FROM FRANCO SPAIN TO TODAY'S SPAIN

By Leonard Lamb

For a considerable period of time after Franco’s death the cooperation between the political parties was determined by circumstances that demanded for each sector of society the establishment of a democratic state. Although the majority in Spain, except for the fascist right, agreed in principle on the state’s new complexion, the reasons for doing so were as varied as the groups within it. From the middle class down, it can be safely said that the desire was for greater political and social freedoms. At the same time financial and corporate capital found it commercially desirable to move toward the same goal if they wished to emerge from the deepening economic crisis. What they really wanted was a cosmetic democracy to satisfy the requirement for admission to the Common Market but not to relinquish the authority or privilege enjoyed under Franco. Nevertheless, a constitutional state became the historic need of the moment and even though the powerful sought democracy in a limited form, the peoples’ deep-rooted desire for change exerted tremendous pressures to extend freedoms as far as possible.

The three year period between Franco’s death and the acceptance of the Constitution was politically sensitive indeed. Establishing the hallmarks of a free society was in fact illegal, and the flanks and rear of each advance was secured with nothing more substantial than an alert and determined public opinion.

Political parties, newly emerged, found ways to work toward some degree of stabilization in the midst of change by the method of consensus. This arrangement made it possible to create a democratic Constitution acceptable in the main to all major parties and groups, and whose provisions, in addition, contained options for further democratic change. Another consensual accomplishment — at least in hammering it together — was the Moncloa Pact. Basically it was a working agreement to stem the further social and economic deterioration of the nation by setting guidelines for interim management, and to assure that the burden of the proposed austerity program did not fall on the working class alone. For example, its purpose was to adjust wages to prices, modernize the relation between workers and employers, and reduce inflation and unemployment.

It was indeed consensus which put the Moncloa Pact together, but in the execution of it the class interests of the privileged clashed with the interests of the nation and revealed certain unbridgeable differences. True, inflation was reduced from 21% to 16%, the workers obtained the right to organize their own trade unions, but the employers refused to adjust wages to prices and halt arbitrary dismissals. As a result the Moncloa Pact was never fully realized.

Woman in Spain Play A Large Role

Prior to the March 1979 general elections a January 2 “New York Times” dispatch from Madrid told of a message reportedly sent from the Socialist Party to Prime Minister Suarez declaring that it would no longer participate in consensus. No direct explanation was given. It might have been motivated by Suarez’ decision, already obvious, to move to the right, and the refusal, perhaps, to negotiate a new accord on wage and price restraints. There was also the political rivalry for governmental power developing between the UCD and the PSOE. The PSOE was probably stimulated by the polls showing Felipe Gonzalez ahead by a wide margin. Whatever the reason, it was apparent the opportunities for consensus were greatly diminished, if not altogether lost.

The results of the March elections indicate a shift to an increased parliamentary struggle and that consensus can no longer be relied upon for national solutions. Even though Suarez’ party gained a scant few seats in the House of Deputies, he declared himself the “winner” and installed a “one-color” minority government. The UCD had by now moved further to the right. The Socialist Party remained the largest party of the left. The Communist Party, third in importance and of considerable influence strongly based in the 2,000,000 strong Workers Commissions, declared itself a party of constructive opposition, ready to propose and support measures of benefit to the nation. Areiz and Fraga Iribarne formed a “constitutional right” as distinguished from the ultras.

Cont. on Page 6
Our National Conference
by Steve Nelson

The conference was fairly well attended. At times there were over a hundred present. But two-thirds of our members could not attend for reasons of health, time or money. I would therefore like to share some of the highlights of our gathering with them.

We opened with a sad roll-call of the twenty-five comrades who passed away during the last year.

My report stressed the fact, that despite various problems and political tendencies in our ranks, we are united on the basic idea that we share in common. We were the first Americans to respond to the central issue of our time, the fight against Fascism. We took our place beside the Spanish people, the first in Europe to take up arms against the growing threat to peace and democracy. In that first battle in Spain, and in the later battles of the same war throughout the world, we lost the majority of our comrades.

After the War we continued our aid to the Spanish people, to the exiles, the prisoners rotting in Franco jails, and to their families. Moral and material support to these victims of Fascism remained central in our activities. At the same time, we did everything in our power to expose and defeat the role of the U.S. Government which supported the Franco regime with arms and money, and converted Spain into a military outpost of the Pentagon.

The main task of the Conference was to find a common ground on which most VALB members could agree, so as to keep the organization united and to lay the basis for a program of activities. My report was more than my own thinking. It was fed by many pre-Conference discussions with comrades seeking agreement on issues which tended to divide us. This approach, agreement based on the broadest consensus, was the keynote of my remarks, was endorsed by most speakers, and by an overwhelming vote.

The issues on which discussion centered, and on which major differences were expressed were the following:
1) Our Preamble (statement of nature of VALB, aims and purposes).
2) The Archives.
3) The question of pensions for our Polish-Jewish comrades, the Botwins.
4) Membership ratification.

On the first point, the Preamble, my report recommended that we reaffirm the resolution of the previous conference authored by Milt Wolf together with the amendment by Gabby Rosenstein agreed upon by Wolf, which characterized our organization as anti-fascist but limited our activity to those issues which the majority of our membership agreed on. This approach was accepted by most speakers who followed the report.

The second issue, reported on by Sam Gonshak, dealt with VALB’s desire to obtain the archives which are in the possession of the CPUSA. I urged that we not get bogged down with the formulation “legally and morally ours,” but instead elect a committee which will see to it that we obtain these records. This was endorsed and a committee elected.

On the 3rd question, the Botwins, reported on by Irv Weissman, it was agreed that we continue our efforts to help them secure their pensions and other rights from the Polish government.

There was agreement that all decisions of the conference would be sent to the entire membership for a vote of ratification.

While there were some sharp differences on these issues, and some still obtain, yet it can be stated that an acceptable agreement was reached by the great majority and that the gloom and doom some predicted did not materialize. An important lesson is to be learned here. Before and during the Conference, efforts were made to defuse the controversy, and yet maintain a principle position consistent with our history and basic beliefs. In any case the membership would make the final decision. This approach prevailed at our Conference!

The list of those who took part in the discussion is long, and I can not list them all. But I must list a few who contributed — Milt Wolf, Lenny Lamb, Irv Weissman, Milt Cohen, Marion Merriman, Fred Keller, Abe Osheroff, Moishe Brier, Tom Lloyd, and many others. There were only two or three speakers who did not modify their old stands, but I hope the conference will convince all of the need for give and take if we are to be united and do whatever we still can to preserve our proud record despite some political differences.

Much attention was given to our historical work and the formation of ALBA (Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives) to preserve our record. There was a good discussion on a proposed Constitution for our organization and a committee set up to present drafts to the membership.

But if I were asked “What was the key spirit of our Conference?,” I would say it was agreement on a minimal program which will guide our work in the period ahead.
Dear Comrades:

I want to congratulate the Committee for having selected “A Salute to the Black Americans who fought for Democracy in Spain,” as the theme for our 42nd Anniversary Dinner.

The handsome program announcement bearing a sketch of the formidable Eluard McDaniel, “El Fantastico” vividly recalls the essential role Black Lincolneers played in my development and the development of so many other “kids” who came to Spain to soldier for freedom — unarmed, untrained and in so many ways unprepared for the rigors of warfare. My first commander was Walter Garland, machine-gunner extraordinaire. Whatever I learned about the Maxim he taught me. But more important than the arts of transverse and enfilading cones of fire, he instilled in me, and such as Manny Lancer, Jack Altman and Gus Hecht, was the conviction that we could go out there and take on the whole bloody professional fascist Armies and kick the shit out of ‘em. I mean, we had to know that and he left no room for doubt. It was his inspiring leadership and heroism under fire that made it possible for us to survive the 21 hellish days of Brunete and go on from there. Garland pulling the wounded Leo Kaufman off a hill and himself being wounded in the process, is a scene burned into my memory; him shouting for us to take cover as he lifted the frail Kaufman in his arms, a sniper peppering the exposed chest, bringing Leo safely into the waiting arms of Sanidad and then Walter tying a handkerchief around his own wound and leading us on.

There was nothing that Captain Walter Garland could ask of me that I would not have done straight-away. My greatest personal disappointment in Spain came when he was sent back to the States after Brunete. And after Spain that he disappeared from my life altogether. And Doug Roach instructing us on how to dig into the soft sand of the dry river-bed where the Bridge passed overhead to Canada: “Use your shovels today, comrades and you’ll be around tomorrow to use your guns.” And so we did and remained unharmed, each one of us, though the bombs rained down for what seemed an eternity of rolling fire and earth-shaking thunder. AND WHEN THE SMOKE HAD CLEARED it was up to the front with the Maxims repelling the enemy stunned by the improbable intelligence that we had not all perished in the inferno. And Vaughn Love patrolling the wide open spaces where our lines had broken, and Dicterov at the ready, ammo-pan hanging from his belt telling me, “I don’t know where anyone is but we gotta hold this place.” “Who, you and me?” I asked. “Well,” he replied testily, “I don’t see anyone else around, do you?” Tommy Page and Charlie Parker and Admiral Kilpatrick, I remember them not as Blacks but as strong, dependable comrades, men for whom this struggle in Spain was a continuation, not a beginning. In one way or another they had “been here before.”

Bob Reed
Seattle, Washington

DEMONSTRATED IN FACT THAT THE WHITE SOLDIERS HAD BEEN THE AGGRESSORS IN AN ARMY RACE RIOT IN OCCUPIED JAPAN, BUT THE BLACK VICTIMS HAD BEEN PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED. WHAT — BEFORE ANY OFFICIAL COLD WAR — AWAITED BLACKS AFTER THE CRUSHING OF HITLER ETC. HARDLY NEEDS SUCH ILLUSTRATING.

I should add that I have nothing to do with what does or does not go into The Volunteer. I will add that I was the one who initiated the idea and campaign to honor our Black Vets at our dinner here. I understand, and I assume that you know, that the Bay Area has also adopted such a theme for its dinner.

Appreciatively,

Ben Goldring
Editor, The Volunteer

Tom Kozar, son of John "Topsy" Kozar, wishes to obtain information about the Father he never knew. John Kozar was lost at sea when his ship, the "Friar Rock" was torpedoed off the coast of Newfoundland enroute to Archangel with a cargo of tanks, machinery and other material, on January 13 or 14, 1942, seven or eight days before I was born.

John Kozar was active as a seamen in the 1936 National Maritime Union strike in New York. His home was in Vintondale, Pennsylvania, and he worked in the coal mines in Pennsylvania circa 1930, and was involved with the organizing of the coal mine workers.

He was a member of the Lincoln Battalion and went to Spain on May 1, 1937 aboard the "SS Britannic," returning to the U.S. aboard the "SS Arizona" on December 20, 1938. In Spain he was attached for some time to the 35th Division Hospital as a mechanic.

I would like to obtain from anyone who knew him, any information concerning:

1) his early working life in the Vintondale area and his work in the coal mines in Pennsylvania,
2) his life and activities as a seaman, in particular any information concerning his imprisonment in a German concentration camp circa 1935, (which is around the time Lawrence Simpson was taken off the "SS Manhatten" in Hamburg — July 5, 1935), and his imprisonment in England for union activities in the same time period,
3) his activities in the 1936 NMU strike,
4) his service and/or combat duty in Spain as a soldier, truck driver, or mechanic. It is said he was aboard the "Cuidad de Barcelona" when it was sunk on May 30, 1937,
5) his connection with the UE. His brother, Michael Kozar, was a UE organizer before WW II, and was killed in Germany in November 1944.
6) his activities after his return from Spain such as where he went, shipped from, etc. (West or east coast port.) On December 3 or 4, 1941 he was in Pearl Harbor, enroute from Singapore to the U.S. On or before December 16, 1941 he signed onto the "Friar Rock" as Second Assistant Engineer at a War Shipping Administration Recruiting office in New York.

Any personal recollections of John Kozar by anyone who knew him as a rank and file worker, union member, seaman, in the period of 1928-1942, will be greatly appreciated. To this point I have only three photos of my Father, and would like to borrow for copying any photos with approximate dates and locations from those who are kind enough to reply to my requests.

Thank you,
Tom Kozar

Detroit Testimonial to Saul Wellman

On April 20, 1979, over 325 friends of Saul gathered together for a $15 a plate dinner to honor him for "a lifetime in the movement" organized by the many organizations he worked in. Saul’s life was reviewed by a moving program of reminiscences, music, slides, plus a 24-page souvenir book prepared to commemorate Saul’s life, including paid greetings from a dozen organizations and 150 people not present.

The affair was a huge success. People were from the old left, new left, and what’s left. His Spain comrades sent warm greetings from as far away as Tel Aviv, Madrid, Victoria, Vancouver, Australia, London, plus many cities in the United States. Ron Aronson chaired the evening and Jessica Milford, Saul’s children, David, Vickie and her brood were among the speakers.

Imagine, Saully, being presented a Testimonial town Resolution from the Detroit City Council by Councilman Kenneth Cockrel, and the Detroit Distinguished Recognition Award Medal by Councilwoman Mary Ann Mahaffey. As if these were not enough, there was the Special Tribute to Citizen Saul Wellman offered to the Michigan Senate by Senator John Kelly. And then, Congressman John Conyers’ aide presented Bill H.R. 259 introduced in the House of Representatives to provide ‘for the entitlement to veterans’ benefits of Americans who fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War.’ The times they are a-changing, are they not?

It was a memorable evening. Many will long remember and cherish the expression of warmth, love and respect.

Bob Reed Honored

When Bob Reed retired from the Neighborhood House, the Mayor of Seattle issued a proclamation declaring May 3 — as "Bob Reed Day." It opened with..."fought for freedom and human dignity in Spain."
SPAIN REVISITED

Bill Susman

May 1st, 1979 found us on the same street in Barcelona as the year before. There we were in front of the Hotel Majestic, Bill Sennett and I, looking for a suitable contingent to join. Hundreds of thousands of marchers filled the streets on both occasions. But there were important differences.

In the year that passed, three major elections had occurred. First, the Spanish people had overwhelmingly adopted their first democratic constitution since the Civil War. Second, a new parliament had been elected, and third, municipal elections had taken place which elected town and provincial councils throughout Spain.

The leaders of the Spanish left had at each stage clarified the issues while mobilizing the broadest possible support for the advance toward democracy.

Now, there were communist and socialist mayors marching in the many May Day demonstrations throughout Spain. The left had united in order to elect mayors. In Madrid, Santiago Carrillo and Felipe Gonzalez marched side by side. Camacho of the Workers’ Commissions walked next to the General Secretary of the UGT (Socialist Party trade union).

The many parties of the ultra left also joined in the same demonstration. Only the anarchists, whose few thousand participants last year dwindled to a few hundred this year marched alone.

Dolores was present too. She did not march but she waved her greetings from a balcony vantage point. A few days earlier, we had met with Dolores Ibarruri in her apartment and reminisced over the first May Day in Spain. She told us proudly that her hometown Bilbao had been the site of that demonstration and she exhorted us to visit Bilbao, “a real working-class center.” We did, for no one can resist Dolores not even today. She was most interested in the VALB and asked particularly about Nelson, “Como esta Nelson?” Her eyes still flash the old fire and when we were leaving we felt her powerful “abrazo.” She asked us to send her love to all the vets. Dolores is still La Pasionaria.

The next day, we were invited to attend a celebration in Para¬cuellos, a small town an hour out of Madrid. Paracuellos is the town where some anarchist forces executed about two thousand fascist officer prisoners who were being moved out of Madrid in the Fall of 1936. Only a year ago, the whole right in Spain, undeterred by historical fact, was charging Carrillo with this crime calling him the assassin of Paracuellos. So it was a double whammy to be invited to attend the victory fiesta of the PCE candidate who had just been elected mayor.

Not only was the town happy, but because the mayor had been a pilot during the Civil War pilots came from all over Spain to toast his election. His father had also been mayor but had been executed by the fascists at the end of the war. There was a river of wine and a ton of roast lamb and we all ate and drank.

We returned to Madrid sunburned, stuffed and smiling.

Of course, we visited our old friends whose stories we told last year. They are all well but exhausted after three major election campaigns, each just a few months apart. Their spirits are good but they know the road ahead is rocky.

The government of Suarez has moved to the right and the left has now entered into a strong opposition. The voting system in Spain gave the left an absolute majority, but because this system is more disproportional than proportional, it gave the right a majority in the parliament. In the municipal elections, however, the left won a absolute majority and now rules almost every important Spanish city and town.

Ed. Bender

It was a great emotional experience for the nine veterans of the Spanish Civil War who returned for a visit to Spain on April 29-May 13 of this year. The nine included John Tisa, who organized the trip, Irving Gold from Miami, Sam Spiller, Harry Goloff and Gus Weide¬gans from Pennsylvania, Tony de Maio from New York, Duncan Keir from Los Angeles and Sid Levine and Ed. Bender from the Bay Area. Together, with wives and friends the group consisted of 17 men and 13 women.

These were a memorable two weeks in Spain. On the very first evening of our arrival we were guests at a reception arranged for us by the Asociacion de Ex-Presos. There we met men and women who have spend years in prison under Franco. We were greeted warmly by Carmen, a most charming woman who spent 11 years in jail. We were appraised of the difficulties still facing the Spanish people, and the ex-political prisoners who have yet to win legal status. Yet, after all the years of suffering there was no bitterness or rancor, but a strong conviction that the fight for democracy will be won. In response, I brought greetings and best wishes from the VALB, the pledge for continued aid and presented them with $2500 that was raised by the Bay Area Post and friends.

We were deeply grateful when they invited us to join them in the May Day parade the following day. It is difficult to describe the feeling of being part of a half million participants, marching under various political, trade union and youth banners — but marching together. Soon the word got around that there were “Lincolns” present. We were literally surrounded by people, especially young people, who were eager to talk to us or just plain look. As the parade began a chant went up “Viva las Brigadas Internacionales” and this continued as we passed a balcony where La Passionaria was standing waving and applauding.

Our trip continued in the same vein as we travelled through the battle areas of Jarama, Brunete, Quinto, Belchite and the Ebro. This part of the trip was especially emotional to the veterans who fought in these areas, who vividly recalled their experiences and who remembered the comrades who have given their lives there. All of this was taped and should be available for our archives. Everywhere people were friendly and were eager to talk to us. In Gandesa we were received by the newly elected Socialist Mayor and members of his administration. In the Plaza is a plaque commemorating the 40th anniversary of the battle of the Ebro put up by the Republican aviators last year. The town of Gandesa is developing plans for a city park in memory of those who died at the Ebro. They expressed great enthusiasm, when it was suggested to them, for cooperation by Cont. on Page 8

Excerpts From A Letter Sent By John Tisa To The Association De Aviadores

...Our only regret was that our entire group could not have gone on hill 666 where, at the very moment we were in Gandesa, 500 Spanish Cadets were studying those historic battles on the field. Some of our comrades were on these very hill-tops and could have given first-hand and personal accounts — as riflemen and machine-gunners — of the action of those days to those young Cadets.

...Finally, and very importantly, the airline ticket you bought our comrade Gus, who had his stolen while shopping on the Ramblas, has been turned over to IBERIA for a refund. It may take some weeks for settlement, but as soon as the refund is in our hands we shall promptly forward it to you. If it had not been for this unfortunate matter, we would have been able to spend more time with you and we would have had the opportunity of taking pictures. However, by your buying a ticket you made it possible for comrade Gus to return with us instead of remaining in Barcelona until IBERIA cleared him for transit.
FROM FRANCO SPAIN TO TODAY'S SPAIN

Fortunately the shift in political positions did not result in a polarization or a two party system.

According to official government figures the political composition of the Congress is: Center Right, 53%; Left, 44%; Ultra Right, 3%. According to the number of votes cast (these are my figures derived from the political color of the 29 parties and the votes cast for each) 52% of the voters were of the Left and Center Left, as against 48% for the Center Right and Right; almost identical with the voter division in 1977.

An indication of the inequality of the D'Hondt system of proportional representation, and its absurdity, where the largest parties are given and the greater advantages, the following is revealing: for the UCD to elect one deputy it took approximately 30,000 votes; the PSOE required 40,000 votes to elect one deputy; the cost to elect one PCE deputy was 80,000 votes.

The PCE was the only party to increase its vote over the 1977 elections. The PCE gained 314,000 votes. The PSOE lost 348,000, the UCD dropped 57,000 and the CD 500,000.

The municipal elections were finally held on April 3. This was the election purposely postponed for months in order to keep in office, from the provinces to the smallest hamlet, the Franco appointees. Suarez and the right found it made to order to have old National Movement colleagues facing the voters at the polling booths. As an implied threat to the voter’s livelihood and well being it could not be better stated, and was weightier in the small towns, villages and hamlets where caciquism (political bossism) was the rule, or where the landowner was not only the most important personage but also the highest official.

The vote in the municipalities was to elect councillors Those elected with the highest vote from each party would then be eligible to stand for Mayor. The latter in turn would be elected by an absolute majority vote of the councillors.

Local candidates were no longer a face on a poster. Each had a direct relation to some aspect of daily life. Transportation to work, garbage collection, the condition of the children’s park, the candidates attitude toward labor or a farm problem, health and education were real, not promisory election time rhetoric.

Consequently, the left swept the elections. Although the UCD elected the largest number of councillors the support lent by the PCE to the PSOE, and vice versa, gave the overall victory to the democratic forces.

Contrary to their stand in the national elections where the PCE and the PSOE had no electoral agreements, following the municipalities the need for cooperation was immediately understood and acted upon. A committee of eight, four from each party, was quickly formed to study the problems and needs of the municipalities nationwide. However, there was no commitment to a common program. Instead, it was agreed to cooperate in the democratic administration of the City Halls and to delegate more responsibility to the councillors.

From the viewpoint of Spanish politics the municipal elections illustrated how necessary it is for closer forms of cooperation between the parties of the Left, the Democratic Left and the Democratic Center, and the advisability of electoral cooperation between the PCE and the PSOE in order to parallel the close working relationship between the Workers Commissions and the UGT.

It is obvious that class alignments are hardening. It is to be expected that the class nature of the parliamentary struggles will reflect this to a greater degree and be especially evident in the debates on the laws to implement the Constitution. The quality of these laws will in

City Elections — Spain 1979

by Herman “Gabby” Rosenstein

The April 3rd, 1979, municipal elections, the first held in Spain since the civil war, put into perspective the basic political trend and problems facing the further development of democracy in Spain.

These elections were held just one month after the general elections in which the Suarez party (U.C.D.) — see previous issue of The Volunteer, volume 2, number 1 — moving to the right, set up a minority government, and together with the votes of the right-wing party of Fraga (C.D.) have a numerical majority in the Cortes — hence the title “Center-right” government.

To the surprise of everyone in Spain — including the left — on a local level, the left won a sweeping victory in the City Halls representing 75% of the Spanish people. (There are no hard final figures given out by the government election board. The 1977 final election returns were never made public.) Best estimate are that the Socialists have mayors in 1000-1500 cities and towns and that the Communists have mayors in 400-450 cities and towns. (There are some 8000 in Spain.)

In Madrid the results were as follows: U.C.D. — 25; P.S.O.E. — 25; P.C.E. — 9. Enrique Tierno Galván, P.S.O.E. electedMayor by combined votes of P.S.O.E. and P.C.E. — 34 to U.C.D. — 25. (It is interesting to note that as the first Assistant-Mayor, Ramón Tamames, P.C.E. was appointed by the new Mayor.)


There is not a single U.C.D. Mayor in Catalonia.

There are 50 provinces in Spain. The left won 27 capital cities with a population of 10,500,000; the center-right, 23 with 2,500,000.

Of the 53 cities with over 50,000 population — which are not provincial capitals — the left won 44 with a total of more than 5,000,000 population. (This general picture is similar to the 1931 elections after the installation of the second Spanish Republic.)

The cities of Madrid and Barcelona truly have “red belts” — 16 municipalities around Madrid and 21 around Barcelona with Socialist and Communist Mayors and Minority City Councils.

The Costa del Sol, the tourist have of Torremolinos (Malaga), known as Costa del Sol and recently as “Costa del Bunker” (hard-line fascists) is now called “Costa Roja” due to the sweeping victories of the left in the areas of Andalucia.

To the special interests of the VALB, Barcelona has a Socialist Mayor; Albacete — a Socialist Mayor; Tarazona and Madrigueras — Communist Mayors; Mataro, Socialist; Alicante — Socialist; Valencia — Socialist; Tarragona — Socialist; Murcia — Socialist; Sagunto — Communist; Arganda — Communist; Aranjuez — Socialist.

It must be noted that there was a large percentage of non-voting eligible citizens — 40%. (See previous Volunteer — volume 2, number 1.) This poses a danger to the stability of democracy with which the left is grappling.

The problems of the cities are enormous — large debts from the turn reflect how well the Democratic Left conducts itself as an intelligent opposition.

One thing is certain, however. The municipal elections have brought into play a formerly defused but now potent source of democratic strength at the grass roots level. It alerts considerably the content of Spanish politics; it stands as a formidable counter-weight to right wing manoeuvres.
Francoist cliques previously in power, bad housing, transportation, health, sanitation, education, etc.

The absolute power of the Mayor, inherited from the Franco regime, is being decentralized. Each council member is now responsible for a special area of work — urban planning, transportation, housing, etc.

To the question — "How do you plan to allow participation by the people of the city?" All answer in more or less the same terms: "We will organize community organizations, such as parent groups, pensioners, education workers, health workers, students, small business people, professionals; these are the people with whom we will meet to discuss any issue affecting their community, before the issue it taken to the City Council.

This election and its significance can best be seen by the symbolism of the flags of the P.S.O.E. and P.C.E. together on the statue of King Philip IV on the Plaza Mayor in Madrid at 4:00 a.m., April 4, 1979, after the victory of the Socialist Tierno Galvan as Mayor was foreseen (by the thousands who had gathered to celebrate). On an alliance of the P.C.E.-P.S.O.E. "I believe that it is possible," said Galvan "An expressed agreement did not exist but we can say that there was a tactical agreement."

Greetings from La Passionaria

During a recent visit to Spain, one of the Vets was invited to visit with La Passionaria and her secretary, Irene Falcon, in their apartment.

He notes that "La Passionaria, who will soon be 85 years old, stood erect when I placed the I.B. pin on her dress. Her voice was strong and has lost none of its impact. It was like a dream come true seeing her, and then she agreed to tape the following short greeting to the VALB."

"I would like to take advantage of the visit to Spain by a group of Americans, some who participated in the International Brigades in our country, I wish to send a cordial salute to all the American veterans and to the American people in general, wishing them all great success in their work, in their struggle, in their life."

May Day 1979

Jews in the International Brigades

Oscar Hunter

Alfred Prago's pamphlet Jews in the International Brigades deals with a badly neglected part of the Brigades' history: the Jewish anti-fascist fighters — men and women.

There are many books in several languages about the I.B. "Some make the barest reference, two lines or so, to Jews in Spain." A Polish-French Jew, David Diamant, published a book in Yiddish on the Jews in the I.B. and there is also a work by Joseph Toch, an Austrian Jew. His book is not available in this country. Prago says, "I know of no book or pamphlet written in English which deals with this important matter. This silence of forty years in the English-speaking world is strange."

Jews from all over Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America responded immediately to the opportunity to become combatants in this first antifascist war, starting as early as July of 1936. The I.B. headquarters in Paris was the vehicle by which they could get across into Spain. Their combatant role in Spain gave lie to the slander that Jews in Europe went passively to concentration camps and crematoria.

How many Jews were there in the I.B.? Prago had to deal with estimates from various sources. The numbers range from 7,000 to 10,000, about 16% of the total number of Brigaders.

There is a good deal of documentation to show that the Jewish Communist leadership in France intended to set up an independent Jewish company which would eventually be transformed into a battalion. Although this never came to pass, the famous Botwin company composed mainly of Jews, was formed. Al discusses this company and its meaning to the Jewish masses.

When one examines the range of sources Al had to work with, it becomes obvious there is a real need for a book where the full story can be told of the heroism of the Jews in the Brigades.

The pamphlet ends with this quote from Luigi Longo, "We, volunteers of liberty owe an immense debt to the Jewish heroes who have written magnificent pages in all our Brigades."

5 copies $3.75
10 copies 7.00
20 copies 12.00
50 copies 25.00

All orders must be prepaid. Make checks payable to Albert Prago, 138-15 Franklin Ave., Flushing, N.Y. 11355.

Salud
Al
INFO ON CAPTURED VETS

CARL GEISER

It is fair to say that we are making good progress in collecting material for our history of the Vets who were captured, imprisoned or killed after capture. In fact, a first draft of nine chapters has been completed. Yet we have hit a serious snag in that we lack information about approximately one hundred former prisoners who are either dead or whose whereabouts are unknown.

The Appeal to You In The Volunteer was Unsuccessful. We have reached the point where the continuation of our work DEPENDS ON YOU! Who else would have the biographical data (or part of it) concerning the names on the list.

Please fill in the questionnaire for every one of the Volunteers on this page about whom you have whatever information. Mail to Bob Steck, P.O. Box 209, Laeville, Connecticut 06039.

Thanks and Salud, Carl Geiser

Which fascist outfits faced us in Belchite, Caspe, Batea, etc.? Do you know of any information, rumors concerning any Vets who may have been captured or killed after capture not listed here (Merriam, Offsink, Doran, et al)?

Did you witness the taking of any prisoners (Jarama, Retreats, any front)?

Any known address past or present? Place of birth, date of birth? Names and addresses of parents, relatives, friends?

Passport number? Place of issue? Date of issue?

Ethnic background?

Education (schools, life)?

Union or other organizational affiliation? Profession?

Was he/she went to Spain? When went to Spain? Units served in?

Rank achieved? Wounds?

When captured? Where captured? How captured and by whom?

World War II service? Experiences after Spain?

Any references in newspapers, magazines, books et. al? Photos? Memorabilia?

Further information, comments, anecdotes — include your impressions… Any suggestions of how we might get information?

Your name ____________

Address ____________

Phone ____________

Acken, Edward

Alvarez, Gonzales, Bernardo

Alvarez, Calvett Joaquin

Alvarez Fernandez, Antonio

Alvarez, Rodriguez, Julio

Amador, Garcia

Anderson, Ray

Andreasen, Alford

Anthiros, Peter

Arranz, Diaz, Avelino

Bailey, Michael

Balagurchik, Elias

Barr, Charles

Belau, Carl

Borer, Fred

Boynton, Donald A.

Braley, Roger

Brown, Tom

Busto Bango, Luis

Calleja, Bode Manuel

Canales Gerro, Victor

Casa Barro, Joseph

Grodski, Frank

Gurko, Maurice

Hannigan, Walter

Hathaway, William

Freed, Edward M.

Hausman, Carl

Higgins, John

Hodge, Edward

Hobbs, Everett

Jenkins, John

Johnson, Edward

Kelly, David G.

Kerlicher, Tony O.

Kachadurian, David

Kleinman, Joseph

Koneski, Samuel

Lemki, Otto

Leap, George W.

Lionetto, Joseph

Lizarraga, Manuel

Leak, Samuel C.

Logan, John M.

Lux, William

Lyons, Henry

Mackay, Anthony

Mail, Jack

Manuel, John

Matas, Peter

Megquier, Henry

Miller, Fred

Mondragon Acevedo, Servando

Montanerella, Felice

Moskowitz, Ignatz

Normera, Coraino

Obeirne, William John

Opara, Rudolph

Pardo, Iglesias

Parks, John W.

Perez Fernando, Juan

Presto, Julio

Piekarski, John

Polansky, Samuel

Poling, Eugene Debs

Pringle, Claude

Raecke, Peter

Radacoy, Joseph

Raomon, Alvarez, Jose

Riffe, Carl F.

Rivera, Vasquez, Ferdinand

Rosenberg, Albert

Sanjenis, Sergio

Severdia, George A.

Stark, George

Steinberg, Jack

Stevenson, Alwyn

Stix, Fred

Stojewa, Conrad

Stone, William

Swanson, Samuel

Toole, Sam

Torgoff, Leon S.

Watkins, Franklin

Turner, Leo

SPAIN REVISITED

Ed Bender

the VALB in this project. It is my opinion that such cooperation would further strengthen the ties between us and the Spanish people. We also met with leaders of the PCE and PSUC and learned a great deal of the problems facing Spain today.

Our trip was crowned with a reception given us on the evening before our departure by the Asociacion de Aviadores de la Republica. The veterans of the Republican Air force with their wives greeted us at their headquarters and literally smothered us with "abrazos" and champagne. In the morning of our departure a group of them came to the airport with huge bouquets of flowers for the women and more "abrazos."

As we were passing through the gate to board the plane I shall never forget the parting words of Jaime Mata, president of the Aviadores:

"We are fighting for the legality of all who fought in the war. That includes you. When we win this fight you will be invited officially to visit us and you will be greeted by the Spanish people."

Thus ended our trip to Spain. We all left with the strong feeling that Spain is not a finished chapter to us.

Bill Susman

Terrorism had taken on a new and sinister quality. No longer just an aberration of an immature or mistaken left, it has now a massive apparatus supporting its divisive activities and orchestrating its actions in order to achieve a Franco replay. Tied into the independence movement in the Basque country, it is the final hope of Spanish reaction. The left is pressing for the granting of regional autonomy for the Basques (as well as other regions) in the hope that this will diffuse the terrorists' ploy as well as meet the justifiable demands of the Basque people.

We left Spain thinking only of our next visit when we would see our good friends again.
Dear Comrades:

Just a short note — requesting that you put me on your mailing list and by all means — send me The Volunteer.

I've been in touch with Carl Geiser for the last year or so as he sent me a copy of the West Coast Volunteer.

A lot of water has flowed under the bridge in the last 40 years and my memory is not the best.

The 1st time I was in California was in the very early 30's. I stayed with Sam Ornitz (my cousin). Then shipped out to sea. The 2nd time was when I was on tour raising money for the prisoners (Friends V.A.L.B.) 1938-39. I finished my tour in Los Angeles and stayed a few weeks and rested with Sam, and spent some time with Tom Mooney (who was just released).

I am retired — hitting 70 years and living on social security plus a few dollars. I would appreciate your sending me a list of books on Spain and otherwise keeping me posted on things.

Salud u Soorte
Lou Ornitz
120 Brookwood Drive
Seneca, S.C. 29678

I noticed in this issue of The Volunteer (Vol. 1, 1978) that Ring Lardner Jr. is doing a fictional film on Spain. Is he the son of Ring Lardner I knew and met and spent some time with in Hollywood when I was there in '38?

If there are any of the boys around who were with me in San Pedro De Cardenas or any of the boys who were with the 1st 14 to be exchanged, let me know.

— Love to all

Dear Comrade

As some of you know, I have had two surgeries in the last two years. Soon after the second in January I was given a Jacuzzi by a few of the comrades in the L.A. Post so I could get the necessary whirlpool baths I needed to help me recover. Since I don’t know who gave it to me, I am taking this way to thank them for caring enough to help me. I am grateful and pleased by their help and concern.

Salud,
Evelyn Hutchins

Dear Comrade Editor:

Just a note to let you know that the First Post Commander was elected unanimously by the Lincoln Vets of the Florida Post — Rose Sorkin.

I presume the only woman Post commander in the U.S. Vets organization. A number of newspapers in South Florida had an article about our comrades Rose, who was a nurse in Spain. Unfortunately our former Commander, Jack Cooper passed away.

Salud Adj. Commander
Hy Hollander

May 17th

Dear Comrade Editor: I have a letter from the ASOCIACION DE AVIADORES DE LA REPUBLICA, Local Social: Paseo de la Circunvalacion, no. 1, Direccion postal: Apartado 2.995, Barcelona. Attn: Antonio Vilella. (I think this is all the address one needs.)

They ask that we make a request in the next issue of The Volunteer for any “piezas o elementos relacionados con la Aeronautica...” for their Aviation Museum of Catalonia, the first such in all of Spain.

Perhaps someone out there who gets The Volunteer has something of interest having to do with las AVIONES...like a piece of bomb shrapnel that was removed from his left buttock...or whatever.

I think it is an interesting item anyway. The ADAR, thus far, is the only organization in Spain that has gone all out in honoring the IBs, and as they put it, especially the IBers of the Lincoln. Johnny Tisias’ Party was given the Royal treatment by the ADAR in Barcelona according to Ed Bender. A very sympatico bunch of guys.

Hope the ticker is better.

Salud,
Milt Wolf

P.S. Tom Kozar had a letter to The Volunteer returned to him by the P.O. as “undeliverable” despite the fact that he had the correct address on it as far as I see: Box 5124 Torrance, CA 90501. Mr Kozar is the lad running down the story of his father’s life, Johnnie Kozar. He’s gotten one response to your item in The Volunteer and would like to follow up:

1063 Hendecourt Rd., North Vancouver, B.C., Canada, V7K 2X3

Tom’s story of the search and what he has uncovered is some story by itself. At our suggestion he is putting it together and perhaps it will see the light of day one time.

Editor’s Note: Am checking with the Post Office — why the foul-up? I am eliminating the box, and asking that everything be sent to my house. He sent back letter, see page 4

Manny

NEW ADDRESS
VOLUNTEER
3650 EMERALD, APT. E-4
TORRANCE, CA 90503

Dear Fellow Vet,

In regard to Steve Nelson’s appeal letter for funds that was sent to the membership, let me add my note on the state of the love treasury. We print 1,000 copies of the Volunteer every issue 4 times a year. The total cost, after the mailing cost of .30, comes to $1 a copy. Mind you, this with all free labor. The last issue resulted mainly from 3 vets kicking in the major part of the cost. I also have supported the paper to the tune of $100 an issue. Even so, we are operating on a poverty level that now becomes critical. Now, not working, I cannot contribute such a sum, and I, too must add an “amen” to Nelson’s financial appeal. The Volunteer is, and can play a larger role in keeping Vets informed and in touch. So dig in, if you have not done so yet, and send the National Office your personal donation. It will help carry on the various VALB activities. Donations are also solicited from those friends who receive the Volunteer. Give generously as the need is great.

Manny Harriman, Editor
THE "TRUTH" SEEKERS?

The CIA has responded affirmatively to VALB's request, under the Freedom of Information Act. A total of seven (7) pages, six of them mostly blacked out have been sent to us.

Page 2 is blacked out except for the following 4 lines: (see attached copy).

(After "Brigade were" please place a (sic)).

The efficiency of the CIA has been cast in doubt and this piece of outrageous untruth provides additional grounds for growing doubt. It is an historical fact that we veterans fought on behalf of the Spanish Republic, whose government — CIA, please take careful note — was recognized by the U.S.A. from 1931 until its unfortunate defeat in 1939.

Such ridiculous observations by an "intelligence" agency should be made public so that taxpayers will learn the hard truth of how tax dollars are being wasted.

Good News from U.C.L.A.

The University of California has just initiated a full-credit course on the Spanish Civil War, starting in September. Entitled "The Spanish Civil War, origins and aftermath," it will deal with Spain from 1931-1979. In addition to straight history, it will also bring in the music, poetry and art of that period, and the important role they played. The new "professor" will be our own Abe Osheroff.

This significant breakthrough is another testimony to the growing interest in the War and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, in academic and cultural circles. There is good reason to believe that similar results can be achieved in the Bay Area, Seattle, Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, N.Y. and other areas.

For suggestions and information, contact Abe.

IN MEMORIUM!

David "Red" Drummond

On December 31st, 1978, David Drummond, known to his friends as "Red" died at the age of 72. Dave was raised as an orphan in Seattle and started sailing at an early age. He helped form the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, a forerunner of the National Maritime Union. For a while he organized migrant workers in Salinas Valley.

During the depression he helped develop Seamen's Relief in Baltimore and aided in the formation of a seamen's industrial union. In late 1936, Dave went to Spain and served as a lieutenant in the artillery and when there were no shells, transferred to the infantry. He resumed sailing and, at the outbreak of WW II, Dave volunteered for the US Army and served until demobilized in 1945. He returned to seafaring and was elected agent of the National Maritime Union in Baltimore and finally in New York.

In 1949 he left the industry and worked ashore. Without a formal education, and through his own endeavor he became a talented leader of seamen, raising them to the level of other skilled workmen. Dave fought to improve the life of all American workers, to alleviate suffering and injustice where he encountered it, in whatever form. He will be remembered and missed by all his friends and seamen who knew him.

Harry Rubin
LAN ADOMICIAN

"Lan Adomian, passed away on Wednesday, May 9, 1979 at age 74 in Mexico City. He was a composer and conductor of Workers' choruses before he volunteered to go to Spain. Blacklisted during the height of the McCarthy period and unable to find employment in the U.S. he moved to Mexico City where he spent the last 25 years.

A recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship, he lately specialized in composing music on such themes as the Holocaust and Israel. Our deepest condolences to his wife Maria, sister Judith and brother Leonard."

Dan Groden
VALB New York City

A longer obit will appear in the next issue on Lan.

Three vets have died since the last issue of The Volunteer:

Charles Edward White of Philadelphia

David "Red" Drummond of New York

In This Issue

Henry Eckstein of New York

Their obits will be in the next issue.

White was one of the first Blacks to go to Spain — on the December 24th, 1936 SS Normandie group. Drummond was a top official of the National Maritime Union. Eckstein was a Yale graduate who founded the Marlboro Bookstore chain on his return from Spain. (NOTE: none of these three Vets have been on our VALB mailing list for many years!).

To date we have experienced difficulty in receiving obits of Vets who died. The Post should take the responsibility to get comrades who knew the vet to write the obit or send data in from three or four Vets for us to combine into an obit. No Vet, regardless when he or she died should be left out of The Volunteer. Many times it is the only time we get to really know about the lives of Vets. Some outstanding Vets obits were never noted in The Volunteer such as Walter Garland who was brought to our attention by Ben Goldring. The Volunteer urges comrades to write.
HISTORICAL NEWS NOTES:

First International Colloquium on Spanish Civil War Held at the University of Barcelona on April 19-21

Some 1,500 people attended the first International Colloquium on the Spanish Civil War (organized by the Center of International History and the Department of Contemporary History of the University of Barcelona) on April 19-21, 1979 in Barcelona. The Colloquium consisted of the presentation of historical papers, testimonies of major participants in the war, and talks by three major historians in the field — together with some two hundred different presentations. The topics ranged from military and diplomatic events to ideological and cultural phenomena.

Pierre Broué, Ronald Fraser and Pierre Vilar were the three main speakers. Broué attempted a comparison of the popular organs of self-government of Republican Spain with the Russian Soviets and the German Workers’ Councils.

Fraser detailed the methodological problems of his oral history of the war.

Vilar’s discourse on methodology of Spanish Civil War history closed the 3-day Colloquium by offering general guidelines for future research.

One of the personal testimonies, Federica Montseny’s defense of the anarcho-sindicalists’ participation in the government, stood out as most impressive. Montseny also dealt with her own work in the Ministry of Health.

The many short presentations of historical papers touched upon a variety of themes: Military and battlefield histories as well as discussions of political differences, the functioning of anarchist self-managing collectives in Catalan, the Catholic ideology of the Nationalist forces and the role of women’s groups.

A round table of librarians and archivists discussed problems relating to working in these professions. This included talk on literary presentations of the International Brigades by Maryse Bertrand de Munoz, a Spanish literary critic.

The Colloquium suffered from organizational problems. Rather than divide talks logically according to theme, whereby creating workshops on specific questions, the organizers tried to schedule all talks in a single lecture hall. Many speakers exceeded the 10-minute time limit and open debates were frequently taken advantage of by members of the audience to relate at length their personal histories. This also made it difficult for members of the audience to meet others working in specific fields.

The CEHI will public all the reports and papers of the Colloquium. The organizers hope to hold similar conferences annually.

The Colloquium was a success due to the enthusiasm of its participants and audience — the vast majority (about 75%) of whom were students under 30.

Randall B. Smith

An exciting book of oral history of Spanish people living under Franco, by Ronald Fraser, has just been published by Pantheon Books. It is entitled “Blood of Spain: An Oral History.” The price is $14.95. This book has been available in Spain for several months and progressive Spaniards speak very favorably of it. Fraser was a featured speaker at the University of Barcelona Historical Colloquium.

Johnny Murra, who has been on sabatical leave from Cornell University doing anthropological research at the University of Seville will be back at Cornell this fall.

Radio station WQED, Pittsburgh, has received a grant to produce a “mini-series” on the Spanish Civil War. Bob Colodny, Gabriel Jackson, Robert Rosenstone and Victor Berch are providing research assistance to the producers.

Mac Krus, who was a “responsable of choferes de Ambulancia” is preparing a list of ambulance and truck drivers (such as “Regiment de Tren,” Auto Park, etc.). Mac hopes to put together some of the history of this specialized but important subject.

Many of the young people in Spain (like the younger people here) are very curious and want to know the “Truth” about the “First Battle of World War II.” One step in this direction will be a bilingua Newsletter of Historical Information that the new “Spanish Civil War Historical Society” is developing for specialists, students, writers and institutions in both countries.


One of the projects of the Waterfront Vets will be to get a “Memorial to Seamen Killed in Spain” organized.

Dear Comrades:

Some unusual experiences spiced our recent trip to Spain and we’d like to share them with all the Vets.

In Valencia I met Miguel Pineda. He told me and his colleagues in the P.C.E. office that the VALB had helped his family financially while he was a political prisoner. He asked me to express his thanks to the VALB.

In Barcelona, I interviewed the leaders of the Construction Division of the Workers Commission. Justiano Martinez Medina, former Organization Secretary and now a member of the City Council said that when he was in jail for trade union activities he received many letters and aid from the VALB. Incidentally, 80% of the construction workers in Barcelona are affiliated with the Workers Commission. They are the only union that has won a 5-day week — all other workers work 5½ days.

Lastly, some of you may remember the picket lines and campaign we conducted to save the life of Eva Forest. She now lives in the Basque country and while there, Mildred and I spent an interesting afternoon with her and her husband, the well-known playwright Alfonso Sastre. She is now active in the anti-nuclear movement in Spain. She wants to thank the VALB for our efforts in her behalf.

Salud,
Gabby & Mildred

Irving Adler announces that the “CCNY scholarship fund” honoring the students and alumni and teachers from CCNY has passed the goal of $26,000 — the plaque has been ordered and will be installed this fall on the college campus.

NOW — who will be next to follow this remarkable and valuable example — a union? another school? or a city? or ?
The Repatriation of Frank Ryan

To The Volunteer and Manny Harriman:

I enclose a story of the post-mortem repatriation of Frank Ryan together with a clipping from the Irish Times of Dublin which gives details.

Since 1938 I have accumulated material on Frank and can testify to his integrity. In this instance I felt it better to re-write the Times piece because some of it would require explanation which would require more space that you have. As it is you may feel it necessary to cut or re-write my article.

The enclosed news clip is more or less an epilogue on a series of articles over the past three years which the Irish Times has printed giving the fantastic details of the whole story including reference to some of the subordinates of Canaris (who was executed by Hitler's order.)

The Clissman's were old acquaintances of Ryan's. Mrs. Clissman was and is an Irish woman, maiden name Mulcahy with Irish Republican ties.

I have given copies of the Irish Times series to Pete Smith and he in turn has sent them on to Brandeis University.

If possible I would appreciate return of the Irish Times clipping, but I have another Xerox so don't worry about it.

During the I.B. reunion in East Germany two Irish I.B. men visited Frank's grave and later reported its location to Dave Mates who wrote me about it shortly before his death. The two Irishmen were Michael O'Riordan (Mick Riordan now living in Dublin) and another Dubliner, Frank Edwards, who fought in the Mixta Brigade and is known to a number of VALB members, and to me (we met in a hospital).

In the clipping, the reference to Niall Andrews T.D. — he is a member of the Irish Dail (Parliament) with a status comparable to a member of our House of Representatives. The title T.D. is an abbreviation of the words TEACTAIRE DALA (pronounced TÖK — TAREA DAILA.)

Not that you need this but I might as well show off the little Gaelic I know.

Finally, my best to all of The Volunteer staff and to Manny Harriman with every wish for his complete recovery.

Apologies for typing — I have a little touch of arthritis and my typewriter has a chronic disability attributable to the same ailment.

Paul Burns for the VALB

Now comes the news that the remains of Captain Frank Ryan, captured by Franco troops in March 1938, will be brought home from his burial place in Dresden, Germany for internment in Dublin, Ireland.

This will come as a surprise to those VALB members who knew Frank, particularly those vets who were imprisoned with him in Spain, but details of his valiant underground Odyssey have long been known to German, Irish and other European veterans of the International Brigade and have been written up in The Irish Times, a daily newspaper published in Dublin.

The April 26th issue of The Irish Times provides a concisely detailed report of the journey's end of the anti-fascist Irish Republican. A book, now awaiting publication, has been written giving the whole story with all of its macabre details and testifying to the revolutionary integrity of this "Irish Captain."

In the interim, the Dublin report states that "The German Demo-