connection from the Spanish Civil War to the situation and appeal in 1942³⁶ and a geographical expansion then from Europe (Spain) to Latin America (Mexico). His poem is stylistically simple, composed of 3 stanzas of 4 verses, with alternating varying end-rhyme and use of anaphora – beginning each stanza with ‘General’ then ‘Er/Es’, ‘Aber’ and ‘er.’ First, Brecht addresses the *General* – the militaristic perspective and its connection and modern reliance on technology (*Tank* and *Bombenflugzeug* in first 2 stanzas) and age-old use of slavery (of *der Mensch* in last stanza). Brecht continues then expressing the destructive capability of each – to destroy and overcome nature and humanity. He then wittingly slices, disrupts the seemingly secure rhythm and power of the ‘*General*’ with an ‘*Aber*’ repeating each time “*Aber er/es hat einen Fehler*” – and Brecht then concludes each stanza with a short verse, a punch line of sorts, exposing the implicit, imperative of the human being and his/her ability to think which destabilizes and weakens war and its intended destruction. The poem is didactic, parabolic and moralizing. Brecht presents the ‘other’ as representing death in glorification and servitude to the Moloch of destructive technology³⁷ exemplified in the tank and bomber plane. Even man/woman is exploited as a means for violence when reduced to a mindless, yeh-saying robot of sorts, as a machine that can be manipulated for purposes of war.³⁸

³⁶ i.e. Antifascist

³⁷ In political and aesthetic tradition of German Right, Ernst Jünger’s *Stahlgewitter* demonstrates as an early Nazi-precursor a glorification – versus a damnation (as in Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts neues*) – of war. Klaus Theleweit’s *Maennerphantasien* – addressing WWI military diaries – and Peter Reichel’s *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* – offer further discussion.

³⁸ Here the Cuban artist Nicolás Guillén’s Spanish Civil War-time poem “No sé por qué piensas tú” (1937) creates a very similar poetic dynamic and tone. Guillén begins by critically questioning why the soldier would think that ‘el yo’ hates him, and then repeatedly states how the ‘yo’ and the “soldado” are “la misma

Brecht craftfully weaves in the root weakness of the ‘other’s’ theory that is then juxtaposed to an exaltation and priority of humanity and critical thinking.³⁹ Technology needs human minds to create, employ and maintain it: a tank needs a driver and a bomber needs a pilot. War and killing need people to serve as ‘killing machines’ to exist. War, its killing and carnage, and the ruinous nature of technology ‘unravel’ when human beings are critical, when they think (*denken*), when each acts as an individual (yet part of a common humanity) and not part of a machine. Thus, as the title suggests (*Warning*) there is hope that the conscious human being, disrupts and negates the space of the ‘other’ (i.e. war) and thus contributes to creating a space of resistance and alternative.

Neruda’s poem is longer than “Warnung” and written in free verse. Two long stanzas sandwich a short middle stanza of “Brueder, / Damals, / Erblickte ich euch” around which the poem pivots. The first stanza begins with a description of the ‘coldness’ of the ‘other.’ As Brecht creates distance from the ‘other’ through their association with destruction, violence, and technology; here too Neruda creates a metaphoric ‘coldness’ of the space and place the ‘other’ seeks to invade and destroy. His ambient is of “sterbenden elenden Monat, der befleckt war von Schmutz und Rauch” which was inflicted by the detrimental technology (*Flinten*) and violent actions of the ‘other’. This is a space of subordination of the thinking (*Sklaventreppen, gebrochenen Augen der Wehrlosen*) and destruction (*zertuemmerter Haeuser*). But as in Brecht, Neruda writes of hope and of resistance to such space. In the last stanza, out of the

cosa” (the same thing) – “pobre,” “de abajo” (poor, from below). As Brecht, Guillén ends with hope, of “el soldado’ and ‘el yo’ “sin odios” (without hate).

³⁹ Torre Barrón supports a sense of Spanish-Latin American space, writing: “los poemas de Neruda fueron un firme componente de la creación cultural hispano-republicana Poemas de *España en el corazón* eran pasados de mano en mano en el frente – lo mismo que la lírica de García Lorca, Machado, Hernández y Alberti – y proporcionaban coraje para afrontar la vida diaria” (154).

morning dew came a brigade of brothers, of common humanity from all over the world, not divided by nationality. This ‘togetherness’ represents hope and was enough to warm and break down the coldness, and transform it into a powerful alternative and new reality. Neruda continues with the perspective of Brecht, as a painter who gives focus and detail to a sketch, developing a specifically spatial scene of the consequence of the forces Brecht defined.⁴⁰ Neruda overlaps Brecht’s space of resistance, with humanity, critical thinking and hope in Spain in Spanish and German and now in Mexico in German.⁴¹

After the Spanish Civil War, Latin America continued to be a part of a common space produced in German in *Freies Deutschland* through theater pieces (Paul Zech, Ferdinand Bruckner), short stories, novel excerpts, reports and editorials that spanned the geography of Latin America (Faber, Patka). For example, Alfons Goldschmidt’s writes a poem with Mexican geography, entitled “Auf dem Ixtaccihuatl” (n.1 Nov/Dez 42 p.21). Ferdinand Bruckner published works in *Das Wort* and *Freies Deutschland* with excerpts, for example, from the theater piece “Die Republic in Gefahr” (n.12, 10/42, 8th scene from “Der Kampf mit dem Engel”) which takes place in Venezuela and deals with “die erste Revolution in Venezuela und Simón Bolivars Ringen um klare revolutionäre Erkenntnisse” (30). Bruckner’s piece “Simon Bolivar” was also marketed in *FD* (Sept 45, 35). A connection to the indigenous is apparent in the numerous presentations: Ferdinand Bruckner’s theater work in Paraguay brings those persecuted by the other (i.e. Jews, Communists, Socialists, etc..) in a common space with the indigenous people – i.e.

⁴⁰ Arcelia de la Torre writes how in Brecht’s work “se reduce al puro carácter didáctico . . . construcción de enseñanza política, Neruda ha mostrado la vida en su dimension en su más alta mutabilidad, creatividad y autenticidad” (154).

⁴¹ Alongside Neruda, numerous Latin American authors and intellectuals were published in *Freies Deutschland* translated in German, such as Tancredo Pinochet (n.5, 3/42), Eulalia Gúzman (1/42), Juan Marinello (Cuba), Jose Mancisidor, Enrique González Martínez, Xavier Guerrero, Prof. Jesus Silva Herzog, and Antonio Castro Leal (Mexico).

as a persecuted people, attempting to maintain and further create a space of alternative to that proposed and aggressively pursued by the ‘other’.⁴² Neruda (i.e. Guarani), Seghers, Uhse, Kisch and others write of indigenous places and peoples. Paul Zech’s theater excerpt “Der Nazi in Paraguay” is a parallel presentational example to Bruckner’s theatrical geography and ideology.⁴³ Thus, created and lived spaces overlap.

Post-Spanish Civil War German antifascist works of theater, novel excerpts, short stories, poems, and accounts taking place in Paraguay, Venezuela, and Mexico, published alongside Mexican, Argentine, Chilean, and Cuban authors’ presentations and discussions - translated into German, stimulate a perspective, enabled through the medium of *Freies Deutschland*, of a sense of common geography, ideology and language. For example, in *Freies Deutschland* is a sort of loosely connected geography of writers, intellectuals and politicians – in German and Spanish – through the numerous clubs (e.g. Heinriche-Heine), congresses, associations and other organizations (El Libro Libre) consistently presented and elevated in the publications (often in section “Das Echo”) - from the Caribbean (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico), through Mexico and Central America (Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala) and into South America (Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia and Argentina).

⁴² Presentations and inclusion of indigenous discussion could be seen negatively in a sense as a continuing sort of ‘outsider’s’ view of Latin America (i.e. continuity of colonization, use of European languages – note Josef Esterman (*Filosofía Andina* 1998), Carlos Milla Villena (*Ayni* 2003)), but also positively and as an early example of attempt to include American indigenous discussion within created social space and as an early impetus for a space of alternative (alternative or outside of globalization, modernity, and/or capitalism - note work of David Harvey and Arturo Escobar).

⁴³ Further examples include: E. E. Kisch’s “Karl May, Mexico und die Nazis” (n. 2 Nov 41 p.11), “Deutsche Meister ueber Mexico: Goethe, Engels, Bismark, Nietzsche, Duerer, Heine” (Dec 41 p.16-17), “Freies Europa im freien Mexico, das andere Spanien” (n.8, Juni 42 p.19-20), “Mexikos Beispiel fuer Lateinamerika” (p.5), “Aufgabe der Deutschen in Amerika” from Alfons Goldschmidt ((n.1 Nov/Dez ’42 p.21), “Mexikos Volk an der Seite der FD” (N.4 Maerz ’43), J. Becher’s “Drama n Mexiko” (N. 9 August ’43), Kisch’s articles “Oaxaca” (N.1, Dez ’43), “Schatz des Montezuma” (N.7 June ’44) and “Entdeckungen in Mexiko” (N.2 Jan ’45). These articles demonstrate, as Goldschmidt writes, of “geographische Einheit” in “[erneut] die viele Institute, Clubs, ...Zeitungen.”

This created common space is enhanced, given depth through the many local and foreign exiled authors in Mexico and other Latin American countries and the fact that *Freies Deutschland* was printed and distributed in Mexico and to affiliates and audiences beyond the borders of Mexico.⁴⁴

In conclusion, examples of works from authors such as Budo Uhse, Bertolt Brecht, Maria Osten, Rafael Alberti, Pablo Neruda, and others give evidence of a German-Spanish-Latin American space, both lived and created. First, in both Osten's short story and Neruda's poetry, a similar aesthetic strategy was employed in creating a sense of death and destruction perpetrated by a common 'other' in an urban, physical space. Both authors were published in *El Mono Azul* and *Das Wort*. The created perspective in their works is international and inter-continental in that this was done by publishing work from the perspective of a Chilean author as well as a German author in German and Spanish in Spain in support of a common antifascist ideology. Next, this German-Spanish-Latin American connection is further supported in theater and novel examples of Budo Uhse and Rafael Alberti. Both published greatly and were in Spain in support of the Republic and were published in German and Spanish. Alberti's publication in *El Mono Azul* alongside Uhse's exile to Mexico and *Freies Deutschland's* publication of his created space of Seville with perspective of the 'other' then brings the geography and ideology of the Spanish Civil War into Mexico (and therefore Latin America) in German. Finally, Neruda and Brecht's poetry of the Spanish Civil War commonly decries the other's ideology and its destruction of humane space; it thus overlaps in its ideological creation and having been published in Spanish in *El Mono Azul*

⁴⁴ Noteworthy here is the contrast of many of the authors abroad, i.e. not in Latin America, who tended to write from a more politically dogmatic stance.

and in German in *Das Wort* in Spain, then to be published in German translation in *Freies Deutschland* in Mexico, exemplifies a physical and linguistic overlapping.

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