

THE IMPACT OF THE FEIE'S ACTIVITIES ON THE ANTI-DICTATORIAL MOBILIZATION OF CULTURAL ELITES IN SPAIN (1967-1977)

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The Congress for Cultural Freedom (1950-1967) was the US most important covert action organization active worldwide among intellectual and cultural elites in the second postwar period. The Fondation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne (FEIE) was established on July 7, 1966 in Geneva to continue and develop activities of the Comité d'Écrivains et d'Éditeurs pour une Entraide Européenne (CEEE) (1956-1966). Both organisations were associated institutions of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and since 1967 the International Association for Cultural Freedom (which substituted CCF). Between 1956-1965, the Secretary of the CEEE was Konstanty Jelenski, a Polish critic and influential member of the International Secretariat of the CCF. Since 1966 Pierre Emmanuel, who only one year later would be appointed General Secretary of the IACF, was in charge of the general coordination of the FEIE's activities.

Bibliography related to the CEEE and the FEIE includes Pierre Grémion, *Intelligence de l'anticommunisme: le Congrès pour la liberté de la culture à Paris: 1950-1975*. (Paris, Fayard, 1995) and most inspiring interpretation of the CCF's work by Giles Scott-Smith in *The Politics of Apolitical Culture*. London, Routledge, 2002. With regard to the FEIE's work in Eastern Europe, we should point out to Marek Beylin's, "A propos de la Fondation pour une Entraide intellectuelle européenne", *L'autre Europe*, 34-35, March 1997, p. 212-222, Nicolas Guilhot, "A Network of Influential Friendships: the Fondation pour une entraide intellectuelle européenne and East-West Cultural Dialogue", *Minerva*, 44 (2006), p. 379-409, as well as Lubor Jilek, "La Fondation pour une entraide intellectuelle européenne et le soutien aux anécédents de Solidarité", in Lubor Jilek, Antoine Fleury (eds.): *Une Europe malgré tout*. Ginebra, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 167-183.

My doctoral thesis (2010) and the book *Guerra Fría Cultural y Exilio Republicano Español* (Madrid, CSIC, 2012) became the first study on the work of the CCF and the

IACF among Spanish dissidents during Franco's dictatorship. In 2015 I also published the first article on the specific scope of the CCF's activities related to the FEIE ("El Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura y su apoyo a la disidencia intelectual durante el Franquismo" [The Congress for Cultural Freedom and its support for the intellectual dissidence during the Francoism] in Spanish peer-reviewed journal *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* (Madrid, vol. 41, pp. 121-146).

Although the CEEE and the FEIE were very active among the democratic opposition groups in Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal, there is still an evident gap in the historiography concerning the Congress for Cultural Freedom work in countries ruled under right-wing dictatorships.

The Spanish Committee of the CCF was set up in 1959 in Spain to contribute to anti-dictatorial mobilization of dissident writers and artists, to provide them with financial and moral support and to overcome their isolation from European intellectual milieu. Their main goal was to counteract the Communist Party influence among the opposition and to facilitate a collaboration and a dialogue among different dissident collectives. Spanish dissidents were internationally isolated and the CCF became a unique organism which would actively contribute to the intellectual and political formation of the democratic Anti-Francoist elites. Thanks to the Ford Foundation, and with personal support of Pierre Emmanuel and Konstanty Jelenski, the Spanish Committee could award travel and study grants for Spanish opposition and undertake opposition-oriented cultural actions, including exchanges between the Peninsula and the continental Europe.

Currently I am working on a book that will reconstruct historical developments and propose new interpretations of the CCF's activities in the Franco's Spain. After researching the IACF's archive in the University of Chicago (2008), the Hoover Institution Archive (2009) and other documentary centers in USA and Spain, including the documentary collection of the Secretary of the Spanish Committee Pablo Marti Zaro, located in the Pablo Iglesias Foundation (Alcalá, Spain), my aim became to fill the gaps regarding the Spanish chapter of the FEIE's solidarity and influence network.

Understanding the grant policies of the FEIE as part of the intellectual exchange between the Cold War East and West, my main aim was to verify the impact of financial help for the outcome of the supported projects and reflect on the problem of intellectual democratization in a broader context of the Cultural Cold War.

The research period in the OSA lasted for two weeks, from 6 till 20th of June 2016 and included consultation of unpublished documents from the FEIE's collection that contains correspondence and reports on book and travel grants given by the CEEE and then the FEIE to the Anti-Franco dissidents. This has enabled me to answer the question about the real dimension of the FEIE's program in the late sixties and the first years of the seventies, the crucial years for the Spanish democratic mobilization.

During my stay at the OSA, I analyzed the correspondence between the Secretariat in Paris and the Ford Foundation Headquarters, as well as official reports and grants policies concerning the Spanish activities. I also explored documentation related to international activities (seminars and conference) of the FEIE attended by Spanish intellectuals.

The research I conducted in the OSA helped me to fill the gaps regarding the last years of the activity of the IACF and its Spanish program, and answer my questions regarding the period after 1967 and the conversion of the CCF to the International Association for Cultural Freedom.

The documents located in the FEIE's collection proved that the whole Spanish activity conducted by the FEIE was taken over by the IACF after the general Franco death and the beginning of the democratic transformations. I was able to confirm that the Spanish Committee of the IACF functioned till 1978 i.e. 3 years after Franco's death, although it is not excluded that the real activities could have stopped about two years before. I also was able to verify that the scholarship program (grants for books, for travels inside Spain and to Europe) was implemented in the first years of the sixties, and in the following years it was progressively abandoned. There were several reasons for the

overall, not much satisfying results of the Spanish CEEE's and the FEIE's program, including Spanish intellectuals' instrumental approach to the FEIE's grants and their lack of discipline in concluding the projects or even writing the final reports.

It was surprising to find out that the FEIE, after getting independent from the IACF in 1978, received aid also from the German socialist party and the Ebert Foundation, major financial donors to the Spanish Socialist Workers Party during the 70s. Other major financial contributors to the FEIE's activities were The Ford Foundation, the Lilly Endowment and the German Thyssen and Bosch Stiftung. With no links to the FEIE, in 1976 the Iberian Program got 25.000 dollars from the IACF and in 1977, it was raised 40,000 dollars, half of it coming from the Ford Foundation.

In the OSA collection, I was also able to find a collective letter written by dissident Spanish intellectuals in 1975 and addressed to Adam Watson, who were expressing their will of continuing the Spanish activities of the IACF and asking for not abandoning Spain in the new political context.

The documents located in the OSA prove that the Iberian program was clearly descending from 1975, due to a new political context. As Adam Watson put it to Pierre Emmanuel in his letter of 29th of June 1976 about the new situation:

"The Spanish Committee is no longer held together by a sense of opposition to Franco and fascism. Almost all its members want to continue their connection with IACF. But they are usually active in different political parties, and therefore want a less organized relationship between themselves, less committed to Seminarios y Ediciones, which you will remember was originally set up to permit its members to hold their political discussions in the guise of the board of directors of a publishing house. (...) Our Spanish associates favour the additional publication of a few serious sponsored books a year, as in Portugal; and are very keen on the dialogue with our Portuguese associates, from whom they feel that (for once) there is much for them to learn. Joaquín Ruiz-Gimenez the Opposition Christian Democrat leader, in Madrid, the Catalan Professor José Maria Castellet in Barcelona and Pablo Martí Zaro have provisionally agreed to serve on the seven-man working group, along with two Portuguese, Kot Jelenski and myself".

As for the Portuguese opposition activities, I found an interesting letter suggesting the opposite i.e. a constant action in 1977 in Portugal. It was a letter of A. Watson to Landrum R. Bolling, de Lilly Endowment, 14 de noviembre de 1977, in which Watson asked for 10.000 dollars for the activities in Iberia, and especially Portugal:

“I need not stress here the fragility and bewilderment of modern Portuguese democracy after forty years of fascism and grave economic problems. In this confusion the most impressive action now being taken, particularly among younger people, to combat totalitarianism (communism) by democratic means, is Raiz and Utopia and the political discussion groups which it is organizing in universities and elsewhere, with a contribution from our current Lilly grant”.

What was really important thanks to my research stay in the OSA, was that I was able to prove beyond any doubt that there is no registered activity of the FEIE after 1976 in Spain and Portugal, which draws us to three conclusions:

- 1) the activity diminished in general during the democratic transition;
- 2) all the activities conducted at that time was passed to the IACF;
- 3) the mixed Spanish-Portuguese Committee tried to work out alternative ways of providing continuity to the cultural programs.

In the OSA I was also able to find an important report from Konstany Jelenski to Adam Watson and David Goldstein, discussing Gary Will's article on the CIA covert funding to international organizations, including the CCF, that was published in the *New York Review of Books*. Kot Jelenski's objections to the arguments used in that article might become very helpful in constructing my own epistemological attitude while assessing the CCFs activity in dictatorial countries such as Spain, whose oppressive regimes were at the same time actively supported by the USA administrations. The CCF activity was developed in an internationally isolated panorama where the most important anti-

dictatorial work and pro-democratic mobilisation was conducted by the Spanish Communist Party in the sixties and the seventies.

Last but not least, I found several letters from the Paris headquarters concerning the financial accounts of the Spanish Committee. Sometimes the money was not clearly stipulated in the economical balances, or some sums were changed. This proves that, at least in some cases, a bad administration or even abuse of the financial funds was taking place in the Spanish branch.

The research on the FEIE's help to the Spanish intellectuals proved that the CCF helped in bringing Spanish cultural and political leaders closer to the Western model of liberal democracy by contributing to development of dissident mobilization, and later, to a consensus-based model of democratic transformation.

Given the fact that all the money dedicated to the activities in the Iberian Peninsula was provided by the Ford Foundation, only in the last years complemented by other Funds as Lilly and the above listed German foundations, this became undoubtedly another chapter of a successful European-American collaboration which encouraged an "opening" of Spanish intellectual elites towards the European intellectual agora, including "the Other", i.e. intellectuals and artists coming from behind the Iron Curtain.

The intellectual and political dialogue among the East-West and North-South Europeans, successfully promoted by the FEIE, represents for me a very relevant territory of analysis. Social relations and friendships within and outside the FEIE's network on the Iberian and European platform should be undoubtedly studied in the future. On European level, the CCF's work helped to forge a common ground of understanding between individuals coming from countries of different political oppression. This is why the intellectual and cultural exchange promoted by the FEIE was important for forging a ground of a new European identity and a culture of dialogue. This European dimension seems to me more relevant than the transatlantic US-Europe scope of this phenomenon.

The first output of the research conducted in the Open Society Archive will be a paper which I will present during the Transatlantic Association Annual Conference at the Plymouth University in July, 2016. Eventually, the materials gathered in the OSA will also be included in a single-authored monograph on the Spanish Committee of the CCF and the IACF (1960-1978).

List of consulted Archives:

HU OSA 422 Records of the Foundation for the Support of European Intellectuals (FEIE)

HU OSA 422-1 Administrative Files: boxes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

HU OSA 422-1-2: Council and Secretariat of FEIE: boxes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

HU OSA 422-2-4 Conferences and Colloques: all the boxes.

HU OSA 422-2-4 Correspondence by Country and Organizations: all the boxes.