

Transatlantic Body Politics of the Spanish Civil War: Decoloniality and the Poetics of Internationalism

Este artículo explora la poética del internacionalismo de la guerra civil española, centrándose en las representaciones del cuerpo en poesía escrita en español. Contrasto los tropos predominantes del cuerpo como figura abstracta del internacionalismo con la representación, en los poemas de Nicolás Guillén y Enrique Gil Gilbert, de cuerpos específicos que matizan el internacionalismo. Estos poemas destacan los cuerpos de sujetos líricos negros e indígenas que invocan a la España antifascista vía su corporeidad. Ofrecen una "política del cuerpo" – definida como la propuesta de teoría política por medio de la autorepresentación geopolíticamente localizada y corpórea – que es precursora de expresiones actuales del antifascismo y solidaridad internacionales.

Palabras clave: *internacionalismo, poesía, decolonialidad, políticas de cuerpo, guerra civil española*

This article explores the poetics of internationalism in the Spanish Civil War, focusing on representations of the body in Spanish-language poetry. I contrast prevailing tropes of the body as an abstract figure for internationalism with the representation, in poems by Nicolás Guillén and Enrique Gil Gilbert, of specific bodies that nuance internationalism. These poems foreground the bodies of Black and Indigenous lyric subjects who summon antifascist Spain via their embodiment. They offer a "body politics," which I define as the advancement of political theory through representation of a speaker's geopolitically situated and embodied self; that heralds expressions of antifascism and international solidarity today.

Keywords: *internationalism, poetry, decoloniality, body politics, Spanish Civil War*

In the Spanish-language poetry of the Spanish Civil War, the human body is often a poetic figure for international solidarity. What do poetic representations of the body reveal about underlying conceptualizations of internationalism? In this article, I explore the poetics of internationalism in

the Spanish Civil War, and the racial implications latent in the notion of Spain, once a global empire, as normative international locus. Focusing on the figure of the body in leftist poetry by Spaniards and Spanish Americans, I distinguish between representations of the body as a metaphor for abstract ideals of internationalism and pan-Hispanic affinity, on the one hand, and representations of embodiment that attend to transnational historical specificities, on the other. After establishing the predominance of the former tendency, I examine the significance of the latter through close readings of the 1937 poems “España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza,” by Nicolás Guillén (Cuba, 1902-1989), and “Buenos días, Madrid!,” by Enrique Gil Gilbert (Ecuador, 1912-1973). I argue that these poems posit decolonial, embodied knowledge as the ground in which the fight against fascism is rooted. Furthermore, they offer a politics of the body that heralds expressions of antifascism and international solidarity today.

All of the poetry I consider in this article was written in the tense and hopeful juncture of the early war, and a key premise of mine is that embattled Republican Spain possessed an aura of internationalism that permeated both politics and poetry. By “internationalism” I mean not only the political concept associated with the Comintern but also an affect – a sense of solidarity, across national, linguistic and cultural differences, in the name of the oppressed. Against the post-WWI rise of nationalist fascism in Europe, internationalism became a largely uncontested value attributed to the worker’s movements on the Left (Anderson 14). By the 1930s, Spain would become a beacon of this internationalism. In 1934, the miners’ strike in Asturias developed into a full-blown uprising; although Spain’s military intervened to suppress the strike, this revolution was the beginning of what would become the more widespread Spanish Revolution, on the eve of the Civil War. Two months after Francisco Franco and the Nationalists initiated a counterrevolutionary war in July 1936, the International Brigades – international volunteer fighters – began arriving in Spain to defend the workers’ revolution and the Republic.

Writing in 2014, philosopher Alain Badiou reflected that “the Spanish war was the strongest moment, perhaps unique in the history of the world, ... of a truly internationalist revolutionary politics” (97). This internationalist politics, embodied in the figure of the International Brigadier, was matched by an internationalist intellectual presence. Writers and artists from around the world also came to Spain, to such a degree that the Spanish Civil War became “the historic event that has most intensely mobilized all the artists and intellectuals of the world” (96). The Second International Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture, commonly called the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers, convened in Valencia in the summer of 1937. Among this international cohort of writers,

poetry was the privileged mode of expression, and the international, oppressed masses the near-sanctified recipient of their language.¹

Rafael Alberti's 1937 poem "Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo español" epitomizes the nexus of internationalist politics and internationalist poetics. Alberti, a Spanish poet and one of the organizers of the Second International Congress, addressed the Congress with this poem, which opens:

Todas las voces del mundo,
 los corazones más llenos
 de sangre limpia, de clara
 sangre que es entendimiento,
 contigo, pueblo de España,
 pueblo mío, pueblo pueblo. (lines 1-6)

After acknowledging several individual international poets in attendance, including Nicolás Guillén (lines 58-63), the poem returns to the totality of an international collective, concluding: "¡Brigada Internacional!: / tu frente es el mundo entero" (lines 82-83). In his poetization of the volunteer militias, Alberti makes use of two figures of the body that will be of interest in this study: voice and blood. The international volunteers' hearts are full of "clean" and "clear" blood that circulates vital understanding and accord with the Spanish people. In this metaphor, internationalism appears as a *moral embodiment* in the service of a Spanish people figured as a kind of universal masses ("pueblo pueblo"). Without the definite article to fix the meaning of "frente," the International Brigades – a singular entity, "tú" – are both the frontline ("el frente") and the forehead or thinking mind ("la frente") of "the entire world." The poem exemplifies the zeitgeist of leftist internationalism in Spain. At the same time, its employment of the body as a poetic figure is typical of the poetry of this period: the body here functions as a moral symbol of the fight against fascism and of a broadly conceived international entity mobilizing for and in Spain.

The two poems I consider at length in this article do something different. Both Nicolás Guillén's "España" and Enrique Gil Gilbert's "Buenos días" contextualize the Spanish Civil War in the history of empire, foregrounding the bodies of Black and Indigenous lyric subjects who summon antifascist Spain *via* their embodiment. Guillén structures the hope of collective liberation in Spain around the corporeal self-revelation, in the final section or "esperanza" of the poem, of his Afro-Cuban lyric subject; and Gil Gilbert envisions the dawning of liberation in Spain as an event that his Black and Indigenous lyric subject calls forth with the particularities of his voice. In both poems, the body is not a political abstraction, a moral symbol,

but rather a politics in and of itself; it is a physical and historicized site of knowledge, as well as the point of origin for antifascist politics. Thus, I define “body politics,” within the scope of this study, as the advancement of political theory via the representation of a speaker’s historicized, geopolitically situated, embodied self.²

In my development of the concept of body politics in Guillén’s and Gil Gilbert’s poetry, a set of theoretical concepts related to the body and geopolitics form the underpinnings of my analysis: “decoloniality,” “colonial difference,” “body-graphy,” and “voice.” My use of the terms “coloniality” and “decoloniality” follows the work of Aníbal Quijano and others in the field of Latin American subaltern studies relating historical colonialism to the ongoing power relations that are its legacy. Modern-day coloniality derives from racial constructs invented to rationalize colonial exploitation and slavery (Quijano 533). In the same way that “coloniality” is conceptually related to, but different from, colonialism, “decoloniality” differs from decolonization: decoloniality is a question of epistemology, rather than national independence; it connotes a process of returning to ways of thinking displaced by the hegemonic epistemologies of Eurocentrism, logocentrism, whiteness, capitalism, and neoliberalism.

Decolonial thinking is geopolitically situated; it is conditioned by “colonial difference,” which arises from the hierarchical power divide between European/United States and non-European/United States places and knowledges and is imposed on the non-hegemonic positionalities of this divide (Mignolo and Tlostanova 208-13). One form of decolonial thinking is through the body in its geopolitical context: body-based knowledge is rooted in a particular location and embodied experience. “Body-graphy,” a term from the field of decoloniality studies, is the written expression of such decolonial, body-based knowledge (213). In my reading, both Guillén’s and Gil Gilbert’s poems are body-graphical for their written enunciation that is conditioned by and centers colonial difference.

Along with these concepts from decoloniality studies, I draw from philosopher Adriana Cavarero’s work on voice. Noting a masculinist tradition of “bodiless universality” in the field of philosophy (8), Cavarero argues that the political aspect of speech is located not in the semantic outcome of what is said, but rather in the action of saying. The act of speaking entails a corporeal exchange, a revelation from the body of the speaker and a reception in the body of the listener. As I will argue, Guillén’s and Gil Gilbert’s poems highlight the physicality of their enunciations.

As a political figure and as a poet, Guillén is more well-known than Gil Gilbert. Often positioned as Cuba’s national poet, Guillén figures prominently in the canons of Cuban and Caribbean literatures, *afrocubanismo* and *poesía negra*, and twentieth-century Black

cosmopolitanism. He wrote and published “España” in 1937 while attending the Congreso de la Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios de México. The poem was printed as a standalone volume in Mexico (Editorial México Nuevo) and reprinted the same year in Valencia (Nueva Colección Héroe). From Mexico, Guillén would depart for Spain as one of the most celebrated guests at the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers (Fernández Retamar 63). (Guillén was in Spain from June 1937 to May 1938 reporting for the Cuban newspaper *Mediodía* and other outlets.) In the first of two addresses to the Congress, Guillén argued that racism is the defining feature of fascism (*En la guerra* 29), going on to avow his own Blackness in the antifascist fight: “Vengo, camaradas, como hombre negro” (30). In his second address, he affirmed the specific importance of being a Black Cuban:

Nadie como el negro, y pocos como el negro de Cuba, es antifascista, porque sabe que la raíz misma del fascismo parte de un terreno que está abonando por los odios de razas y la división de los hombres en seres inferiores y superiores, y que a él, negro, se le asigna el sitio inferior. (34)

In these declarations to his fellow antifascist poets, Guillén traces fascism to its root deep in the soil of anti-Blackness; by avowing his social location as Black and Cuban, he implies they will need go as deep in their antifascist fight.

Gil Gilbert, by contrast, did not attend the Congress, nor did he travel to Spain during the war, although he led marches in Guayaquil in support of the Republic (Binns, *Ecuador* 43-44). Known for his social realist prose as a member of Ecuador’s Guayaquil Group, in particular the co-authored novel *Los que se van* (1930), Gil Gilbert is virtually unknown as a poet, and he distanced himself from literature altogether after the 1930s (299). His poem in support of the Spanish Republic, “Buenos días, Madrid!,” was published in *Nuestra España: Homenaje de los poetas y artistas ecuatorianos*, a 1938 anthology of Ecuadorian writers organized by Benjamín Carrión (Editorial Atahualpa), which did not circulate widely outside of Ecuador.

Gil Gilbert’s poem of the Spanish Civil War is thus far more obscure than Guillén’s. Because of the unequal significance of these two poets, and in particular their significance vis-à-vis the wartime congregation of intellectuals in Spain, their poems have not been put into critical dialogue. This article does so on the basis of the poems’ shared representation of embodied colonial difference as a poetics of nuanced solidarity with antifascist Spain. While Guillén’s “España” has been read for what Grant Moss calls its “utopian vision of a *democracia racial*” (102-03), my analysis highlights the poem’s articulation of colonial difference, as opposed to utopian oneness.

Guillén and Gil Gilbert are not the only Spanish-language poets who treated the politics of race and bodies in their poetry of the Spanish Civil War. Ecuadorian poet Nelson Estupiñán Bass's 1937 poem "Saludo del negro ecuatoriano a la España leal," published in the same anthology as "Buenos días, Madrid!," is a much shorter poem than Gil Gilbert's, but it enacts a similar interpellation of Republican Spain along antiracist lines.³ Another Ecuadorian poet, G. Humberto Mata, published the Indigenist poem "Juzga, España miliciana" in Costa Rica in 1937.⁴ Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, for his part, takes up the problem of North African conscripts in the war in his anthology *España en el corazón* (1937), although his poetry – like much of the pro-Republican poetry and propaganda – flattens and sometimes villainizes the figure of the "Moors" (Ugarte 111).

Poets from outside of the Spanish-language canon also wrote about race in Spain during the war, the most famous among these being Langston Hughes. In fact, Guillén's work in Spain is most often read alongside Hughes's, since the two writers were friends and fellow travelers during the war.⁵ Both reported from Spain about race, equating fascism with racism in their journalistic and poetic accounts of the war; yet where Guillén emphasizes the specificity of his identity as a Cuban with Spanish and African heritage (Enjuto Rangel 161-62), Hughes and other African Americans writing in Spain during this time tend to highlight instead the "three pillars of black brigadier involvement in Spain: Pan-Africanism, the global fight against fascism, and the racist oppression of blacks both at home and abroad" (Martin 106).

As Miguel Arnedo-Gómez notes, the preponderance of comparativist studies of Guillén's Blackness indicates a problem of conflating different language contexts (xxii). Focusing on the specificity of Guillén's negotiation of Hispanic heritage in the antiracist, antifascist fight, this article decouples Hughes and Guillén, reading Guillén instead alongside the less canonical Gil Gilbert. Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's poems present another important difference from other antiracist writings on the war: they center, and do not gloss over, racial tensions entailed in Spain.⁶

In limiting the scope of this article to Guillén's "España" and Gil Gilbert's "Buenos días, Madrid!," I am focusing on the specifically postcolonial and Hispanophone aspects of the poets' antiracist stance, taking up the question of race in its intersection with colonial difference. In the following section, I unpack the poetics of internationalism during the war, as it is expressed in three dominant body tropes, in order to signal the political implications of these metaphors. In subsequent sections, I go on to a close reading analysis of Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's respective poems, the decolonial body-graphy of which represents an important contrast to the dominant body tropes. I conclude with a reflection on how the urgency of body politics in our time

makes Guillén and Gil Gilbert particularly important voices through which to reconsider internationalism and antifascism during the Spanish Civil War.

“MOTHER OF THE NEW WORLD, ALWAYS SPAIN”: PROBLEMS OF COLONIALITY IN THE ABSTRACT BODIES OF NATIONALISM, INTERNATIONALISM AND *HISPANIDAD*

The significance of Guillén’s and Gil Gilbert’s body-graphical writing hinges on a tension between *abstracted* and *historicized* representations of bodies in the poetry of the Spanish Civil War. This section examines the former, looking specifically at three body tropes that predominate in both political rhetoric and poetry of the period: the body politic, the symbolic body of the international volunteer, and the maternal body. All three of these tropes present a totalizing vision of Spain and/or the international community. In this study that considers the work of intellectuals from Spain’s ex-colonies in the Americas, the trope of Spain as a maternal body will be of particular interest.

Originating in medieval Europe, the trope of the body politic refers to a nation of persons organized as one body, with the sovereign as the head. During the Spanish Civil War, the body politic featured more in the rhetoric of the Right than the Left, representing an ideal of centralized national unity. The body politic was central to the rhetoric of National Catholicism, which sought the eradication of non-Castilian languages, the “anti-Spanish” Republic, communism and other “cancers” within the national body (Morcillo 18). The Nationalists adopted a Counter Reformation-era concept of the Spanish monarchy as the head of Spain’s body politic (18).

In the rhetoric of the Left, a more common body trope is the symbolic body of the international volunteer. The International Brigades were heroic political figures in leftist discourse. As a poetic figure, the volunteer militiaman tends to be monolithic, representing a symbolic World that hears Spain’s cry and comes from great distances to defend the Republic. In Argentine poet and Madrid-based journalist Raúl González Tuñón’s “Los voluntarios” (1937), for example, the international volunteers arrive en masse “de tierras subidas a los mapas” (line 2), homogenous and unquestioning in their unconditional support: “No preguntaron” is the poem’s refrain (lines 1, 8, 12, 18, 27). Spanish poet Miguel Hernández figures the body of a fallen international fighter as the fulfillment of a transcendent destiny in “Al soldado internacional caído en España” (1937):

España te recoge porque en ella realices
tu majestad de árbol que abarca un continente.
A través de tus huesos irán los olivares

desplegando en la tierra sus más férreas raíces,
abrazando a los hombres universal, fielmente. (lines 10-14)

In this poem, the international volunteer's body transubstantiates into an olive tree – a transcultural symbol of peace, as well as a quintessential element of the Spanish landscape. Any specificities of the body here are subsumed in Spanish universalism.

In Chilean poet and diplomat Pablo Neruda's "Llegada a Madrid de la Brigada Internacional" (1937), the international volunteers are an undifferentiated league, "silenciosos" (line 29), "llenos de solemnidad y de ojos azules" (line 31), arriving "de lejos y lejos, / ... a defender la ciudad española" (lines 31-34). Although Neruda is recalling the arrival of the International Brigades in November 1936, at which point in time the volunteers were all European, the poem hyperbolizes their oneness – and their whiteness: the lyric subject proclaims the arrival in Madrid of "los claros" (line 11); their silent, blue-eyed masses contrast with the poem's earlier reference to "los chacales africanos / aulla[ndo] con los rifles y los dientes llenos de sangre" (lines 4-5).⁷ The vague yet far-reaching international community ("de lejos y lejos," similar to Tuñón's "de tierras subidas a los mapas") coming to the aid of Madrid is here a white-bodied internationalism.

By 1937, the international presence in Spain had grown more ethnically and geographically diverse. At the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers and on the frontlines, many international leftists had arrived from the former colonies of the Spanish crown. The presence of Spanish American intellectuals signaled a phenomenon parallel to internationalism: the renewal, in the 1930s, of a sense of mutual identification and solidarity among Spanish and Spanish American intellectuals. This attitude, sometimes called *Hispanismo* or *Hispanidad*, had waned along with Spain's empire, and was part of the rhetoric of imperial nostalgia characteristic of Spain's far Right (Faber 210). Under Manuel Azaña's leadership, however, the Second Republic reclaimed and championed the concept as "a transatlantic Spanish-speaking community tied together by language and culture" (210). Shared political exigencies and leftist aspirations in the 1930s led to *Hispanidad* coming back into favor as an intellectual stance in Spanish America as well. Cuban revolutionary and writer Pablo de la Torriente Brau, who would die in 1936 while in combat in Spain, declared a few months before his death that the Spanish Civil War promised transatlantic repercussions: "Chile, Uruguay, Brasil, México, Cuba, Ecuador, es una cosa tan lógica que brilla, que las fuerzas reaccionarias se agruparán y solidificarán, y arrastrarán con ella a la mayor parte de la pequeña burguesía, si en España, ligada a nuestros pueblos histórica y

económicamente, triunfa el fascismo” (66-67). The solidarity of Spanish American intellectuals with Republican Spain signaled a new chapter in the transatlantic ties of the Spanish-speaking world, reflective not only of the broader promise of leftist internationalism, but also of a reconceived relationship between Spain and Spanish America, one predicated on Spain’s experiments with radically inclusive and horizontal political formations in the form of workers’ and anarchist revolutions.

This reconceived relationship between Spain and Spanish America still bore a rhetorical residue of the former colonial one, however, as it located Spain as the epistemological center and source of an international community. Spanish primacy often appears in images of the maternal body – the third body abstraction or metaphor of note here. Contemporary poet and critic Niall Binns reflects that although late-empire Spain was, in Simón Bolívar’s words, “la ‘desnaturalizada madrastra’” (*Llamada* 19), with the establishment of Spain’s Second Republic, “[l]a ‘madrastra desnaturalizada’ volvió a merecer el nombre de Madre Patria” (29). Like the concept of *Hispanidad*, the term *Madre Patria*, “antes patrimonio de los sectores más conservadores” (Binns, *Ecuador* 59), was reclaimed by the Left, with that “maternity” now associated with the Spanish masses (59). Binns describes the renewed solidarity between Spain and Spanish America in terms of motherland, familial reconciliation and a return to the family order of Hispanic heritage.

Indeed, in the poetry of Spaniards as well as Spanish Americans in Spain, the maternal body is the dominant body trope in the poetic archive of the Spanish Civil War. Miguel Hernández writes in 1938 of “Madre España”: “Madre: abismo de siempre, tierra de siempre: entrañas / donde desembocando se unen todas las sangres: / donde todos los huesos caídos se levantan: / madre” (lines 9-12). Neruda opens *España en el corazón* (1937) with the invocation of maternal Spain: “Para empezar, para sobre la rosa / pura y partida, para sobre el origen” (“Invocación” lines 1-2), “España, ... / Madre natal” (lines 7-15). The final poem of Peruvian poet César Vallejo’s collection *España, aparta de mí este cáliz* (1939) exhorts the “children of the world” to seek out Mother Spain: “si la madre / España cae – digo, es un decir – / salid, niños del mundo; id a buscarla!...” (lines 49-51).

In a problematic echo of colonial-era notions of European epistemological superiority, the Mother Spain or *Madre Patria* narrative extends to the former Spanish American colonies as the child body. For example, a group of prominent Chilean poets published *Madre España: homenaje de los poetas chilenos* in 1937.⁸ Spanish philosopher María Zambrano, living in Chile at the time, wrote in her epilogue to the anthology:

En esta terrible conmoción de España se comprueba su condición de madre. Todas las notas de la maternidad esenciales se encuentran en ella exaltadas hasta el máximum: dolor sin límite, fecundidad y esa mezcla de lo divino con lo carnal y sangriento, ese palpitar de lo infinito porvenir entre entrañas desgarradas; esa agonía de vida en que la muerte queda vencida como un toro arrodillado. Todos los hombres cuyo corazón está abierto al futuro se sienten hoy hijos de España y *todavía más de entre ellos los que vierten sus pensamientos en el claro idioma que ella les enseñó como madre. Madre del 'nuevo mundo' siempre España. Os sentís ahora alumbrados por ella, renacidos*, transformados en descubridores de la nueva época histórica que hemos de cuajar entre todos. (95; emphasis added)

Zambrano imagines the war as the agonizing childbirth of international solidarity, an international “new world.” Spain as the mother of a “new world” being “discovered” is reminiscent of colonial rhetoric. Among those “discovering” this world, Zambrano distinguishes Spanish Americans as having a privileged role; they were, she implies, taught to *think*, in Spanish, by Mother Spain (“todavía más de entre ellos los que vierten sus pensamientos en el claro idioma que ella les enseñó como madre”). In the metaphor of Spain as perennially laboring mother (“siempre España”), Spanish America occupies a filial status. This narrative supports the discourse of post-imperial *Hispanidad* and obscures or resolves colonial difference, even as it re-centers Spain as the source of an international future.

Perhaps inadvertently, however, Zambrano touches on an important point: the vital and *particular* aspect of postcolonial voices in the Spanish Civil War. As I explore in the following sections, Guillén and Gil Gilbert dissent from the body tropes I have just described with a body politics of geopolitically and historically situated lyric subjects.

REVELATORY BODY POLITICS IN “ESPAÑA: POEMA EN CUATRO ANGUSTIAS Y UNA ESPERANZA”

Nicolás Guillén’s 1937 poem “España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza” comprises four sections or “laments,” and a fifth section or “hope.” The first four sections of “España” read as a riddle that initially obscures the lyric subject’s identity; gradually emerging from a discourse of metaphor and abstraction, he comes to occupy the poem’s center of gravity in the final section. My analysis here traces the body-graphy of this trajectory toward self-revelation, as the articulation and historicization of the lyric subject’s body become increasingly central to the poem’s message and form. The poem’s self-revelatory structuring decenters Spain in the fight against fascism and posits the lyric subject as the embodiment of this fight.

The first section of “España” is an impressionistic representation in four stanzas of the armed conflicts constitutive of Spain. From the beginning, the poem makes use of formal structures characteristic of Spanish-language poetry (Morejón 77), alternating in a twinned rhyming scheme between common forms of *arte menor* (heptasyllabic verse) and *mayor* (Spanish Alexandrine and hendecasyllabic verse). A refrain opens the first and third stanzas: “No Cortés, ni Pizarro / (aztecas, incas, juntos halando el doble carro). / Mejor sus hombres rudos / saltando el tiempo. Aquí, con sus escudos” (Guillén, “España” lines 1-4, 25-28). Thematically, this opening establishes the idea of a fraternal, as opposed to maternal-filial, affiliation, situated across a timeframe that begins with the invasion of the Americas. Against the conquistadors of the past, analogous to the ruling elites of the present, the common soldiers (“hombres rudos”), analogous to the Spanish masses of the Republic, are “here at last” in solidarity with a collective first person that is as of yet unspecified: “aquí al fin con nosotros, / lejanos milicianos, / ardientes, cercanísimos hermanos” (lines 9-11). As Guillén would expound in his July 6 address to the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers, this fraternity “at last” is a form of new consciousness and (re)humanization: the Spanish masses are no longer the “instrumento ciego del egoísmo, la proyección imperialista del conquistador, la máquina, en fin, para robar tierras, sino ... *hombre[s]*” awakened to solidarity among “hombres ya sin colores, sin guerras, sin prejuicios y sin razas” (*En la guerra* 31).

Throughout the first section of the poem, the lyric subject remains an undifferentiated member of this collective first person, an omniscient witness. The first-person singular appears in the second section of “España,” a riddle-like tableau that shuffles three pronominal entities – “I,” “you,” and “we” – in a semantic system articulated through the images of root-vein and tree:

La raíz de mi árbol, retorcida;
 la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol,
 de todos nuestros árboles,
 bebiendo sangre, húmeda de sangre,
 la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol. (Guillén, “España” lines 42-46)

The symbolic mechanism of this section evokes questions of family and genealogy: the family tree, roots. The image of blood, absent from the first section’s tableau of war, now appears in a nourishing capacity, a vital circulation among a community of trees. From here there is a gradual emergence of the “I” of the lyric subject as a physically sensing entity: “Yo la siento, / la raíz de mi árbol, de tu árbol” (lines 47-48). The focus moves from

the collective experience (“todos nuestros árboles”) to the speaker’s particular sensory existence, with the affirmation “Yo la siento.” This singular personal pronoun marks a shift to the speaker’s individual experience of knowing through physical sensation.

The third section of “España” is comprised of four hendecasyllabic, paroxytonic verses that follow an ABAB rhyme scheme. In the first stanza, the lyric subject speaks from a position of self-sacrifice and solidarity at the front of the Spanish Civil War: “La muerte disfrazada va de fraile. / Con mi camisa trópico ceñida, / pegada de sudor, mato mi baile, / y corro tras la muerte por tu vida” (Guillén, “España” lines 63-66). Where in the previous section the identities of lyric subject and object are abstract, here the poem’s addressee comes into focus as Republican Spain, threatened with death disguised as a Catholic friar. The lyric subject is identified as a volunteer militiaman from a tropical setting. With this detail, Guillén begins to individuate his lyric subject, departing from the trope of the symbolic, monolithic figure of the International Brigadier.

The section continues with the same metaphor of blood and circulation that appeared in the previous section of the poem: “Las dos sangres de ti que en mí se juntan, / vuelven a ti, pues de ti vinieron, / y por tus llagas fúlgidas, preguntan” (Guillén, “España” lines 67-69). The “two bloods” that mix in the lyric subject, his European and African descent, are a somatic referent of colonial difference. Here, the two bloods of the lyric subject “ask after” Spain’s wounds. At first glance, the prepositional construction “preguntan por” indicates a search for the most precarious parts of the Republic in the present moment of crisis. On the other hand, “preguntan por” also connotes the act of doubting. In this sense, “preguntar por las llagas” would be the exercise of a critical thinking *through* the national wound.

The lyric subject begins to articulate his colonial difference as he asserts his “two bloods.” This colonial difference becomes a mode of embodied knowledge when from his “two bloods” there flows his critical thinking, his enunciation. I am reading these verses, then, as an assertion of an epistemology, as well as a body-graphical poetics: his two bloods *question*; his vital blood that flows for wounded Spain also brings into question historical, colonial wounds. In this problematizing capacity, the speaker of two bloods enables an exploration of Spain’s “bright wounds” beyond their immediate referent of the war. Spain’s history of legislating race through purity of blood statutes haunts the poem’s particular constellation of blood-related images. The image of the bright wounds of Spain, through which there flows the mixed blood of the lyric subject, thus invokes colonial violence along with the violence of the present-day war.

If the speaker of the poem circulates a vital questioning through and for Spain’s wounds, his voice is also the critical voice that vibrates and resounds

inside Spain's own chest: "Contra cetro y corona y manto y sable, / pueblo, contra sotana, y yo contigo, / y con mi voz para que el pecho te hable" (Guillén, "España" lines 71-73). Contrasting inhuman signifiers of power with the physical embodiment of the masses, these lines suggest two different visions of body politic. On the one hand, the metonymic regalia and accouterments (scepter, crown, mantle, saber and cassock) suggest a deceptive body politic, the body politic of monarchical Spain, which in Guillén's figuration is devoid of any actual bodily humanity. This body politic is prefigured by the image of death disguised as a friar. On the other hand, the body politic of Republican Spain is fleshly: it listens and hears. The lyric subject locates himself within this latter body, his voice resounding in the heart space.

From the first section of "España" to the third, the progression of imagery has gone from the history of Spain to bodies as sites of critical historical context, with increasing attention to the lyric subject's sensing body. The fourth section departs from the question of the lyric subject's identity in order to commemorate the poet Federico García Lorca, executed in August of 1936 by a former parliamentary deputy of the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right. Here, Guillén participates in what by 1937 had become a tradition of paying tribute to Lorca through poetic remembrance.

Guillén's lyric subject reappears in the final section or "hope." Whatever abstraction, metaphorical veiling or codedness exists in previous sections of the poem – the broad view of Spanish colonial history in the first section, the enigmatic orbit between the "I" and the "you" in the second section's pronominal language, the symbolically developing body politic in the third – is clarified in this section, which brings the reader back to the present moment in the first line: "¡Ardiendo, España, estás!" (Guillén, "España" line 131). From here, the hitherto phantasmatic identity of the speaker (inhabiting the bones, the wounds, the memory of Spain) emerges in an emphatic declaration of his physical, embodied being:

Yo,
 hijo de América,
 hijo de ti y de África,
 esclavo ayer de mayorales blancos dueños de látigos coléricos;
 hoy esclavo de rojos yanquis azucareros y voraces;
 yo chapoteando en la oscura sangre en que se mojan mis Antillas;
 ahogando en el humo agriverde de los cañaverales;
 sepultando en el fango de todas las cárceles;
 cercado día y noche por insaciables bayonetas;
 perdido en las florestas ululantes de las islas crucificadas en la cruz del Trópico;

yo, hijo de América,
corro hacia ti, muero por ti. (lines 156-67)

These verses, the climax of the poem, displace the idea of the Spanish Civil War as something circumscribed in the space of the peninsula or in the twentieth century. The shortest verse of the entire poem – the self-affirming “Yo” – is a fulcrum: it announces an aperture in the rhythm, tone, and space of the poem. Departing from the poetic traditions of the *serventesio*, *terceto*, *silva* and *romance* that appear in the first four sections (Morejón 77), the poem opens outward to lengthier, more accelerated free verse. From here, the lines begin to run longer, propelled by an anaphoric beat. The space of the poem moves to the Americas. The cryptic language of the second and third sections gives way to a capaciousness of expression that corresponds to the lyric subject’s own critical capacity. If the rules of poetry may apply to the politics of expression, this assertive “Yo” is always already two, since the monosyllabic oxytonic verse is, by the rules of Spanish prosody, two poetic syllables. Indeed, the poetic “I” of the poem is doubled in his Afro-Caribbean subjectivity, his enunciation from colonial difference.

The movement in the poem’s rhythm and themes accompanies the increasing focus on the physicality of the embodied subject, whose laboring, active body determines the verbs that start several of the verses. The lyric subject’s struggle, expressed in highly physical gerunds, raises an awareness of a body marked by ongoing coloniality. His solidarity with and contribution to the Republic (“muero por ti”) cannot be separated from these marks. As the “son” of Africa and of Spain, the speaker also *is* Spain, not in a symbolic or solidary sense but in a corporeal sense: in the critical juncture where Spain bleeds and where its life force flows, there may be found the history of the lyric subject’s body.

The next stanza opens with the same declarative “Yo,” now qualified by this subject’s identification with liberation: “Yo, que amo la libertad con sencillez” (Guillén, “España” line 168). The subsequent portrait of the lyric subject verges on caricature in its description of his racialized body. Whether mythologizing or ironizing, the reduction of the Black lyric subject to his body gives way to specific circumstances of contemporary forms of slavery, as he describes his own torso:

húmedo ... por el sudor salado y fuerte
de los jadeantes cargadores en los muelles,
los picapedreros en las carreteras,
los plantadores de café y los presos que trabajan desoladamente,
inútilmente en los presidios sólo porque han querido dejar de ser fantasmas (lines
177-81)

The labor of workers on the pier, highway, coffee plantation and labor camp materializes in the lyric subject's sweat. In the course of a line break, the speaker returns his gaze from the Caribbean to the battlefield in Spain:

yo os grito con voz de hombre libre que os acompañaré, camaradas;
 que iré marcando el paso con vosotros,
 simple y alegre,
 puro, tranquilo y fuerte,
 con mi cabeza crespa y mi cuerpo moreno,
 para cambiar unidos las cintas trepidantes de vuestras ametralladoras,
 y para arrastrarme, con el aliento suspendido,
 allí, junto a vosotros,
 allí, donde ahora estáis, donde estaremos,
 fabricando bajo un cielo ardoroso agujereado por la metralla,
 otra vida sencilla y ancha,
 limpia, sencilla y ancha,
 alta, limpia, sencilla y ancha,
 sonora de nuestra voz inevitable! (lines 182-95)

The yell of the lyric subject travels in two directions, bearing witness to Cuba's imprisoned revolutionaries even as it establishes the place of the lyric subject at the frontline in Spain. This transatlantic enunciation locates Spain and the Caribbean together in shared struggle. The speaker's voice calls forth a future resonant with "nuestra voz inevitable" (line 195), but now the first-person plural issues from the non-hegemonic side of the colonial difference. This nuance suggests that true liberation for the Spanish masses will be contingent upon the liberation of the racialized and criminalized masses in the postcolonial world.

Revealing himself in doses in the first sections of the poem (sensing the depths of a shared root system, doubting through the wounds of Spain, speaking through the heart of Spain), by the end of "España" the lyric subject is an embodied and located entity. If the poem ends with an affirmation of the solidary and revolutionary first-person plural, the body-graphical self-revelation that has structured the poem is the "hope" for such a collective voice.

THE BODY POLITICS OF VOICE: "BUENOS DÍAS, MADRID!" AS BODY-GRAPHICAL EVENT

In his 1937 poem "Buenos días, Madrid!," Enrique Gil Gilbert represents the embodied voice of an Indigenous and Black lyric subject. Colonial difference is a critical distance from which the lyric subject thinks and speaks. He recalls a colonial past even as he calls forth a Spain that is becoming

something new. In this enunciation, Gil Gilbert renders Spain an *event* triggered by the physical call of the speaker's voice, where "event" connotes both an interruption of the status quo and a revolutionary integration of temporal signs.

"Buenos días" begins with an apostrophic address to Spain: "Buenos días, España! / Te saludo con voz mitad de negro, mitad de indio, / vestida en castellano la palabra mestiza" (Gil Gilbert, lines 1-3). The greeting in the first line is not a lead-in remark, but rather the exclamatory affirmation of a metaphoric new day. That the speaker invokes Spain in the sign of this new day indicates the poem's representation of Spain in a process of becoming – and, immediately, the speaker's active and embodied role in bringing about this event: "Te saludo *con voz*" (line 2; emphasis added). Already, the poem articulates the agency and physicality of the speaker's enunciation.

This invocation of Spain immediately shifts to the particularities of the lyric subject's voice: "Te saludo con voz mitad de negro, mitad de indio / vestida en castellano la palabra mestiza" (Gil Gilbert, lines 2-3). The lyric subject speaks in Spanish with a voice that is half Black, half Indigenous. Asserting his Afro-Indigeneity, the speaker refers to his European lineage as clothing, that is, as something exterior: his mixed voice is cloaked in Castilian. This metaphor suggests that the semantics of the Spanish language are not the sole transmitter of meaning in the subject's speech, and that the Spanish language in fact signifies differently in the speech of Spain's postcolonial subjects. By making this distinction, the poem begins to suggest a politics of the body in which the physical act of speaking demands separate consideration from the semantics of what is being said.

In Adriana Cavarero's theory of voice, the corporeal revelation entailed in the voice – coming, as it does, from an individual's "throat of flesh" (8) – constitutes a politics of the body: "speech becomes political on account of the self-revelation of speakers who express and communicate their uniqueness through speaking – no matter the specific content of what is said" (190). While in my reading of "España" and "Buenos días" the semantic content does matter, I am arguing that both poems realize their political intervention through the assertion of the specificity of their respective speakers' bodies. Cavarero's work on the singularity and ethics of voice provides a lens through which to understand the importance of embodiment that I am tracing in the poems, both of which register their speakers' corporeal encounter with and impact upon the world by foregrounding the physical action of saying: "yo os grito con voz" (Guillén, "España" line 182); "te saludo con voz" (Gil Gilbert, line 2). Merging Cavarero's theory with decoloniality studies, the physicality of the voice here is a physicality that goes beyond the singular body to the singular body *in place*. These voices are both embodied and historicized.

Of course, as written text, the poems do not entail voices or bodies in the flesh; they are representations of the act of speech. However, the choice of poetry as a genre – particularly in the case of Gil Gilbert, who was an established novelist and short story writer – is not incidental. In poetry, the written word belongs to the realm of the spoken word (Cavarero 150). Poetry is unique for its rhythmic expression of, and effects upon, the body. As I argued in the previous section, the formal and rhythmic transformation of the language over the course of Guillén's parallels and supports the self-revelation of the lyric subject. In "Buenos días," the speaker explicitly marks the distinction between his speaking body and his spoken language in the first lines of the poem. A body-graphical physicality in both poems acts upon the reader-as-listener, even as there is the representation of physical embodiments that informs the reader intellectually.

In "Buenos días," the speaker's description of his voice as Black and Indigenous establishes his individual humanity, as well as the geopolitical and ethical position from which he critiques Spain. Speaking from his embodied positionality, he doesn't simply call to Spain, but in fact calls forth a new Spain. This event is an integration of past and present signs, felt within the speaker's body and originating in the speaker's greeting: "Alzo mi saludo para verte / por vez primera con alegría de hombre. / Por vez primera en mis tobillos i muñecas / no arden las pulseras que España me aherrojara" (Gil Gilbert, lines 4-7). Carrying the collective memory of colonial slavery in mind and body, the lyric subject remembers imperial Spain as he sees and calls forth a revolutionary Spain ("por vez primera"). The traumatic memory of colonialism is a moral inflection in the lyric subject's greeting: it gives fuller meaning to what the resistance in Spain must entail by staking the international fight against fascism on decoloniality. Gil Gilbert's lyric subject greets, sees and remembers Spain via his body in the first section of the poem.

The second section of the poem opens with the same greeting, now directed at Madrid, and then goes on to expound on the speaker's voice: "Buenos días, Madrid! / Desde la piedra eterna, sobre el mundo levantada, / mi voz de indio se acerca a buscarte, comprendiéndote hermana" (Gil Gilbert, lines 8-10). Breaking with the *Madre Patria* trope, the speaker ascribes a lateral family relation to Madrid, referring to the city as sister. The speaker's voice "comprehends." On the one hand, his Indigenous voice is vast, comprehensive of space and time: "Desde la piedra eterna, sobre el mundo levantada" (line 9). On the other hand, his voice comprehends in the sense of understanding: "mi voz de indio se acerca a buscarte, comprendiéndote" (line 10). As intimated by the modifier "indio," the lyric subject's fraught relationship with Spain conditions his thinking about, or

comprehension of, present-day Spain. With his comprehensive voice, Gil Gilbert's speaker comprehends the here-and-now of Spain's war.

Gil Gilbert gives just as much attention to his lyric subject's Black enunciation as he does his Indigenous enunciation. Several stanzas of the poem historicize the space of Spain in terms of the trauma and dislocation of slavery. As with the poem's exploration of the lyric subject's Indigeneity, blood and voice are vital elements of the lyric subject's Blackness:

El negro que tú tragiste de África en galera
caliente la sangre i roja la sangre,
alza su voz ardida como aliento de puma,
alborota sus labios de canción
i por fin – este día – la blanca canción del negro,
la negra canción de júbilo, es canción para los blancos. (Gil Gilbert, lines 37-41)

The Black lyric subject's song fixes Spain's "today," the new day of the salutation, as an event: "i por fin – este día" (line 41).

As in Guillén's poem, blood and voice are interlocking signs of an embodied colonial trauma in Gil Gilbert's speaker. References to the man who lives in the speaker's blood point to the critical witness within him:

Este hombre que vive en un poco de mi sangre
...
este hombre que todavía oye con mis oídos
cómo se morían aullando los indios
encadenados con hierros al pescuezo;
este hombre que no cicatriza en mi pecho
ninguno de los surcos que abriera en sus espaldas
la mano blanca del español,
que todavía siente arder el desierto en su garganta
i sabe que sus aguas no son para su sed,
...
este hombre que te odiara cinco siglos en mi sangre,
hoi te dice por vez primera con voz de compañero:
Buenos días, Madrid! (Gil Gilbert, lines 16-34)

These lines center the "man within" who remembers via the subject's body, and who "still lives," "still hears" and "still feels." Gil Gilbert's witnessing of this deep self is body-graphical: the lyric subject doesn't address the historical injustice of imperial Spain as a cognitive reckoning, but as a circulation of blood, a listening, a physical sensing. The insistent and resistant temporality of "aún" / "todavía" in this section contrasts with, and

qualifies, the anaphoric “por vez primera” of the poem’s first section. The revolutionary connotation of the first section’s temporality depends on the continued, embodied (living, seeing, hearing, feeling) memory of the lyric subject.

It is worth recalling the “clean and clear blood” of the international volunteers in Rafael Alberti’s poem at the Second International Congress, and the unanimity of their voices with Spain. Gil Gilbert’s figuration of “blood” and “voice” is considerably more geopolitically and historically nuanced. Much like Guillén’s lyric subject, Gil Gilbert’s cannot address Spain but through the perpetual wound of coloniality: from within him there speaks “este hombre que no cicatriza en mi pecho” (Gil Gilbert, line 22). His blood is the record of both Spanish colonialism (“cinco siglos en mi sangre”) and the resistance to colonialism (“este hombre que te odiara”) (line 32).

That Gil Gilbert’s lyric subject bleeds a blood that has not been stanching speaks to the immediacy and the physicality of his experience of colonial difference. This experience is a precondition to the greeting that heralds Spain: “este hombre que te odiara cinco siglos en mi sangre, / hoi te dice por vez primera con voz de compañero: / Buenos días, Madrid!” (Gil Gilbert, lines 32-34); “Buenos días, Madrid! / Te saludo con amarga esperanza de indio i palabra española, / con voz sonora de negro i castellano vocablo” (lines 83-85). The lyric subject’s Indigenous and Black voice is constitutive of the Spain that is awakening.

BODY POLITICS REMAIN

The framework of internationalism has been central to cultural and historical studies of the Spanish Civil War; the war, in turn, is a lightning rod for questions of Spanish and leftist history. By late 1938, however, the Nationalists’ advances in the war would eclipse the hopeful mobilization of the international Left. How might we reconsider the poetics of internationalism in Spain from a leftist perspective today? How does the discourse of 1930s internationalism speak to us in a time when the far Right has risen to power all over the world, to a degree that hasn’t been seen since the 1930s (Traverso 3-4)? I conclude this article by proposing that revisiting the canon of the Spanish Civil War with an eye to body politics can connect leftist expressions of that time with those of today.

In both “España: poema en cuatro angustias y una esperanza” and “Buenos días, Madrid!,” a body-graphical and body political poetics stakes antifascism on decoloniality. The Spanish Civil War inspired poetic abstractions of the body as a figure for internationalism; by contrast, Guillén and Gil Gilbert decenter national Spain, and implicit whiteness, in the celebration of the international antifascist movement. While both wrote in

support of Republican Spain, they articulated this support not along national or internationalist lines but rather as a liberatory body politics.

In fact, in these two poets' rendering, colonial difference, as it is manifested in the body, conditions international solidarity. Guillén and Gil Gilbert convey a transatlantic solidarity that questions, remembers and holds Republican Spain to the flame – a critical practice, rather than a static or total endorsement of a political entity. On the fiftieth anniversary of the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers (1987), lamenting the failure of the Left in Spain, Mexican poet, diplomat and Congress attendee Octavio Paz would call for the recovery of just such a criticism-based solidarity in leftist thinking – a criticism that would start with seeing “ourselves as the other” (7). Paz's sense of the failure of the Left was characteristic of the end of the twentieth century, which saw the stagnation of leftist thinking in a melancholic process of mourning its losses (Brown).

If the utopian aura of internationalism in Spain was extinguished, however, an international mobilization that grounds antifascism in decoloniality has been underway for the last several years. The decade of the 2010s saw new expressions of international leftist action. In Spain, the 15-M movement, which began in 2011, was one of the first manifestations of what would become a global mobilization against economic austerity and corruption. Inspired by the movement, a group of Spanish intellectuals formed the political party Podemos in 2014, which was to end the neoliberalist two-party gridlock of democratic-era Spain. And yet, it has not been enough for Podemos to merely “assert their own continuity with the working-class memory of the previous century” (Traverso 187). Race and other factors are not subordinate to class in leftist struggles, and it has become impossible to deny that Black, Indigenous and Gitano bodies are both at stake in and at the fore of social change and a reinvigorated politics.⁹ Body politics are pushing the anti-austerity and anticorruption movement of the early 2010s to deeper self-examination and critique, as decoloniality becomes increasingly central to envisioning a radical left future in Spain today.

In my reconsideration of the canon of Spanish Civil War poetry, I have highlighted body politics as an offering in both Guillén's and Gil Gilbert's work. Their writing shows that decoloniality, on the one hand, and the solidarity of postcolonial subjects with the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, on the other, were the same living history. As we continue to revisit and reconsider the contentious historical juncture of the Spanish Civil War, and also the possibilities and pitfalls of an international Left, we may see that decoloniality was and is a key project, if not *the* key project, of antifascism.¹⁰

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NOTES

- 1 The Spanish Civil War “demanded a kind of engagement [among poets] that put an end to the waning *vanguardista* aesthetics of the years leading up to the conflagration” (Iarocci 185). For poets of this time, the masses constituted an ethics and a poetics: “the *pueblo* was ... the essence of what they were trying to achieve in their writing” (Schwartz 310). In his address to the Congress, Spanish poet Antonio Machado spoke of the poets’ commitment to the masses as transnational: “escribir para el pueblo nos obliga a rebasar las fronteras de nuestra patria, es escribir también para los hombres de otras razas, de otras tierras y de otras lenguas” (12).
- 2 Body politics differs from the similar-sounding, singular “body politic,” a medieval trope I mention in the next section.
- 3 As in Gil Gilbert’s poem, in Estupiñán Bass’s “Saludo del negro ecuatoriano” the central referent is not the war, but rather the greeting of a speaker who addresses loyalist Spain from a racialized, postcolonial positionality: “el saludo del negro ecuatoriano que siente que en su carne se escribe tu tragedia” (line 6). Estupiñán Bass’s poem and lyric subject are decidedly more Pan-Africanist than Gil Gilbert’s, however.
- 4 Humberto Mata’s poem focuses on the crimes of imperial Spain, contrasting the brave young woman fighter to whom it is addressed with the imperial “Señora y Madre España” (line 38), the “Señora España de corona y cetros” (line 22).
- 5 See, for example, chapter four of Cecilia Enjuto Rangel’s *Cities in Ruins: The Politics of Modern Poetics*; and chapter five of John Patrick Leary’s *A Cultural History of Underdevelopment: Latin America in the U.S. Imagination*.
- 6 By contrast, African American writers tended to elide these tensions, presenting Spain as a space of racial harmony “in order to contrast this with their precarious situation at home” (Cañete Quesada 125).
- 7 With the charge of Nazi rhetoric in the air in the 1930s, the phrase “de ojos azules” stands out in Neruda’s poem, as do multiple references to purity (“la frente pura de Castilla”; “vuestra pureza y vuestra fuerza”) (lines 28, 37). By contrast, Guillén defines the fascism he and the other writers at the Second International Congress were fighting precisely by its preoccupation with “una pretendida raza superior, seguramente blanca y posiblemente rubia” (*En la guerra* 29).
- 8 Coordinated by Chilean poet Gerardo Seguel, *Madre España* contains poems by some of Chile’s most prominent poets of the time. The anthology was published by Panorama, a press co-founded and funded by Zambrano’s husband, Alfonso Rodríguez Aldave. It was his appointment as a diplomat at the Spanish Embassy in Chile that had taken the couple to Chile in 1936.

- 9 This is especially apparent with the global reverberations of the uprising following the murder of George Floyd. During solidarity protests in Madrid and Barcelona in the summer of 2020, some in Spain criticized a relative silence surrounding Spain's own cases of police brutality and racism. See, for example, Sarah Babiker's article on the death, while in police custody, of Daniel Giménez on May 31, 2020, in which she asks "por qué la sociedad española pon[e] su mirada sobre lo ocurrido en EEUU y no sobre la realidad del pueblo gitano"; Moha Gerehou's June 21, 2020 article "No es EEUU, es España: 40 casos de insultos, agresiones y discriminaciones racistas en los últimos cinco años," which lists racist aggressions in Spain, many of them at the hands of State apparatuses; and the growing call to decriminalize and grant health care and housing rights to immigrants in Spain ("#RegularizaciónYa").
- 10 I am grateful to Daylet Domínguez, Steven Lee, Mounia Mnouer, Cabell Breckinridge and the anonymous reviewers of this journal for their edits, feedback and insight at various stages of this project.

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