

## Sergio Aragonés Marginalizes Francoism in the Exile Newspaper *España Libre* (NYC)

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### ABSTRACT

Sergio Aragonés is an award-winning and celebrated *Mad Magazine* cartoonist whose prolific career includes his bestselling comics *Groo the Wanderer* and *Boogeyman*, among others. However, his anti-Francoist cartoons published in the exile newspaper *España Libre* (1939-1977, NYC) have not been studied. Using an interdisciplinary theoretical approach to humor, I examine the social function of selected cartoons by Aragonés. The drawings, published from 1962 to 1965, exposed the political persecution exerted by Francisco Franco to a global readership. His front-page cartoons also informed and emotionally sustained the dissenting working-class resistance under the regime and abroad.

Keywords: Spaniards in the United States, Spanish Civil War, Exile Newspapers, cartoons, Labor Resistance Movements, Francisco Franco's Dictatorship.

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RESUMEN

Sergio Aragonés es uno de los humoristas gráficos más conocidos de la revista norteamericana *Mad*. Su prolífica y premiada carrera incluye sus populares cómics *Groo the Wanderer* and *Boogeyman*, entre otros muchos. Sin embargo, sus caricaturas antifranquistas publicadas en el periódico de exilio *España Libre* (1939-1977, Nueva York) no se han estudiado. Con una aproximación teórica interdisciplinaria al humor, examino la función social del humor gráfico de Aragonés. Sus dibujos, publicados de 1962 a 1965, denunciaron la persecución política ejercida por Francisco Franco a lectores de todo el mundo y apoyaron la resistencia de la clase trabajadora disidente bajo el régimen y en el exilio.

Palabras clave: españoles en Estados Unidos, Guerra Civil española, periódicos del exilio republicano, caricaturas, movimientos de resistencia obrera, dictadura de Francisco Franco.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sergio Aragonés is one of the most celebrated and prolific *Mad Magazine* artists and is creator of the bestselling comics *Groo the Wanderer* and *Boogeyman*, among others. Aragonés has won seven awards from the National Cartoonist Society,<sup>1</sup> including the prestigious Reuben Award (1996). His award-winning career includes multiple Harvey and Eisner Awards, the Saló de Barcelona Award (1995), the Schulz Award (1999), and several others.<sup>2</sup> However, his political cartoons published in the exile newspaper *España Libre* have not been analyzed. Through a politically active Spanish Civil War exile network, Aragonés contacted the editor of *España Libre* at the time, Jesús González Malo. A former militiaman in the Spanish Civil War, Malo was exiled in New York and summarized the underground resistance's reports for Aragonés, who visually conceptualized them on the front page of the newspaper.

The subversive power of Aragonés' artwork in *España Libre* resides in his ability to make readers reflect critically about the regime. His front-page cartoons exposed Francoist corruption, political persecution, and the exodus of dissenters from Spain for the entire world to see. Aragonés' cartoons are studied as interpretative journalistic genres that make use of images and humor to deconstruct Francoism and conceptualize

working-class resistance. My examination of these political discourses aims to enlarge the understanding of the Spanish Civil War exile and show that Aragonés' working-class anti-Francoist discourse had a transnational readership, including a clandestine one in Spain.

## 2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

I approach Aragonés' political cartoons in *España Libre* as an artistic memory of the Spanish Civil War. Aragonés' work counteracts what Benjamin Hutchens has called "hypo-amnesic" academic decisions that disregard certain archival sources (41). I accessed *España Libre* (1939-1977) at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project, directed by Nicolás Kanellos at the University of Houston. Scholars founded the project in 1990 because "a vast corpus of writing by U.S. Hispanics prior to 1960 remained virtually unknown" (Kanellos 43).<sup>3</sup> I understand cartoons as historical documents and aesthetic visual methods of communication. These forgotten cultural and historical documents testify to the rich print culture promoted by the Spanish Civil War exile community in the United States.

My reading of Aragonés' artwork examines the social function of humor in an exile newspaper. Conflict theory examines humor as a weapon of attack or as a means of defense.<sup>4</sup> Humor scholar Judith Yaross Lee (2) argues that humor dramatizes and mocks reality because it simultaneously aims at comic effect and/or intends to question established values. Thus, "humor is more than a playful mode of representation or expression" (Lee 2). Indeed, recent scholarly developments in neurology explore the complex mechanisms that the human brain employs to represent and interpret humor (Camfield 2014: 2). The cognitive dissonance produced by humor allows for multiple meanings to flourish while we process the resolution of the pun or the joke (Camfield 2014: 8; Lee 3). Thus, humor makes visible the deep patterns of codification of reality and allows for the emotions ingrained in these paradigms to be examined (Camfield 2014: 5-7). Aragonés' humor was aimed at swaying public opinion in favor of democracy and against Franco.

Moreover, Aragonés' cartoons elicited deep solidarity and encouraged working-class resilience in addition to laughter. His visual discursive spaces in *España Libre* articulated the silenced voice of the democratic resistance and endorsed and recreated emotions brought forth by belonging to a transnational anti-totalitarian community. The textual and visual relationship between artist and readers became an aesthetic and intellectual shared experience that centered on a desire for Spanish people's freedom.

### 3. SERGIO ARAGONÉS' STYLE

Known for his marginal strips in *Mad Magazine*, Aragonés has taught readers to find pleasure in humorously decoding societal values. Marginals highlight those small moments of life, often considered barely noticeable.<sup>5</sup> However, these daily moments as captured in Marginals provide a sensory threshold from which to examine the incongruities of life. For instance, his marginal drawings ridicule stubborn characters unable to see what is going to happen to them, or too distracted to properly perform their jobs. The corner strips also laugh at people who take things too seriously; they expose the white lies that we tell our loved ones and ourselves on a daily basis. His apparent nonsensical style also builds on paradoxes, exaggerations, logical transpositions, and characters with extreme bad luck. His drawings are both trenchant and spontaneous, conforming to a distinctive style achieved by an inquisitive mind and a confident line.

### 4. ARAGONÉS ARRIVES IN NEW YORK

In 1962, Aragonés moved to New York from Mexico to further his career as a cartoonist. His family had arrived in Mexico in 1944 after escaping to France during the Spanish Civil War and then fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe (Aragonés 2013). They escaped Spain because they were affiliated with the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT, in English General Workers Union) and Francisco Franco's dictatorship was extremely repressive to anyone involved with labor organizations. Because of the Nazi occupation, the Aragonés family moved to Mexico, where they were part of the Spanish Civil War exile community.<sup>6</sup> Through the Spanish Civil War exile network Aragonés contacted Jesús González Malo, editor of the exile newspaper *España Libre* (1939-1977, NYC) and leader of the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas*, the voluntary and self-governed confederation headquartered in New York City. Malo wrote to his friend Dwight Macdonald and asked him to assist Aragonés in finding magazines that would publish his work (González Malo 1962).<sup>7</sup> However, Aragonés took his portfolio and made a cold call to one of his favorite magazines, *Mad*, and landed his first contract, which further validated his front-page cartoons in *España Libre*. Although Aragonés became a renowned artist, he continued to draw for the exile newspaper until 1965, the year of Malo's death.

Malo was delighted to have an accomplished cartoonist volunteer for the confederation, whose mission was to denounce Franco's dictatorship.<sup>8</sup> For thirty-eight years, the *Confederadas* denounced the dictatorship with the publication of *España Libre*. Despite its irregular frequency (weekly to monthly) and modest circulation (3000

to 5000 copies), *España Libre* was read by affiliated organizations in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and even smuggled into Spain. The *Confederadas* also raised a total of two million dollars to help political prisoners and leaders of the underground resistance in Spain and relocated refugees abroad.<sup>10</sup> Surely, Aragonés' illustrations were an outstanding asset during Malo's tenure as editor and contributed to the anti-Francoist discourse of the newspaper, raised the exile community's interest in the paper, and were beneficial in the *Confederadas*' fundraising events.

From 1962 to 1965, Aragonés also served as contributing editor of *España Libre* and participated in several events as spokesman ("Confederated Spanish Societies"). For instance, daylong activities were scheduled for April 5, 1963 to commemorate the Second Spanish Republic. At noon there was a demonstration in front of the Spanish tourist office at 485 Madison Avenue and the banners included Aragonés' drawings denouncing the dictatorship.<sup>9</sup> Later, Aragonés acted as the master of ceremonies at the benevolent society, *La Nacional*. Professor Emilio González López gave a speech and several artists voluntarily performed to raise funds for political prisoners.

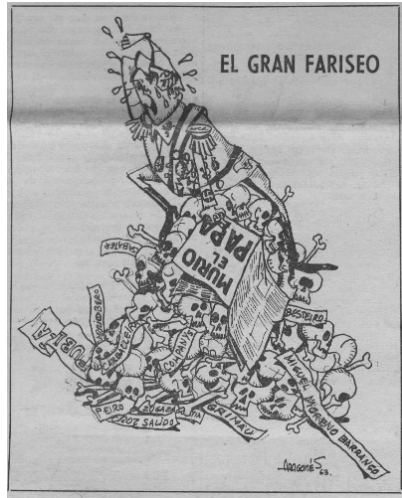
## 5. ARAGONÉS' POLITICAL CARTOONS IN *ESPAÑA LIBRE*

The cartoons selected for this article are representative of his seventy drawings published in *España Libre*. Certainly, *España Libre*'s readers did not expect *Mad*'s playful anti-establishment attitude; rather, they anticipated, farcical representations of totalitarian rule that would stir deep feelings of solidarity. Aragonés denounced Franco's corruption, the Catholic Church alliance with the regime, political persecution, and the poverty and forced migration suffered by Spaniards, while lauding workers' resistance. In general, Aragonés' anti-Francoist cartoons departed from seemingly marginal actions of everyday life. In *Mad*, the humorous look at those moments transform our way of seeing American life, while in *España Libre* capturing marginal scenes is often the starting point from which to denounce the sinister realities of the dictatorship.

### 5.1. *Marginalizing Francoism*

Aragonés exposed the corruption of the regime and the persecution of dissidents using seemingly unrelated news. For example, in his cartoon published June 7, 1963, Aragonés puts to use the news of Pope John XXIII's death to deconstruct one of the mythical pillars of Francoism: the feudal conception of the dictatorship. Indeed, National Catholicism was a fundamental part of the ideological identity of the regime. According to this myth, Franco was Caudillo *por la gracia de Dios* (by the grace of God).

**Cartoon 1:** “El gran fariseo”.



Source: *España Libre* 7 June 1962: 1.

In Aragonés’ cartoon, Franco is crying over the death of Pope John XXIII. The Generalissimo is resting on a pile of skulls and bones. In the pile of bones, Aragonés places banners with the names of those who died defending democracy during the Spanish Civil War and its exile or those who were brutally assassinated under Franco’s rule including Socialist politicians Julián Besteiro and Francisco Largo Caballero; Catalan President Lluís Companys i Jover; Communist politician Julián Grimau; Poet Miguel Moreno Barranco; anarchist Joan Peiró; *Confederadas* member Luís Zugadi Garmendia (Aragonés 7 June 1962: 1). The caption reads “El gran fariseo” (The Great Hypocrite). It discloses the General’s hypocritical Catholic devotion that makes him cry over the death of the Pope, while he ruthlessly executes dissenters. The funereal banners continue to hold subversive power. Many victims of the regime have not received a funeral even today because their bodies were disposed of in mass graves.

With the same drawing technique of using the news as a point of departure, his cartoon published April 3, 1964 responds to the twenty-fifth commemoration of the regime. If the focal point in the previous cartoon was a newspaper’s front page reporting the Pope’s death, here it is the number twenty-five. Franco is resting on the number that signifies the longevity of his rule. His body posture is one of satisfaction and triumph. Nevertheless, Aragonés covers the number with drawings and words that refer to the true events of the dictatorship: political persecution, intolerance, calumny,







influential doctor was able to have Nieto Ruiz released. The anarchist resistance leader, Francesc Sabaté Llopart, known by his nickname Quico, helped him escape Spain across the Pyrenees into France. Later, Cuban anarchists in Miami working with Malo assisted Nieto Ruiz in arriving safely in New York from Cuba (Nieto Ruiz 2013). Soon he was a committed staff member of *España Libre* and the *Confederadas* and became one of the anti-deportation icons of the confederation. Based on information reported by underground resistance leaders in Spain, Nieto Ruiz continued to denounce the regime's torture and execution of dissenters (2013).

**Cartoon 4:** “El caso de Nieto Ruiz”.



Source: *España Libre* 7 December 1962: 1.

In the first panel, Nieto Ruiz escapes from Spain when Franco is about to cut his throat. In the second panel, he escapes Castro, who is about to beat him to death. In the third panel he is relieved to be in the United States and shouts, “Freedom!” However, in the fourth panel Uncle Sam apologizes with a brief “Sorry... only Cubans.” Nieto Ruiz is bewildered, “I do not support communism. I do not support totalitarianism. I support democracy. What do I do?” (Aragonés 7 December 1962: 1). Aragonés shows the incongruences of the American immigration quota regulations, which were not relaxed even after the defeat of France in June of 1940, when for “thousands of refugees the United States appeared to be the only salvation from death” (Krohn 25). Aragonés’ elegant subversive power exposes the lack of political freedom in Spain and the lack of international support.

Research on the affective and cognitive processes on the aesthetic aspects of the pantomime cartoon suggests that the symbolic, exaggerated, and simple drawings facilitate understanding of what is meant to be both dark and yet humorous and the easy access to the underlying meanings (Herzog and Larwin). Aragonés’ wordless visual artwork is a seemingly simple and innocent approach that effectively engages a global audience in his marginalization of Francoism.

### 5.2. Poking Fun at the Dictator

Aragonés' visual humor not only encodes totalitarianism, but also mocks it. Poking fun at the dictator undermined the terror felt by Spanish people. His more lightheaded farcical portrayals also counteracted the mythical representations of Franco in the official press, cinema and art.<sup>14</sup> In fact, humiliating Franco, Mussolini and Hitler were common humorous approaches among cartoonists during the Second World War (Bencivenni 187-220; García-Guirao; Sarría Buil). A cartoon published on September 7, 1962 belittles Franco's intentions to enter the European Union. An old Franco, dressed in his military uniform, rides an emaciated horse toward the European Union. The horse is blindfolded, and the flies buzzing around it are waiting for its imminent death. The barren soil contrasts with Franco's corpulence. The dying horse carries a banner that reads "Freedom of The Press" (Aragonés 7 September 1962: 1). The drawing critiques how Franco deceives the European Economic Community by violently silencing dissenters. From its American exile, *España Libre* points out why Franco's regime has no place in the European Economic Community. If the military regime sustains its power with the control of the press, the same restrained press also makes entrance to the European Economic Community impossible.

Aragonés draws with a flowing style that engages the reader's eye from gag to gag. To achieve this feeling of flow, the artist draws with a fountain pen and India ink that allows him to create wider or narrower strokes with simple hand pressure (Meglin and Ficarra 16). His distinctive drawing technique is noticeable in his attack on Franco. It renders an intense and expressive dynamism that contrasts with the criticized immobility of the dictatorship.

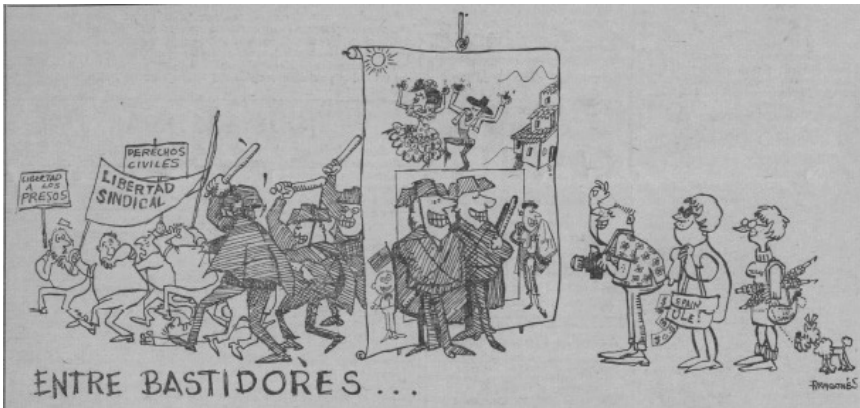
#### Cartoon 5: "Mercado Común".



Source: *España Libre* 7 September 1962: 1.

In a similar style, Aragonés chastises tourists' blindness to Spain's totalitarian realities on June 5, 1964. In the cartoon, the characteristic two-man team of the Spanish Civil War pose for tourists while they are propping up a theatrical backdrop that includes flamenco dancers, a bullfighter, and picturesque white stucco houses. Spain was undergoing a boom in tourism in the 1960s, and the cartoon criticizes the affected display of folkloric Spain while it denounces the lack of political freedom (Aragonés 5 June 1964: 1).

**Cartoon 6:** "Entre bastidores".



Source: *España Libre* 5 June 1964: 1.

The caption reads "Entre bastidores" which translates as "Backstage" but also as "Behind the Scenes." Both meanings imply the theatrical intention of the Civil Guards. The painting masks the persecution of the democratic opposition in Spain. The tourists having a delightful time contrasts with Aragonés' nightmarish depictions of torture in Spain. The incongruity between what tourists see and what really happens in Spain makes the readers cringe and provides a critical perspective on Spain.

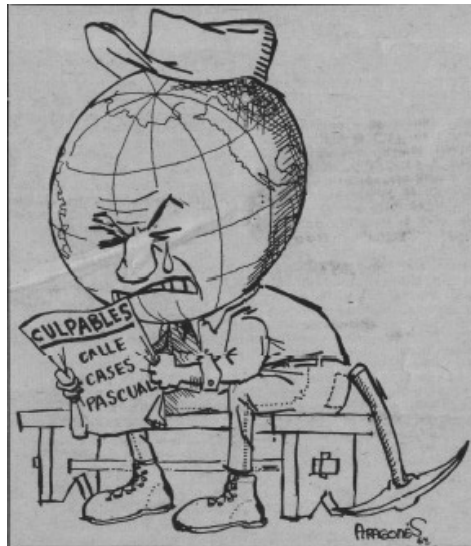
The mental agility required by a teasing pun amuses and engages the reader. Humor pleases us because it reveals the complex play between meanings (Camfield 2014: 10). Indeed, cartoons are a complex form of communication that requires a multilayered process of interpretation. Often, the fun is experienced both by making sense of its possible meanings but also by the emotional experience of the nonsensical play. As Gregg Camfield (1997: 155-156) has noted, humor has its own function. It is part of our biological mechanisms that reset our brain to sanity. In other words, humans like to play just for the fun of it. It is biologically and mentally healthy. It brings us back to our childhood, when fun did not need to be explained or justified. Thus, Aragonés'

political cartoons also provided a playful coming to terms with the long dictatorship. Mockery increased the sense of collective effort during the hardship of exile.

### 5.3. *Constructing Working-Class Resistance*

Several of Aragonés's cartoons were aimed at creating a working-class resistance. Spanish Civil War exiles soon realized that they had ceased to be the political referent for the future of Spain. *España Libre* focused on documenting Spanish workers' history and reporting the activities of the underground resistance. During Malo's term as editor, the interaction with the underground resistance in Spain was even more marked, and clandestine labor unions were portrayed as the main actors for democratic change in Spain. Malo received weekly news about the persecution of labor leaders in Spain. The following cartoon reports on the long prison sentences given to Francisco Calle, José Cases, and Mariano Pascual, leaders of the underground workers union, the *Alianza Sindical Obrera* (ASO). It features an allegorical figure that represents the workers of the world reading a front-page headline "Culpables" (Guilty) (Aragonés 4 September 1964: 1).

**Cartoon 7:** "Culpables".



Source: *España Libre* 4 September 1964 (Suplemento): 1.

Certainly, the cartoon provides a mirror experience of the workers of the world reading about their ASO comrades imprisoned in Spain. The aesthetic practice constructs working-class and anti-Francoist resistance. Comrades in Spain are facing state terror;

compatriots abroad must report on it and fight for their rights. The proud self-definition is reminiscent of Popeye the Sailor or Rosie the Riveter. This comparison should not be a surprising one because Aragonés' craft was nurtured in his transnational experiences. As a child he had access to European cartoonists via the Spanish exile community in Mexico as well as to American artists (Aragonés 2013).<sup>15</sup> Beyond providing collective identity and political efficacy, cartoons like this one also provided access to an affective experience that was not always readily available in exile, where fundraising and factual denunciations left little time to express emotions. An allegorical worker crying over the long prison sentences of his comrades is an open door to a multitude of emotions: sadness, rage, courage, and resilience.

As an effective resistance artist, Aragonés preserved hope and brightened the spirits of his desolated readers. Recent research on resilience argues that it derives from the collective web of support and defines it as “recognizing and seizing opportunities even in the most of oppressive situations” and that it “continually recreate[s] possibility, self-reinvention, reflexive meaning making, and the ability to respond proactively, even when the future looks bleak” (Flynn, Sotirin, and Brady 5). In a cartoon published on January 1, 1964, a man who represents public opinion is bound and guarded by a distracted Civil Guard. A small child, with a blanket that has 1964 written in it, tiptoes toward the imprisoned public opinion carrying a pair of scissors in his hand (Aragonés 1 January 1964: 1). Subjection of a population requires constant surveillance, and the cartoonist tells readers that the resistance is vigilant for that moment when surveillance fails. In *Literary Wit* (3-4), Bruce Michelson defines wit as the ability to alter our understanding of reality by disrupting ingrained categories of analysis. Aragonés' visual wit transforms subjection to rebellion. It provides agency to the resistance movement in Spain and to exiles abroad.

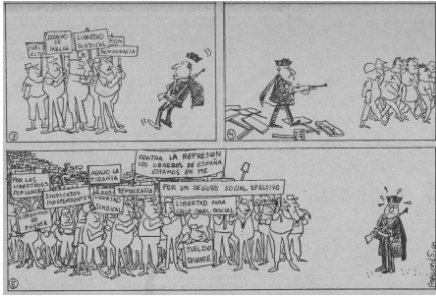
**Cartoon 8:** “1964”.



Source: *España Libre* 1 January 1964: 1.

Aragonés illustrated the growing force of the resistance with several drawings. The one-panel drawing published on March 6, 1964 depicts a festive demonstration of workers, professors, and intellectuals. Their banners read “Down with The Dictatorship”, “Freedom for Political Prisoners”, “Honor Intellectuals,” “Union Freedom,” “Return of The Exiled Politicians,” “Free Elections,” “Long Live Democracy,” and “For A New April, 14” (the date that commemorates the Second Spanish Republic). Hiding behind a tree, the Generalissimo is observing the scene. He wears a swastika on his arm, but he can no longer count on Hitler and Mussolini to help him. Therefore, he is sweating profusely (Aragonés 6 March 1964: 1). Democracy is becoming a strong possibility for Spain. In the following three-panel illustration, the resistance has become fearless and strong enough to come out of hiding. The Civil Guard is at odds with what to do with the growing numbers of demonstrators (Aragonés 4 September 1964: 3).

**Cartoon 9:** cartoon



Source: *España Libre* 6 March 1964:1.

**Cartoon 10:** cartoon



Source: *España Libre* 4 September 1964: 1.

The next two cartoons showed how the workers’ resistance undermined the dictatorship. In the first cartoon, the date that commemorates the Second Republic —April 14, has been painted on a street wall; in the second, the name of the two labor unions, UGT and CNT, are written on the sleeves of two shaking hands, which are also strangling the dictator (Aragonés 5 April 1963: 1; 5 July 1963: 1). In the context of the Cold War, when “few progressive organizations survived the postwar years of inquisition and innuendo, government investigations and congressional backlash against the labor movement” (Orleck 257), the story of ongoing resistance through times of harsh repression in Spain and political tension in the United States highlights the extraordinary tenacity of the *Confederadas*, its newspaper *España Libre*, and leaders such as its editor Malo and cartoonist Aragonés.

**Cartoon 11:** “14 de abril”.

Source: *España Libre* 5 April 1963: 1.

**Cartoon 12:** “CNT UGT”

Source: *España Libre*. 5 July 1963: 1.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This paper presents the unstudied Aragonés’ political artwork in *España Libre* for wider scholarly attention. A multifold theoretical approach to humor and the Spanish Civil War exile serves to explore how cartoons function in the newspaper’s resistance rhetoric and aesthetics. When Aragonés translated the reports of the Spanish underground resistance into visual language on the front-page of *España Libre*, he perceptively counteracted the regime’s propaganda. Aragonés’ silent pantomimes exposed the state terror perpetrated by Franco through visually decoding the regime’s corruption, its National Catholic ideology, and its censorship of the press. His cartoons raised awareness to the plight of Spanish refugees and exiles, who were escaping political persecution and torture. His versatile style also poked fun at tourists’ blindness to the realities of the dictatorship. In fact, mockery was a spirited coming to terms with the long dictatorship.

Furthermore, his cartooning informed a collective working-class consciousness that empowered readers to be politically active in the dissociative condition of being exiles abroad or living under a totalitarian regime. Therefore, his silent political cartoons engaged the transnational working-class readership of the newspaper, which embraced pantomimes as part of their affective and aesthetic practice.

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Comic Book Award (1986), Humor Comic Book Award (1973, 1974, 1976), Magazine and Book Illustration Award (1989), Special Features Award (1977), Gag Cartoon Award (1983).

<sup>2</sup> The Shazam Award (1972), Adamson Award (1985), and the La Plumilla de Plata Award (Mexico 2003).

<sup>3</sup> In addition, I accessed the newspaper at the Library of Congress, Washington; and at the Biblioteca del Pavelló de la República, Universitat de Barcelona. I would like to thank my colleagues at SHSU for their feedback on earlier drafts of this article. Any mistakes are mine.

<sup>4</sup> For more on approaches to humor as a social phenomenon (Kuipers).

<sup>5</sup> Aragonés continues to pen two sections in *Mad Magazine*, "A Mad Look at..." and "The Shadow Knows". Since 1962, he has drawn more than 10,000 horizontal and vertical Marginals in *Mad's* pages. Marginals have been collected in seventeen anthologies: *Viva Mad* (1968); *Mad About Mad* (1970); *Mad-ly Yours!* (1972); *In Mad We Trust* (1974); *Mad As the Devil!* (1975); *Incurably Mad* (1977); *Shootin' Mad* (1979); *Sergio Aragonés's Mad Marginals: From Various Places Around the Magazine* (1980); *Mad As a Hatter!* (1981); *Mad's Sergio Aragonés on Parade* (1982); *Mad Menagerie* (1983); *Sergio Aragonés More Mad Marginals* (1985); *Mad Pantomimes* (1987); *More Mad Pant Mimes* (1988); *Mad As Usual!* (1990); *Sergio Aragonés Is Totally Mad!* (1991); *Sergio Aragonés: Five Decades of His Finest Works* (2010).

<sup>6</sup> Once in Mexico, cartoon movies got young Aragonés interested in drawing. As a university student he started drawing for two Mexican magazines: *Ja Ja* and *Mañana*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dissent*, *Partisan Review*, and *Mad* shared their countercultural approach to American society.

<sup>8</sup> Malo had exiled to New York from Santander, Spain in the earlier 1940s.

<sup>9</sup> Members of the American Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Libertarian League, the Group Liberation, the Workers Defense League, the Young People's Socialist League joined the demonstration.

<sup>10</sup> Its last issue, in 1977, announced that the confederation had raised a total of two million dollars over the years, which had sustained refugees, political prisoners, and democratic resistance leaders. The figure amounts to 7,7 million in 2014 dollars.

<sup>11</sup> Many *Confederadas* members were forced to leave the United States, but continued contributing to the confederation by sending funds and writings from abroad.

<sup>12</sup> Among others, the Workers Defense League and American Civil Liberties Union helped. Also, lawyers Ernest Fleishman, John González, Maximino González, Edith Lowenstein, Charles O. Porter, Enrique Ramos, Jesse L. Rosenberg, and Peck Rosenberg volunteered their time and expertise.

<sup>13</sup> There were tragic cases in which the confederation was unsuccessful. Communist Eusebio López Gallarta was detained and committed suicide in his New York prison cell the day before deportation. (González Malo 1952: 325) On deportations of foreign-born progressive leaders during the Cold War (Green).

<sup>14</sup> For printed propaganda that circulated the epic and mythical representations of Franco. (Fontes and Menéndez)

<sup>15</sup> Moreover, political and labor cartoons have always transcended national boundaries. In fact, the study of cartoons is one of the most fruitful paths for transnational and interdisciplinary methodologies (Scully).