

The Volunteer

FOUNDED BY THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

"...and that government of the people,
by the people, and for the people,
shall not perish from the earth."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN



Marina Garde presents Judge Baltasar Garzón with ALBA-Puffin Human Rights Award as Sebastiaan Faber (far left) and Perry Rosenstein (center left) look on. Photo by Len Tsou.

75th Reunions Focus on Human Rights **Judge Garzón Honored at NY Reunion**

By Peter N. Carroll

A new spirit of human rights activism ignited tremendous enthusiasm as 300-plus friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade commemorated the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War at a reunion in New York on May 14.

Five nonagenarian vets are still alive, ALBA Board Chair Sebastiaan Faber

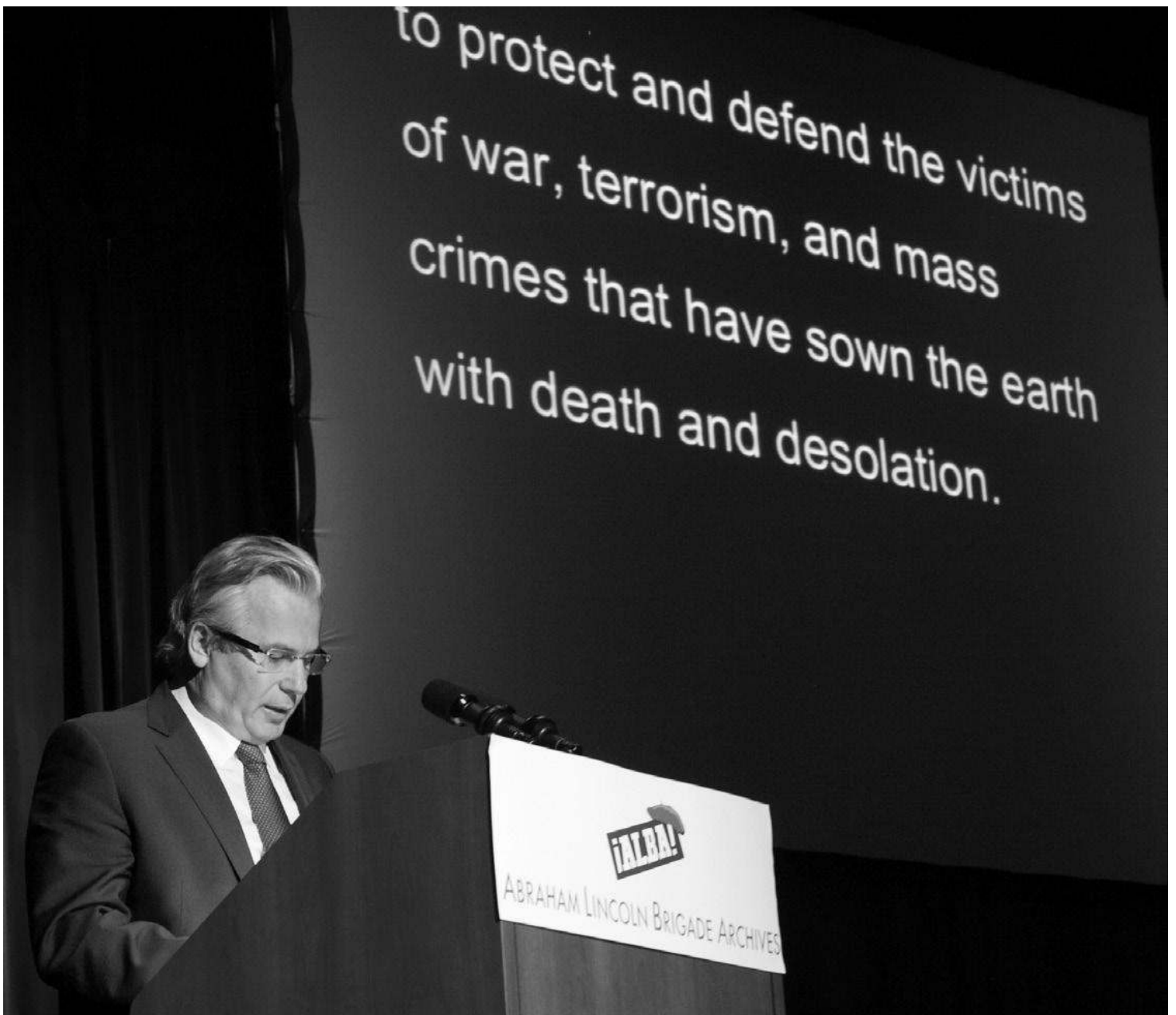
explained, but none were able to attend the event. Faber and ALBA Director Marina Garde read touching testimonies to the six Lincoln vets who had died since the last reunion—Norman Berkowitz, Maynard Goldstein, Matti Mattson, Hank Rubin, Peter Schemrock, and Nate Thornton.

But the focus this year was on continuing the struggle for democracy and

international justice that carried 2,800 Americans to Spain during the 1930s.

The day's highlight was the presentation of the first annual ALBA-Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism to Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón. He is the internationally celebrated magistrate who first brought Chile's dictator August Pinochet to justice in the 1990s

continued on page 6



Judge Baltasar Garzón. Photos by Richard Bermack.

Judge Baltasar Garzón's ALBA-Puffin Human Rights Award Acceptance Speech

Judge Baltasar Garzón received the first ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism in New York City, on May 14, 2011. Here are excerpts from his acceptance speech. The full speech can be read at www.albavolunteer.org/2011/05/judge-garzens-speech/.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, members of ALBA, representatives of the Puffin Foundation, authorities, amigas y amigos:

Seventy-five years ago in my country, Spain, one of the darkest and saddest chapters in the history of humanity

began. It lasted more than 40 years, and even today, after 34 years of democracy, it has not been definitively read or closed, or as such, overcome. An unjust and illegal war... was begun in 1936 by those who scorned the freedom, legality and democracy of the Republic. It was done by those... who, by their decisions, launched a bloodbath between brothers and sisters, with tens of thousands of them tortured, disappeared, and executed without trial; 30,000 children... were stolen from their families simply because their parents were supporters of the Republic...

But it was not just a civil war. The fascist regimes in Germany and Italy aided

the rebels led by General Franco, while the western democracies stood by, silent and motionless.

But international solidarity soon stepped up. Forty thousand men and women from 52 countries, including 2,800 from the United States, formed the International Brigades to fight against fascism in Spain, offering their lives for an ideal.

The American volunteers were known as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.... For me, as for so many others throughout the world, they are an example of courage and solidarity; they are heroes who chose to fight for the promise of freedom and democracy; whose convictions led them to offer the ultimate sacrifice and suffer purges in their own country; who took part in all the important social struggles of their day... They were the kind of people who fight against the worst cancer of humanity: indifference.

It is our duty to carry this idea of solidarity forward, as ALBA has done for the last 32 years, in the areas of culture, politics, and human rights activism, as



Filmmaker Trisha Ziff (*The Mexican Suitcase*), Perry Rosenstein, Neal Rosenstein and Fredda Weiss (left to right).

the Puffin Foundation continues to do.... The joining of forces of these two institutions... is key to reactivating definitively the fight for truth, justice and reparation for the victims of so many wars and massacres that, today as in the past, scourge our world....

I am just a judge who has always tried to comply strictly with the law in every case, with a universalist vision, integrated with the basic values that give sense and coherence to the international community, beginning with respect for human dignity as the foundation that underlies

the doctrines of human rights. I am one of many who struggle against the theory that the course of the history of the world can only be changed by the force of arms, for only by force, they tell us, can peace, security, and the world order be maintained.

Yet this is not true.... Another way is possible. And that way must be led by justice and the rule of law, to protect and defend the victims of war, terrorism, and mass crimes that have sown the earth with death and desolation.

Continued on page 6

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Professor Turley (l) interviewing Judge Garzón. Photos by Richard Bermack.

Garzón stated that the Obama administration's use of the "just following orders" defense, as well as the protection of lawyers involved in the torture program, violates the Nuremberg principles and precedent.

Jonathan Turley and Baltasar Garzón

Before Judge Baltasar Garzón received the first ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism on May 14 in New York, he was interviewed by Professor Jonathan Turley of George Washington University Law School. What follows is a slightly edited summary of the interview from Professor Turley's blog. To watch the video of the interview go to www.albavolunteer.org.

Garzón discussed the main charge against him, that he exceeded his authority by opening an investigation into the disappearance of as many as 200,000 people during the brutal dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Victims of the killings had come to his court and Garzón ruled that the amnesty passed two years after Franco's death was invalid as a matter of international law. This is not a radical view. Courts in Chile, for example, came to the same conclusion, and many international law experts agree that a country cannot simply give amnesty for war crimes. Such laws would gut international legal standards since any country could simply excuse its own war criminals. Indeed, President Obama and Congress have effectively granted immunity to

our own accused violators, both by announcing that no CIA employee will be prosecuted and by passing legislation affirming such protection for Americans involved in the torture program. Garzón was quite clear that the position of the Obama administration is clearly in violation of international law.

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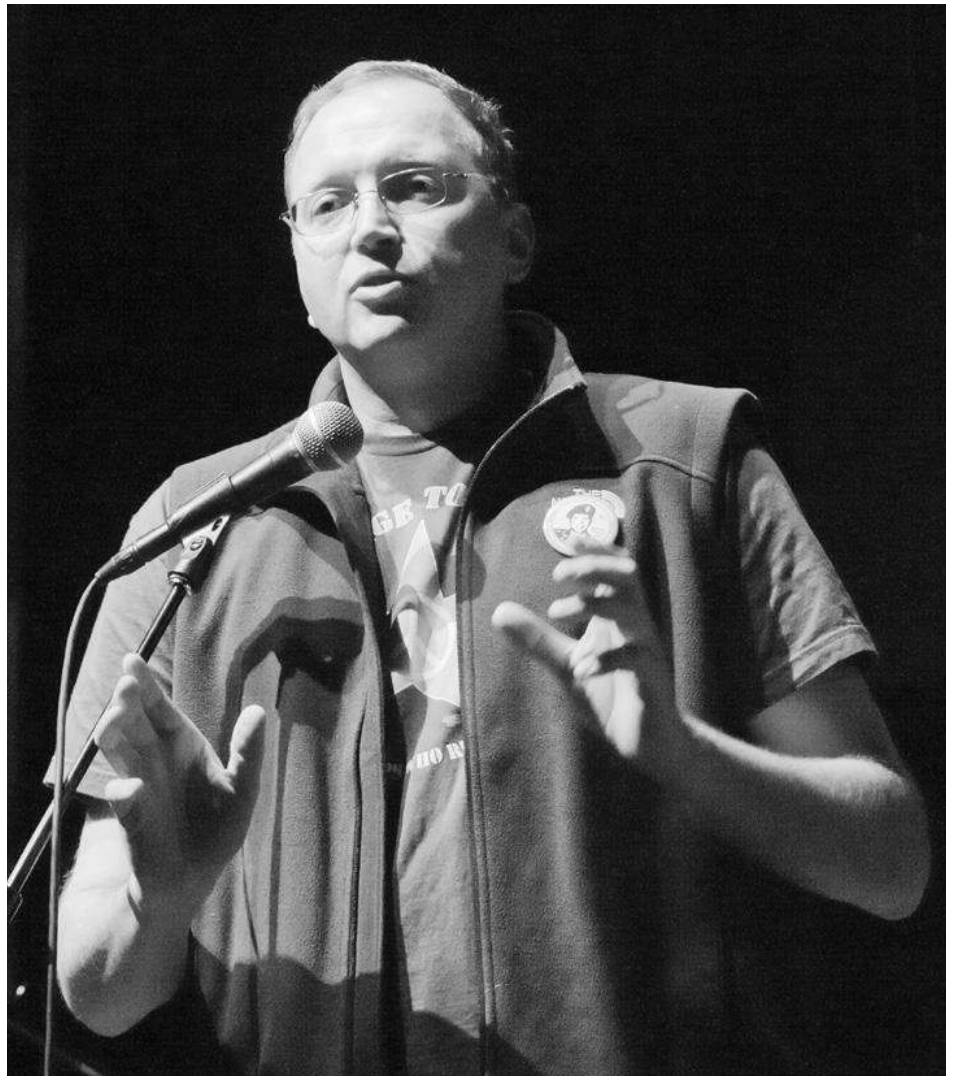
Garzón questioned the legality of the U.S. killing of Bin Laden, given the lack of approval by Pakistan and the appearance of a mission to assassinate rather than capture the terrorist. His view is that such an operation would presumptively violate international law, as well as squander a golden opportunity to interrogate the leader. Garzón previously successfully oversaw the prosecution of 18 Al Qaeda members and investigated the ETA and is viewed as a tough anti-terror judge.

Garzón discussed how the charges against him were brought by a far right party with connections to the Franco

regime. I was particularly concerned about the second accusation, that he ordered the eavesdropping on communications between attorneys and their clients in the corruption investigation of one of Spain's conservative parties. He has filed objections under the European Convention on Human Rights. I remain troubled by such orders, though we have seen such surveillance in limited cases in the United States. Garzón insisted that he placed protections on the use of the information and that the judge who replaced him continued the surveillance. He also noted that prosecutors supported the legality of the order and that there was compelling evidence to suggest that the lawyers were being used to funnel money illegally. I am still not fully versed in the underlying facts of that case and this may be a point of disagreement between us. However, Garzón gave a far more detailed defense of his order this weekend and raised serious concerns over the lack of consistency in pursuing him for such an order when the practice has been reportedly followed by other judges and prosecutors. ■

Pfc. Manning faces decades in prison for allegedly leaking a video of a U.S. helicopter attack that killed at least 11 Iraqi civilians, including two Reuters reporters. He's also suspected of leaking the "Afghan War Diaries" — tens of thousands of battlefield reports that explicitly describe civilian deaths and cover-ups, corrupt officials, collusion with warlords, and a failing US/NATO war effort.

**Jeff Paterson,
Courage to Resist**



Jeff Paterson described the persecution of Bradley Manning by the military and the distortions of his case by the Obama administration and the media.

Bay Area Honors Bradley Manning and Human Rights Struggles

The 75th Bay Area reunion, held in Berkeley, California, on Memorial Day, was graced with a surprise guest. Looking spry and mobile at age 95, Delmar Berg, one of the five surviving veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, took the floor. The Columbia, California, resident advised the audience to keep up the good fight and to be wary of what the mainstream media says about current affairs.

After a long ovation, the theater became quiet as the names of the recently deceased were read. Included on the list

were two stalwarts of the Bay Area, Nate Thornton and Hank Rubin.

The program focused on the parallels between the internationalism of the Lincoln Brigade and the obligation to respond to human rights issues today. Peter Carroll, acting as MC, explained that the local vets had been in the forefront of humanitarian aid campaigns for the Soler Children's Hospital in Havana, for ambulances and wheelchairs in Nicaragua, and for medical aid to anti-apartheid groups in South Africa. This tradition reinforces the newly created

ALBA-Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism. A 15-minute clip of the New York ceremonies, including Judge Baltasar Garzon's acceptance of the first ALBA-Puffin Award, drew spontaneous applause.

Jeff Paterson, head of the Oakland-based group Courage to Resist, discussed the case of Bradley Manning, the soldier accused of releasing government documents in the Wikileaks case. Among those documents is evidence that the U.S. government tried to influence Spanish judges in dealing with cases of torture

Continued on page 7



Michael Ratner, Center for Constitutional Rights. Photos by Richard Bermack.

NY Reunion

continued from page 1

and has fought to obtain legal recognition of the tens of thousands of Spaniards who were victims of the Franco dictatorship after the Spanish Civil War. The award of \$100,000 is made possible by a grant from the Puffin Foundation.

In presenting a certificate to Judge Garzón, Perry Rosenstein, president of the Puffin Foundation, praised “his unflagging dedication to human rights and universal justice, distinguished legal career, and brilliant work as an advocate for the respect of the rule of law.”



Larry Cox, Amnesty International USA.



Two other prominent experts in the field of international human rights—Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights and Larry Cox of Amnesty International USA—added their praise for Garzón. Both stressed that their own work for justice was inspired and influenced by the Spaniard’s exemplary legal dedication to international justice.

Garzón, in turn, extolled the men and women who volunteered to fight against fascism in Spain as examples of courage and solidarity for him and many others. He reaffirmed his own commitment to universal jurisdiction and transitional

justice, despite unrelenting criticism in his own country. And he reminded us that we all have a moral and legal obligation to fight against amnesia and indifference, as well as against those who instigated or consented to barbaric acts.

Bruce Barthol, who developed the musical portion of the program, then brought his band back on stage for a stirring finale of “El pueblo unido” and “La Quince Brigada.” Richard Bermack organized the slide show. And the audience cheered vigorously for an amazing, spirited day honoring the legacy of the Lincoln volunteers. ■

For additional content, including videos of Judge Baltazar Garzón, about the Bradley Manning case go to www.albavolunteer.org.

Garzón’s Speech

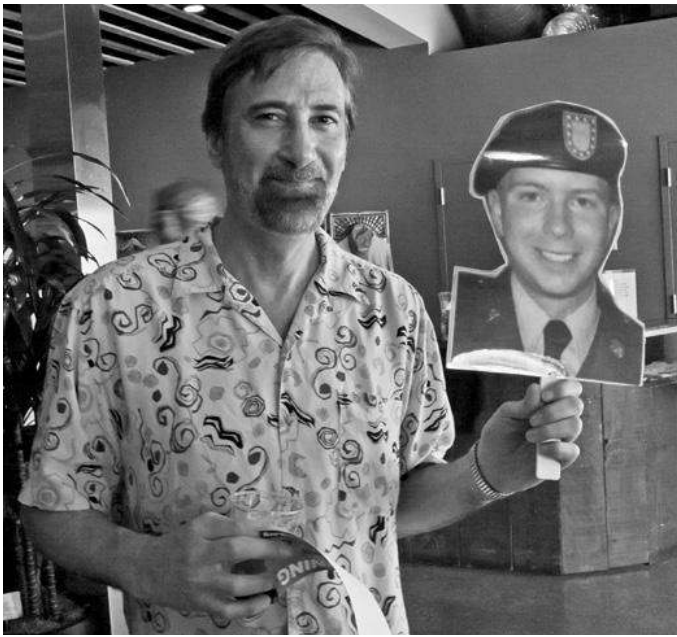
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All of us, my dear friends, have a moral and even legal obligation to fight against amnesia and indifference, just as we must fight against those who instigated or consented to barbaric acts...

Justice, to fulfill its function, must create and consolidate the principle of universal victim as the nucleus of this new vision of an active universal jurisdiction in the pursuit of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, above any particular political, economic or diplomatic interests that, for

circumstantial reasons, seek to secure their impunity.

Kant’s concept of justice based on respect for the human rights of any individual and of international justice exercised by independent tribunals such as the Inter American Court for Human Rights, the European Tribunal for Human Rights, or the International Criminal Court, are the best proof that this enterprise is feasible. Sixty-three years ago the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed as a clear project of international coexistence based on the respect for the guarantee of all the rights of all citizens of the world.



Supporter of Bradley Manning. Photos by Richard Bermack .



Vet Delmar Berg with Marina Garde. Photo by Jeannette Ferrary.

Bay Area

continued from page 5

at the Guantanamo base in Cuba and to have Judge Garzón removed from the case. Manning is accused of aiding the enemy when, in fact, like the information released by Daniel Ellsberg, the information Manning is accused of releasing reveals to the American public the atrocities that are being committed in their name. For more

on the case, go to www.bradleymanning.org and www.couragetoresist.org.

The day climaxed with an enthusiastic program of Spanish Civil War songs, performed by Randy Craig, Tony Marcus, Barrett Nelson, Heather Bridger, and director Bruce Barthol. Richard Bermack organized the slide show that accompanied the performance, including his photographic portraits of the vets. ▀



Marci Rubin, daughter of Hank Rubin.

Jonathan Turley, Michael Ratner, and Larry Cox, and information

Today this declaration is still waiting to be put into action. But in the face of the debilitation and failure of ideologies with pretensions of universality, the only language common to all humanity is the language of human rights, as a universal reference to guide us in an era of globalization, economically on the verge of collapse and politically opportunistic, in which the values of ethics and responsibility have been suspended.

For these reasons, it is imperative that we take militant action in defense of those rights, and a response to the illicit activities of international corporations in such sensitive areas as poverty, the

distribution of wealth, the development and administration of natural resources, protection of the environment and the ecosystem; we must take action against those who have thrown millions of people into bankruptcy through massive fraud, and whose disdain of the lives of others leads them to design policies that justify the persecution or discrimination against people for their origin, religion, race or gender....

Now it is up to us to continue the fight for human rights, for human dignity, and against impunity.

Thank you. ▀



Stephanie Brown, daughter of Archie Brown.

ALBA Susman Lecture by Majorie Cohn FOCUS ON TORTURE

Editor's Note: Marjorie Cohn is a criminal defense lawyer, former president of the National Lawyers Guild, and currently professor at the Thomas Jefferson School of Law in San Diego. On February 25, 2011, she presented the 10th annual ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture at Veterans Auditorium in San Francisco. The event was co-hosted by the San Francisco chapter of Veterans for Peace. Her remarks were extracted, in part, from earlier online writings and testimony before the House Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in 2008. Go to www.albavolunteer.org for additional information.

A Spanish court has initiated criminal proceedings against six former officials of the Bush administration. John Yoo, Jay Bybee, David Addington, Alberto Gonzales, William Haynes and Douglas Feith may face charges in Spain for authorizing torture at Guantánamo Bay. If arrest warrants are issued, Spain and any of the other 24 countries that are parties to European extradition conventions could arrest these six men when they travel abroad.

Does Spain have the authority to prosecute Americans for crimes that didn't take place on Spanish soil? The answer is yes. It's called "universal jurisdiction." Universal jurisdiction is a well-established theory that countries, including the United States, have used for many years to investigate and prosecute foreign nationals for crimes that shock the conscience of the global community. It provides a critical legal tool

to hold accountable those who commit crimes against the law of nations, including war crimes and crimes against humanity. Without universal jurisdiction, many of the most notorious criminals would go free. Countries that have used this as a basis to prosecute the most serious of crimes should be commended for their courage. They help to create the just world in which we all seek to live.

Israel used universal jurisdiction to prosecute, convict and execute Adolph Eichmann for his crimes during the Holocaust, even though they had no direct relationship with Israel. A federal court in Miami recently convicted Chuckie Taylor, son of the former Liberian president, of torture that occurred in Liberia. A U.S. court sentenced Taylor to 97 years in prison in January.

Universal jurisdiction complements, but does not supersede, national prosecutions. So if the United States were investigating the Bush officials, other countries would refrain from doing so.

When the United States ratified the Convention Against Torture, it promised to extradite or prosecute those who commit, or are complicit in, the commission of torture.

President Obama, when asked whether he favored criminal investigations of Bush officials, replied, "My view is also that nobody's above the law and, if there are clear instances of wrongdoing, that people should be prosecuted just like any ordinary citizen." "But," he added, "generally speaking, I'm more interested in looking forward than I am in looking backward." Preoccupied with the economy and two





Majorie Cohn delivering Susman Lecture. Photos by Richard Bermack.

wars, Obama reportedly wants to wait before considering prosecutions that would invariably anger the GOP.

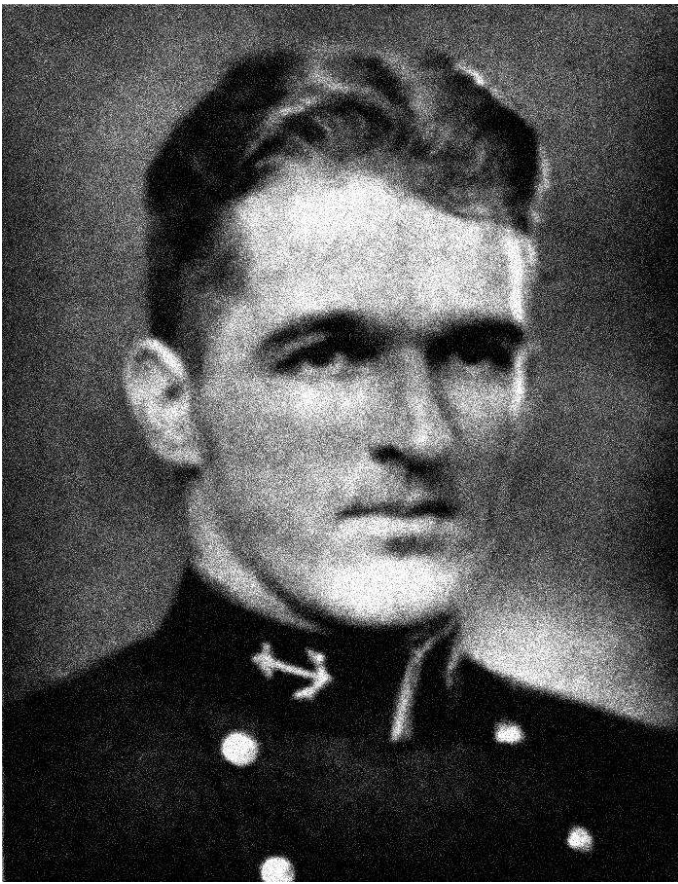
Evidence that Bush officials set a policy that led to the torture of prisoners at Guantánamo continues to emerge. According to ABC News, Gonzales met with other officials in the White House and authorized torture, including waterboarding. The Office of Professional Responsibility, which reports to the U.S. attorney general, drafted a report that excoriates Yoo and Bybee for writing the infamous torture memos. Haynes, Addington and Feith participated in decisions that led to torture. The release

of additional graphic torture memos by the U.S. Department of Justice is imminent. It is the responsibility of the United States to investigate allegations of torture...

If the United States refuses to investigate now, it will be more likely that some future administration will repeat this scenario. The use of torture should be purged from our system, much like we eradicated slavery...

The President can no more order the commission of torture than he can order the commission of genocide, or establish a system of slavery, or wage a war of aggression.

A Select Committee of Congress should launch an immediate and thorough investigation of the circumstances under which torture was authorized and rationalized. The high officials of our government and their lawyers who advised them should be investigated and prosecuted by a Special Prosecutor, independent of the Justice Department, for their crimes. John Yoo, Jay Byee, and David Addington should be subjected to particular scrutiny because of the seriousness of their roles in misusing the rule of law and legal analysis to justify torture and other crimes in flagrant violation of domestic and international law. ■



Frank Tinker, US Naval Academy Yearbook



Albert "Ajax" Baumler, National Museum of the US Air Force

Frank and Ajax "A Beautiful Friendship"

By William Rukeyser

Two Americans stand out as among the most effective and least typical of their generation to aid Spain in its fight against Fascism. Unlike most of the other U.S. volunteers who participated in the Spanish Civil War, the flyers Frank Tinker and Albert J. "Ajax" Baumler were not politically motivated men who learned to fight; they were military men who learned their role in 20th century history.

Tinker and Baumler both grew up in modest families and were in the U.S. military early in the Depression. Baumler came from New Jersey and joined the

Army as a radio operator in 1933. He later got his wings, was discharged, and worked briefly as a United Airlines co-pilot before signing a contract with the Spanish government to fly for the Republic. Tinker was raised in rural Arkansas, where his father was an engineer at a rice mill. Determined to go to the Naval Academy, but from a family with no political connections, Tinker joined the Navy as an enlisted man and won admission to the Academy by examination. Graduating in the depths of the Depression, he had no Navy job waiting for him, so he joined the Army to be trained as a fighter pilot. He completed his training at the Navy's Pensacola flight school.

Like many in Spain, Tinker and Baumler clearly saw that the civil war was a prelude to World War II, which would eventually envelop the United

States. However, they did not join the Spanish Republic's Air Force (FARE) out of idealism. Early in the war the Spanish government desperately needed trained flyers and paid well for the best.

Remember the coolly calculating character played by Humphrey Bogart in *Casablanca*, who had made money smuggling arms to Ethiopia? But, as the Vichy-French police commander points out, "The winning side would have paid you much better." The same held true for the two American flyers Tinker and Baumler.

Tinker grew to hate Hitler and Mussolini and foresaw the probability of the U.S. eventually being at war with them. As a result of being in hotels and movie theaters in Madrid under fire, in his 1938 book *Some Still Live*, Tinker writes, in our country "we may expect

William Rukeyser is a retired reporter who grew up with stories of the Spanish Civil War. His mother, the poet Muriel Rukeyser, was in Spain on the day the war began.

more or less the same thing. I can almost see the crowds standing around watching the Little Rock Fire Department dig bodies out of... hotels... and philosophically discussing the condition of the remains."

As flyers and fighters, Tinker and Baumler distinguished themselves. They arrived in Spain and initially flew old French-built planes that were barely suited for warfare. After they proved their abilities, they were assigned to fighter squadrons flying some of the very last biplane fighters, I-15s (which look more like World War I planes than World War II) and the first monoplane fighter with retractable wheels, the Russian-built I-16, which the Spanish referred to as the Mosca (a pun based on the word for fly and the fact that the crates the planes arrived in were stamped "Moscow").

Since both men were paid bonuses for each enemy plane they shot down, the Spanish bookkeeping was very conservative. Witnesses had to verify and wreckage had to be produced. Tinker's officially recognized 8 "kills" and Baumler's 4½ (indicating shared credit for a victory) are only part of the count. Tinker also had 11 "probables."

Either way, the two pilots were the most accomplished Americans to fly for the Spanish. In 1937 they flew over and participated in some of that year's most important battles: Madrid, Teruel, Jarama and Guadalajara. Among their accomplishments: Tinker was the first U.S. pilot (some accounts say the first anywhere) to down a Messerschmitt 109 (the Nazis' most advanced fighter) and Baumler downed both German and Italian planes.

Neither man was a saint. They were both hard drinkers who liked to party to excess. Both had disciplinary problems in the U.S. military. Tinker had been kicked out of the Navy for brawling and lack of discipline. When off duty, they would go to Madrid and hang out with people like Ernest Hemingway. Tinker and the writer told each other tales about their exploits hunting along the White River in Arkansas. Tinker also went to movie theaters while the city was under attack and observed how cartoon characters could speak much better Spanish than he could.

Despite that limitation, Tinker briefly commanded his fighter squadron, which included Spanish and Russian pilots. How

was that possible? In 1937, most planes did not have radios; cockpits were open and the commands were given by hand signals.

By mid 1937, Spain had trained enough of its own pilots and had no further need of the Americans' services.

Upon returning home, the flyers were not greeted as heroes. They both encountered severe problems with the Passport Office and other government branches. Tinker was denied when he tried to re-enlist in the Navy. He wrote and delivered radio broadcasts in support of the Spanish government during the Civil War, although he kept his distance from some supporters of the Republic because he was unabashedly anti-Soviet. Baumler kept a lower profile and was able to rejoin the Army.

Both men kept in mind that there were more battles to be fought. When Tinker was found dead in 1939 (recent research debunks the theory that he committed suicide), correspondence about flying for China against Japan was found next to his body. Two years later, Baumler had signed up with the Flying Tigers.

Even though the White House covertly supported the Tigers, the Passport Office still gave Baumler trouble and delayed his departure for Asia. His fellow flyers were already in Burma, but he was on his way to China when the Japanese shot up his passenger plane at Wake Island on Pearl

Harbor Day. He escaped injury and had to fly to China in the other direction, via the Atlantic, Africa and India. In his first victory over a Japanese plane, he simultaneously became an Ace (with 5 victories) and the first American pilot to down a plane from each of the three Axis enemies (Germany, Italy, and Japan.) He ended the war as Major Ajax Baumler.

After the war, Baumler remained in the U.S. Air Force at the reduced rank of sergeant. Was that payback for bucking the government in the Spanish Civil War, as many thought, or, as his detractors claimed, simply because of his drinking and the fact that he didn't finish college? As it says on Tinker's gravestone, "¿Quién Sabe?" ("Who knows?")

Both pilots have been honored by the Spanish aviators' organization, the Asociación de Aviadores de la República (ADAR). They are listed on its web site (adar.es) among "Our Flyers," and ADAR sent a medal and a Republican flag to the centennial celebration held at Frank Tinker's gravesite in DeWitt, Arkansas. Pictures of the flyer and the event can be found at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/40439843@N04/with/3723018278/>.

More information on Tinker, Baumler, and the other American volunteers who flew for the FARE is presented in a very readable fashion in John Carver Edward's *Airmen Without Portfolio* (1997). ■

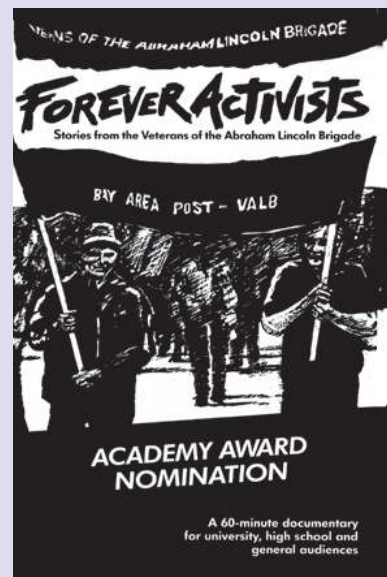
Forever Activists

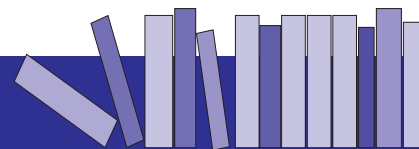
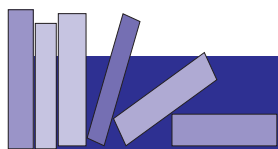
Judith Montell's classic film about the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, including interviews with Milt Wolff, Ruth Davidow, Murray Colow, Steve Nelson, Bill Bailey, Sam Gonshak, Herman "Gabby" Rosenstein, Hilda Roberts, Peter Frye, Vaughn Love, and many more.

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Lives of the Left

Written in Red: The Communist Memoir in Spain. By Gina Herrmann. University of Illinois Press, 2010.

By Carrie Hamilton

W*ritten in Red* analyzes the life writing of six Spanish Communists: Dolores Ibárruri, Jorge Semprún, Rafael Alberti, María Teresa León, Teresa Pàmies and Tomás Pàmies. Notwithstanding significant stylistic and political differences, their writing shares a preoccupation with the personal and political legacies of civil war and exile. As Herrmann notes, “these writers represent familiar roles lived out by the kind of people who were attracted to Communism: party leader, intellectual, artist, resistance fighter, journalist, and proletarian.” Equally importantly, they represent different relationships to Communism and to Stalinism—a major theme throughout the book.

As the first detailed study of Communist memoir in 20th century Spain, this book offers a brilliant analysis of the relationship between political commitment and activism, personal relations and affect. Of particular interest to scholars of Spanish history, politics and literature, it should also be read by students of Communist culture, since it locates Spain within the field of Communist cultural studies and draws on an impressive array of comparative works from the former USSR, Eastern Europe, and the United States. While not a straightforward history of the civil war or the Communist Party, this literary study admirably contextualizes the works

in question within this larger history. Its engagement with a range of contemporary theorists sets it in the best tradition of literary and cultural studies.

The book revolves around two sets of fundamental tensions: between conviction and remorse, and between the individual life and “the social and collective terms within which the Communist subject was supposed to understand and present him or herself.” The movement

As the first detailed study of Communist memoir in 20th century Spain, this book offers a brilliant analysis of the relationship between political commitment and activism, personal relations and affect.

back and forth between common themes and political and aesthetic differences is facilitated by the book’s structure. With the exception of the first chapter, dedicated to Ibárruri’s autobiography, the book reads two or more writers alongside each other, bringing out convergences and tensions between them and Communist memoir. Chapter 2 examines the memoirists’ early lives and their conversion to Communism. Chapter 3—appropriately the center of the book—covers the war in Spain. Reflecting the recent “affective turn” in the humanities, political and personal legacies of the conflict are examined through emotional expression in the memoirs: happiness, shame, love, guilt. While the central distinction is between women’s and men’s memories of war, it is here that the common features in the work of all six writers are brought out most clearly.

In the final chapters, the categories “organic” and “dissolutive” Communist memoir are put to productive use. Chapter 4 examines León and Alberti—wife and husband, lifelong Communist artists, and prominent figures in the Spanish exile community. Drawing

on Walter Benjamin’s concept of “Left Melancholia” and Wendy Brown’s more recent reworking of this, Herrmann explores the haunting themes of exile, nostalgia, and melancholia. Alberti is—alongside Semprún—the most famous writer among these memoirists and occupies a privileged position within Spain as a respected poet. Perhaps as a caution against the mythologizing of heroes common to all wars, Herrmann highlights Alberti’s complicity in the silences surrounding the atrocities of Stalinism. Most intriguing and original here is her use of Alice Kuzniar’s work on dogs and

melancholia to contrast Alberti’s obsessive representation of canine pets with the absence of Stalinist horrors: “So little Communism, so many dogs.”

Another absence in Alberti’s memoir is his wife, with whom he lived for the entire period of the war and exile; the contrast between the prominent place of Alberti in León’s memoir and his almost total failure to mention her is one example of the gender analysis that weaves through the book.

Building on her previous work on female militant memories of the civil war, Herrmann analyzes Ibárruri’s performance of political motherhood and widowhood and contrasts women’s ambivalent feelings about the war experience with men’s expressions of shame in the face of ideals of masculinity in conflict. The gender politics of activism and writing are traced as well in the analysis of *Testament à Praga*, in which Teresa Pàmies intersperses her critical commentary with excerpts from diaries of her father, Tomás, a lifelong Communist activist and civil war veteran who never broke with the Party. This daughter-father

Continued on page 13

Carrie Hamilton teaches history at Roehampton University, London. She is the author of *Women and ETA: The Gender Politics of Radical Basque Nationalism* (2007).

Forever Anti-Fascists

Hank Rubin (1916-2011)

Hank Rubin, father of the Berkeley Food Revolution and well-known writer about food and wine, died in his sleep Thursday, February 24, 2011. He was born in Portland, Oregon, and spent most of his life in California, first in Los Angeles, then in the San Francisco Bay Area since 1950. He was 94 years old.

Rubin was a lifelong advocate for social justice—a passion that drove him to leave UCLA in his junior year as a pre-med student and enlist in the first major fight against fascism in Europe, the Spanish Civil War. There he fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. His book, *Spain's Cause Was Mine*, published in 1997, describes his experiences, first as the head of a machine gun company, later, after a bout with jaundice, as a medic driving an ambulance that tended the wounded, often made painful triage decisions, and brought home the dead.

Rubin came home from Spain in 1939, a battle-scarred veteran at 23, and returned to UCLA to finish his undergraduate degree. Two years later, in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, he enlisted in the United States Army, where he served in the Pacific theater from 1942 until 1945. After the war, he was accepted into the School of Public Health at UC Berkeley, where he earned a Masters degree, and then he went to work for the Contra Costa Public Health Department.

In 1960, Rubin became the owner of the Pot Luck restaurant in Berkeley which, with his innovative approach to food, wine, and service, developed into the East Bay's premier restaurant during the 1960s and early 1970s. Reviewed by food writers as a star of Bay Area dining, he developed a wine list that caught the attention of wine lovers and critics across the country. He also owned Cruchon's, a notable sandwich, salad, and pie restaurant near the Berkeley campus. His were the first restaurants in the Bay Area to be fully integrated by race and gender.



After Rubin's retirement from the restaurant business in the mid-1970s, he focused his energies on writing about food and wine. He wrote "The Wine Master," a weekly column in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, for 15 years; served as the

general manager of *Bon Appetit* and the wine editor for *Vintage Magazine*; wrote many articles about food and wine; and, in 2002, published *The Kitchen Answer Book*, an essential tool for any cook, answering the common—and not so common—questions encountered in cooking.

During this time, Rubin also became a popular guest lecturer in several Berkeley elementary schools, teaching children about the wonders of food and the need, as he said, to respect their bodies by putting wholesome food into them. In 1990, he and his wife, Lillian, moved from their long-time home in El Cerrito to San Francisco. There he taught classes about cooking and the restaurant business in several Bay Area public high schools.

Hank Rubin was a man beloved by all who knew him for his integrity, his generosity of spirit, and his lifelong commitment to service in the community, to his profession, and not least to his family. He is survived by his wife, Lillian; daughter, Marci; grandson Blake and his wife Margaret; and great-grandson Edward. ■

Lives of the Left

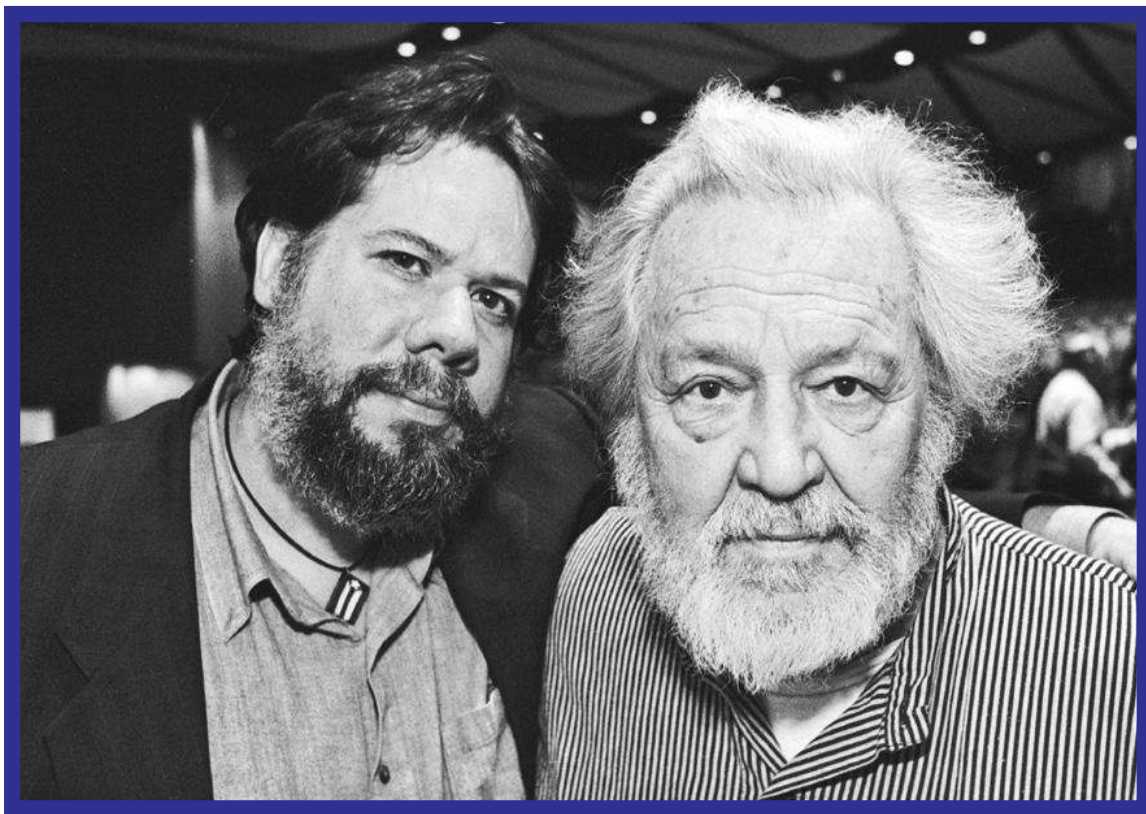
continued from page 12

dialogue also redresses the absence of Rosa, Teresa's mother, from Tomás's narrative. Reading texts in relation to one another highlights themes of absence and shame in the overlapping spheres of the personal and political.

Teresa Pàmies's autobiographical corpus is, alongside that of Jorge Semprún, an example of the "dissolutive" memoir, and the two authors are the subjects of the final chapter. With the turn to these "compulsive, serial autobiographers," the book comes to the end of its trajectory: from youth and conversion through war and activism and finally to the "deconversion memoir." The turning point in both cases is the 1952 Prague show trials.

Herrmann resists any temptation of a triumphant reading of the work of Pàmies

and Semprún as post-Communist, insisting that even as they refuse to hide from the horrors of Stalinism, both writers show ongoing commitment to Communist values of solidarity. Citing the scholar of American Communist writing, Charity Scribner, Herrmann labels the works of Pàmies and Semprún "requiems for Communism" for their "refusal to accept the *fait accompli* of late capitalism as the only imaginable frame of our world." This conclusion is simultaneously conscious of the historical context out of which these memoirs emerge. Like the dissolutive Communist memoirs with which it closes, the book stresses the enormity of the losses brought by the Communist project while expressing an awareness of what has been lost with its demise. ■



Martín Espada with Abe Osheroff. Photo by Richard Bermack.

Like a Word That Somersaults Through the Air

for Abe Osheroff, 1915-2008

His life begins with the rain, and the soggy cushions
of a couch left by the landlord to die on a Brooklyn sidewalk
in the year 1930. His life begins at age fifteen, Abe
the high school wrestler straining the cords in his neck

to lift the couch with the other boys back through the doorway
of a tenement in Brownsville. His life begins with a woman
who could not pay the rent staring dumbstruck on the corner
at the miracle of eviction evicted, the landlord a lord no more,

her sons and daughters trailing in a procession after the sofa.
His life begins with the cop who arrives on the corner
waving a revolver, the gun Abe snatches away to toss
across the pavement, squinting into the face of his first arrest.

His life begins with a cop's revolver bouncing off the asphalt,
like a word that somersaults through the air and cannot be unsaid.
— Martín Espada

How to Read Ezra Pound

At the poets' panel,
after an hour of poets
debating Ezra Pound,
Abe the Lincoln veteran,
remembering
the Spanish Civil War,
raised his hand and said:

*If I knew
that a fascist
was a great poet,
I'd shoot him
anyway*
—Martín Espada

These poems are published with permission of
the author from a new volume of poetry, *The
Trouble Ball* (Norton Books, 2011).

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Above contributions were made through May 1, 2011; subsequent gifts will be noted in the next issue of *The Volunteer*.

Corrections from last issue: Acknowledgment

Marjorie Liss and Elizabeth Liss in honor of their mother, Sylvia Liss

The Future of ALBA

Planning for your will? Please consider making ALBA part of your legacy. We know—and you know—how important it is to carry on the tradition of anti-fascism, global awareness, and human rights that the men and women of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade embodied. ALBA will carry on “the good fight” by raising awareness of those issues and upholding the legacy of those who stood before us. As a non-profit educational organization, 501(c)(3), ALBA can accept legacy gifts in any amount, large or small. Please help us ensure your beliefs will live on too.

Dear Editors,

In Professor Gabriel Jackson's review of Angel Vinas' trilogy on the history of the Spanish Republic, he assures readers that in considering aid to Republican Spain, Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov and Ambassador Rosenberg fearlessly “dared to express their thoughts in the midst of the Stalinist purges,” as if the bureaucracy presided over by the Man of Steel was some sort of democratic debating society. He neglects to mention that Litvinov was shortly removed from his position so that Stalin could sign his pact with Hitler and spare Herr Ribbentrop the ordeal of shaking hands with a Jew. As for Rosenberg, he had his brains blown out by the NKVD just a year later.

Martin Comack
Somerville, MA

The Volunteer

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