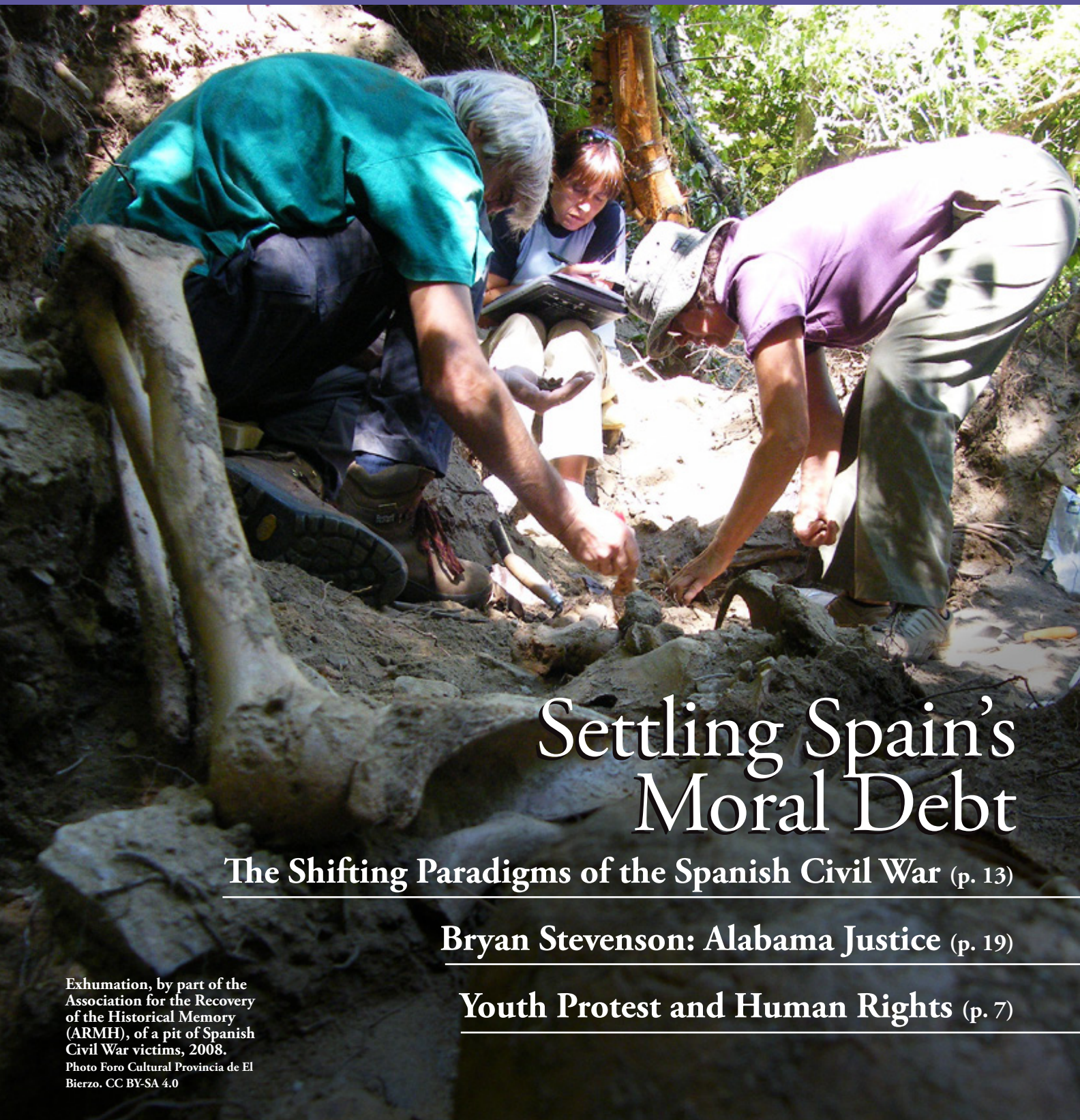


# The Volunteer

PUBLISHED BY THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE ARCHIVES



## Settling Spain's Moral Debt

**The Shifting Paradigms of the Spanish Civil War** (p. 13)

**Bryan Stevenson: Alabama Justice** (p. 19)

**Youth Protest and Human Rights** (p. 7)

Exhumation, by part of the Association for the Recovery of the Historical Memory (ARMH), of a pit of Spanish Civil War victims, 2008.

Photo Foro Cultural Provincia de El Bierzo. CC BY-SA 4.0



# The Volunteer

Founded by the Veterans of the  
Abraham Lincoln Brigade

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Raymond Hoff, Leonard Larks and  
Theron Snell

## Dear Friends,

The threads of the past are woven into the fabric of the present. That is what we mean when we talk about the Lincoln Brigade as a legacy: we acknowledge that the lives of the volunteers, and the values that drove them, continue to be important today. A legacy is a gift, but it is also a responsibility. We have accepted it with gratitude, but now it is up to us to tend to it—to preserve it, to keep it alive, and to pass it on to younger generations. It's what the ALBA community is about. And we can't fulfill our responsibility without your generous support.

The legacy of the past in Spain is more complicated. This year, we are thrilled to honor the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH) as recipient of the ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism, five years after the first ALBA/Puffin Award was granted to Judge Baltasar Garzón. Over the past decade, the ARMH has worked tirelessly to make it possible for victims' families to recover the remains of loved ones who were summarily killed between 1936 and the 1940s. (ALBA's James Fernández tells the story movingly on page 4.) Under the leadership of Emilio Silva, ARMH has also become a powerful voice calling for transitional justice, not only in Spain but across the globe.


The Association's work has a strong connection to last year's prize winner, Bryan Stevenson. His organization, Equal Justice Initiative, also works to settle a moral debt to the past: the unacknowledged legacy of racial oppression in the United States today. This is the message of Bryan's compelling new book, *Just Mercy*, reviewed by Renee Romano in this issue. As Bryan told us last year, achieving justice requires that we change the narrative. Indeed, the way Garzón and Silva have helped reframe recent Spanish history is part of the "paradigm shift" that Peter N. Carroll describes in his essay "From Guernica to Human Rights," an excerpt from his forthcoming book with the same title (see page 13).

Two other contributors in this issue, Dean Burrier Sanchis and Irving Epstein, are friends we made in November when we visited Illinois Wesleyan University for an ALBA teachers institute. Dean shares a moving text from his grandfather, a Lincoln volunteer who was captured by Franco. Irv, in his Human Rights Column, reflects on the importance of recent youth protest movements across the globe.

Looking at this issue we can't help but notice a sense of coherence. All the threads connect—between the past and the present, between Spain and the United States, and between the legacy of the Lincolns and those who struggle for human rights today.

Thanks for keeping the fabric strong.



  
**Sebastiaan Faber**  
Chair of the Board  
of Governors



  
**Marina Garde**  
Executive Director

P.S. Don't forget how your steady support makes all these amazing projects possible.

### LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

Dear ALBA,

We emailed you a while ago about questions regarding Francisco Franco, as I was in a group that was creating a documentary about him. My partner and I would like to thank you for taking the time to speak to us about Franco. Through your insight, we were able to learn much more of Franco's political exploits and legacy. Partly because of your help, our project has been chosen to represent our school against historical documentaries from other local high schools; it is now moving on to San Bernardino County's History Day competition. Hopefully, our documentary will be able to advance to the State, and even National level of competition as well.

Thank you,  
Caleb Hwang & Nick Wilson

# SPAIN'S ASSOCIATION FOR THE RECOVERY OF HISTORICAL MEMORY WINS HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

The Association has carried out over 150 exhumations and recovered the remains of more than 1,300 victims of Franco's regime.

By the Editors

**A**LBA IS PROUD TO ANNOUNCE the winner of the 2015 ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism—the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*, ARMH). Founded by journalist Emilio Silva in 2000, the Association has conducted over 150 exhumations and recovered the remains of more than 1,300 victims of Franco's regime—roughly 8% of Spain's disappeared. Almost without state support, the Association has worked with forensic experts to set up a DNA database and worked to put victims' rights and transitional justice on Spain's political agenda. Through its advocacy work at the national and international level, in 2003 the United Nations Working Group on Forced Disappearances began including Spain in its reports.

**The award ceremony will take place during ALBA's annual celebration in New York, on May 9 at 2:30 pm, at the Japan Society (333 East 47<sup>th</sup> St. in New York City).**

"Thanks to work of the ARMH, Spain has been able to break the wall of oblivion that enveloped the victims of that dreadful period," said Judge Baltasar Garzón, human rights advocate and recipient of the first ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism in 2011.

More than 100,000 bodies lie buried in unmarked mass graves all across Spain, victims of right-wing repression during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the ensuing Franco dictatorship (1939-75). Since the return of democracy in 1978, tens of thousands of Spaniards have longed to locate and exhume the remains of their loved ones, to honor their memory, and to give them a proper burial. Yet, for almost four decades now, the Spanish state has largely ignored the rights of those who were disappeared or killed by Spanish fascism, victimizing them for a second time by

portraying them, in effect, as unavoidable "collateral damage" of Spain's brokered transition to democracy.

"Emilio Silva has dedicated 15 years of his life to settling Spain's moral debt to the past," says ALBA Chair Sebastiaan Faber. "When Spain became a democracy in the late 1970s after Franco's nearly 40-year dictatorship had ended with his death, two contradictory

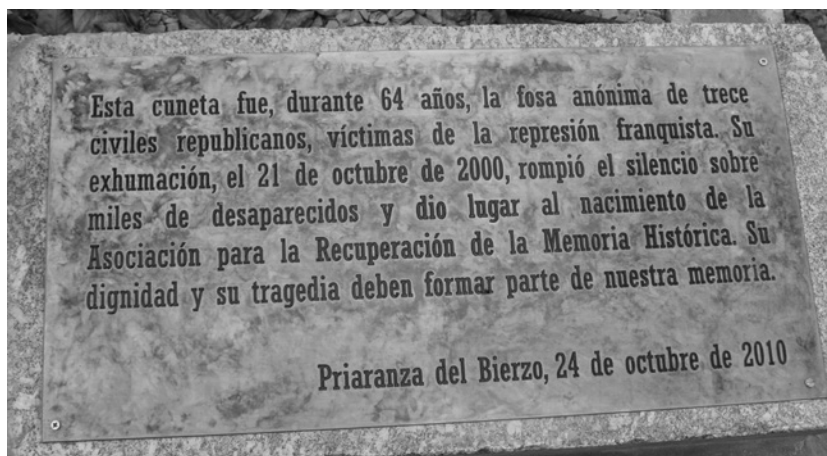
things happened. On one hand, the leaders of the Franco regime and the opposition agreed that the country could only move forward in peace if the past were left alone. Everyone would start with a clean slate. This was the reasoning behind the 1977 Amnesty Laws. Yet in the absence of investigations, trials, or purges, those who held power under

Franco continued to hold power after his death. Judges, educators, bankers,

journalists, and CEOs all continued where they were—but so did tens of thousands of bodies in unmarked graves across the country. Peace came at a high moral price."

"The award to Mr. Silva and ARHM is particularly appropriate," said ALBA vice chair Prof. Anthony Geist, "as it has a direct link to the struggle that the Lincoln volunteers put their lives on the line for. In fact, to this day a number of American volunteers lie shrouded in Spanish earth in unmarked graves."

Part of an initiative designed to sustain the legacy of the experiences, aspirations and idealism of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism supports current international activists and human rights causes. The Award was created by philanthropist and visionary Perry Rosenstein, President of the Puffin Foundation, which in 2010 established an endowed fund for the ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism. ▲



*Emilio Silva has dedicated 15 years of his life to settling Spain's moral debt to the past.*



# Untreated Memories: Franco's Disappeared

**By James D. Fernández**

*Some 114,000 Spaniards lay in unmarked mass graves strewn all over the Iberian Peninsula. Only Cambodia has more densely populated killing fields. These are not men and women killed at the front during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39); they are victims of systematic extrajudicial assassinations carried out by Francoist forces during and after that conflagration. Emilio Silva Faba was just one of these tens of thousands of civilians who were routinely rounded up, murdered, and thrown into unmarked ditches. The Silva family—Emilio's widow, and their six children—like thousands of other families, never knew the precise location of Emilio's remains, nor did they dare inquire during the four decades of dictatorship. Some 60 years would have to pass before Emilio Silva's grandson and namesake would decide to take matters into his own hands.*

Villamayor de los Montes (Burgos), 2004. Exhumation of the remains of 46 individuals taken from the Burgos provincial prison on September 24, 1936, assassinated, and buried next to the road to Madrid. Photo Clemente Bernad. From *Desvelados*.

**T**HE ANCIENT PILGRIM'S WAY that cuts across northern Spain toward the apocryphal tomb of Saint James the Apostle passes through the quaint town of Pereje, in the region of León known as El Bierzo. Walkers heading westward on the road to Santiago de Compostela enter the hamlet and quickly come upon a most inviting fountain of crystalline mountain spring water gurgling out of a single half-inch pipe. Even though the locals know that this is some of the best drinking water to be had for miles around, most peregrinos are deterred from quenching their thirst here because of an ominous small sign posted beside the spout: *Agua no tratada* (Untreated Water). So most thirsty pilgrims usually continue walking down the *camino* about a hundred paces past the fountain and into the main part of town, where, at the town's bar, for one euro, they can slake their thirst with a bottle of properly "treated" water. Whether or not the bar owner is the author of that accurate, if misleading, sign back at the fountain remains a matter of speculation and controversy.

Pereje, this picturesque and picturesque village—a 10-day walk from Santiago de Compostela—is where Emilio Silva Faba was born in 1894. As a young man, like many enterprising youths from this part of Spain Silva undertook his own pilgrimage of sorts, in search of opportunities he could not find at home. He emigrated first to Argentina in 1915, where he worked at a soda factory for a few years before returning to Pereje. In 1920, he tried his luck once again, this time heading to Bridgeport, Connecticut, where his sister lived with her husband and their son, who was also named Emilio. (Silva's nephew in Bridgeport was Emilio Núñez, who would go on to be a prominent lawyer and the first Hispanic judge ever to serve on the New York State Court of Appeals.) Emilio Silva liked what he saw in Connecticut and New

York, and decided that he would stay. He planned to open a store of Spanish products in New York, catering to the city's burgeoning community of Spanish immigrants. But first he would have to return to El Bierzo to settle some family matters and to set up

next 10 years, as La Preferida prospered, they had five more children.

A moderate progressive small-business owner—with experience living in two other Republics, Argentina and the United States—Emilio greeted the arrival of Spain's Second Republic (1931) with optimism and enthusiasm. He was particularly interested in the Republic's commitment to free public and non-religious education for all, and was an active member of the middle-of-the-road political party "Izquierda Republicana," presided over by Manuel Azaña.

Tragically, however, when the war broke out in Spain, these solid

democratic credentials were enough to make Emilio Silva a marked man. Francoist forces took control of El Bierzo within days of the July 18th uprising, practically without firing a shot, and it didn't take long for local Falangist authorities to begin to extort money and goods from Silva's store. On the morning of October 16, 1936, Emilio Silva Faba was arrested. Later that night, he was driven to a remote area in the town of Priaranza del Bierzo, executed, and thrown into a ditch along with 12 other executed civilians. The next morning, Emilio's oldest son—10-year-old Emilio Jr.—went to the prison where his father had been held, only to be told by the guards that his father was no longer there, that perhaps he had escaped through a window.

It could be said that Emilio Silva Faba was "disappeared" three times. First, of course, on that fateful night in El Bierzo, 1936. But he was disappeared for a second time during the long, dark night of the Francoist dictatorship, when his traumatized descendants could only speak about him in whispers, and dared not demand his remains or publicly honor his memory. And shockingly, Emilio Silva Faba—and all victims of Francoist terror—was disappeared yet again, this time in the broad daylight of Spain's allegedly exemplary transition to



*"An old man explained to me that around here there are more dead bodies outside the cemetery than there are inside."*

some supply lines for the store. He booked a round-trip steamship ticket: New York-Vigo-New York.

As fate would have it, while on this short trip to El Bierzo in 1925, Emilio met Modesta, the love of his life. He aban-



doned his plans of returning to the United States and ended up opening "La Preferida"—his grocery and general store—not on Cherry Street or West 14th St. in New York's Spanish enclaves, but rather at Calle del Viaducto #1, Villafranca del Bierzo. Emilio and Modesta married just a few months after meeting. Their first child, Emilio Jr. was born 10 months later, and over the

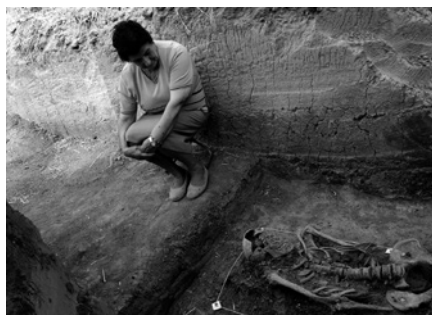


Berlangas de Roa (Burgos), 2004. Exhumation of the remains of five inhabitants of Haza (Burgos) who were detained and assassinated in August 1936, among them the mayor of the town. The mayor's daughter sits beside her father's remains. Photo Clemente Bernad. From *Desvelados*. (top)

One of the mass graves discovered in an excavation from July–August of 2014 at Estépar (Burgos). The grave contains twenty-six republicans who were killed by nationalists in August–September 1936. Photo Mario Modesto Mata. CC BY-SA 4.0. (center)

democracy, when the political class which oversaw that transition determined that a new democratic regime could be built without a foundation, without disturbing the shallow graves which, all throughout the country, were—and are—the ignominious resting places of tens of thousands of victims of the Francoist dictatorship. None of Spain's governments since the advent of democracy have paid more than lip service to the cause of truth, justice and reparations for those victims. Indeed, some of the governments, and many individual politicians and intellectuals, have been outright hostile. Former Prime Minister José María Aznar once stated: "We must recover a spirit of concord and unity which has largely been lost (...) since the Spanish transition. And you don't do that by digging up tombs or stirring up bones." A mayor of a small town in the province of Lugo went even further: "Those who were condemned to death during Francoism must have deserved it."

It was in this climate of indifference and hostility that in the year 2000, Emilio Silva—the grandson and namesake of Emilio Silva Faba—undertook, like a modern day Antigone, the challenge of finding his grandfather's remains. A journalist by training, Silva tirelessly researched the circumstances of the disappearance of the group of men who came to be known as "The Priaranza Thirteen." "Sixty-four years later," Silva remembers, "I set out to find him. While I was trying to discover the site of his grave, an old man explained to me that around here there are more dead bodies outside the cemetery than there are inside. [We eventually located the mass grave, and] thanks to the selfless assistance of many people, on October 28 we were able to exhume all 13 bodies. During the exhumation process, many family members of *los desaparecidos* (the disappeared) came to see us and to ask us for help." It was at that grave site that the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* [ARMH] was born, with the goal of assisting others who, like Emilio Silva, wanted to recover from unmarked mass graves the remains of their loved ones, and to break once and for all the silence to which they had been sentenced.



Since its founding, the ARMH has received more than 15,000 emails from family members of victims requesting assistance and from informants who have information about mass graves. In its first 12 years of existence, the organization has conducted 153 exhumations, allowing hundreds of families to give their loved ones proper burials. Between 2006 and 2010, during the Zapatero administration, the Ministry of the Presidency provided some subsidies, which covered roughly 20% of the costs of the exhumations carried out in those years. On the whole, though, the work of the ARMH has been carried out thanks to the selfless efforts of an international network of volunteers.

In addition to the direct assistance given to the victims' families, the organization's advocacy and media work has attracted much-needed international attention to the shameful neglect shown by the Spanish State to the dictatorship's vic-

Year	Exhumations	Recovered Victims
2000	1	13
2001	1	4
2002	12	38
2003	30	238
2004	13	155
2005	10	72
2006	17	220
2007	13	314
2008	24	111
2009	13	80
2010	9	34
2011	6	34
2012	4	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>1,330</b>

tims and their families. The United Nations Working Group on Forced Disappearances, for example, now includes Spain in its reports.

In recognition of this outstanding work, the ARMH has been designated as the winner of the 2015 ALBA-Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism. The prize could not have come at a more opportune moment for the organization—and for its cause: just as the number of veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has dwindled to almost zero, so too has the number of Spaniards with first-hand knowledge about the dictatorship's atrocities and about the location of its mass graves. If it is to be done at all, the exhumation of mass graves in Spain must be carried out as soon as possible. The ALBA-Puffin prize money will give the ARMH a window of roughly two more years during which they will continue vigorously the urgent task of recovering democratic Spain's untreated memories. ▲

James D. Fernández is Associate Professor of Spanish Literature and Culture at New York University, and co-author of the forthcoming book of photographs *Invisible Immigrants: Spaniards in the United States, 1868-1945*.

Forensic lab at El Bierzo, with Concha Magaña and José Luis Prieto. Photo Ana Barredo. (bottom)

# YOUTH PROTEST AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Irving Epstein

Youth protests in Tunisia, Egypt, Chile, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, Turkey, and Hong Kong, have served to reveal the connection between oppressive states and the inequitable economic practices they sponsor.



Democracia Real YA demonstration in Madrid on May 15, 2011. Photo Olmo Calvo. CC BY-SA 3.0.



A sign with protesters' demands. Cairo, Egypt, February 2011. Photo Mona. CC BY 2.0.



*Neoliberal and authoritarian practices have created a degree of systematic inequality that has harmed the vast majority of the world's population.*

Four years ago, Mohammed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street merchant unable to obtain licenses to operate his business without local harassment, immolated himself in desperation. His death set off protests throughout the Arab world and sparked a two-year series of youth demonstrations, lasting through 2013, that were remarkable for their scope and intensity but also for their use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Yet today, one might argue that the central lesson of those events is a sobering one: systematic political reform is nearly impossible to achieve in a short period of time. Indeed, when examining the political activities of contemporary youth in response to authoritarian states and drastic inequality, it is easy to view their use of social media and newer technologies as little more than navel gazing. Others see young people as feckless as their predecessors of other eras, unable to fight the good fight for fundamental social and political change. Looking back at the Arab Spring and the protests it encouraged, however, I find these assumptions seriously deficient on a number of accounts.

No doubt neo-liberal and authoritarian practices have created a degree of systematic inequality that has harmed the vast majority of the world's population in ways that assault basic survival and the right to live a life of dignity. It is particularly galling that such inequality was produced while corporations, the financial sector, and state-sponsored crony capitalists operated with impunity. But it is also true that youth protests in Tunisia, Egypt, Chile, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, Turkey, and most recently Hong Kong, have served to reveal the connection between oppressive states and the inequitable economic practices they sponsor. No longer can populist anger in opposition to such practices be dismissed as class warfare, as it was prior to 2011. No longer can the authoritarian practices of states be uncritically condoned as having been born out of economic necessity. This is an important achievement for which the youth who were involved in protest should take credit.

There can also be little doubt that through their use of new social media and technologies, young people have found a powerful means to communicate with one another. They have expanded their voice to address a global audience, and used the new media to motivate large numbers of their peers to participate in active protests in Tunis, Cairo, Barcelona, Madrid, New York, Santiago, Phnom Penh, Istanbul, Manama (Bahrain), and Hong Kong. Indeed, Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells has argued that networking processes at their very core create a possibility for political organizing that is new and exciting. Such organizational flexibility was most clearly in evidence during the Spanish *Indignados* movement, and during the Zucotti Park protests that were part of the U.S. Occupy Movement.

It is simply untrue that beyond engaging in a few protest activities, youth are unwilling to articulate a consistent commitment to structural change. Around the world, we see the growth of “netizens” and citizen journalists who are using the Internet and social media to investigate and report on corrupt practices in settings as diverse as Bahrain and China, despite government efforts to restrict their activities. In Chile, two of the student movement's most visible and articulate leaders, Giorgio Jackson and Camila Vallejo, now hold public office. In the United States, Occupy members became active in offering assistance to victims of Hurricane Sandy and have more recently supported efforts to address climate change. And in Cambodia, proponents of democratic reform using social media came extremely close to ousting one-party authoritarian rule in the national elections of 2013. It is clear that the information age has offered youth new opportunities to practice “engaged citizenship,” fueling important discussions outside the confines of traditional institutional spaces, including schools, churches, and families. It is also clear that the level of engagement is serious and constant.



Although not all contemporary youth protests have risen to the level where they can be described as viable social movements, they certainly have been able to frame their actions in compelling ways. The fact that Hong Kong youth appropriated the “Occupy” language to define their protest movement says a great deal about the power of ideas and the means through which they are expressed.

The Hong Kong Occupy Movement thus confirmed in 2014 that a deep concern with basic human rights continues to shape the thinking of youth wherever they reside.

Contemporary youth protests touch upon our shared values with regard to equity, dignity, and justice. These values have been articulated in many contexts over many generations. To be sure, social memory is recursive and not always linear. Efforts to account for past injustice emerge under unpredictable and often surprising circumstances. Today's youth have demonstrated that they understand this all too well. But in their enunciation of human rights values, they express a level of commitment in line with the efforts of their predecessors. ▲

*Irving Epstein is the Director of the Center for Human Rights and Social Justice and Professor/Chair of the Educational Studies Department at Illinois Wesleyan University. His edited volume The Whole World is Texting: Youth Protest in the Information Age will be published in 2015.*

Tahrir Square, Egypt, 8 February 2011.  
Photo Mona. CC BY 2.0.



# Teaching Institute Leads to POW's Letter

Among the high school teachers who attended ALBA's teaching institute at Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington last November was Dean Burrier Sanchis, a Spanish teacher at Elk Grove High School near Chicago, and the grandson of Lincoln veteran Vincent Sanchis Amades. Dean brought along a letter his grandfather wrote soon after he was released from the prisoner-of-war camp at San Pedro de Cardena in 1939. He was having trouble deciphering the handwriting and Peter Carroll helped him with the task. We print here Dean's letter to ALBA, followed by his grandfather's letter, titled "This is Fascism."

Mr. Carroll,

Thank you so much again for your words, spirit and time this weekend. I cannot tell you how much it meant to me personally to be able to be in the same room as you and Sebastiaan and feel the work that is being done will really make an impact. I cannot wait to personally make some meaningful contributions as well.

I am sending you the letter that we looked at this weekend. If there is any possibility or aid you can offer with the transcription, I would greatly appreciate it. Even just in those few minutes you were able to break through some of the things I could not in the years that I have had that document. I am attaching both the original as well as my best attempt at a transcription.

Un saludo camarada,

Dean



Dean Burrier Sanchis (left) at the ALBA institute, with his fellow teacher Alfonso Cides.

4/12/1939

Pase de la Hève  
Le Havre, France

## This is Fascism

San Pedro de Cardena was my first cup of forced brutality. A 300 year old former palace of the Cid with its crumbling dismal walls was the concentration camp I was taken to on April 7<sup>th</sup>, exactly 8 days after my capture in the Aragon Front.

I was jammed into the basement together with 200 other Intern[at]ionals. I realized then how a canned sardine feels, there was barely room enough to turn around. The floors were filthy and lice were conspicuous at all times. One toilet on the outside was available to us only 3x a day.

I can't very well [describe] the food; no words of mine can adequately describe that. Sufficient to say we all envied the way the pigs were fed in our respective countries.

Every morn[ing] we were taken out to the square for the flag salute. We were forced to stick our hands out in the fascist style. The first few days there, we refused to obey this order, but soon we learned that discretion is the better part of valor.

We had to attend Mass every Sunday morning regardless of our religious denomination. Guards were placed around us, armed with fixed bayonets, and woe betide those required to go down on their knees and pray. I remember two German lads who remained

standing when the rest of us were down. They were taken away immediately after the sermon and so badly beaten that they were unable to eat for several days.

All the sergeants carry sticks with them. These sticks are made of twisted wood and loaded at one end and how they enjoyed the exercise afforded them when beating us up. The backs of many of own Comrades still carry the trade mark of those weapons.

The German comrades lived in constant fear of the Gestapo.

They were taken into a room daily and put th[rough] a form of 3<sup>rd</sup> degree and the way they suffered one can hardly conceive of such brutality.

Today, I am a free man and I think I can say without fear of contradiction unless one has suffered in a fascist concentration camp, as we [were] suppressed, they can never hope to appreciate fully the true meaning of the word -

Liberty!!!

Vincent Sanchis Amades



Vincent Sanchis during World War II.  
Photo courtesy of Dean Burrier Sanchis.

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## Songs of the Spanish Civil War

Early reviews are rolling for the newly-released Smithsonian Folkways album **Songs of the Spanish Civil War, Volumes 1 & 2**. Royalties go to ALBA!

"The recordings reissued on *Songs of the Spanish Civil War, Volumes 1 & 2* are an inspiring reminder of a time when thousands of idealists from around the world did what they believed needed to be done to save the world from the scourge of fascism that would soon lead to the Second World War and the Holocaust – despite the fact that their own governments were not yet prepared to take a stand." – **Folk Roots/Folk Branches (Canada)**

"The *Songs of the Spanish Civil War* is a remarkable collection, even by the high standards of Smithsonian Folkways" – **Awaiting the Flood (US)**

"Rousing, emotional and often poignant, they still inspire supporters of democratic causes around the world." – **New Classics (UK)**

To order please send a check payable to ALBA, with your name and address to:

**ALBA, 799 Broadway, Suite 341, New York, NY 10003**, or pay with a credit card at **www.alba.org**. Be sure to "Designate your Donation" as: Songs.

\$20 includes shipping/handling  
(U.S. only - for international shipping rates, please contact [info@alba-vallb.org](mailto:info@alba-vallb.org))



# Heart of Spain in Berkeley:

## Spanish Civil War Musical Comes Back in March

Heart of Spain - A Musical of the Spanish Civil War, created by ALBA's Peter Glazer and Eric Bain Peltoniemi, a composer from St. Paul, Minnesota, comes to the stage for a special performance in Berkeley on March 30.



*A rare opportunity to hear this amazing music in one of the best concert halls for acoustic and traditional music west of the Mississippi.*

Back in the 1990s, the two collaborators won a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to produce a new musical performance, based on the American volunteers in Spain. Their production had its successful world premiere at Northwestern University in 2000, directed by Glazer with a student cast. The score, a combination of newly written songs and some of the classics so many know and love, followed a group of US volunteers from their initial recruitment in New York, across the ocean, over the Pyrenees and into battle.

Glazer, who has helped direct and write numerous commemorative events for ALBA on both coasts, is a playwright, director and Associate Professor of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. He created the musical *Woody Guthrie's American Song*, which has been produced scores of times since its premiere in 1988. Peltoniemi, a singer-songwriter with a long career, and composer of musical theater pieces, including Steven Dietz's *Ten November*, is currently head of Red House Records, the Grammy-winning independent folk, roots, and Americana record label featuring some of the finest singer-songwriters in music.

Never before heard on the West Coast, Glazer will present a concert reading of the music from *Heart of Spain* at the Freight & Salvage Coffeehouse in Berkeley, March 30 at 8 PM, thanks to a grant from the Puffin Foundation. "This is a rare opportunity to hear this amazing music in one of the best concert halls for acoustic and traditional music west of the Mississippi," Glazer says. UC Berkeley is slated to produce the entire musical in the fall of 2016, the 80th anniversary of the start of the war.

The cast will include a group of singers and musicians familiar to commemorative audiences on both coasts: Velina Brown, Eduardo Robledo, Michael Sullivan, Barrett Nelson—all alumni of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, Lauren Hart, a recent graduate of UC Berkeley, and bassist Chuck Ervin. Peltoniemi will fly in from Minneapolis to oversee rehearsals, and the entire project will be musically directed by Glazer's longtime collaborator Malcolm Ruhl. ▲

*For tickets and information, call the Freight & Salvage Coffeehouse at 510-644-2020, ext. 120, or visit their website: [www.thefreight.org](http://www.thefreight.org)*

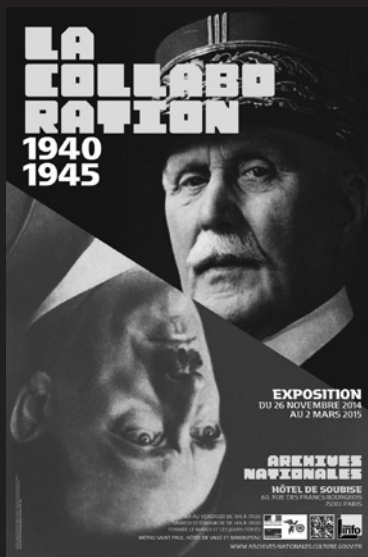
# French Collaboration on Display, 1940-1944

By Robert S. Coale

Seventy years after the liberation of Paris from German occupation, the National Archives of Paris opened “La Collaboration, 1940-1945,” an exhibition exploring multiple facets of French collaboration with the enemy.



Poster above the entrance of an anti-semitic exposition called “The Jew and France”, August 31, 1941. Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-1975-041-07 / CC-BY-SA



The Affiche Rouge, a propaganda poster distributed by Vichy French and German authorities in the spring of 1944 in occupied Paris, to discredit 23 French Resistance fighters.



IN A THEMATIC rather than a chronological approach, the show includes a great variety of original documents and artifacts, many of which have been out of public view since the end of World War II. Together they paint an effective and nuanced picture of a still controversial episode.

French collaboration with the Nazi regime following the Armistice of 1940 has generally been studied through a political perspective, but this exhibit ventures into military, cultural, and economic dimensions as well. Among the items on display is the well-known poster “Affiche Rouge,” depicting French anti-Semitism, as well as photographs of detainees, lists of deported persons, political memorabilia (such as pins from the many French extreme right-wing parties), Marshal Philippe Pétain’s ink blotter and personal stamp, and Jacques Doriot’s SS uniform and trunk.

But the exhibit reveals more than artifacts and documents. In a video interview, curators Denis Peschanski and Thomas Fontaine debunk two historical myths, one “pink” and one “gray.” The pink myth claims that everyone in France was in the Resistance; the gray, that everyone was a collaborator. The truth is that while Resistance and collaboration were both significant, they were minority movements. The large majority of French public opinion during the

*While Resistance and collaboration were both significant, they were minority movements.*

German occupation, despite continued Nazi and Vichy propaganda efforts, favored an Allied victory.

The exhibit also features extracts from French feature-length films produced in the postwar period that deal with collaboration. This somewhat surprising wealth of films contradicts the oft-held view that France long avoided acknowledging its collaborationist past. The curators evidently designed the exhibition for an educated French audience. Explanations are in French only and there is little discussion of the war of 1939-40. The show ends with a photograph of Philippe Pétain at his postwar trial, and only the briefest of references are made to what happened to the other notorious French collaborators who embraced the Nazi view of Europe.

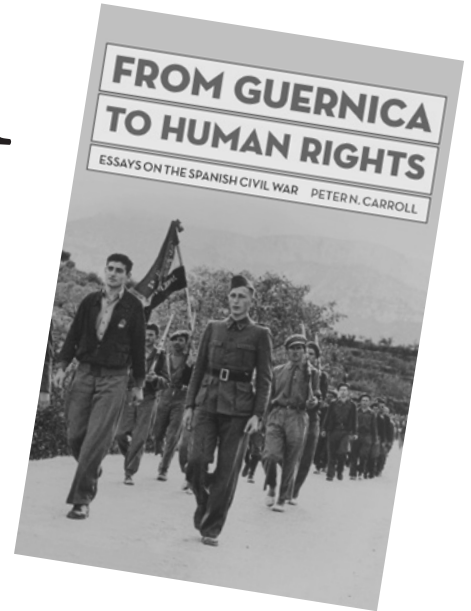
The exhibit runs until March 2, 2015. For those with a working knowledge of French, a brief glimpse, including an interview with Denis Peschanski, can be seen at [www.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr](http://www.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr). ▲

*ALBA Board member Robert S. Coale lives and teaches in Paris. He is writing a book about Spanish Republicans who fought with the French army during World War II.*



# From Guernica to Human Rights

By Peter N. Carroll



Writers and soldiers alike saw Spain as the first battlefield of World War II. In the title essay of his new book, excerpted here, historian Peter N. Carroll traces the war's legacy, from the shocking bombing of the Basque town of Guernica by German and Italian air forces to the attacks on civilians and displacement of refugees in later wars. The stories about the Spanish Civil War that remain to be told may establish a foundation for a new paradigm involving matters that today we call human rights.

**W**RITING TO HIS MOTHER FROM SPAIN IN 1937, Hyman Katz, an American volunteer in the International Brigades, pointed to the rise of Mussolini and Hitler and the spread of anti-Semitism in Europe: "Seeing all these things—how fascism is grasping power in many countries (including the U.S., where there are many Nazi organizations and Nazi agents and spies)—can't you see that fascism is our problem—that it may come to us as it came in other countries?" Canute Frankson, a Jamaica-born auto mechanic, wrote to his "Dear Friend" from Spain: "if we crush Fascism here we'll save our people in America, and in other parts of the world from the vicious persecution, wholesale imprisonment, and slaughter which the Jewish people . . . are suffering under Hitler's Fascist heels. . . ." And Carl Geiser, writing to his brother in Ohio, said "The reasons I am here is [sic] because I want to do my part to prevent a second



world war. . . . And because all of our democratic and liberty-loving training makes me anxious to fight fascism and to help the Spanish people drive out the fascist invaders sent in by Hitler and Mussolini."

Dr. Edward Barsky.

These U.S. volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, together with their 2,800 comrades who formed the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, knew exactly what they were fighting for. To them the defense of the Spanish Republic against a military rebellion led by General Francisco Franco was part of a global battle between democratic peoples and fascist aggressors. The generation that fought the Spanish Civil War is nearly gone, and its history passes into the hands of younger generations whose sense of history is shaped in different times. If it is true that each generation writes its own history—because each generation asks different questions of the past—we might pause and consider what issues and questions appear most relevant to our own times.

While Spanish Republicans fought a war against the military rebels who were backed by troops and munitions from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Nationalist



Ernest Hemingway with Ilya Ehrenburg and Gustav Regler during the Spanish Civil War, not dated, circa 1937. Hemingway Photograph Collection, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston. Public Domain.

or Franco side saw the war as a crusade against social disorder, secularism, and democracy—reduced rhetorically to a war against socialism, communism, and anarchism. After World War II, the Francoist view emerged as a dominant idea in Western Europe and the United States. Indeed, a new Cold War ideology supplanted the notion that the Spanish Civil War was an anti-fascist war. Instead, scholars and the general public stressed the equivalence of fascism and communism, Hitler and Stalin. It was this view that led President Ronald Reagan on his visit to Spain in 1983 to say that the American volunteers had fought on “the wrong side.” This Cold War interpretation has outlived the Cold War. But I would suggest that the twenty-first century will see new ways to explain the events in Spain. [...]

The Hungarian writer Arthur Koestler provides an interesting case study of how historical interpretations change, particularly regarding his own participation in the Spanish Civil War. In 1937, the Left Book Club in London published Koestler’s memoir under the title *Spanish Testament*. His narrative is divided into two parts. The first describes Koestler’s journey to Spain,



purportedly as a journalist, then flashes back for seven chapters of Spanish history that contextualize the civil war. Part two is subtitled “Dialogue With Death” and describes Koestler’s arrest, his months on death row in a fascist prison, and his lucky rescue.

In part one, Koestler argues that the most popular, current view of the causes of the Spanish Civil War “is the one that maintains that Spain is the battle-ground of a struggle between ‘reds and whites,’ between Communism and Fascism.” And he adds: “This is an entirely erroneous view.” Rather, he insists, the reforms of the Spanish Republic aimed to overcome a long history of political and economic oppression. He depicts the bombing of Madrid by

*After World War II, the Francoist view emerged as a dominant idea in Western Europe and the United States, as a new Cold War ideology supplanted the notion that the Spanish Civil War was an anti-fascist war.*

Franco’s air forces as a low point in Western civilization. And his terrifying captivity—during which each evening he waited for a knock at the door summoning him to his death—appears as the direct result of Franco’s fascist, murderous terror. That is what he means by *Spanish Testament*.

Koestler returned to France, via Gibraltar, in 1938, still loyal to the Communist Party. But he was fatigued by the internal intrigues and political double-talk and disillusioned by news of Stalin’s terror, and he finally disavowed communism and the Soviet Union after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact in 1939 [...]. Koestler’s classic novel, *Darkness at Noon*, published in London in 1941, reflects his political conversion. The totalitarian jailers are no longer fascists, but communists.

Hemingway with Joris Ivens and Ludwig Renn in Spain, 1936. Bundesarchiv Bild 183-84600-0001, CC BY-SA 3.0.



*Like Arthur Koestler, George Orwell revised his views on Spain during World War II: “The outcome of the Spanish war was settled in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin—at any rate, not in Spain.”*

By 1942, as German armies stormed toward Stalingrad, Koestler’s political conversion was changing his historical paradigm, witnessed by the re-publication of portions of his *Spanish Testament*. Under the title *Dialogue with Death*, he stripped the book of the historical context. He also deleted one sentence from the first edition referring to the Barcelona May Days of 1937, which had criticized the P.O.U.M.—the Trotskyist Party. In its place, he added the following sentence: “It looked as though Spain were not only to be the stage for the dress-rehearsal of the Second World War, but also for the fratricidal struggle within the European left.” In a recently re-issued edition of *Dialogue With Death*, the American critic Louis Menand praises the de-contextualization of Koestler’s narrative: “If it included details about Koestler’s assignment in Spain, it would be a fascinating but dated text—a document, rather than the expression of something about the human condition.” The opposite of history, the opposite of remembrance, might be called amnesia. What has disappeared from the narrative is fascism.

Like Koestler, George Orwell revised his views on Spain during World War II. *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), which recounts how the Communist Party crushed the social revolution in Spain, was not published in the U.S. until 1952, where it became part of the Cold War canon. Much less known is Orwell’s 1943 essay “Looking Back on the Spanish War,” which maintained that “the much-publicized disunity” within the Republic “was not a main cause of [its] defeat”: “the Fascists won because they were the stronger; they had modern arms and the others hadn’t.” “The outcome of the Spanish war,” he stated, “was settled in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin—at any rate, not in Spain.” Orwell didn’t abandon his anti-communism, but neither did he forget which sides were at war in Spain.

Another writer whose reputation

in relation to the Spanish Civil War has been buffeted by the political winds is the novelist Ernest Hemingway[...], who did some remarkable things on behalf of the Republic that are practically forgotten or unknown.

Consider two of them. The first is re-



lated to the pro-Republican documentary *The Spanish Earth*, on which Hemingway collaborated with the Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens. Hemingway’s companion and accomplice in Spain was the writer Martha Gellhorn, a courageous journalist for *Collier’s* magazine and, coincidentally, a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt. When the film was completed in 1937, Gell-



horn arranged for a private screening at the White House in July. [...] Of course, the purpose of screening a propaganda film in the White House was to awaken the interest of the most powerful man in the nation [...]. Hemingway’s effort is significant. Although Roosevelt admitted that the Republic was a “vicarious sacrifice” for the world, he did not change his position on the arms embargo.

The novelist also undertook a secret and ambiguous project for the Spanish Republic, which can now be confirmed for the first time on the basis of a previously unpublished letter he later wrote to the poet Edwin Rolfe, a veteran of the Lincoln Brigade [...] in January 1940, as he was nearing the end of writing *For Whom the Bell Tolls*:

O.K. Once I had to go to a town will not name to check personally (knew many people there) on effect of something that happened from the air and it’s true effect. Also on possibility of rising there. How much dough. And to carry dough. Was scare[d] pissless all the time, really scared, woof because there is an indignity in that kind of finish that scares long in advance. On return had to report that they (1)-hate our guts. 2. It would be pouring dough down a rathole. 3-Didn’t trust the bastard[s w] ho were handling what there was. O.K. Report was considered defeatism of the deepest dye. Only was true and save much lives and money.

The point to emphasize is that Hemingway perceived the Spanish Civil War as a war against fascism. He certainly suspected the machinations of Republican leaders and was no fool about the chicanery of the Communists. But much as Britain and the United States collaborated with the Soviet Union during World War II, Hemingway insisted that the first order of business was winning the war. A few years later, when he read a draft of the screenplay of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, he was appalled that the movie, released in the

*Writers like myself, consciously or not, are obliged to respond to the Cold War narrative in order to restore the historical context in which participants in the Spanish Civil War acted.*

middle of World War II, gave no clue to explain why “a man will die and know it is well for him to die.” “We are at present engaged in fighting a war against the Fascists,” he said. “Throughout the picture the enemy should be called the Fascists and the Republic should be called the Republic. . . . Unless you make this emphasis the people seeing the picture will have no idea what the [Spanish] people were really fighting for.”

The views of Hemingway, Orwell, and Koestler [...] reflect important political alignments. The failure of Hemingway and Gellhorn to influence U.S. policies revealed deep fissures within President Roosevelt’s coalition. His hands were tied not only by non-interventionists who opposed any international entanglements, but also by the position of his own Catholic constituents, who had followed the Vatican’s endorsement of the Franco rebellion. Three months after seeing *The Spanish Earth*, the president attempted to counter what he called “isolationism” in what became known as the Quarantine Speech of October 1937. Warning of the “epidemic of world lawlessness,” he called for a quarantine against aggressor nations. The speech drew so much criticism that Roosevelt dared go no further. It’s a terrible thing,” he said, “to look over your shoulder when you are trying to lead—and to find no one there.” [...]

U.S. textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s usually describe Franco’s Spain as a fascist dictatorship, linked to Hitler and Mussolini. Charles Beard, in his 1944 history of the United States, summed it up as follows: Roosevelt supported British nonintervention, while “fascist rebels were demolishing the Spanish Republic . . . and by doing so he aided, if unwittingly, in the triumph of fascism there.” Such ideas were common in the 1940s. But as the Cold War politics rehabilitated General Franco, the views of history changed and the space devoted to the Spanish Civil War diminished. Equally important, the war was seen not as a struggle between an elected government and a fascist rebellion but as a fight between two



totalitarian systems, communism versus fascism—a prelude not to World War II, but to the Cold War.

This second paradigm continues to dominate historical writing in America, not only from the anti-communist scripts that see the Spanish Republic merely as an instrument of Soviet policy but also from writers like myself who, consciously or not, are obliged to respond to the Cold War narrative in order to restore the historical context in which participants in the Spanish Civil War acted.

In writing about the similarity of several documentary films about the Lincoln Brigade, my colleague Anthony Geist recently observed that the prevailing story is a “response to an unacknowledged master narrative that hovers, unspoken, over all these films, and that is the discourse of the Cold War.” The cinematic counter-narrative focuses on issues that Cold War–influenced writers have introduced as evidence of communist hypocrisy, opportunism, even subversion, and argues for different interpretations.

To use one of Geist’s examples, since part of the anti-communist position emphasizes that communists were “un-American,” the counter-narrative stresses the indigenous nature of U.S. communists and places their story in the framework of particular ethnic or nationality groups. In my own work, for instance, Hy Katz speaks for the many Jewish volunteers who had reason to fight Hitler’s allies; Canute Frankson for African Americans; Evelyn Hutchins for women. In addition, the volunteers appear not as Communist Party ideologues, but as independent thinkers who boldly cut against the grain of Roosevelt’s neutrality policies. Such works play down the role of the Communist Party or the sectarian splits among leftist groups. Meanwhile, exponents of the Cold War narrative snipe at these works and scrutinize new archival discoveries for proof of communist evil.

I don’t think this argument is going to end soon. But I do think that we are heading toward a new paradigm that pays more attention to diverse source materials and that appreciates multiple perspectives. The FBI files about the Lincoln volunteers, for instance, reveal the prejudices of both the federal investigators and the subjects of investigation. When a “Negro” man danced with a white woman at a Lincoln Brigade party, the FBI saw subversion (which, of course, it was, given the times). But the agents’ concern about misused passports cannot be dismissed as mere bigotry. Nor can we deny that some members and veterans of the International Brigades acted as informants and spies to assist the interests of the Soviet Union [...].

I believe that new paradigms will move away from the national histories of the brigades and address issues of internationalism. Among U.S. volunteers, for instance, a significant number—at least 300—have Spanish surnames, indicating direct ties to Spain and Latin America, regardless of ideology. Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Filipino volunteers had reasons for going to Spain without reference to party politics; so did the Jewish men and women who seem to have traveled disproportionately from many parts of the world. The history of the war also needs to address the diaspora of Spaniards after Franco’s victory and their resistance to fascism during and after World War II. The Spanish Civil War is broader than its national boundaries.

In addition to the military narrative that focuses on soldiers, battles, and casualties, I believe it is essential to examine the “home fronts,” both within Spain and in countries that responded to the Franco rebellion. In the United States, for instance, there is evidence that citizens of various persuasions participated in activities to aid the Republic or petitioned Washington to support their favored side. We know, too, that some communities, especially the Spanish immigrant groups or multi-ethnic cities like New York, were severely divided in their opinions. We know that Spain mobilized opinion throughout the Americas and served to break through the narcotic of isolationism. The effect of Spain on the

*The FBI files about the Lincoln volunteers reveal the prejudices of both the federal investigators and the subjects of investigation.*





public consciousness [...] is critical for understanding the idealism that drove support for the big war against fascism that soon followed—even though we know that whatever the Allied commitment to internationalism was, in 1945 the great powers turned their backs on Spain.

The story that remains to be told and may establish a foundation for a new paradigm involves matters that today we call human rights. Paul Preston's path-breaking book, *The Spanish Holocaust*, focuses on internal Spanish politics in those terms. We must remember that not only soldiers went to Spain to save the Republic, but also medical professionals, social workers, and humanitarians. Dr. Leonard Crome, a British doctor in Spain and in World War II, is honored by an annual lecture, which provided the opportunity for this essay. Similarly, no American volunteer showed greater heroism than Dr. Edward Barsky, who founded the American Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, served as a frontline surgeon and a rearguard fundraiser for the Republic, and headed the postwar Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. For these efforts, he was thanked by the government with a one-year jail sentence and loss of his medical license because he refused to turn over the names of donors and recipients of humanitarian aid that, he knew, would find their way into Franco's hands.

Doctors Crome and Barsky were two of thousands of world citizens who responded to the horrors of civilian bombings and forced migration of refugees, the killing of the innocent, and the sheer terror of war, by volunteering as health workers, reporters, and good Samaritans. Others stayed home and raised funds to purchase medicine, condensed milk for children, or ambulances, or wrote letters to newspapers and pleaded with politicians to intervene, warning that Spain foreshadowed a world war, and implicitly predicting what we understand today as the worst genocide of the twentieth century. Spain was the beacon ignored, the lesson unlearned by leaders of so-called democracies but not ignored or

◆ **Old Clothes** donated by Americans and distributed by Unitarians at Marseille and Toulouse are the only protection many Spanish refugees have against the bitter winter in unheated homes. With inflation rampant, they can barely afford minimum food rations.

◆ **Many Refugees** are highly trained professional men who have devoted their lives to helping care for the others. This doctor preparing for an operation at the 55-bed Varsovie Hospital, maintained at Toulouse by the Unitarians, was one of the most noted surgeons of Spain. ◆



*Among U.S. volunteers, for instance, a significant number—at least 300—have Spanish surnames, indicating direct ties to Spain and Latin America, regardless of ideology.*

forgotten by millions of their constituents.

When at last Roosevelt and Churchill came to talk about their principles and ideals in the Atlantic Charter of 1940, they expressed the importance of people's right to self-determination and enunciated their commitment that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny," they hoped to see "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." The Four Freedoms laid the basis of the postwar United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights for each and every one of us. They did not anticipate how a cold war would create everlasting uncertainties of nuclear annihilation and strategic bombings of helpless populations. We've lived to see the tragedies of Spain repeated until they seem normal.

For all the squabbling about interpreting the Spanish Civil War, however, what is undeniable is the enduring interest in that conflict. Picasso's *Guernica* immortalizes a tragedy that lives on in the twenty-first century. When the United States won

the votes in the United Nations Security Council to invade Iraq in 2003, the diplomats took pains to cover up the nearby tapestry of that painting, fearing, justifiably, that the horrors of Spain would haunt their endeavors. The aerial bombing of civilians no longer troubles the universe, as it did three-quarters of a century ago in 1937. Nor does the never-ending flow of civilians from the ravages of war stop the wars. We have become inured to those terrors. But it was not always so. Every generation writes its own history because it struggles to understand its worst fears and its failures. ▲

*Peter N. Carroll is ALBA's Chair Emeritus. This essay was adapted from the title chapter of his new book, From Guernica to Human Rights: Essays on the Spanish Civil War (Kent, OH: 2015). Earlier versions were presented as the annual Leonard Crome Memorial Lecture at the Imperial War Museum in March 2012, the Susman Lecture in New York in March 2013, and at Stanford University in October 2013, and published in the Antioch Review (Fall 2012).*

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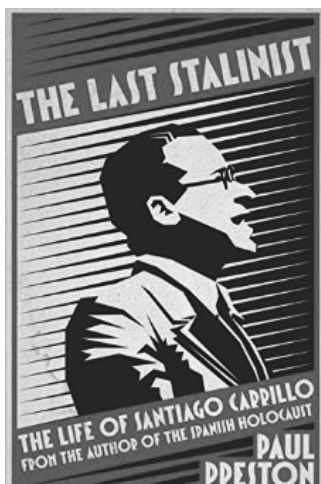
*From Guernica to Human Rights: Essays on the Spanish Civil War* can be pre-ordered by calling 800-247-6553. Use code FGHR for a 10% discount.

# Book reviews

## When the Party Was Over

Paul Preston, *The Last Stalinist: The Life of Santiago Carrillo* (New York: William Collins: 2015).

Reviewed by Adam Hochschild



**F**EW, if any, historians of modern Spain can match the work of the prolific Paul Preston. His mastery of primary sources in several languages, his careful eye for human detail, the breadth of his knowledge, have all made him an indispensable guide to the country's recent past. It will be a long time before any other work surpasses his *The Spanish Holocaust* as the definitive reckoning of what people on both sides suffered in the

Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. He has never let his wish that the Republic had won that war restrain him from criticizing the mistakes and misdeeds of some of its defenders.

Over the course of his 97-year life, Santiago Carrillo, long-time leader of the Communist Party of Spain, the PCE, committed more than his share of misdeeds. In Preston's new biography, Carrillo has few redeeming features. He shared responsibility for the worst single wartime massacre by the Republic, the shooting of more than 2,300 prisoners, mostly captured Nationalist officers, outside Madrid in 1936. Later Carrillo alternately took credit for this or denied his complicity, depending on whom he was talking to. He had no hesitation in callously denouncing friends, mentors, even his own father, when it was politically expedient to do so. During the long years when the Spanish party was dependent on Soviet funding, he tacked this way and that according to Moscow's changing line, ruthlessly purging dissidents who wanted internal party democracy. When convenient, he would accuse someone of being a fascist agent or a "Titoist reptile," and seems to have arranged the execution of a few of his rivals. Then, with the prospect of Communist participation in electoral politics in a post-Franco Spain, Carrillo skillfully reinvented himself for the public as a democratically-minded Eurocommunist. Meanwhile he continued to run the PCE in the most top-down Stalinist manner.

The reader can't help but feel, however, that this duplici-

*Nothing is more arid than the doctrinal disputes and personal feuds of exile politics.*

tous bureaucrat isn't quite worthy of so much attention from an historian of Preston's caliber. Carrillo had only just turned 24 when the Spanish Civil War ended, and so his life up to that point takes up less than 100 pages of this book. His political activity back in Spain after Franco's death is covered in the last 40. The bulk of this biography covers his time in between, 37 years in exile, mostly in France and the Soviet Union. And nothing is more arid than the doctrinal disputes and personal feuds of exile politics. Or, it appears, could be more exhausting than its meetings: at one PCE congress, Carrillo made a speech that lasted a day and a half. In telling the history of this lengthy period, Preston's focus is almost entirely on Carrillo. He gives us too little sense of what the PCE's underground life was in Spain during the dictatorship, how members there communicated with, and felt about, Party leaders abroad, and what was the experience of the Party's unsuccessful attempts at guerrilla warfare.

All the while, of course, it seemed to Spanish Communists that the stakes were high. Because of its discipline and ties to the Soviet Union, the only major country that would sell the embattled Spanish Republic arms, the PCE had wielded great influence during the war of 1936-39. Often—but, sadly, always wrongly—convinced that Franco's regime was about to collapse, the party hoped to regain at least some of that power. But the regime ended only with the dictator's death and by then Communism had lost much of its luster. The party's share of the national electorate never surpassed 11% and most of the time was far less.

By participating non-violently in post-Franco elections, Carrillo and the PCE played a part in the restoration of democracy in Spain and he won a seat in parliament. His greatest moment of glory came when, on February 23, 1981, some 180 Civil Guards invaded the parliamentary chamber under an officer who fired shots into the ceiling and ordered all members to get down. Carrillo was one of only three who remained standing. Another was the defense minister, General Manuel Gutiérrez Mellado, who defied the Guards and was roughed up by them. He, Carrillo, and several colleagues were then locked up in a room in the building. The coup promptly collapsed when King Juan Carlos went on television to denounce it. The king is remembered as the hero of the occasion, but, unlike the members of parliament, he was never threatened by armed men. Ironically, Carrillo and Gutiérrez Mellado—briefly held under guard but forbidden to speak to each other—had been on opposite sides in the battle for Madrid 45 years before, Carrillo as a member of the city's Republican defense junta, and Gutiérrez Mellado as a young Falangist officer who supported the military uprising. Their joint defiance of the new uprising was an apt symbol that Spain's return to democracy was likely to last. ▲

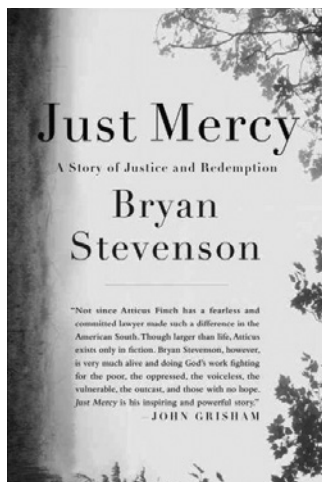
*Adam Hochschild is the author of seven books of history, memoir and reportage; his next will be about Americans and the Spanish Civil War.*



## Alabama Justice

Bryan Stevenson, *Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption* (New York: Spiegel and Grau, 2014).

Reviewed by Renee Romano



the ways in which the legal system mistreats and discards black and poor people in the United States.

*Just Mercy* paints a damning picture of the changes that began in American society in the 1980s that led the United States to become one of the most punitive nations on earth. The United States has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, with the number of people in prison increasing from 300,000 in the 1970s to 2.3 million today. This legal system puts people to death without providing adequate legal counsel, tolerates blatantly unfair prosecutions, until recently locked up children for life for crimes that they committed as young as the age of 13, and has largely abandoned the idea that those who commit crimes can be rehabilitated.

Stevenson, who grew up poor in an all-black community in rural Delaware, has made it his life's work to help the most vulnerable in this system, poor death row inmates who need legal counsel. In 1989, as a young graduate of Harvard Law, Stevenson helped found the nonprofit Equal Justice Initiative to assist death row prisoners in Alabama, a state that has no public defender system for prisoners on death row and that allows judges to override a jury ruling to impose the death penalty on their own. During his career, Stevenson and his organization have helped secure the release of hundreds of prisoners from death row, have exonerated several innocent men who were wrongfully convicted, and have successfully argued before the Supreme Court that it is unconstitutional to sentence juveniles to life imprisonment without parole.

*Just Mercy paints a damning picture of the changes that began in American society in the 1980s that led the United States to become one of the most punitive nations on earth.*

**R**ECENT police killings of unarmed black men and teens in Ferguson, Missouri, New York City, and Cleveland, Ohio have sparked a national conversation about racial bias within the criminal justice system. *Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption* by Bryan Stevenson, the founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, offers a powerful and urgent addition to that conversation, one that should be required reading for anyone who wants to understand

Stevenson describes learning early on from his grandmother that “you can’t understand most of the important things from a distance...You have to get close,” and he brings his readers in close to better understand mass incarceration and extreme punishment in the United States. Much of the book tells the story of Walter McMillian, a successful black business owner from Monroeville, Alabama who in the 1980s was convicted of a murder he did not commit by local law enforcement eager to punish him for having an affair with a white woman. Stevenson’s struggle to get McMillian exonerated makes for both gripping and painful reading. Despite evidence that proves beyond a doubt that McMillian could not have committed the murder, that the police paid witnesses to testify against him, and that the prosecutor withheld exculpatory evidence at the trial, the state for years has resisted reopening the case and instead threatens those who offer evidence of McMillian’s innocence. Stevenson eventually gets McMillian’s sentence invalidated, although he outlines the many additional barriers to securing any compensation from the state for the wrongful conviction and years McMillian spent on death row.

Interspersed between chapters on the struggle to free McMillian, Stevenson introduces many others who have been victimized by the criminal justice system. There are those who are executed despite suffering from serious mental illness, those who a court sentenced to death without taking into account any mitigating factors such as childhood abuse or trauma, children sent to prison for life for crimes that they did mean to commit or were forced to participate in, and poor women imprisoned for murder because their children were stillborn. These people were then further damaged and traumatized in prison when they were raped by other prisoners or by guards, subjected to solitary confinement, or denied treatment for mental illness. It is a sobering picture of a justice system that takes advantage of the inability of the poor, and especially of blacks, to “get the legal assistance they need—all so we can kill them with less resistance.”

As bleak a picture as Stevenson paints of the American criminal justice system, he also insists on the power of hope and the possibility of redemption. He points to the compassion and generosity of those who have been its victims—like Walter McMillian’s ability to forgive those who framed him for a crime he did not commit—as evidence of our potential to be merciful and of our capacity to be better than the worst things we have suffered or that we have done. If everyone could admit and recognize that they are broken in some way, Stevenson argues, we could move beyond the fear and anger that drive America’s zeal for punishment to recognize our common humanity. *Just Mercy* is a powerful rebuke to a nation that takes “pride in mass incarceration, in executing people, in our deliberate indifference to the most vulnerable,” and its urgent message demands a wide audience. ▲

*Renee Romano is Professor of History, Africana Studies and Comparative American Studies at Oberlin College. Her most recent book is Racial Reckoning: Prosecuting America's Civil Rights Murders (Harvard).*

## EL ANTISEPULCRO

Por Manuel Rivas

*A Clemente Bernad*

Suele decirse: Se los comió la tierra.  
Pero yo que soy la tierra,  
un pedazo de tierra,  
unos metros de tierra  
tierra adentro,  
lo que siento es su hambre,  
sus dientes buscando mis pezones,  
mis raíces,  
la pulpa del tiempo,  
la carnaza de las horas podridas,  
la urdidumbre ahumada de las nuves bajas,  
la hogaza del crepúsculo,  
el fermento agrio de las sombras  
en la comisura de las uñas,  
las briznas de luna  
en la sámara de las miradas.  
Yo he sentido mucho,  
tal vez como nadie,  
esta deshora muerta,  
estos muertos inquietos,  
no más con el badajo de las balas,  
abrazados a mí,  
con la última palabra  
en la boca,  
esa gramínea,  
esa zarza,  
ese hueso de saúco.  
He cuidado sus zapatos,  
los botones,  
sus hebillas,  
sus peines,  
sus lapiceros.  
Lo poco que tenían,  
el ajuar del escombro.  
Yo no estaba preparada para esto.  
Tampoco ellos.  
Se me cayeron dentro,  
sin quererlo.  
Pero yo no soy una tumba.  
He criado a mi gente  
bajo tierra.  
Sepulcral vuestro país supulcro,  
donde los muertos  
se jactan del olvido.

## THE ANTI-SEPULCHER

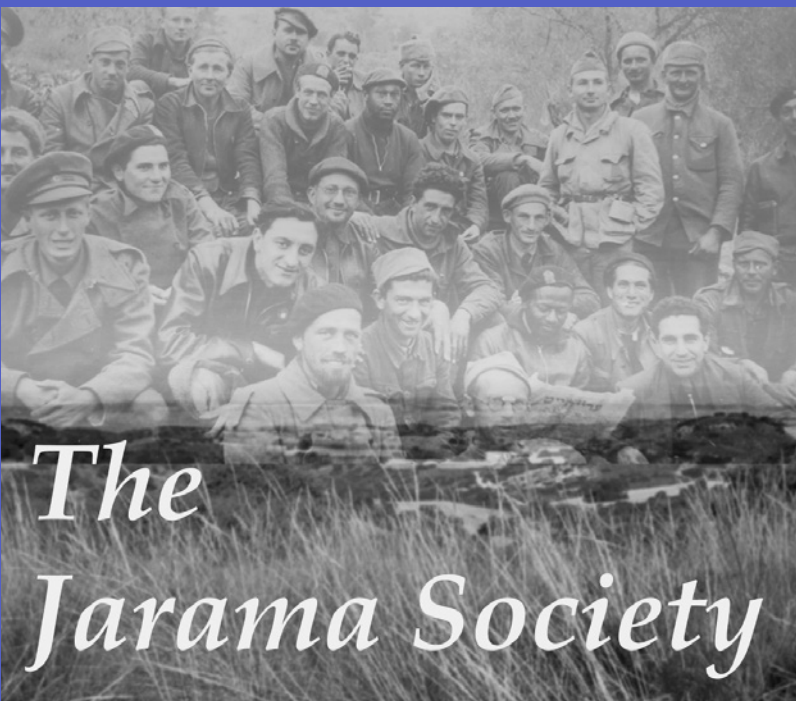
By Manuel Rivas

*To Clemente Bernad*

It is often said: the land has eaten them.  
But I who am the land,  
a piece of the land,  
meters of land,  
land inside me,  
what I feel is their hunger,  
their teeth seeking out my nipples,  
my roots,  
pulp of time,  
the grub of rotting hours,  
smoked warp of low clouds,  
lounging of the twilight,  
the bitter ferment of the shadows  
in the cuticles,  
fleck of the moon  
in the samara of gazes.  
I have felt  
perhaps like no one else,  
this undone dead hour,  
these horrifying dead,  
with the mere chatter of bullets,  
hugging me,  
with the last word  
in mouth,  
that poaceae,  
that blackberry bush,  
that stalk of elderberry.  
I have cared for their steps,  
the buttons,  
their buckles,  
their combs,  
their pencil stubs.  
Little that they had,  
the trousseau of cheap miscellany.  
I was not prepared for this.  
Nor were they.  
They fell into me  
against their will.  
But I am not a tomb.  
I have raised my people  
below ground.  
Our sepulchral country sepulcher,  
where the dead  
boast of being forgotten.

Five inhabitants of Haza (Burgos) were detained and assassinated in August 1936, among them the mayor of the town. The mayor's daughter with her two sons after the 2008 exhumation of the victims' remains. Photo Clemente Bernad.





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## NEWS



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**PABLO IGLESIAS**, leader of the grass-roots political movement **PODEMOS**, paid an intense three-day visit to New York in mid-February, where he was interviewed, among others, by Amy Goodman. When asked if he intends for Spain to meet its obligations, under international law, to investigate and prosecute crimes against humanity committed during the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, his answer was clear: "The way Spanish governments have dealt with this issue is insufficient. This is a priority on my agenda."

Mr. Iglesias hails from a politically committed family that suffered the humiliation of the defeated in the Spanish Civil War. While in New York he was greeted by hundreds of followers as well as critics. As Pablo put it himself, "the fact that the powers that be are worried about us [PODEMOS] proves that we are doing things well."

*Pablo Iglesias speaks with Amy Goodman of Democracy Now!  
Photo Len Tsou.*

**The Volunteer**

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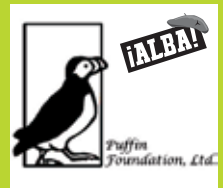
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