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PODEMOS: Spain's New Political Hope

Garzón on Universal
Jurisdiction

Hoover's Secret FBI

Songs of the Spanish
Civil War



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Dear Friends,

When things seem bleakest, hope often sparks.

The victims of Francoism have waited long enough for justice. It's time for action—and the United Nations agrees. In a scathing report on the country's thousands of disappeared lying in unmarked mass graves from the Civil War, the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has given Spain 90 days to produce a working timeline to assist the victims' families. The report—issued in late July following a fact-finding mission last year—calls for “a comprehensive, coherent, and permanent state policy” with regard to the disappeared.

The UN report vindicates the work of Emilio Silva, who, for more than a decade, has denounced Spain's disregard for international law. (Last July, Emilio attended the International Brigade Commemoration in London; see his stirring speech on page 8).

Politically, too, there is hope for change. The Spanish economy has been among the hardest hit by the crisis of 2008. Almost a quarter of the population is unemployed, and the governing Partido Popular has been mired in endless corruption scandals. For a while it seemed that protest politics had fizzled out in Spain. But this year a new grass-roots political movement emerged, calling itself *Podemos* (We Can). It was founded by a group of activists that include two charismatic Political Science professors: Pablo Iglesias, 35, and Juan Carlos Monedero, 51.

As a political party, Podemos won a surprising five seats at the elections for the European Parliament in May. It is poised to rise higher in the next elections. Its message is lucid and radical, and proudly draws on progressive traditions of the past, particularly the fight against fascism—as Monedero explains in his interview with *The Volunteer* (page 15).

We agree with Podemos and with this year's ALBA/Puffin Award Winner Bryan Stevenson that we cannot change history without first knowing it. This is the philosophy that guides everything ALBA does: the teachers' institutes we are running this fall in Florida, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey; our Human Rights Film Festival in September; and our Bay Area event and Pete Seeger tribute in October.

Of course, we could do nothing at all if it weren't for your continued support. *Un millón de gracias* for your steadfast commitment.



Sebastiaan Faber
Chair of the Board
of Governors



Marina Garde
Executive Director

Solidarity Forever!

Join us for ALBA's Bay Area Reunion!

Sunday, October 5, 2014
2:00 PM (doors open at 1:00 PM)

**Freight & Salvage
Coffeehouse**
2020 Addison Street
Berkeley, California



A commemorative celebration marking the 78th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War and remembering the courageous volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. This year we pay tribute to the life of Pete Seeger, featuring previously unseen footage and presenting the spectacular Smithsonian re-release of the legendary "Songs of the Spanish Civil War" albums that include Seeger's 1944 "Songs of the Lincoln Brigade."

Special guest: Human rights advocate Alison Mollman,
Equal Justice Initiative

Songs of the Spanish Civil War by Bruce Barthol, with Velina Brown, Randy Craig, Tony Marcus, and Barrett Nelson.

Tickets: \$29 advance / \$31 at door
Discounts for seniors, students and Friends of the Freight

Tickets may be purchased online at:
www.thefreight.org/abraham-lincoln-brigade-celebration
Tel. (510) 644-2020

ALBA Reaches Out to Teachers in Four States

By the Editors

Kicking off a busy fall, ALBA worked with teachers in Tampa.



Participants and faculty of the 2014 ALBA Institute in Tampa.

ALBA'S INSTITUTE STAFF HAS A BUSY FALL, with workshops lined up in Tampa, Florida; Bloomington, Illinois; New York City; and Bergen County, New Jersey. On August 13, ALBA led a professional development day for social studies teachers in Tampa's Hillsborough County School District, the third largest in Florida and eighth largest in the country.

Fraser Ottanelli, Vice Chair of ALBA and Professor of History at the University of Southern Florida, worked with veteran teacher Robert Alicea and ALBA's Sebastiaan Faber to introduce teachers of U.S. History, World History, Government, and Psychology to the Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War.

"The Spanish Civil War and the story of the Lincoln Brigade form the hub of a giant wheel with dozens of curricular spokes that go far beyond the 1930s," Alicea said. "It provides a fascinating window into issues and topics as diverse as the Great Depression, ideology, the rise of fascism, the Cold War, race, civil rights, the Vietnam war, feminism, memory, activism, citizenship, ethics, and human rights."

After screening documentary footage from *The Good Fight*, teachers drew on ALBA's anthology of primary source materials—letters, speeches, posters, and photographs from the Archive—to create compelling lesson plans for their hundreds of high school students.

Francie Grossman, a veteran teacher in the county, revealed her personal connection to the Spanish Civil War. "My mother was a native American who was taken from her parents and raised in foster care," she said, "and my father, Dr. Leo Grossman, was a bacteriologist from Brooklyn whose family had fled from the Prussian Army in 1898, and who was 18 when the Civil War

broke out in Spain. He was determined to join the Lincoln Brigade, but in the end was not able to go to Spain. After World War II he worked hard to get Jewish refugees from Europe to the United States."

This was ALBA's fifth institute in Tampa—a historical center of Spanish immigration and labor activism, from which more than two dozen volunteers left to join the fight against fascism in Spain. The city's Centro Asturiano, founded exactly 100 years ago, features a monument in their memory.

"My teachers are becoming quite familiar with the new Common Core benchmarks," said Dennis Holt, district supervisor of secondary social studies. "What we are now desperate for is good content, particularly well-selected primary source materials. And that is precisely what ALBA provides us with." ▲

For more information about ALBA's institutes, or for a range of primary materials and Common Core-aligned lesson plans, visit ALBA's teacher resource website at resources.alba-valb.org.



Mobilized Spanish immigrants in Tampa, Florida. Reproduced in *Stars for Spain: La guerra civil española en los Estados Unidos*.



Sam, Eli, and Bjorn.

HISTORY DAY WINNERS

Three 8th-grade students at the Open World Learning Community school in St. Paul, Minnesota—Sam Dale-Gau, Bjorn Holm, and Eli Sage-Martinson—placed fifth at the National History Day Finals in the category of Junior Group Documentary for their work on the history of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The three produced a short documentary film based on archival research and interviews. The Finals were held June 15-19 in Washington DC. Here's their report (slightly abridged).

AT THE BEGINNING of the year we spent nearly a month attempting to settle on a topic. One day while we were researching, we came across an interesting website pertaining to the Spanish Civil War. We were amazed by the sacrifice the Brigade made for what they believed in and the bravery they exemplified throughout the war. We became familiar with our topic by reading online articles and public library books. Next, we took a trip to the University of Minnesota and looked at their microfilm and books to get a better idea of what was going on around the time of the Spanish Civil War. We found several professors and held email discussions about the impact of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. We even made contact with Sebastiaan Faber, the current board chair of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, the organization established by veterans of the brigade. Through our research we found many mentions of documentaries produced about the Brigade and looked into them. We discovered some memoirs written by actual survivors of the Brigade. We took a trip to the Carleton

and Wilson libraries to peruse their large newspaper archives for information from the time of the war. Finally, we watched and listened to tapes of the Brigade and CDs of their anthems that we received from Peter Rachleff, a professor at Macalester College.

The first competition was within our school. At that point we had a rough script and a good idea of where we were planning to go with it. Between then and the regional event we broadened our research to encompass two interviews and a variety of texts from the University of Minnesota. At Regionals we had a full-fledged documentary overflowing with content. Advancing from Regionals was a big relief that didn't last long because soon we were pulled into the thrall of statewide history day. The time between Regionals and state was probably the period when our project evolved the most. We conducted an interview with another professor, were given footage of an interview with one of the veterans himself, and accessed newspaper articles from the late 1930's.

We arrived at the state competition feeling confident and prepared to compete. The film played well and it seemed as if our judges enjoyed it, the interview also went flawlessly. After waiting for what seemed like eternity, we walked to another building on campus to discover that we had made finals. This meant we would have to show our documentary one more time, and would also be competing to attend Nationals in Washington D.C. After an hour and a half of nervous fidgeting and frequent

bathroom breaks, our names were announced as first place winners of the junior group documentary division! This meant we would be attending Nationals in June.

As Nationals neared we hurried to record our newly edited script and edit the documentary. The time we did spend competing was intense and nerve wracking. Like at State, we did well in the first round and came away feeling confident. Later that day, the results were posted on three large TVs and we found out that we had made the National finals! This meant the same as State, we would present our project one more time. It went well and we watched other competitors documentary's and began to feel less confident. Then, out of nowhere, it was time for the awards ceremony. Amidst all the excitement and state pride, we nervously fiddled with our backpacks, phones, shirts, pants, you name it. Then, we were up, "Junior group documentary." First place went by, second, then third, our names were not called. Our state coordinator came up to us afterward and told us we had gotten 5th place, not bad. Overall, History Day was a amazing experience that united us with some of the best people we had ever met. And we believe it will prepare us for college and life beyond. ▲

NHD
NATIONAL
HISTORY DAY

THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION

By Baltasar Garzón



The doctrine of Universal Jurisdiction allows tribunals from any State to prosecute heinous crimes that are an affront to all humanity. It is our most important weapon in the battle against the great criminals of history. Yet the United States is dragging its feet.

The International Criminal Court in The Hague. Photo Vincent van Zeijst, CC BY-SA 3.0

ONE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES that lies at the heart of Universal Jurisdiction is the tireless struggle against impunity. In the midst of so many atrocities, suffering, and aberrations in the history of humanity, there are also a number of experts and proponents of the doctrine of Universal Jurisdiction that today comprise a significant group of activists determined to win the battle against the great criminals of history. For this reason great minds such as Hugo Grocio, Francisco de Vitoria, Diego de Covarrubias or Suárez planted the seed

of a principle that with our activism we can extend, apply, and surround with respect.

Universal Jurisdiction allows tribunals from any State to prosecute those crimes that due to their particularly destructive nature are an affront to all humanity. Such crimes have managed to avoid the traditional requirement of demonstrating a direct connection between the criminal act and the jurisdiction of the State that wishes to bring them to trial. In fact, they are limited to a slate of

The Madrid Principles of Universal Jurisdiction strive to expand the catalogue of crimes that merit universal prosecution, including economic crimes and crimes against nature.

international crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, torture, forced disappearances, or piracy, among others.

In the last two decades, the practical evolution of this principle has given hope and faith to those who previously thought they had to resign themselves to the great injustices of history. We could cite the cases of the Chilean Pinochet, the Argentinian Scilingo, or the legal proceedings against Hissène Habré in Senegal. But it doesn't end there, and despite the obstacles some judges encounter in their application (like the recent diminishment of Universal Jurisdiction in Spain), this instrument continues to live and develop.

The Princeton Principles of Universal Jurisdiction were first published in 2001. Experts from around the world came together to take a monumental step toward the first codification of the guiding elements that articulate that instrument of justice. This past May, the First International Congress on Universal Jurisdiction signaled the beginning of discussion and elaboration of a new compilation to represent the current state of Universal Jurisdiction and the path to follow envisioned by many experts. It is the embryo of the Madrid Principles of Universal Jurisdiction, an innovative document intended to support all those who want to apply, develop, and spread Universal Jurisdiction.

The Madrid Principles strive to take a step forward in judiciary cooperation, in assistance between States throughout investigations and in the foundation of the very principle of Universal Jurisdiction, while expanding the catalogue of crimes that merit universal prosecution. This last goal opens the door for the prosecution of crimes of an economic character and crimes against nature which, when committed systematically, constitute an assault on human rights for a large number of victims.

All this proves the interest and commitment of many people and institutions to stand up against impunity and injustice. Universal Jurisdiction is a necessary and legitimate mechanism to close the loopholes of impunity that the international community has not been able to resolve until now. In this regard, it is important to underline the limited efficacy of the International Criminal Court (ICC), given the chronological, geographic, political, and material limits that have been imposed on it. While the creation of this Court was a victory, it is necessary to remember that its hands are still tied by a number of obstacles: it cannot prosecute crimes committed before the date it was established, its work can be subsumed by a reversal of the UN Security Council, and several of the most powerful States have refused to ratify the Statute of Rome—the 1998 treaty that established the ICC.

The United States is one of the countries that have refused to ratify the Statute of Rome. It is difficult to understand why a country that raises the flag of lofty principles and ideas would



nonetheless refuse to take the crucial step that would help in the universalization of the International Criminal Court.

The leading role of the United States on the international scene is undeniable. This leading role places the US and its representatives in armed conflicts, the pursuit of major terrorists, or the orchestration of enormous economic interests. In all such cases it is relatively easy to cross the line of what is acceptable for humanity. The exposure of the United States to these scenarios, however, cannot be an excuse to cloak itself in absolute immunity that allows it to operate freely with no need to be accountable to anyone. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the United States to make a commitment to respect international norms and submit to the examination and audit findings of the International Criminal Court, as well as ceasing to throw obstacles in the path of the application of the principle of Universal Jurisdiction of other States.

The United States is a fundamental player in this battle, but the battle is the responsibility of all nations. The fight against impunity on all levels is a call to action to which we must respond in all realms: the prosecution of crimes committed by States in their local judiciaries, support of the work of the International Criminal Court, and the application of Universal Jurisdiction. To be sure, there are many pitfalls along the way, but the same energy and commitment that created these instruments will ultimately also allow their perfection and total efficacy. ▲

Baltasar Garzón is an acclaimed Spanish lawyer and former judge who built his career on doggedly pursuing accountability for human rights crimes, including indicting Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. In 2010 he was suspended from the Audiencia Nacional, Spain's central criminal court, in large part for making the case that Franco's repression during and after the Spanish Civil War—which resulted in over 100,000 victims buried in unmarked mass graves—should be viewed as a crime against humanity. In 2011 he received the first annual Puffin-ALBA Human Rights Award.

Translated by Anthony L. Geist, member of ALBA's board of governors.

Exhuming Franco's Graves for Democracy

By Emilio Silva



On July 5, 2014, the International Brigades Memorial Trust celebrated its annual commemoration of the 2,500 British volunteers who went to Spain to take part in Europe's first major clash against fascism. Among the speakers was Emilio Silva, founder of the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH). Since 2000, the Association has exhumed and identified the remains of hundreds of disappeared men and women, victims of the horrific repression of the Francoist dictatorship. What follows is a transcript of Emilio's speech.

THE ENTIRE TERRITORY OF SPAIN is riddled with mass graves. In fact, the only country on the planet that has more mass graves than Spain is Cambodia. We have the full names of 113,000 disappeared who lie in hundreds of our own killing fields. And no Spanish government since Franco's death and Spain's supposedly exemplary transition to democracy has taken responsibility for offering reparations for the human rights violations committed under the dictatorship.

During all of these years we have asked Spain's judicial system to investigate these crimes, just as the Spanish judiciary did in the cases of Guatemala and Argentina, or in the arrest and attempt to extradite Augusto Pinochet in 1998. Yet our efforts to prosecute crimes committed in Spain—crimes that have no statute of limitations—have been consistently blocked by various political powers. That's why, on April 14, 2010, we presented a lawsuit in Argentina's courts requesting the application of universal jurisdiction. As of today, the only ongoing judicial case against the violation of human rights committed during the Francoist dictatorship is the one in Buenos Aires. Spain itself is a haven of impunity for Francoist crimes.

I want to thank all of you who preserve the memory of the men and women who rushed to save Spanish democracy, who risked and sacrificed their lives to help people like my grandfather. My father's father fought for the establishment in his home town of a public, free, and secular school. For that reason he was murdered by Falangist thugs and thrown into a ditch, where, 74 years later, we were able to exhume and rescue his remains.

Some years ago, a journalist with roots in the province of Albacete told me that, during the war, a group of Russian *Brigadistas* had been killed near his town, the bodies left beside a road. When the news spread, some of the women villagers walked to the spot where the bodies were and opened the eyes of the dead. They had never seen blue eyes. The men and women of the International Brigades arrived to a country where there were people who had never seen blue eyes. This strikes me

as an apt metaphor for Spain in the 1930s: isolated, backward, in need of progress.

In 2004 we organized a major concert in the city of Rivas Vaciamadrid to pay tribute to the men and women who had fought against fascism. More than 20,000 people attended. We had invited two *Brigadistas*: Bob Doyle and Theo Francos. When they walked on stage, they received the longest ovation of the entire concert: thousands and thousands of hands expressing gratitude to the men and women who sacrificed so much, and who offered such a fine example for future generations.

Standing here on this small piece of the Spanish Republic in London, I want to thank you for everything, and I want to pay my own tribute to those who wrote some of the most beautiful pages in the annals of the history of humanity.

We work so that all is not forgotten, so that this memory, this example, will remain as a living heritage for future generations. We fight against impunity, against fear—which is still very much in the hearts of many Spaniards—and against silence. One day, during an exhumation of a mass grave in Piedrafita de Babia in León, a miner approached us and said, almost shouting: "It's a disgrace that it has taken so many years since Franco's death for this to be done." He then went to his car and came back saying that he had a gift for us. It was a poster of an illustration by Castelao, a Galician artist and intellectual who died in exile in Argentina in 1937. On the poster, a group of civilians are placing corpses in a mass grave. In the distance, the crosses and tombstones of a cemetery can be seen. And below the image, there is a caption: "They are not burying corpses; they are planting seeds." And that is precisely what we are trying to do by exhuming Franco's mass graves, by trying to recover historical memory. We are spreading the seeds that will allow us to build a better democracy. ▲

HOOVER'S SECRET FBI

Betty Medsger at ALBA's Susman Lecture,
June 2014. Photo Len Tsou.

On June 6, journalist Betty Medsger delivered the annual ALBA/BillSusman Lecture, based on her recent book *The Burglary: The Discovery of J. Edgar Hoover's Secret FBI*. Medsger's book features the never-before-told story of the history-changing break-in at the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, in 1971. The burglars were a group of unlikely activists—quiet, ordinary, hardworking Americans—who revealed a shocking truth, confirming what some had long suspected: that J. Edgar Hoover had created and was operating, in violation of the U.S. Constitution, his own shadow Bureau of Investigation. The lecture honors one of ALBA's founders, the Lincoln veteran Bill Susman. What follows is a synopsis of her talk.

AT TWO CRUCIAL POINTS IN HISTORY, now and in 1971, Americans learned that their intelligence agencies were out of control and engaging in activities that most citizens consider inappropriate in a democratic society. These deeply concealed secrets were made public not by investigative reporters, vigilant members of Congress, or alert Attorneys General, but, instead, by unknown citizens who risked being imprisoned for many years.

During the Cold War, in 1971, eight people burglarized the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, and revealed through journalists the first documentary evidence that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover engaged in surveillance and aggressive dirty tricks, including violent actions, against people he considered subversive, especially African Americans. In anonymous letters that accompanied the files they mailed, the eight called themselves the Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI. In 2013, in post-9/11 America, former NSA contractor Edward Snowden distributed to journalists thousands of NSA files that revealed blanket surveillance of Americans on all forms of electronic communication, plans to expand the agency's cyber warfare

capability, and focused dirty tricks, primarily against Muslims.

In contrast to Snowden, the identity of the Media burglars was never known. They had promised each other they would take the secret of the burglary to their graves. Despite the fact that 200 agents searched for them for five years, the burglars never were found. And despite its enormous impact, the burglary was largely forgotten until most of the burglars stepped forward when my book about the burglary and its impact was published last January. Their story is also told in *1971*, a documentary by Johanna Hamilton that premiered at the Tribeca Film Festival in April.

The files were removed from the small FBI office in Media, a suburb outside Philadelphia. "Just a few things missing," local FBI officials told reporters the day after the burglary. That wasn't quite true. Every file in the office—about 1,000—had been removed. Beginning immediately, those "few things" missing led to the start of one of the most extensive manhunts—and woman hunts—in the history of the FBI and led, by the mid-1970s, to far more: the first congressional investigations of all intelligence agencies, the establishment of permanent congressional oversight

of intelligence agencies and the strengthening of the Freedom of Information Act.

The idea for the burglary came from the mind of William Davidon, a mild-mannered physics professor at Haverford College who had actively opposed the use and development of nuclear weapons since the dropping of bombs on Hiroshima. He had actively opposed the Vietnam War. Throughout 1970 people participating in the large peace movement in Philadelphia had been telling him they thought their organizations had been infiltrated by spies. As someone who disliked conspiracy theories, Davidon did not believe those rumors. But he kept hearing them from people he respected.

By that fall he concluded the rumors probably were true. Most people had a helpless reaction to the rumors: "Of course it's true, but there's nothing you can do about it." To them, it was a problem that was impossible to solve. How could anyone force the powerful and popular FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, to open his bureau to inspection? But Davidon thought that if it was true that the government, through the FBI, was spying on protesters in an effort to suppress dissent, it was a problem too big not to solve. He feared rhetoric without

The burglars had promised each other they would take the secret of the burglary to their graves.

facts would deepen cynicism. He was convinced that if evidence of suppression was presented to Americans they would demand that it be stopped.

By the fall of 1970, a rather hopeless time in the peace movement, he felt there were two wars that needed to be stopped: the war in Vietnam and the war against dissent at home. Accepting the fact that no officials had investigated the FBI or could be expected to do so, Davidson drew up a list of nine people and asked each of them:

What do you think of burglarizing an FBI office?

Startled at first, nearly all of them eventually agreed with his reasoning: evidence must be found and given to the public in order to stop the surveillance. Only one person on his list, a philosophy professor, turned him down. Later, just days before the burglary, one member abandoned the group without explanation but with full knowledge of their plans. The remaining eight people moved forward despite not knowing if he would turn them in, as he threatened to do a few weeks after the burglary.

They faced other circumstances that surely would have stopped other people. From inside the glass front door of the county courthouse across the street from the building where the FBI office was located, 24 hours a day a security guard watched the well lit door they would enter and leave. The night of the burglary, two locks—instead of only one as viewed by two of them earlier—were on the door they intended to enter. One of those locks could not be picked, prompting the lock picker to suggest the burglary be called off. Despite these threatening circumstances, they moved ahead.

Who were these people who took such a profound risk even though they had no idea whether they could break in without being caught or if there was even a single file inside that office that would confirm their suspicion that the FBI was suppressing dissent? For all they knew, they could have ended up in prison for stealing useless files, blank personnel forms.

John and Bonnie Raines, a couple with three children under age eight, were

part of the group. John was a professor of religion at Temple University, a position he would continue to hold until he retired. Bonnie was a director of a day care center at the time. They felt strongly that parental responsibilities should not prevent people from being devoted activists—even carrying out acts of non-violent resistance that could lead to prison. They made arrangements for members of their family to raise Lindsley, Mark and Nathan if they had to serve time in prison.

Other members of the group were Keith Forsyth and Bob Williamson, both of whom had dropped out of college to work nearly fulltime to stop the war. Forsyth, a cab driver, developed his burglary skills by taking a correspondence course in locksmithing. Williamson was working as a social worker for the state. Susan Smith and Ron Durst—members of the group who have chosen not to be

they pushed to obtain their basic rights in the early 1960s in the South inspired courage in all of the burglars. The struggle to end the war was the primary inspiration for the youngest in the group.

The date of the burglary—March 8, 1971—was not an accident. The fight of the century—the first world heavyweight boxing championship match between Mohammad Ali and Joe Frazier—was held that night at Madison Square Garden in New York. The world—literally, the whole world, was waiting for this night when Ali would return to the ring for the first time since he had been convicted six years earlier for refusing to serve in the military because of his opposition to the war. Frazier was admired by people who supported the war, including President Nixon.

The burglars thought nearly everyone would be tuned to television and radio reports on the fight—FBI agents, local

police, and the residents who lived on the two floors above the FBI office. The crackling broadcast sounds, they hoped, would muffle burglary sounds. That seems to be what happened, as Forsyth, the lock picker, worked slowly with a crowbar and car jack to break in and assure that the office was ready for the four people who would work in the dark, stuffing suitcases with every file in the office.

One of Hoover's

favorite reporters wrote that Hoover was "apoplectic" when told about the burglary. None other than the future Deep Throat, of Watergate fame, was sent to the crime scene the next morning. Ironically, the burglary could not have happened except for Felt's refusal in fall 1970 to purchase an alarm system or a large file drawer-type safe, both of which had been requested by the agent in charge of the Media office.

After 10 days reading, sorting, and collating the files at a remote farmhouse, the burglars copied files and prepared them to be mailed in small packets over the next two months. As their work ended, they made two promises: they would take the secret of the burglary to their graves and they no longer would associate with each other, fearing that the arrest of one could lead to arrest of another.



identified by their real names—played crucial roles in the casing that took place for three months before the burglary.

Bonnie Raines did the most dangerous casing. Posing as a student researching work roles for women in local offices, she surveyed the inside of the FBI office while interviewing the agent in charge. Her discovery that there was no alarm system in the office encouraged the group's decision to move forward. Her face was remembered by the agents and a sketch of her likeness was issued to FBI agents. From the day after the burglary until the day he died in May 1972, Hoover frequently said, "Get that woman."

Members of the group found courage from various sources. Outrage at the Holocaust in Europe was a key motivation for several members of the group. The courage of black people as

On the day after their last meeting, John Raines mailed the first set of stolen files to two members of Congress—Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, and Rep. Parren Mitchell, Democrat of Baltimore—and three journalists—Tom Wicker, columnist at the *New York Times* Washington bureau, Jack Nelson, investigative reporter at the *Los Angeles Times* Washington bureau and myself, a reporter at the *Washington Post*. I didn't know until I read the 34,000-page investigative file of the burglary many years later during research for my book that I was the only recipient who did not give the files to the FBI.

One file stood out immediately, the one in which agents were instructed to “enhance paranoia,” to make people think there was an “FBI agent behind every mailbox.” I wondered if I was holding a hoax. It seemed unlikely that an intelligence or law enforcement agency would state such extreme goals in writing.

Those initial files also revealed campus spying for the FBI by paid informers: switch board operators, mail carriers, and mid-level college administrators. Among the most important revelations in that first set of files were ones that revealed Hoover's FBI had African-Americans under surveillance by paid informers literally everywhere they went: the corner store, bars, and restaurants, as well as school and college classrooms, libraries, and churches. Every agent, the files revealed, was required to hire an informer to spy on black people. In Washington, DC, every agent was required to hire six agents to spy on African Americans. Neither violent nor subversive behavior was necessary. Simply being black was enough to attract the FBI's watchful eyes and fill its files.

So sweeping was the surveillance revealed in the files that newspaper editorial writers wrote that it resembled the work of the dreaded East German secret police, the Stasi.

My primary concern as I finished reading these first files was: were they authentic? The FBI was eager to confirm they were. Doing so, they assumed, would convince us the content of the files should not be reported. As I wrote a story about the revelations, Attorney General John Mitchell called the two editors in charge of the story and publisher Katharine Graham, repeatedly urging them not to publish. It was the first time the Nixon administration pressed Graham to suppress a story. The second instance came three months later when the *Post* received the Pentagon Papers.

She did not want to publish the Media files, nor did the *Post's* attorney. But editors Ben Bradlee and Ben Bagdikian convinced her to do so, and the story was on the front page of the *Post* the next morning. After the story broke, other news organizations reported extensively on the Media files over the next three months as they were distributed by the anonymous burglars.

There was an immediate and unprecedented outcry for the FBI to be investigated, including from members of Congress and editorial boards that previously had expressed only praise for Hoover and the bureau. Senator Sam Ervin, Democrat from North Carolina, later a hero as chairman of the Senate Watergate hearings, was urged in spring 1971 to investigate Hoover and the bureau. He refused, saying he thought Hoover was doing a fine job. His refusal was a surprise for those who regarded him as the greatest congressional defender of the Constitution.

Later developments kept alive the call for an investigation of the FBI. Eventually, congressional investigations were inevitable because of the perseverance of NBC reporter Carl Stern. A year after the burglary, he asked the FBI to reveal what COINTELPRO was. The term was on one of the Media files. It was a mere routing slip, but it turned out to be the single most important file stolen. As a result of a lawsuit brought by Stern more than a year after the burglary, a federal judge ordered the FBI to hand over the papers that revealed the COINTELPRO operation: a series of dirty tricks and criminal operations to “expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize” people Hoover considered subversive.

The details of these operations shocked the public in 1974. They ranged from crude to cruel — injecting activists' oranges with strong laxatives, hiring prostitutes known to have venereal disease to seduce activists and clandestinely trying to convince Martin Luther King to commit suicide. Some operations led to murder, and some led to perjured testimony by FBI informers and agents that sent innocent people to prison for decades.

Thanks to the Media and subsequent revelations, there was a spirit of reform by the end of 1974. In January 1975 both houses of Congress voted to conduct the first congressional investigations of all intelligence agencies.

The hearings conducted by the Senate's Church Committee, named for

its chair, Senator Frank Church of Idaho, mattered most. During those hearings the public heard intelligence officials testify under oath about the cruel things done, and the lawlessness in Hoover's FBI. Reforms were enacted, including establishment of the first intelligence oversight committees in Congress. Perhaps the most important reform that emerged was the strengthening in 1974 of the Freedom of Information Act. Though the bureau often is slow to obey, that reform led to the release of hundreds of thousands of files that continue to reveal the FBI's secret history. It was learned, for instance, that for more than 20 years, the FBI had a formal program that involved 100,880 members of the American Legion, who worked as untrained informers, regularly supplied the FBI with written reports on people in their communities.

The bureau's failure to find the Media burglars was deeply frustrating to Hoover. As bureau officials repeatedly stated in the record of the five-year investigation of the burglary, they never found any evidence or any witnesses with direct or indirect information about the burglars or the crime they committed.

Davidon was right. Presented with evidence of FBI's suppression of dissent, the American people demanded action. Intelligence agencies were investigated and new policies established controls.

Now, Americans again have a choice about the future of their intelligence agencies. In response to the Snowden revelations, legislation moving through Congress has conflicting goals. Some bills would reduce the massive collection of data and other invasive techniques. Other bills would protect and even expand invasive techniques. It is unclear where Americans stand this time. Will they demand a halt to excessive overreach by intelligence agencies, as they did in the 1970s, or will they accept and endorse continued excessive overreach? ▲

Betty Medsker is a former Washington Post reporter and the author of three previous books. As head of the journalism education program at San Francisco State University, she founded the Center for the Integration and Improvement of Journalism, which developed ways to increase racial and ethnic diversity in journalism. She is based in New York and has worked as both reporter and photo documentarian.

Songs of the Spanish Civil War: The New Edition

By Peter Glazer

In October, the Smithsonian is releasing a stunning new edition of its legendary two Folkways albums, *Songs of the Spanish Civil War*. First published in the early 1960s, these LPs compiled songs recorded on 78s by Pete Seeger, Tom Glazer, Ernst Busch, Bart van der Schelling and others during and shortly after the war. Peter Glazer's new liner notes, excerpted here, tell their story.



Pete Seeger entertaining Eleanor Roosevelt (center), honored guest at a racially integrated Valentine's Day party marking the opening of a Canteen of the United Federal Labor, CIO, in then-segregated Washington, D.C. Photographed by Joseph Horne for the Office of War Information, 1944. Library of Congress.



Peter Glazer and Pete Seeger in 2010. Photo Richard Bermack.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR was sung to me long before I knew what it was about. I grew up in the 1960s. When my parents would invite friends over for a dinner party, the conversations inevitably turned to the war in Vietnam. After dinner, my father, folk singer Tom Glazer, would get out his guitar and play. Often, someone would ask him to perform songs from another very different war, the Spanish conflict of the 1930s. "Do the one about the four generals" was a common request. "*Los cuatro generales, los cuatro generales . . .*," my father would sing, and a reverent hush would fall over the room. Eyes would close; people would hum or sing along. This music created an emotional atmosphere I could neither fathom nor ignore. Years later, the songs led me to the history. I found out who the four generals were, the nature of their betrayal of the Spanish people, and why, a few verses later, the song called for their hanging on Christmas Eve. I also came to understand why this music had such an effect; why it was, and remains, important. Now, thanks to Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, these songs that have inspired generations of activists will be available in a new, beautifully produced, fully annotated, elegant CD package, and the cherished vinyl sitting on your shelves will be augmented by a CD that will last for many years to come.

Six years ago, I had the opportunity to spend a month at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, and got to know Smithsonian Folkways Director Dan Sheehy and Associate Director Atesh Sonneborn. They told me that of all the on-

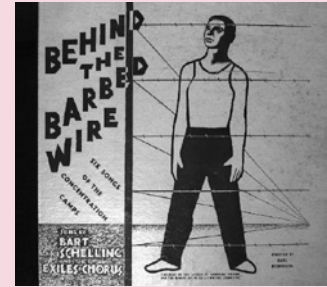
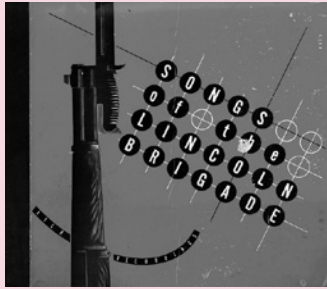
demand CDs they sell to the public, *Songs of the Spanish Civil War Volumes 1 and 2* were among their most requested titles. They began to talk about the possibility of re-releasing these recordings in a new set. That project is nearly completed, and will be available this coming October.

Here's what it includes:

Six Songs for Democracy was originally recorded in Spain in June 1938 during an air raid on Barcelona. One of the records bore a sticker reading: "The defective impression of this record is due to interruptions of electric current during an air raid." The soloist and organizer of this recording was the great German working-class tenor Ernst Busch, backed by a chorus of members of the Thälmann Battalion, the war's German volunteers. It was released in the United States by Keynote Recordings in 1940, to great success.

Moses Asch believed that an American recording of Spanish Civil War songs could also do well. He contacted Pete Seeger and asked him to put a group together. On furlough from the army one weekend in 1943 or 1944, Seeger gathered fellow folk singers Tom Glazer, Baldwin (Butch) Hawes, and Bess Lomax Hawes to record three 78s. The four singers rehearsed on Saturday and recorded on Sunday. Asch released the tracks as ***Songs of the Lincoln Brigade***. Folkways Records combined the two projects and re-released them together in 1961

Seeger's original *Songs of the Lincoln Brigade*, 1944.



as *Songs of the Spanish Civil War Volume 1* (FH5436), to mark the 25th anniversary of the start of the war.

The material on the subsequent ***Songs of the Spanish Civil War Volume 2*** was compiled by Folkways and released in 1962 as FH5437. It consisted of three discrete sections, each with very different origins:

Part 1 - According to the original liner notes to this album, written by veteran Moe Fishman, the first group of five songs was compiled and pressed as a souvenir for members of the International Brigades attending the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the war in Berlin in 1961, which Fishman attended. Fishman wrote: "[A]nd from the original recordings these songs of the past magically re-created an atmosphere of readiness for combat, hatred for the fascists, and love and longing for the distant homeland."

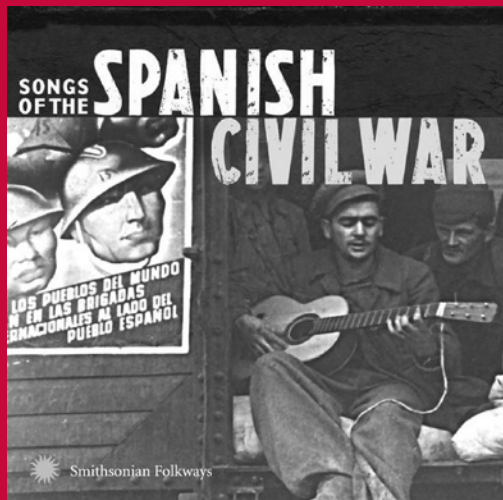
Part 2 - Called "Songs We Remember," this second set of three songs evokes the American volunteers' love for Spain, its people and its culture. Each of the three songs was recorded in the 1930s in a different Spanish province, sung by local Spaniards. The recording was issued in 1947 in a limited edition. "We remember a land where the hope of freedom mingled with the soft fragrance of the orange blossoms and the smell of gunpowder," Moe Fishman wrote in the 1961 liner notes, while Spain was still under Franco's rule. "Listen . . . and you will hear the songs of a free Spain."

Part 3 - The third group of songs were excerpts from "Behind the Barbed Wire," recorded in New York City in 1938 and originally released in the United States by the League of American Writers. Four of the six songs are included here. The title of the

collection, a translation of the German song, "Wie Hinterm Draht," refers to the concentration camps in France, where French, Spanish, Italian, and German anti-Fascists were held and where these songs were sung. The singer is Bart van der Schelling, backed by the Exiles Chorus directed by American Earl Robinson, one of the leading left wing composers of the era. Van der Schelling was born in Holland in 1892. He was seriously wounded twice in Spain, but continued to fight. He eventually became physically unable to continue, but didn't stop singing. He was called the official singer for the returning American volunteers.

In his poem, "Spain," W. H. Auden wrote, "Our thoughts have bodies." Of the 2,750 U.S. volunteers in Spain, one-third lost their lives, but for many of those who returned, the struggle continued. "The war in Spain is over in the field of action," Republican General Vincente Rojo said in 1939, "but not in the field of thought." And this "field of thought," so aptly credited by Rojo, produced its own kind of action on the home front. Among other things, it began and propelled a vigorous commemorative process now 75 years old, in which the musical legacy of the war continues to be a centerpiece. To this day, songs of the Spanish Civil War are sung at annual gatherings in New York City and San Francisco. The songs bring this activist history forward at a time when the causes are no less urgent, and the enemies of freedom no less dangerous. ▲

Peter Glazer, ALBA Board member, is the author of *Radical Nostalgia: Spanish Civil War Commemoration in America*. He teaches performance studies at UC/Berkeley.



Songs of the Spanish Civil War rekindles the hymnal of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, honoring the more than 2,600 American volunteers who fought General Francisco Franco and his fellow fascists from Italy and Nazi Germany to defend the popularly elected Spanish Republic during the 1936-1939 conflict. Featuring Pete Seeger, Tom Glazer, Butch and Bess Hawes, Woody Guthrie, Ernst Busch, and Bart van der Schelling, these songs still inspire supporters of democratic causes around the world.

To order the CD please contact ALBA's office at info@alba-valb.org or tel. (212) 674-5398

Faces of ALBA-VALB

Meet the members of the ALBA community.

By Aaron B. Retish



Bruce Barthol is the long time band leader of ALBA events. He was the original bass player for the pioneering rock group Country Joe and the Fish and has performed with a long list of great musicians, from Dave Getz to Pete Seeger. He is currently touring with his band The Former Members.

Bruce Barthol at ALBA's Bay Area event in 2011. Photo Richard Bermack.

How did you get interested in the Spanish Civil War and involved in ALBA?

I lived in Spain in 1959 when I was a 11. My parents were anti- Franco. The first book on the Spanish Civil War I read was the autobiography of El Campesino [Valentín González, *Life and Death in Soviet Russia*], which I checked out from the library at the Torrejón U.S. Air Base outside of Madrid. I got the Folkways album of Spanish Civil War songs a few years later.

I played my first Lincoln Brigade veterans reunion in 1973. Later on, Peter Glazer and I put together many shows for the VALB. I was resident musical director for the San Francisco Mime Troupe for over 30 years. In 1986, I went to Nicaragua with the SFMT and brought back a list from the Ministry Health of needed replacement parts for the ambulances VALB had sent the year before. I went to Spain twice with [Brigade veteran] Milt Wolff for commemorations in Catalonia. I was fortunate to play twice with Pete Seeger at New York VALB events. It was like playing with Jesus Christ, although Jesus didn't play the banjo.

Was it a natural progression for you to go from the anti-war messages of the San Francisco music scene of the late 1960s--and especially of Country Joe and the Fish--to your work with ALBA?

Yes, I think it was a natural progression. The Lincoln Brigade was a model of resistance and moral courage. Two members of Country Joe and the Fish had parents who had been in the Communist Party, but I'm not talking.

You wrote the beautiful song "Taste of Ashes." What inspired you to write it? Did you write it for Laurie Lewis specifically?

I wrote it for a San Francisco Mime Troupe play called *Spain '36* on the 50th anniversary of the war. The song was inspired by La Pasionaria's speech to departing International Brigaders in Barcelona in 1938. It was the finale of the show.

Could you share a memory of playing at the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967?

Nothing was for sale except tickets to the festival. It wasn't completely commodified as things became. And the cops weren't a problem.

ALBA Board member Aaron B. Retish is a professor of history at Wayne State University.



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FIGHTING THE NEW FASCISM

Juan Carlos Monedero on PODEMOS, Spain's New Political Force

By Sebastiaan Faber



In Spain this past May, the usually dull and boring elections to the European Union's Parliament produced a sudden shock to the political system. A new two-month-old party led by a 35-year-old, pony-tailed political scientist, appeared out of nowhere—but clearly from the Left—to sweep up a surprising 8 percent of the votes. The result was good to win five European seats, transforming the infant organization into the country's 4th largest political force. One of the party's founders, political scientist Juan Carlos Monedero, spoke with us in late August.

THE UNEXPECTED EUROPEAN triumph of Spain's newcomer on the Left underscored the affirmative simplicity of its name—PODEMOS: *We Can*. Or perhaps better: *Together We Can Do It*. The party's rise has been meteoric. PODEMOS began as a grassroots movement in January 2014 and did not register as a party until March. Since the May elections, it has multiplied its support; according to an August 31 poll PODEMOS would earn 21 percent of the votes, only one percent less than the Socialist Party. Its political program, the details of which are still being defined, calls for broad political, economic, and social reforms: a new social contract that supersedes

neoliberalism. (For more details see the sidebar.)

Among the party's most prominent public faces is Juan Carlos Monedero, a political scientist at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Monedero has extensive international experience as a consultant to progressive politicians (particularly in Latin America), has worked for years with Spain's United Left, is a fixture in the Spanish media, and has served as an academic mentor to PODEMOS leader Pablo Iglesias. (More on Monedero and Iglesias in the sidebars.)

Monedero's life since May has been a whirlwind, with almost daily appearances on television, trips abroad, and feverish

preparations to get PODEMOS ready for its first constitutive congress in September. In this first extensive interview to be published in English since the rise of PODEMOS, Monedero spoke to *The Volunteer* about the birth of the party and his role in it; the Spanish crisis; the progressive tradition; the lessons from Latin America; and the future of his country. "I am a hopeful pessimist. We're facing a long and difficult struggle. But we have plenty of reasons to keep fighting."

Why PODEMOS and why now?

Those of us who launched PODEMOS found each other in the



JUAN CARLOS MONEDERO

Juan Carlos Monedero, born in Madrid in 1963, studied Economics, Political Science and Sociology at the Universities of Madrid and Heidelberg, and earned his Ph.D. with a dissertation on the collapse of the German Democratic Republic. He's been teaching at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid since 1992. Over the past 15 years, he has served as political consultant for the Venezuelan government and the Spanish United Left coalition.

More recently he has also combined his scholarly and political work with a maverick media presence as a columnist, commentator, blogger, and television anchor. Together with PODEMOS leader Pablo Iglesias he hosts *La Tuerka*, a feisty political debate program broadcast on local TV and the Internet. Monedero, a fearsome debater, often wears black T-shirts with political prints, has an image of Gramsci on the back of his iPad, and likes to acknowledge his debt to the progressive tradition by quoting from memory.

In 2011 Monedero published a scathing critique of the state of post-Franco Spanish democracy, *The Transition As Told to Our Parents* (*La Transición contada a nuestros padres*) that became a bestseller. Last year he published an *Emergency Seminar in Politics for Decent Folks* (*Curso urgente de política para gente decente*), a lyrical call to civic mobilization and collective political action.

WE LEARNED FROM LATIN AMERICA HOW TO RESPOND TO INSTITUTIONAL COLLAPSE.

Faculty of Political Science and Sociology in Madrid, and in *La Tuerka*, a political debate program. We agreed that the model of Spanish democracy as it had been established in 1978 was exhausted, and we felt the same about representative democracy under neoliberalism in general. What compelled us into action in early 2014 was a series of different factors. First, the United Left (IU) unilaterally abandoned a project that had tried to bring different political forces together. Second, the European elections in May opened a window of opportunity. These are the only elections in Spain that bypass electoral districts, so that every vote counts the same, and they draw a relatively low turnout, so that fewer votes are needed for a seat. It was an attractive opportunity to try for an electoral breakthrough. Finally, Pablo Iglesias had become a very powerful presence in the media, while I had spent a couple of years traveling all over Spain to give talks. So a whole range of elements coincided: the possibility of a nationwide network, our media presence, the European window of opportunity, the exhaustion of the current regime—and the fact that some polls indicated that there was electoral room for a new political party. Like in a fairy tale, everything came together: the princess, the castle, the woods, the frog-turned-prince, the seven-league boots. All we needed was the kiss—which we got on May 25 in the form of 1,250,000 votes.

You are part of the PODEMOS leadership but are not yourself running for office.

Yes, and that is on purpose. Among the founding group we decided that only Pablo Iglesias would run. This is our way of showing the voters that we are not in this for a cushy political job. That there is a different way of doing politics. We are now working toward the constitutive congress, from which an elected leadership team will emerge.

How important has your experience in Latin America been for building PODEMOS?

It has been absolutely key. Latin America suffered the fury of neoliberalism 25 or 30 years before we did: it saw rising borrowing costs, benefit cuts, the rich evading taxes while sales taxes kept increasing, massive losses of mortgages and homes. Latin America was a mirror that we could not afford to ignore. But we also learned from Latin America how to respond to institutional collapse. What do you do when representative democracy has ceased to be representative, but when its institutions are still there, controlling the banks, the political parties, the media, international relations, the world of money, the universities? What we learned from Latin America is that there is only one way to break through the gridlock of dysfunctional institutions: appealing directly to the people. We needed tools that would allow Spaniards to organize their discontent and turn it into political energy. We had to offer them the opportunity to express their frustration through their votes.

We also learned from Latin America that it was no longer productive to speak in terms of Left and Right. The only people who still understood the world in those terms were party members and academics. Latin America taught us that, if we wanted to build new majorities, we had to do away with that framework. This also meant that we had to define those majorities beyond the working class. Of course, it's not that the working class does not exist. If on any day, in any of our countries, the workers would not show up at their jobs, the whole system would collapse. But 40 years of neoliberalism have skewed perceptions. The working class does not exist if it doesn't think of itself as working class. An enormous segment of the population does not understand the world and themselves in the Left's traditional political terms. We realized that we had to communicate with the people in a language that the people understood.

PODEMOS represents a new style of doing politics. You are not afraid to use humor, or even poetry. You call things by their name. You relish a good fight.

PODEMOS is different because we are normal people and we talk like normal people. We don't hide behind suits and ties. Our lack of political

correctness has allowed us to connect with an important part of the citizenry. The West—and this is crucial—has left the space of the politically incorrect to the extreme Right. This explains the rise of the Tea Party, of Marine Le Pen in France or Golden Dawn in Greece. The people are angry because their lives have become miserable. And they are disoriented because the traditional political coordinates have been blurred. If, on top of that, you don't provide them with tools to express their anger, what do they do? They turn toward those that do give them those tools, which is the extreme Right.

A third element is our lack of fear. In Spain, the politics of fear has long been a State policy. We have 150,000 dead buried in roadside ditches. We have the second largest number of mass graves and disappeared in the world. Repression has been constant here. A typical phrase you'll hear from a parent is: "Son, daughter, don't call attention to yourself. Don't stand out." As my friend Emilio Silva says: In our effort to go unnoticed we have become insignificant.

The neoliberal model has been so successful because it has convinced us that there is no alternative. And it has been able to do so because we have delegated politics to the politicians. PODEMOS urges the people to take back the reins of politics. We say: "Look, this is the situation. It's not pretty. It's complicated, and all the tools we have are our own hands. So we better get working. Will you join?" And as it turns out, if you place your trust in the people, they will place their trust in you.

PODEMOS wants Spain to regain its sovereignty. But is Spain a nation to begin with? And is it possible to change things in Spain without changing Europe?

For too long, we have left the definition of Spain to the Right, which constructed a centralist, Catholic Spain. But Spain is not like that at all. Since the 15th century, Spain has been an aggregate of territories that were never fully locked together. The Right does not understand this.

For us the only way to reinvent Spain is through a form of federalism. And from a federalist basis we can begin rebuilding Europe. In our global world, nation-states cannot survive without some form of supra-national integration. But those

larger forms of integration have to allow for the emancipation of each individual country. The free trade agreements promoted by the United States benefit the U.S. and small minorities in Latin America. But they hurt the majorities. The European Union, right now, benefits the central countries, especially Germany, while it hurts the countries of the south.

The way we see it, we need to construct a strong federal Spain that can become part of a Mediterranean axis as a counterweight to Central Europe. In no way do we speak of leaving the Euro, or getting out of Europe. What we are talking about is a reconstruction of Europe.

What inspiration do you find in the past, particularly the fight against fascism?

When it comes to antifascism there is a major difference between Spain and the rest of Europe. Antifascism is an inextricable part of Europe's democratic DNA. It's impossible to understand the French Constitution of 1946 without taking into account the National Council of the Resistance. The same goes for the Italian and German Constitutions of 1948 and 1949. In Spain, however, the antifascists are little more than an urban tribe.

After 40 years of bloody dictatorship—executions continued until a couple of months before Franco's death—we've had 35 years of forgetting. We know that it's up to us to recover our country's history. Without it, it will be very hard indeed to build a decent democracy. But it's not going to be easy. The situation is like that of a child who was robbed from his family. You can't just ring the doorbell one day and tell him that the people he considers his parents are in fact the assassins of his actual parents, however much you have truth and reason on your side.

When the *indignados* took to the streets in May 2011, something curious happened at the Puerta del Sol in Madrid. When someone flew a Republican flag, someone else requested that it be taken down because it was divisive. Were they right? After all, the *indignados* took their name from a book by Stéphane Hessel, the French writer who fought fascism in the Resistance. The kid who claimed that the Republican flag was divisive probably didn't know that the first tanks to enter a liberated Paris in 1944 were driven by



PABLO IGLESIAS

Pablo Iglesias Turrión, born in Madrid in 1978, holds academic degrees in Law and Political Science and earned his Ph.D. in 2008 with a dissertation about collective action in a post-national context—all at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, where he has also taught. Between the ages of 14 and 21, Iglesias was a member of the Union of Young Spanish Communists (UJCE). He serves on the board of the CEPS Foundation, a progressive think tank. As one of the five top PODEMOS candidates, Iglesias was elected to the European Parliament in May 2014. In June, the European United Left elected him as its candidate to the presidency of the European Parliament.

A frequent columnist, commentator and blogger, Iglesias—who shares his name with the legendary 19th-century founder of the Spanish Socialist Party—hosts the political debate programs *La Tuerka*, (broadcast on local TV in Madrid and at www.latuerka.net) and *Fort Apache*, which appears on the Spanish-language channel of Iranian public television and online (www.fortapache.es). In June, when PODEMOS held an online election in which some 56,000 voters participated, an 87 percent majority voted to have Iglesias and his team lead the party toward its first citizens' assembly, to be held between September and November of this year.

ANTIFASCISM IS AN INEXTRICABLE PART OF EUROPE'S DEMOCRATIC DNA.

Spanish Republicans who had fought in the Ninth Division with General Leclerc. That's where the democratic DNA of Spain should be, although currently it isn't.

We've got our work cut out for us. The neoliberal model has worked very hard to wipe out history and turn it into a kind of decaffeinated theme park. It has prevented us from connecting with the historical anger and frustration that anticipated our current anger and frustration.

What does fascism look like today?

Since 1975 we have handed over democracy to the financial system, which has turned into a monster. And that is the new fascism. We either face the battle against the financial monster with the same sense of purpose as we faced the battle against the fascist monster in the 1930s and '40s, or it will win. The fight ahead is as difficult as the fight against fascism was.

I like to say that we are pessimists that haven't given up on hope. We're pessimists because the struggle is tough. But we are hopeful for three reasons. First, because if we had no hope we'd be defeated already. Second, because unlike the 1930s we do not have an enemy that justifies authoritarianism on our part. And third because, as Marx would say, capitalism generates its own contradictions, and has made possible alternative means of communication allowing for a level of consciousness that did not exist in other moments of history. It's our hopeful pessimism that will allow us to find reasons to keep up the fight. ▲

PODEMOS

PODEMOS's poster for the European elections did not feature the usual airbrushed fake smile of a graying leader in a suit. Instead, it presented five candidates, four of whom were born after Franco's death: political scientist Pablo Iglesias, 35; an Argentine-born physicist, 35; a public school teacher with a degree in Arabic Studies, 32; an unemployed political scientist, 35; and the 79-year old Carlos Jiménez Villarejo, a prominent retired public prosecutor known for his fight against corruption.

The party has organized itself in some 400 local assemblies, which it calls "circles," and has effectively mobilized social media like Facebook and Reddit to set up something that comes close to a direct democracy. This also means that its platform is still in the making, subject to a broad process of consultation. Some have called PODEMOS populist, but as the philosopher José Luis Villacañas has pointed out, the party does not try to appeal to voters' emotions. Rather, it appeals to their intelligence, seeking collectively crafted alternatives.

All this is new in Spain. The country's 36-year-old democracy was built on a compromise between Francoists and opposition leaders, and largely designed to limit upheaval and constrain voters' role to casting a ballot every four years. Spain's electoral laws favor established parties over smaller ones and rural areas over cities. Constitutional change is all but impossible. Since the Transition of 1978, its political system has spawned a tightly knit class of party professionals deeply invested in the status quo and determined to hold on to power. Designed to create stability, the system has instead encouraged widespread corruption. It has also widened the gap between politicians and their constituencies, and eroded the voters' trust. Starting in the early 1990s, the country has seen a series of corruption scandals involving both major parties. Yet impunity reigns: Almost all public officials enjoy a form of limited legal immunity by which they can only be tried in higher-level courts.

The 2008 economic crisis, which has hit Spain harder than almost any other country, has further sunk the public's trust. Meanwhile, a battery of ruthless, EU-imposed austerity measures and a 25 percent unemployment rate—approaching 50 percent among the young—dashed all hope. The labor party (PSOE) has been impotent in the face of the neoliberal European power bloc. With no real alternative to offer, its poll numbers have been as stagnant as those of the governing Right.

The immediate origins of PODEMOS can be traced to public protests that emerged on May 15, 2011, which helped inspire the Occupy movement in the United States later that year. The participants in the "15-M" movement called themselves *indignados* and demanded "Real Democracy Now." They purposely kept far from existing party structures. PODEMOS, on the other hand, tries to strike a balance between the energetic idealism of 15-M and the recognition that change requires political work. It has positioned itself as the angry voice of the people (*la gente*) against the political, economic, and cultural establishment, branded as The Caste (*la casta*). PODEMOS has called for measures that buck neoliberal common wisdom and austerity, finding inspiration in the traditions of democratic struggle for workers' and civil rights. Private profit, it believes, should never be allowed to trump the public good. Similarly, PODEMOS would prohibit profitable corporations from firing people, favors a 35-hour work week, and has called for a return to a health care system controlled by the state.

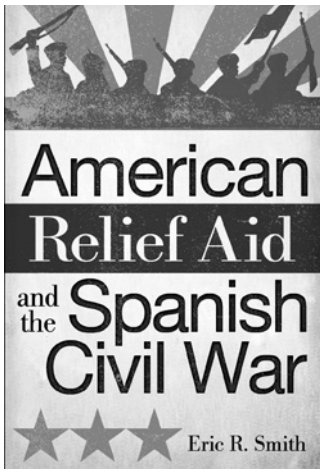
PODEMOS is preparing its first citizens' assembly—a deliberative process that is scheduled to last two months, from September 15 until November 15. While it's still unclear to what extent PODEMOS will participate in the municipal elections of May 2015, it is gearing up for the next general elections, scheduled for December 2015.

Book reviews

Spain & the American Home Front

American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War.
By Eric R. Smith. (Columbia MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013.)

Reviewed by Fraser Ottanelli



As readers of *The Volunteer* know, the body of works devoted to the history of the Spanish Civil War in general and on U.S. participation in particular is considerable. Not much, however, is known about the relief activities conducted in the United States in support of the embattled Spanish Republic. *American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War* rectifies this omission by providing an account of how groups and organizations

from disparate backgrounds and persuasions expressed their material and political support for antifascist forces in Spain.

The Spanish Civil War was not the first time the United States had supplied humanitarian relief aid in times of conflict. During World War I, various organizations provided supplies for millions of starving Europeans and, after the end of hostilities, assistance in reconstruction. While these efforts relied on voluntary support, they also depended on public funds and benefited from the official endorsement of the government. In contrast, during the Spanish Civil War, all humanitarian relief effort was based on private donations and received no official sanction.

Relief activities began immediately following the rebellion by the Spanish army on July 18, 1936 and, building on the earlier “Hands Off Ethiopia” campaign against Fascist Italy’s

During the Spanish Civil War, all humanitarian relief effort was based on private donations and received no official sanction.

invasion of the African nation, raised funds for clothing, food, and medical supplies. *American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War* provides a detailed description of the many forms in which Americans expressed their support for Spanish loyalists. Spanish mutual aid societies across the nation were the first to rally in support of the Republic. With backing from the local Spanish, Cuban and Italian immigrant population, the Tampa Committee for the Defense of the Spanish People’s Front stands out as the country’s most successful ethnic-based fundraising efforts.

Radical groups and organizations also engaged in their own separate relief activities. Anarchists, in spite of their shrinking numbers, mounted campaigns in support of their embattled Spanish comrades. By contrast, the various factions of the Socialist party—which ranged from traditional pacifist, to social-democratic and militant revolutionary—could not agree on a common course in relationship to events in Spain. While some called for no action, others pressed for support of the dissident communist Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) in Catalonia. Much more successful were the efforts of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which raised thousands of dollars for medical supplies and clothing.

American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War focuses mainly on the activities of the Communist party (CPUSA) as the organization most actively involved in support of the Spanish loyalists. Within the broader context of the Popular Front policy, Communists viewed the struggle of the Spanish Republic against enemies supported by Hitler and Mussolini as concrete proof of the global threat of fascism and, as a result, of the need to defend democratic institutions. For this reason, in addition to its essential role in the recruitment of volunteers for the International Brigades, the CPUSA played a central role in the founding of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the most important and largest organization in support of democratic Spain. Founded in the fall of 1936, the Committee acted as an umbrella organization for scores of professional groups such as the Medical Bureau, the Musicians, the Lawyers and the Social Workers Committees whose efforts were directed at mobilizing specific constituencies in support of Spanish democracy. In addition, the Committee also provided a platform for growing numbers of politically active liberals, religious leaders, and non-communist left-wingers like Roger Baldwin, Fiorello La Guardia, and even Eleanor Roosevelt, to voice their concerns over the global threat to democratic institutions.

Throughout the war the North American Committee organized neighborhood parties, propaganda tours by returning volunteers, benefit concerts, and film screenings. It also sponsored refugee children and sporting events between female and male teams representing a variety of unions.

The Spanish aid movement played an important role in the process that would eventually transform public apathy over the global fascist threat into support for collective security.

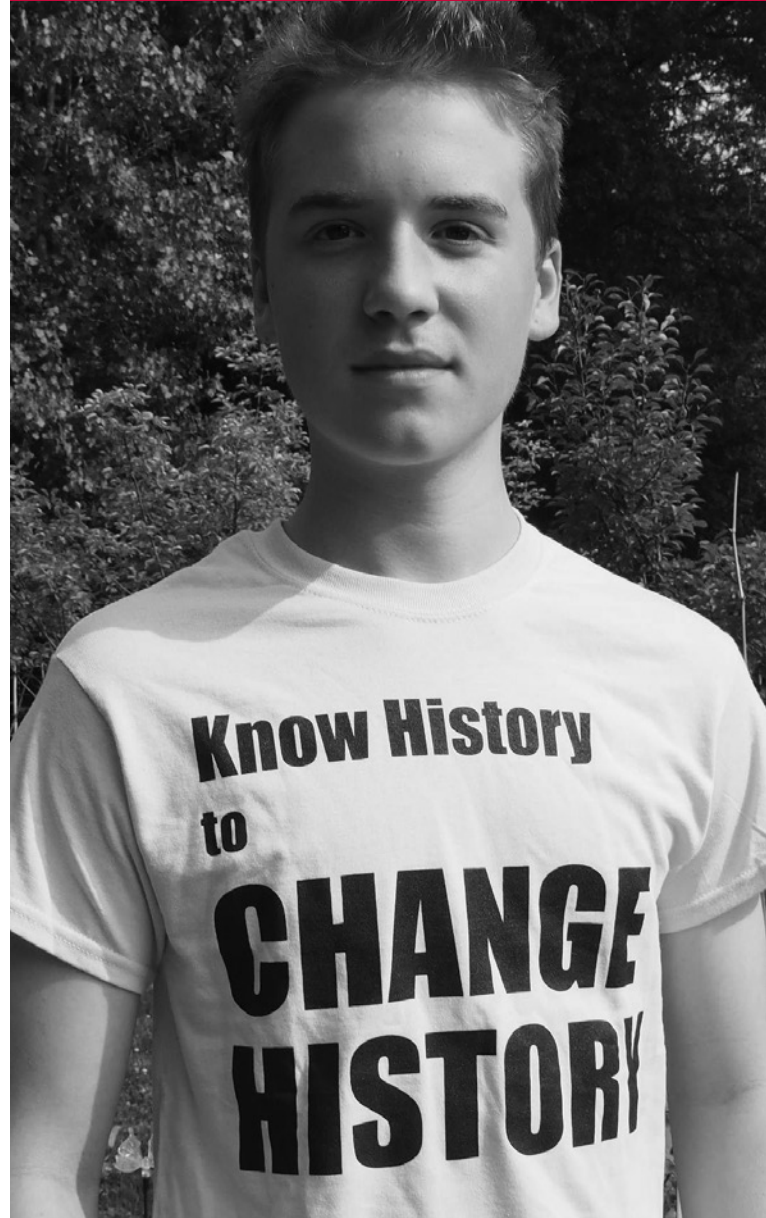
While dockworkers refused to handle military cargo and supplies bound for Franco's forces, hundreds of volunteers took to the streets with collection cans to raise money to buy ambulances for Republican forces or canvassed local stores for food, medical supplies and clothing. All items collected were shipped to Spain on several well-publicized relief ships. Fund raising events took place in cities and communities across the country and were held anywhere from living rooms, union halls, and campus facilities to neighborhood backyards and mansions attracting audiences from common workers to movie stars and upper class patrons.

American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War argues that behind the efforts to provide medical and humanitarian aid there was a broader campaign directed at pressuring Congress to lift the arms embargo and allow the beleaguered Republic to defend itself. In the end, the unwillingness of western democracies to stand up to Fascist aggression doomed the Spanish Republic. Even in defeat, U.S. relief activities continued. Lobbying efforts were now directed toward pressuring the president to provide aid and refuge to the hundreds of thousands fleeing the onslaught of Franco's troops.

American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War views the movement to send relief aid to the embattled Spanish Republic as the most visible expression of antifascist challenge to U.S. isolationism during the period leading up to World War II. While in the end, the Spanish aid movement failed to arouse the nation's public opinion to the danger of fascism and to prevent Franco's victory, nonetheless it played an important role in the process that would eventually transform public apathy over the global fascist threat into support for collective security. As a result, the book provides fresh insight into national attitudes toward foreign affairs in the 1930s. ▲

Fraser Ottanelli is Vice Chair of ALBA and Chair of the History Department at the University of South Florida in Tampa.

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The Volunteer

Gert Hoffmann

(1917-2014)



One of the last veterans of the International Brigades, Gert (Gerhard) Hoffmann died in Austria on July 8, 2014.

When Hitler's army marched into Vienna in March 1938, Hoffmann had to leave. Not only was he Jewish but as an active young Communist he had narrowly escaped five years in prison because of a recent amnesty. From Czechoslovakia he tried ceaselessly to follow his older brother, a seaman, into the International Brigades. When he finally made it to the Sierra Pandols on the Ebro Front, his Austrian comrades welcomed him but said he might have saved himself the effort; the IB was soon withdrawn from action.

He joined in final efforts by Brigaders, now without a homeland, to protect the bitter exodus of Spanish families to France and landed with them in the desolate camp at St. Cyprien, followed by the giant, also barren camp at Gurs. False papers identifying him as a Spaniard saved him from deportation to German death camps. He worked in France as a farmhand and lumberjack under varied restrictions before reaching liberated Belgium in 1944, where he learned of the murder of his mother, father and brother. As a US Army recruit, he joined in the final campaign through Germany and back to his native Vienna. There he remained, except for work as a good carpenter with young Brigadistas in Nicaragua in 1985 and 1987, and at memorials to the anti-fascist fight in Spain. One of the very last volunteers to fight in Spain, he became one of the last to pass.

—Victor Grossman

Hans Landauer

(1921-2014)

Hans Landauer, the last surviving Austrian volunteer in the International Brigades, died at his home on July 19. In recent years, he attended many reunions of Spanish Civil War veterans in Spain.

Hans was born into a leftist tradition; both grandfathers were Social Democratic mayors in villages south of Vienna—until 1934 when, on February 12th the leftist *Bundesschuettler* lost its struggle for workers' rights to a clerical-rightist putsch. The bloody events turned Hans, only 13, into a devoted "underground" fighter, delivering forbidden publications smuggled in from Czechoslovakia.

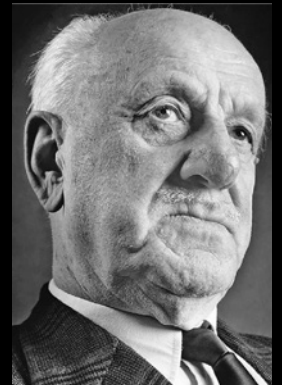
When the Spanish war began, though only 16, he decided to volunteer. Once in Paris, in the designated bistro, he asked for "Monsieur Max." "Max" told him in good Viennese dialect: "Are you nuts? We don't send kids to Spain! None under 21." Yet somehow he lied his way through, hinting that if forced to return, Austrian cops might squeeze information from him.

In June 1937 he joined the Austrian unit, the "February 12th 1934 Battalion" (in the largely German-speaking 11th Brigade), and fought all through the war. He suffered only one minor wound. By January 1938, only 70 of the original 500 Austrians were alive.

Like his countryman Gert Hoffman and most volunteers with no homeland to return to, he took up weapons again to defend exodus of Spanish refugees to France. Like them, he was interned in the miserable camps. He escaped but was arrested in Paris. The Nazis sent him to Dachau concentration camp, where he remained from April 1941 until the war's end. Because of his fluency in German, Hans was able to assist the Spanish prisoners there. When he was transferred to a work assignment, he had access to food which he shared with the Spaniards. After the liberation in 1945, all the Spanish survivors presented him with a certificate of gratitude, a small card made with colors the Republican flag. He was prouder of that thank you than anything.

In the early post-war years, he worked with Austrian the police and served with a UN contingent in Cyprus. Later in his life, he worked on books about the French camp at Gurs and the Austrian resistance movement, and compiled a biographical dictionary of Austrian Fighters in Spain.

—Victor Grossman





WORLD RENOWNED SCIENTIST LEAVES LEGACY GIFT TO ALBA

DR. NINA BYERS, who died on June 5, 2014, was a long-time friend of ALBA's. As a pioneering theoretical physicist, her work contributed greatly to both the understanding of particle physics and superconductivity.

After receiving her Ph.D. in 1956 from the University of Chicago, she became a Research Fellow at the University of Birmingham, England. In 1958, she moved

to Stanford University and three years later became an Assistant Professor at UCLA—the first, and only, female in the Physics Department for the next 20 years. She was also the first woman Lecturer in the Physics Department at Oxford and for several years split her time between Los Angeles and Oxford. She was the recipient of several fellowships and author of numerous scientific papers.

Professor Byers' efforts to recognize the contributions women made to modern physics culminated in *Out of the Shadows: Contributions of Twentieth-Century Women to Physics*. This important anthology, which she

edited, documents the original and important work of female physicists. Dr. Byers retired from UCLA in 1993, but was an active Professor Emeritus until her passing.

In addition to her passion for physics, Nina was a staunch anti-war activist and spoke out strongly against nuclear proliferation and for issues of social justice.

ALBA is truly grateful for her generous Legacy Gift.

For information about our Legacy Gift program, call 212-574-5398; or visit info@alba-valb.org

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Making gifts to ALBA in your will is an important source of funding to continue our work. A gift in your will keeps our educational programs growing in the long term. While gifts for specific purposes are always welcome, ALBA is especially grateful for unrestricted gifts that can be used where they are needed most.

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I hereby give, devise and bequeath to Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA), with offices at 799 Broadway, Suite 341, New York, NY 10003 and federal tax ID 13-2996513, or its successors in interest, the sum of \$_____ (_____ dollars), exclusive of my lifetime donations, if any, to be used for its most urgent needs as determined by its board of governors in their sole discretion.

Alternatively, you can donate a percentage. Ask your attorney about a gift from your residual estate.

To learn more about a gift in your will, contact executive director Marina Garde at 212-674-5398 or mgarde@alba-valb.org

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The Volunteer

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NEWS AND EVENTS

WEST COAST: SOLIDARITY FOREVER SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5, 2014

78th Annual Celebration honoring The
Abraham Lincoln Brigade – West Coast

Celebrate the re-release of the Smithsonian Folkways
album, Songs of the Spanish Civil War with a musical
tribute to Pete Seeger with Bruce Barthol and Friends.
2:00pm - 4:00pm

Freight & Salvage Coffeehouse

2020 Addison Street
Berkeley, California 94704

For tickets and information:

www.thefreight.org

Tel. (510) 644 20

EAST COAST: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2014

End of Year Benefit for ALBA

A night of cabaret featuring the screening of the 1990
Carlos Saura's Award-winning film "¡Ay Carmela!"

Spanish Benevolent Society

239 West 14th Street, 2nd floor
New York, NY 10011

IMPUGNING IMPUNITY ALBA HUMAN RIGHTS DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL

Alba's 5th Annual Human Rights Film Festival is on track!

Over the course of three days, a selection of
the best documentaries from over a hundred
entries—sent in from all corners of the
globe—will challenge, educate, and inspire
audiences at **IMPUGNING IMPUNITY**.

September 29 - October 1, 2014

Instituto Cervantes New York

211 E. 49th Street

New York, NY 10017

The best film from the Official Selection, will receive
the *Harry Randall Award* for best human rights
documentary of 2014. This honor was created in
memory of *Harry W. Randall, Jr. (1915-2012)* who
served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, during the
Spanish Civil War, as Chief Photographer of the
Photographic Unit of the 15th International Brigade.

The 2014 jury is composed of
Peter Coyote, Bryan Stevenson, and Pamela Yates.

Impugning Impunity: ALBA's Human Rights Film Festival is made possible in
part with public funds from the Fund for Creative Communities, supported
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AMBULANTE 2014
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