

PETROL WORKERS STRIKE

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Organó de la CNT de Catalunya
III EPOCA 15 PTAS. BARCELONA 7 DE SETIEMBRE DE 1978 N.º 27

¿JUGAR
CON
FUEGO...?

GASOLINERAS: SEGUNDO ASALTO

BARCELONA, July. The struggle of the petrol supply workers who deliver and distribute petrol, and serve at petrol pumps restarts.

Last year they had obtained an increase in their daily wage from 700 to 881 pesetas a day, backdated to April 1st. (not just a one-off payment as recorded incorrectly in 'Zero'). Last years settlement caused some disagreements, with a few workers arguing that the agreement was made above them despite the fact that it was ratified by the workers strike meeting. In fact the CNT gained in strength as a result of the strike at the expense of the communist CC.OO, 90% of the communist workers walked out of their union which backed out of the strike after it had stated. At the end of the strike 70% of the workers in Barcelona were affiliated to the CNT.

This year they came out on strike after the bosses attempted to implement the standard wage increase agreed above the heads of the Barcelona workers by the CC.OO and UGT in Madrid. The agreement allowed for a rise of only 50 pesetas per day. The CNT were asking for 250 pesetas and a shorter working week of only 40 hours, (instead of 44) as well as retirement at 60. The last demands were formulated against a background of widespread unemployment and would have allowed for 500 extra jobs.

The strike was self-organised, with general assemblies, and an elected and revocable strike committee. The authorities declared it illegal-pickets were attacked by the 'forces of order'. Rubber bullets were used by the 'grey' military police, severely injuring two workers. Despite police banning, the strikers replied by a three hundred strong demonstration on September 7th. Barricades were erected to provide cover from the police who excelled themselves in savagery. This was followed up by the sacking of



364 strikers. Despite this repression the struggle continued.

The only trade union to support the strike fully has been the CNT. They argued that it should be extended. It has been opposed by the UGT and CC.OO. (Last year these unions had denounced the strike as 'illegal' and 'terrorist'.) Faced by solidarity aroused against the state oppression local leaders of the reformist unions did however criticise and condemn the repression. The strikers also received some support from the USO, the CSUT, the MCE, and the PTE.

Politically the strike is an important test for the Suarez government's policies of social austerity contracts with the reformists. Any increase above the nationally agreed wage rates would threaten the stability of the social contract which puts the blame on the workers for the crisis in the economy, and reduces their wages through inflation. It also unveils that the moves to a constitutional monarchy have in no way altered the domination of the bosses in the economy- which is backed up by all the coercive apparatus of the state. It eposes the reformists who throughout the spring have been reaffirming the compromises of the Moncloa pact. It is the first big strike in the period after the summer holidays and will be a testing ground for the CNT as for the rest of the revolutionary left. The British left has remained surprisingly silent on this important strike lead by the CNT.

STOP PRESS

Reports in the 'Financial Times' say that the strike was concluded in December with a substantive wage rise to the strikers.

What is Libertarian Spain

This issue of Libertarian Spain was edited and produced by libertarians in York, and printed in London by Blackrose Press. The Libertarian Spain Committee was set up by the Libertarian Communist Group to investigate and organise solidarity with the revolutionary movement in Spain. Despite many discussions with other libertarians in the Anarchist Communist Association, and in Solidarity we have not yet received any help- which is a pity since there is a great deal of constructive work to do. Readers can help by writing to Spain, reading revolutionary publications (Spanish speakers and translators are very much needed!), reporting and writing articles for this bulletin, writing to left papers, and by criticising and suggesting improvements to our work.

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LIBERTARIAN SPAIN

No. 2

20p



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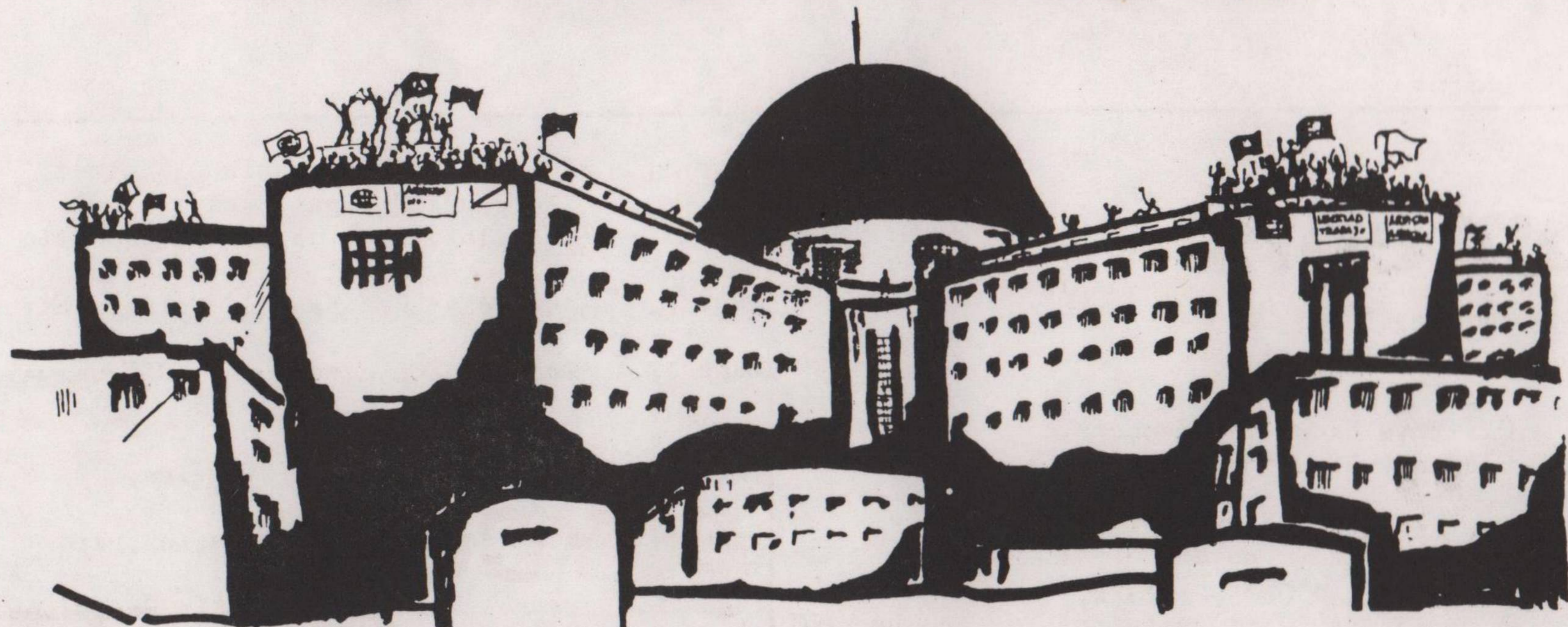
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editorial

Since the death of Franco there has been a tremendous growth in the revolutionary movement in Spain. The movements diversity is a great strenght. Not only has there been an upsurge in industrial struggles which are often controlled directly by workers assemblies, but also a massive growth in the women's movement, and in campaigns against nuclear power, for prisoners rights, freedom of expression, and around many other issues in Spanish society. And closely linked to this upsurge has been the rebirth of the CNT and the libertarian movement in Spain.

Spain has not escaped the effects of the economic crisis and the Communist and Socialist parties have lined up behind Prime Minister Suarez to impose Spain's version of the "social contract" - the Moncloa Pact - on the workforce. The structure of the economy is showing some pretty nasty scars. Inflation ran at 30% last year. Unemployment was over 7.5% according to official figures, and even higher for women. Over 850,000 Spanish people go abroad to Germany, France and Switzerland to find work. But as the crisis continues to hit these countries they will throw away their migrant labour like rubbish. This will cause misery and unemployment for the migrants and deprive the Spanish economy of much needed foreign exchange. Unemployment is the major problem. Each year 300,000 new jobs will be created just to stop unemployment getting worse and there will almost certainly be mass youth unemployment for a decade or more. Particular sectors such as steel and agriculture are especially hard hit. Spain needs to attract a vast investment of foreign capital but cannot do so unless it has a docile and cheap labour force. Investors were frightened off after Franco died and investment plummeted during 1976-77. Consequently there was no expansion at all in the economy. Today Spain has been forced to allow foreign banks to open branches and is urgently trying to enter the EEC in an attempt to boost its economy. Against the attempts by the Suarez Government to make the workers pay for the crisis the CNT is one of the biggest forces fighting for the political autonomy of the working class.

libertad o muerte



CNT

Today, according to conservative estimates, the CNT is 200,000 strong - when we produced our last bulletin its strength was 40,000. Its strenght has been built by unpaid work from its members in their spare time. Unlike the other unions and political parties the CNT has not received vast aid from West European and CIA funds. It has had to seize by occupations the buildings that were taken away by Franco. It has begun to win a considerable audience: witness the 800,000 abstentions in the union elections. The coming months will show whether it is yet strong enough to organise a fightback against the "historic compromise" an austerity measures of the political parties.

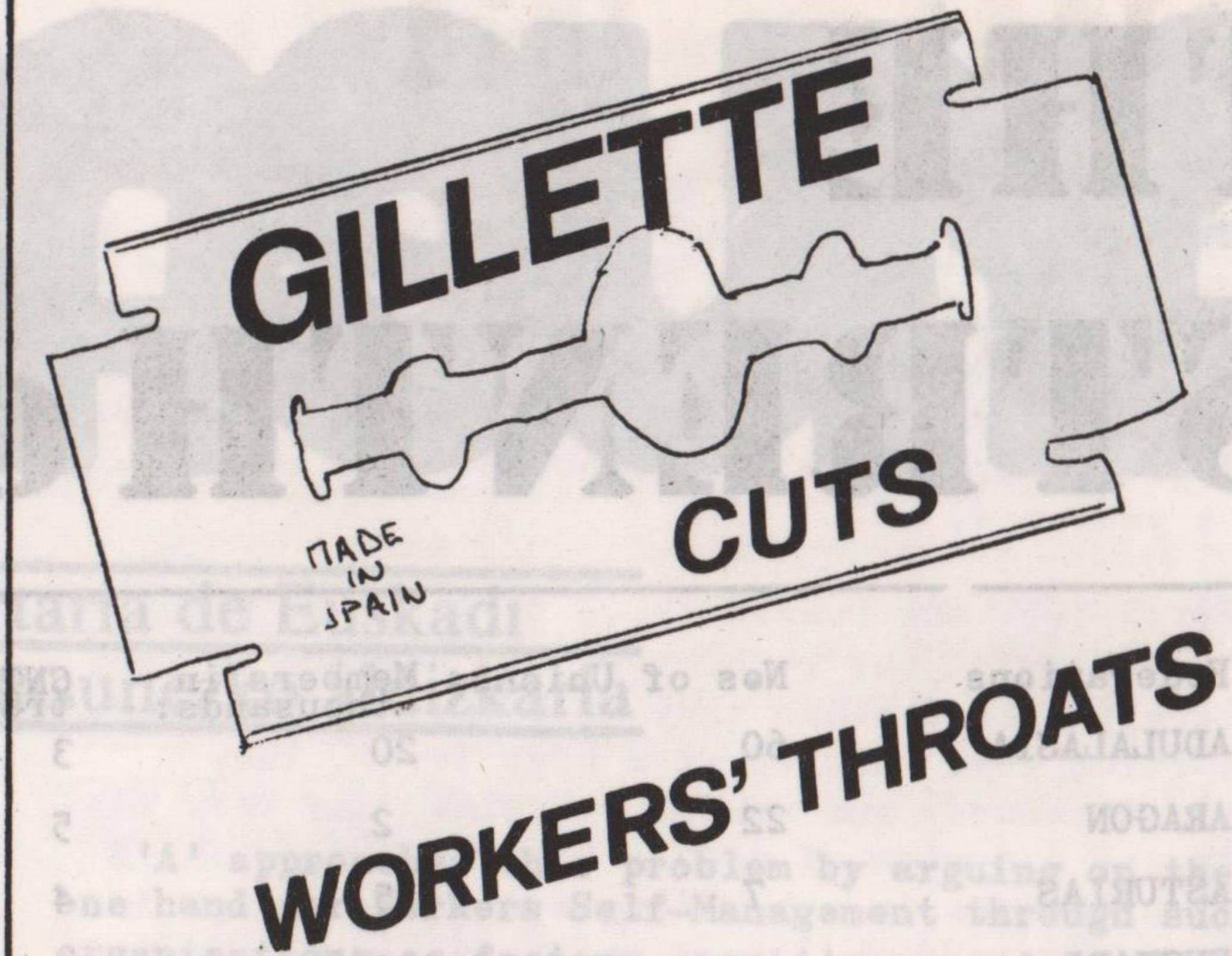
Many young people in Spain see themselves as being part of a movement for sexual and cultural liberation. However this movement has been closer to the "sexual liberation" of the 60's in Britain than to a conscious anti-sexist movement. CNT and anarchist papers regularly print "Oz" style cartoons and give virtually no coverage to the women's movement or sexual politics. Newsagents commonly sell soft and hard porn alongside political papers. The new national secretary of the CNT has now promised to extend the links between the CNT and feminist groups.

The revolutionary movement is predominantly young and inexperienced, with a wide range of ideas and demands which the state cannot satisfy. What remains to be seen is whether the CNT can build a coherent organisation that can reflect the diversity of the movement and defend the struggles of all oppressed groups in Spanish society.



who's who

- AIT/IWMA: The International Working Mens (sic) Association - the anarcho-syndicalist international.
- CCOO: Workers Commissions, the communists trade union.
- CNT: National Workers Confederation - anarcho-syndicalist union.
- COPEL: The Spanish equivalent of PROP the prisoners union.
- CSUT: Small maoist union.
- ELA-STV: Basque nationalist union.
- LCR: Revolutionary Communist League: trotskyist group linked to the Mandel 4th International (which includes the IMG).
- MCE: Spanish Communist Movement: a small split from the PCE.
- PCE: Spanish Communist Party - "Eurocomunista".
- PNV: Basque Nationalist Party: a bourgeois Basque party.
- PSOE: Spanish Socialist Workers Party: linked to the Socialist International.
- PSUC: Catalan Unified Socialist Party: the communist party in Catalonia.
- PTE: Small Stalinist/Maoist Party: believes in two stages of revolution.
- SU: Trade union controlled by the mao/stalinist Workers Revolutionary Organisation.
- UGT: The socialists' union.
- USO: A small socialist union, allied to the CFTD in France. Half its members recently split to join the UGT.



WORKERS' THROATS

The Gillette S.A. factory in Seville has sacked two CNT workers: Armando Caceras, First Secretary of the local committee of the Seville CNT, and Cecilio Gordillo the Press and Propaganda Secretary.

The company gave two reasons for the sackings. The first was a press release from the Gillette CNT branch which denounced reductions in personnel employed at the Gillette work centre in Barcelona and unmasked the monopolistic intentions of the multinational - this the company declared was defamatory. The second was a leaflet put up in the changing rooms which pointed out that 17,000 hours of overtime had been worked in the last 3 months even though there is high unemployment in Seville and Andalusia.

The comrades had been employed by Gillette's for six and three years respectively. Both have played an important part in the factory assembly and the committees elected by it. Following their dismissal they contacted the national and international committees of the CNT, the Gillette plants in Barcelona, Seville and Madrid, and the Gillette subsidiary Braun. Meanwhile the CNT branches in Madrid and Seville have demanded their reinstatement and plan to take action of the management refuse.

The factory assembly had agreed to boycott overtime, but this meeting was declared invalid because of "outside pressure". On December 11th the two comrades put up tents with their families outside the factory gates and one of them was detained by police.

The CNT is calling for a solidarity campaign and ask for:

1. Press publicity
2. Boycott of Gillette (and Filomatic) goods.
3. Condemnation of Gillette's repression of unions.
4. Publicity for these actions in Gillette factories throughout the world.

The struggle will only be successful if it is co-ordinated with Gillette workers internationally.

Contact: Sindicato del Metal, Seccion Gillette de la Federacion Local de Sevilla. Calle Penueles 17. Sevilla. Spain. Telephone 515471.

BOYCOTT GILLETTE!

THE STRENGTH of the CNT

Federations	Nos of Unions:	Members in thousands:	CNT% of all trade unionists:	CC.OO in thousands:	UGT:	USO:
ADULALASIA	60	20	3	200	230	---
ARAGON	22	2	5	25	---	---
ASTURIAS	7	5	4	40	55	10
EUSKADI	---	2	1	40	90	---
CANARIES	4	2	6-7	12	---	---
CATALONIA	70	70	15	250	---	---
CANTABRIA	4	1	3	10	---	---
CENTRAL	29	7	2	300	280	30
ESTREMADURA	5	1	3	14	10	---
GALICIA	8	1	2	35	---	---
MURCIA	12	2	5	15	10	---
VALENCIA	---	20	7-8	100	---	---
RIOJA	---	1	---	3	---	---

(Source: Bicicleta, Nov 1977)

Andulasia Activity has centered on the towns despite the tradition of peasant anarchism upto 1939, in the country the CSUT- a maoist union is active. Unions have been active in strikes in the building industry, (Cadiz), catering (Malaga), and in metalurgy (Seville).

Aragon Reconstruction has been slow. A regional committee was only formed in July 1977. 16 of the 22 union federations are centered in Zaragossa: metalurgy and Construction are strongest. The majority of the members are under 24.

Catalonia Following the involvement of the CNT in the struggle at ROCA (cf 'LS'No1) and in the strikes at Eurostil, in the building industry and in the Port of Barcelona, there has been a rapid growth in the CNT, which is patiently building up its federations and centres. The majority of the unions have their own bulletins. 'Solidaridad Obrera' has been revived. Many different political and cultural tendencies are active. The largest federation is in the Transport industry which includes taxi-drivers, lorry-drivers, petrol pump attendants, etc. As well as the CNT there are three other smaller unions: the maoist CSUC which has a limited influence, and the SOC and the USO. The SOC is catalan nationalist, both it and the USO are weak and divided. (the USO has since split- a large proportion leaving to join the UGT). Although the CC.OO and UGT are very large they have less influence than their size would indicate because their membership is not active in the union's structure and decision making processes. Its vertical structures are matched with a largely passive membership. This contrasts with the organisation of CNT which is dependant on voluntary work after the working day has finished.

Central The central region attracted 30,000 people to its first public meeting although it was illegal. It is divided in two major tendencies- one deriving from the ACRATAS student movement; and the other which has a syndicalist line.

Murcia Its strongest federations are in the shipbuilding and in the building industries- but it is also active in health, teaching and agriculture. Many militants were detained in February 1977, interrupting the publication of the regional journal 'Confederacion'. There appears to be more inter-union solidarity than elsewhere.

Valencia The August 1977 regional plenum noted advances in all areas. People have joined for many reasons: activity in struggles and assemblies, numerous propaganda meetings, (eg one involving the metalurgical union federation which was attended by 40,000 people.) defence of assemblies, activity in strikes in the metal construction and other industries. There is debate between the various tendencies. There is also a generation gap.



ASKATASUNA

Revista libertaria de Euskadi Euskadiko askatasunezko aldizkaria

BILBAO 24-8-78. The headquarters, workshops and archives of the basque paper 'Askatasuna' (Liberation) were burnt out by fascists. The attack followed a warning by members of the Guerillas of Christ the King organisation given on June 4th. Damages are estimated at 6 million pesetas.

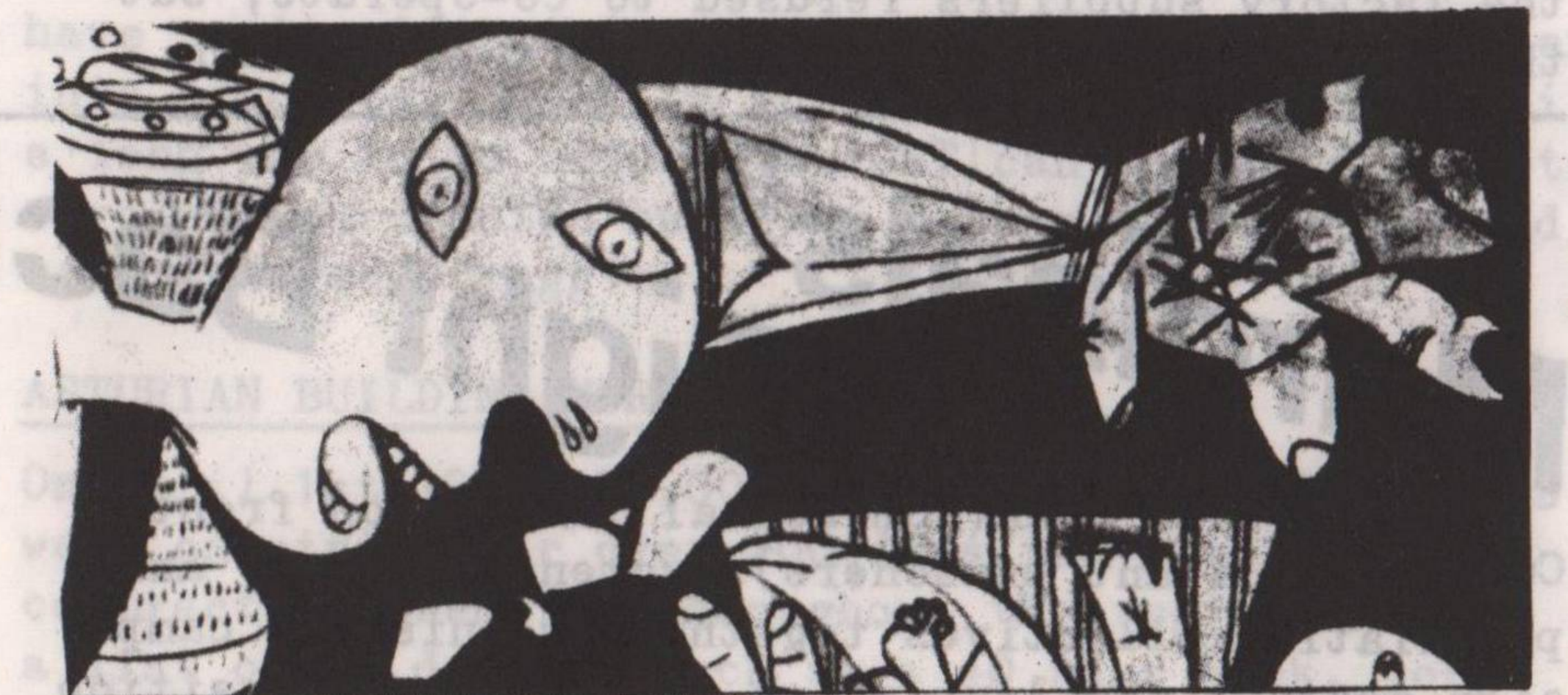
Askatasuna is the paper of a basque libertarian tendency which developed whilst Franco was alive among exiled basque anarchists. Its print run in a special issue to raise money following this attack was raised to 25,000. Politically 'A' is distinguished by its basque identity, which is placed in a libertarian and internationalist perspective: "...for the complete autonomy of the basque libertarians and revolutionaries to elaborate their own solutions and in this way to reply adequately to the specific problems of the oppressed national minority, ..committed to the realisation of work in unison with the anarchists and libertarians of the whole of Spain based on the mutual recognition of the right to self-management of the fights and struggles by the national communities, ..the libertarian social revolution in Euskadi can be achieved successfully only within an international revolutionary movement..." (extracts from 'A's platform).

NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Are the basques oppressed as a nation? In cultural terms: their language has been repressed under Franco, castillian has been used officially. The defeat of the republicans in the civil war entailed the suppression of the historic 'fueros' between the basque ruling class and the government in Madrid. Whilst the new constitution allows for greater autonomy this still depends on the goodwill of the central government so that the bourgeois PNV (basque nationalists) rejected it. The constitution continues to accept the separation of the french and spanish basque country, and maintains the unity of the armed forces so that the police, army, and civil guard are recruited from outside Euskadi. Naturally the constitution will not affect the tendency of 'castillianisation'.

Nevertheless this national oppression does not have economic overtones. That is to say that Euskadi is not an agricultural hinterland, dominated by the bosses of industrial Castille. The basque country is one of the most industrially developed regions of Spain, with major shipbuilding and mining industries. Bilbao is a centre of a specifically basque capitalism, with its own banks and institutions. Nationalism in the context of the basque country does not have any definite anti-capitalist character unlike nationalism in S. Africa, or N. Ireland. Traditionally the anarchist tradition has been wary of nationalism. In 1934 for instance the CNT refused to support the catalonian nationalists who rose against the central government, because they saw them merely as one sector of the capitalist class.

'A' approaches this problem by arguing on the one hand for Workers Self-Management through such organisations as factory committees, and on the other hand that the anarchist movement and the CNT in Spain should recognise the existence of several nations: Euskadi, Catalonia, Galicia, etc. One aspect of this policy was that the CNT in Euskadi should be directly affiliated to the AIT (the Workers International Association or IWM?A). This policy was rejected by the traditionalists who dominated the structure of the basque CNT. They refused admittance to people who refused to accept the structures of the CNT reatified at its last war congress in 1936. They characterised 'A's' views as nationalist, and would not accept the view that the necessity for struggles outside the factory entailed organisational flexibility. In January 'A's' views were declared by the basque CNT to be incompatible with the CNT.



Despite this condemnation controversy has continued. The journal 'Bicicleta' produced by a collective close to the international secretary of the CNT declared that the debate should continue and published articles which were sympathetic to 'A'.

'A's' views do not fall into the trap of slavishly following in the steps of the PNV or of ETA militarists. Whilst we aren't in a position to pass judgement on the internal workings of the basque CNT, it does seem clear from their manifesto that 'A' has a valid contribution to make to the workers and revolutionary movements. A more valid criticism of 'A', as of much of the left is its lack of consciousness of the oppression of women. Only one article in recent issues raised the demands for free abortion and contraception facilities, and for the abolition of these and other 'crimes' against patriarchal Spain.

SOLIDARITY: SEND MONEY

'A' is in desperate need of any financial support. Please send donations to:
Askatasuna,
Bilbao-Caja Laboral Popular Num 72.000.209-6
C/Bertendona, 2; Bilbao-8.

Eurostil "No More Masters!"

The textile workers of the Eurostil factory in Santa Caloma (Catalonia) - most of whom are women - have been going through an experience of self management for a year now.

In April 1977 the bosses tried to sack 124 workers: the majority of the workforce. The workers refused to accept this because they knew that both demand and production were running at a high level. They received bonuses and worked overtime, and knew that there was a system of double book-keeping with 12 million pesetas in a building society - enough to solve any crisis. Moreover the bosses were about to invest 7 million pesetas in a measured time system that would increase the rate of production and exploitation.

On June 17th the management decided to close down and refused to pay the wages due for that week. The workers assembly decided to occupy at once, and organised shifts to occupy the factory night and day. Other workers from Santa Caloma and the whole of Catalonia staged demonstrations and raised money for the sacked workers.

From August 11th these "incontrolables" have been running the sewing and pressing machines, without managers or sales representatives. They were left with only a small stock of cloth. From the start the factory suppliers refused to co-operate, but the clothes were sold to other workers - which

helped to increase their funds. Wages were equal for all workers and raised from 1,000 to 3,000 pesetas a week. There were internal problems at first: the men threatened to stop their presses if they were not paid more than the women, and refused to do cleaning work - which everyone was meant to take turns at. But the assembly worked and maintained unity. It also changed the numbers of sections and assembly lines in the factory. One responsible person was elected by each section of the assembly. The delegate has particular responsibility for looking after all the stocks, but does the same work as everyone else and can be recalled (suspended) at any time.

The PSUC (communists) attempted to intervene but were told that the workers did not want any new masters - either economic or political ones. But pressure on the factory is mounting. The worst problem for Eurostil, as for all experiments at self-management in a capitalist economy is their isolation, and their inability to co-operate with other sections of workers. Naturally the government and bourgeoisie are not going to supply any capital without strings so finance is a permanent problem. Even so Eurostil shows that workers can manage factories themselves and eliminate inequalities and inhuman conditions. (Bicicleta, April 1978)

work and freedom for all infirm people. 8-Against all repression of immigrants and ethnic minorities. 9-Decriminalisation of prostitution so long as conditions exist which promote it, freedom for prostitutes to organise and extend their rights, 10-Decriminalisation of all drug use. Creation of voluntary centres for detoxification. 11-Total and immediate amnesty: for political prisoners, common prisoners, those imprisoned for women's crimes, for homosexuals, for all youth imprisoned in reform houses, Military amnesty, Labour amnesty, destruction of all criminal and political records.

BICICLETA'S GUIDE TO THE CONSTITUTION

The new constitution was accepted by a large majority of voters in December 78 (with over 20% abstaining).

FOR	READ
Peaceful Unarmed Meetings	Consent to the state's monopoly on arms and violence.
Effective Access To Courts	To be effectively subjected to courts.
An Adequate Wage	To be sold at a good price.
Health Protection	To be left in the hands of the medical profession and hospitals.
Social Security For All	To recover from the effects of work.
To Join Any Union Freely	To be subjected to the free sale of your labour by the union.
Marriage Contract	The destruction of love.

"Marginals" Fight Back

Members of FHAR (homosexual liberation front), COPEL (a militant prisoners), women's groups, and psychiatric collectives together organised a campaign against the laws which qualify any opposition to macho/catholic repression as crimes, which must be countered by social rehabilitation.

One of their first acts was to draft a manifesto against social marginalisation, written by all the groups together. They fight against: "the same social system which considers the individual as a function of his productive value, whose aim is the privilege of a few in a chaotic productive system." The family, army, school, work, are all forces which serve to reproduce a passive workforce. Women are forced to do domestic work. Sexuality is reduced to activity for reproduction only, rather than for pleasure or communication, and only sex in marriage is permitted. The system maintains a network of courts, prisons and rehabilitation centres to repress and reform the individual. Their demands are: 1-Abolition of the Peligrosidad law-of 'ruffian', 'predisposed to crime', 'loafer' etc, 2-Destruction of the social rehabilitation centres for homosexuals, tribunals which patronisingly 'protect' women, youth, etc, 3-Against macho and repressive morality, the right to use one's own body, freedom for homosexuals, free sexual education from infancy, 4-Abolition of all discriminatory legislation against women. Free abortion and contraception. 5-Reform of the penal code, improvement of prison conditions, ending of the grading system. 6-Closure of all mental hospitals. Opening of day hospitals at work, sacking of all repressive psychiatrists, 7-Right to

FROM 'BICICLETA', MAY 1978.

analysis: Workers' Struggles

INTRODUCTION

The last year has seen a widespread growth in the workers movement with new sections of workers continually being drawn into struggle. Even pensioners have taken to the streets to demonstrate for justice.

Section after section of industrial and service workers were involved in struggles, and the still small CNT participated in many of them. Conflicts in the building industry occurred throughout Spain starting in July 1977 in Grenada where several workers had been killed by police in a strike in 1970. Post and telephone workers have continually been in struggle and are now co-ordinated nationally. Civil servants went on strike in July 1977 for equal pay and the democratisation of the public sector. Later they took part in the widespread public sector struggle against the Moncloa Pact. In December 1977 there was a general strike in the health and social services (which the UGT boycotted). In November 1977 media workers went on strike in protest against fascist assassinations, and in December 77 there were spectacular public sector stoppages for freedom of expression. Hotel workers, miners, textile workers, shipbuilders, and many other groups of workers have joined the growing movement.

Agricultural workers have organised marches and occupied latifundia as their solution to unemployment. The CNT and the SOC-CSUT organised the first march by agricultural day workers for the land since the Civil War in May 77. The march was boycotted by other unions and attacked by the Civil Guard.

The development of the workers movement has shown a number of things:

1. Most struggles have been organised directly through workers assemblies who elect strike committees and in theory take all decisions. But there has been a lack of co-ordination between factories and regions. This has allowed union bureaucrats to sabotage many strikes, and has limited the development of a co-ordinated national struggle that can overcome regional differences and stand up to the effects of the economic crisis.
2. Despite the legalisation of unions and parliamentary elections there has been no decline in autonomous workers struggles. The most militant sectors of workers have been those most forgotten under Franco: building workers, hotel workers, cleaners, etc. They have learnt how to build up popular support for their struggles with solidarity demonstrations and strike funds - strikers in Spain rely on contributions



from the local community and other workers.

3. Workers have struggled not just for better wages but also for a 40 hour week (originally won in 1919 by the CNT!), 30 days holiday and control over safety and hygiene. But the main impetus to strike has been management intransigence and not a conscious will to fight against the effects of the capitalist crisis.

4. A major factor has been the "amarillismo" of the national unions (CCOO, UGT, and USO) and the intervention of the state. Large sections of workers welcomed the legalisation of the unions: but now these unions, obsessed by electioneering and the Moncloa pact, often boycott the assemblies and sabotage strikes. The state has frequently intervened to back the bosses and has used the armed forces to break up many assemblies. Workers are now learning that "union freedom" is not the same as "workers freedom".

The CNT has continually supported the independent assemblies and workers self organisation; and opposed any attempt to interfere with the elected workers' delegates and their control by the assemblies. But it is sad to say that despite the nature of their struggles only a relatively small number of workers have realised that they are putting the CNT's beliefs into practice. Despite some successes there is still a long way to go before the CNT can build an effective revolutionary union based on workers assemblies and self managed struggles.

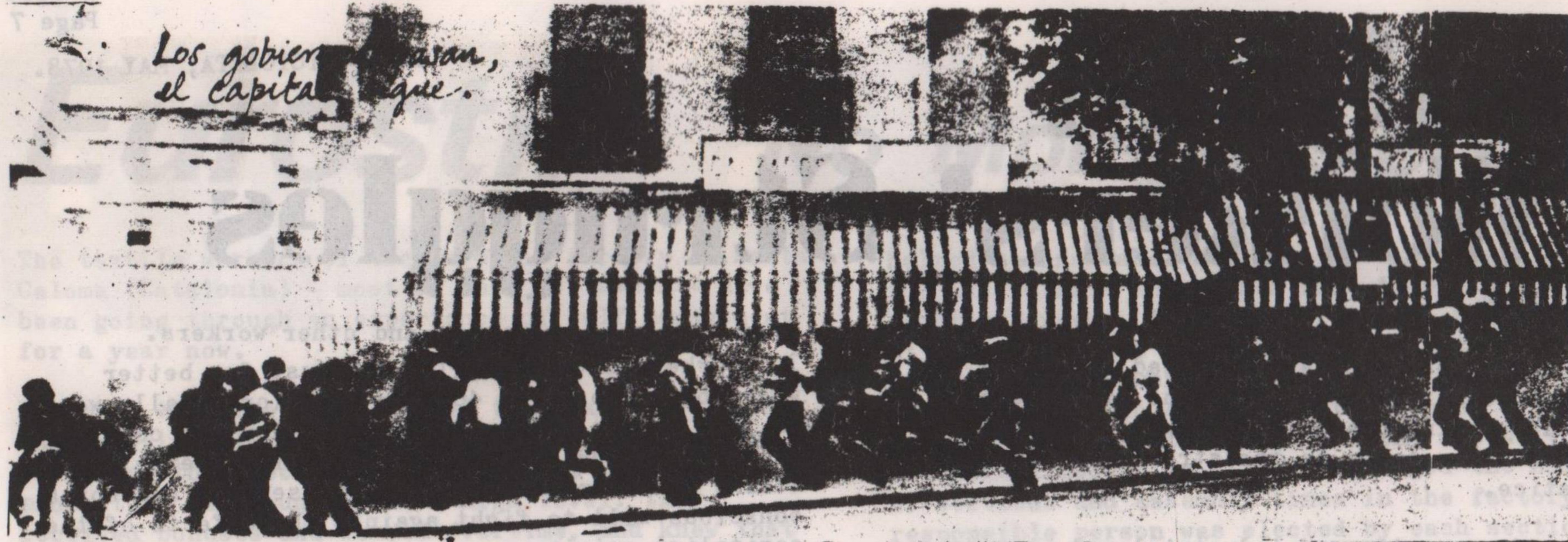
ASTURIAN BUILDING WORKERS

On April 1st 1977, 30,000 workers from 1,300 firms went on strike for over 100 days for a regional contract. Assemblies throughout the region drew up a list of 28 demands such as a 40 hour week, job security, union freedom, and a daily minimum wage of 900 pesetas. The assemblies also decided that negotiations would be conducted by representatives elected and controlled by mass meetings.

The Socialist UGT opposed the assemblies and demanded that negotiations be conducted through trade unions. The Communist CCOO had a number of members elected, and the CNT supported the principle of assemblies electing representatives. At first the management would only negotiate with the UGT, but as the strike spread they recognised the elected representatives.

The strike became total after the 9th of May when workers heard of the managements "ridiculous" offer of 510 pesetas and that sackings and reprisals had begun. Districts co-ordinated their strike funds and the assemblies set up a strike committee with 10 delegates per district. On June 6th the Governor threatened to ban the assemblies and sent in police to harass pickets. As repression was stepped up and workers were detained, the strike became patchy, clandestine, and savage as in Franco's time.

During this time the Asturians voted in the 1977 elections. The political parties, who had up to then tried to sabotage the strike in order to "safeguard democracy", began to cash in on the struggle to gain votes. On June 25th a rally of 50,000 workers was organised in Alvanzales in the Gizon region, and on June 28th over 100,000 miners stopped work. The



GOVERNMENTS COME AND GO, CAPITAL STAYS.

situation for the thousands of workers surviving on strike funds was becoming critical and they decided to hold talks with the minister in Madrid. They also threatened to march on Madrid and even call a general strike of the City's service workers. Finally the management agreed to the workers demands and they returned to work victorious on July 15th.

VISCAYAN BUILDING WORKERS

The Basque building industry has traditionally used immigrants from the countryside who face much discrimination in Basque society and who were badly exploited under the dictatorship as a pool of unskilled labour. But with the possibility of assemblies and direct action these workers have become very militant.

In May 77 a negotiating committee was elected by workplace assemblies to present demands for a minimum wage of 28,000 pesetas and the elimination of productivity sanctions. In exemplary fashion workplace, district, and general assemblies decided to strike on June 6th.

The political parties and their unions (CCOO-PCE, UGT-PSOE, and ELA-PNV) boycotted the strike and publicly denounced the elected negotiators which helped the intransigent management. After the elections the unions took on the chief negotiating role. The management insisted on stringent productivity agreements and contracts with the unions. After secret negotiations the leaders of the CCOO, UGT, and USO signed a contract without calling a single assembly. They did this even though they represented less than 10% of the 30,000 building workers. The negotiating committee denounced the union leaders, and, with the support of workplace motions, rejected the contract. However a general assembly of building workers on June 27th, while rejecting the contract, decided in the circumstances to return to work.

After the strike the nationalists and maoists, who had previously supported the assemblies, joined in the union elections: so in the sector only the CNT continued to support assemblies and workers self-management. On November 5th the CNT backed a demonstration against unemployment, and since then has supported campaigns against redundancies and blacklists, and has taken on the role of co-ordinating delegates of building workers.

DUSTMEN OF VALLDOLID

In June 77 service workers and cleaners, with the support of other municipal workers, asked for a basic salary of 25,000 and a rise in bonus payments for toxic materials. When the mayor, Fernandez Santamaria, rejected their demands they went on strike. The mayor

responded by sacking 350 strikers and asking for the army to be brought in to clear rubbish. But he didn't reckon on the support the strike would get from the local community. Neighborhood assemblies met and decided to march on the Plaza Mayor. On the way they burnt piles of rubbish. Clashes occurred with armed police, especially in the Rondilla district where barricades were put up and police vehicles pelted with stones.

On the night of July 5th the Army intervened. Soldiers and police picked up the rubbish but didn't enter the Rondilla where pickets kept them at bay with petrol bombs. Politicians and the unions then intervened and made a deal behind the backs of the workers; though the CNT refused to go along with this, demanding instead that the workers make all the decisions. Finally an agreement was signed on July 8th which gave a 2,000 peseta monthly rise, annulled the sackings, and brought in sanitary checks for the workers.

ZARAGOZA HOTEL WORKERS

During Spring 77 a number of assemblies were held and a negotiating body, with USO and CCOO members in a majority, drew up a package of demands. When the employers refused to negotiate, a two day strike was organised from July 22nd. The negotiating committee assured everyone of the Governor's support and advised a return to work at the end of the two days. On the 26th sackings began, as the CNT said they would, and the workers went on strike again.

This time the professional union leaders, manipulated by the bosses, tried to destroy the will to struggle. But not for long. The CNT was fed up with how the strike was running and had the negotiating committee recalled. Predictably they were attacked by the CCOO and USO for causing disunity, but the workers assembly on August 4th supported the CNT's proposal that the strike be extended indefinitely.

Moral was now high and pickets rapidly spread and strengthened the strike throughout the city. The strike was now being organised by two assemblies a day, morning and evening, and strike funds were set up. The workers turned down a management offer of 3,000 pesetas and voted to continue the strike. When 17 pickets were arrested on August 11th the CNT and other unions went to the Governor and successfully demanded their release. Finally the workers accepted the recommendation of an arbitration board for a 4,500 rise, 30 days holiday and the right to organise at work; and the CNT warned that the strike would be resumed if there were any victimisations. The outcome was positive for the workers. Their massive and united participation in the assemblies and pickets countered the hostility of the politicians and press.

COSTA DEL SOL HOTEL WORKERS

Many workers thought August was a good time to get their contract revised as they were working long tiring shifts and the hotels were full. However the employers' PR was working well and the CCOO, UGT, and USO advised the workers that many hotels were in crisis and that there should be no disruptions. The CNT argued against this, pointing out that the owners had gained a lot from the hotel trade and the workers little, and that the current contract reflected this.

Assemblies were held and a negotiating committee, with the CCOO in a majority, was elected. Only 3,000 out of the 40,000 hotel workers were union members and the majority of these were in the CCOO which had an effective presence in Malaga, Torremolinos and Fuengirolle. However the assemblies ignored the CCOO's advice that they demand a 6,000 peseta increase and instead demanded 8,000 pesetas. When the employers offered only 4,000 they decided to strike from August 13th 1977.

On August 14th flying pickets covered the Costa del Sol and many strike committees were formed spontaneously. The Civil Governor was alarmed and called a meeting that night with the negotiating committee, the unions, MPs and the management. The CNT was present and warned that nothing could be decided at the meeting since only workers assemblies could take decisions. But the other unions accepted the employers offer of a 5,000 peseta increase and the negotiating committee called workers assemblies for the next day. An agreement had been made behind the backs of the workers.

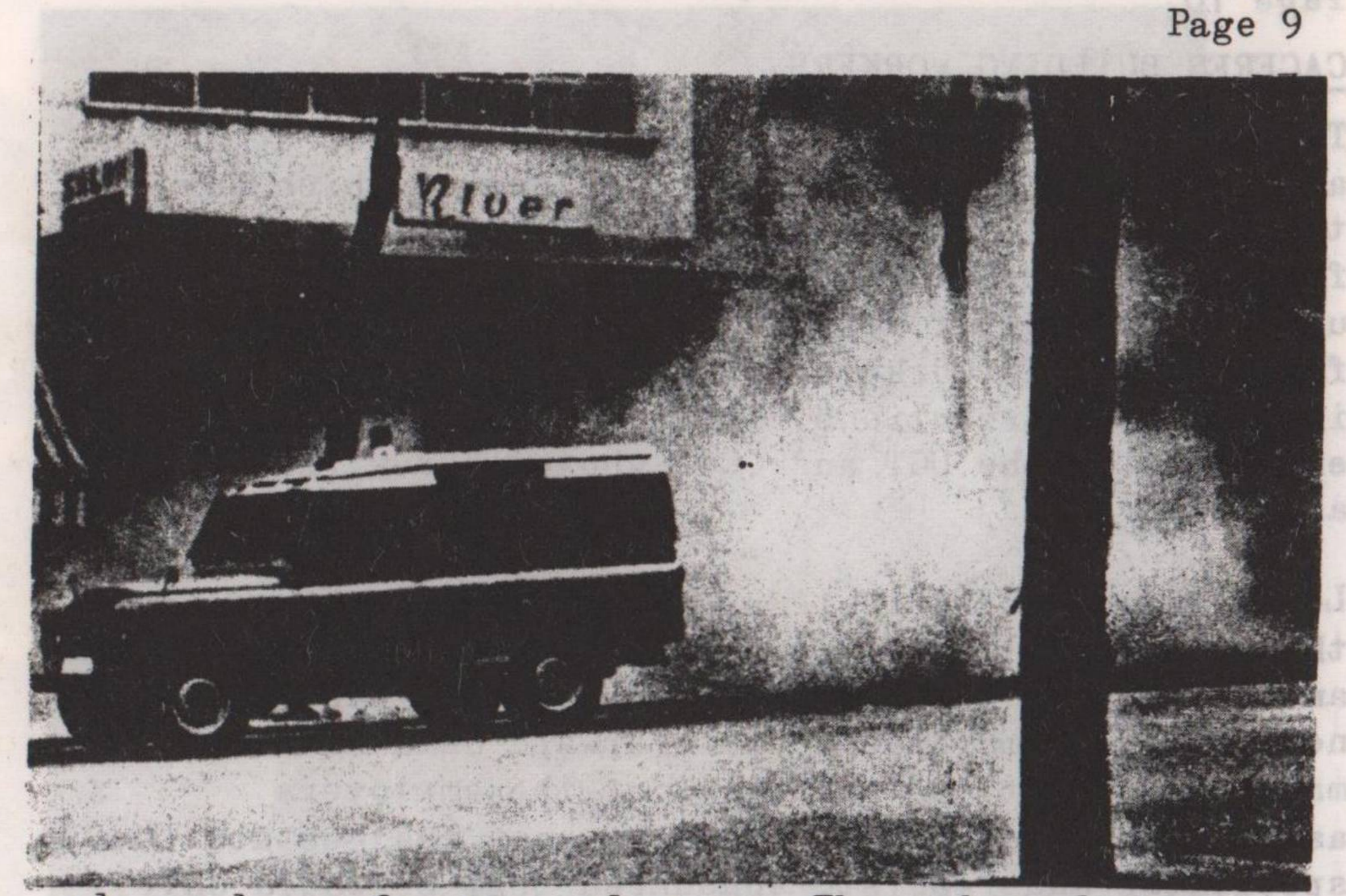
On August 15th the press and unions called for an end to the strike, and the majority of workers, disorientated after so many years of exploitation. But when 6,000 workers met in Torremolinos that evening, calls to continue the strike for the full 8,000 increase got an enthusiastic response. The platform was in danger of losing control and so abandoned the assembly. Later the Civil Guard broke up groups of people shouting "8,000 or strike". The political parties put out a leaflet accusing the CNT of being "radical, irresponsible and divisive", and management warned that anyone not returning to work the next day would be sacked.

By the 16th the strike was broken. The real dividers of the strike had their services rewarded when the management agreed to recognise their local union branches. The CNT reckoned that it would have been possible to win the full 8,000 increase if it hadn't been for the treachery of the other unions, and issued leaflets throughout Malaga calling for "all power to workers assemblies - all else comes after including the unions".

ALICANTE SHOEMAKERS

The shoe industry is based on small firms and homework. Despite its great contribution to exports, conditions and wages are poor. Since the strike in February 76, in which a worker was killed by police in Elda, there was a great deal of pent up anger amongst the workforce. This came to a head when it was learnt that an assembly of 15,000, which had just voted to go on strike, had been broken up by police.

90% of the firms in Elda stopped work, and all the factories in Villena and the Vinalopo valley were paralyzed. The conflict spread to Arnedo and Rioja, and even the Balearic Islands. In all 60,000 workers were on strike and 700 firms closed down. Assemblies were sovereign over all decisions. They drew up demands for a 40 hour week, 30 days holiday,



and equal pay for men and women. These demands were too much for the CCOO which was helping draw up the Moncloa Pact at the time. It warned of the ruin of many small businesses and the hundreds of millions of pesetas that would be lost in exports. At first the links between the CCOO and the co-ordinating committee of delegates created some hostility towards the infan CNT. In the struggle and assemblies this gave way to unreserved support for the CNT's proposals for extending the strike by using the potential of pickets, publicity and strike funds. A workers food co-op was set up which bought directly from the peasants and agricultural co-operatives. At the end of August this self-managed strike seemed indestructable.

However the CCOO was able to exploit the Achilles heel of the assembly movement - a lack of co-ordination in the face of the disciplined unions. The CCOO spread fear and uncertainty, and was supported in doing this by the UGT which had opposed the strike all along. The press supported the reformist unions and echoed the employers' claim that the assemblies were irresponsible because their delegates were not allowed to agree to anything behind the backs of the assemblies. Finally the strike was broken in Elda; and on September 26th the rest of the workers returned to work after accepting a promise of no victimisations and agreeing to postpone the revision of the contract. Since then there have been numerous sackings and thousands are unemployed. But the situation remains explosive and the unemployed are organising together in many places.

CADIZ BUILDING WORKERS

When the employers would not revise their contract, the workplace assemblies decided to ban overtime and piecework. In reply the big firms sacked over 1,000 workers and warned that they would only negotiate with legalized unions and not the assemblies. But the USO, UGT, CCOO, and CNT drew up a document for the press which recognized the negotiating committee elected by the assemblies as the only body that could negotiate the contract and represent the workers. CNT members were elected to the committee, though this was because of their individual standing and not because of being in the CNT.

After the rejection of negotiations by management the assembly at San Ficar de Bananeda erupted with anger and was then brutally attacked by the Civil Guard causing several serious injuries and broken bones. After this all the workplaces in the province decided to strike from August 18th. Strike committees and strike funds were set up in all the areas. On the 4th week of the strike 12,000 workers marched on Cadiz. The strength of the struggle finally forced the employers to offer a substantial increase. This was accepted by a massive assembly of workers on the condition that there be no victimisation. This was a victory for self-managed struggle.

CACERES BUILDING WORKERS

The CNT Builders Syndicate drew up a list of demands at its weekly assemblies over the summer which were then discussed at meetings with other unions and finally at a provincial assembly. The assembly drew up a final list of demands based on 25,000 pesetas for a unskilled worker and employers paying national insurance contributions. These demands were labelled excessive by the UGT and CCOO who withdrew from the assembly.

Leaflets were distributed in Caceres and villages in the region calling for a strike in September and for an assembly on the football ground. This elected a negotiating committee to put forward demands to the management, but the president of the employers association, Valentin Panilla, a known real-estate speculator and fascist, announced that he would only negotiate with recognized unions. The workers responded by unanimously voting to strike until there was an agreement acceptable to the assemblies.

On September 29th a general strike began in the local building industry. The UGT and CCOO joined with the press and radio in denouncing the "wild-cat strike", and presented themselves as negotiators to the employers. Many workers responded by tearing up their union cards. The CNT workers supported the daily assemblies which elected groups of workers to organise strike funds, pickets, propaganda, etc. Delegates from assemblies in workplaces and villages over the whole region reported local decisions to the assembly at Caceres.

But the assemblies could not avoid being manipulated by the demagogues of the CSUT. They were presented with an agreement based on 21,000 pesetas for an unskilled worker with all deductions left unchanged. Only workers in Miajades continued struggling to the very end; and when they were sacked they received no support from other areas.

The misery of the province undermined the strike, and low wages in the area, on average below 15,000, meant that the strike funds were very badly off. However the CNT Builders Syndicate made serious mistakes which impeded effective support for the struggle. In the 35 days it lasted they didn't hold one meeting, let alone consider having daily meetings. So new members could not learn from experienced ones, and the experienced militants could not come together to sort out personal differences which were apparent in general assemblies and confusing other workers about what position the CNT was adopting. The work of extending the strike fell on a few over-worked comrades who did not share it out with the new members. As well as this, there was a lack of information going to the press to counteract the publicity other unions were getting for their efforts to boycott and manipulate the strike. There was no quick exchange of information or help between the CNT regions, nor even between CNT branches in Extremadura. In short there was no real anarcho-syndicalist federation that could give a perspective of class solidarity to the 10,000 who proudly demonstrated in the streets of Caceres for the first time in 40 years.

MADRID - BUREAUCRATS BETRAY TRUCK DRIVERS

In the Summer of 77 workplace assemblies drew up a list of demands. The CCOO tried to incorporate these into its own proposals which it then presented to an assembly of its own members - this brought together less than 500 workers. The CCOO supported a demand for a 25,000 minimum salary, but militants in other unions drew up their own proposals and presented them to a general assembly on October 1st.

The assembly decided to demand a 30,000 minimum salary and elected a negotiating committee.

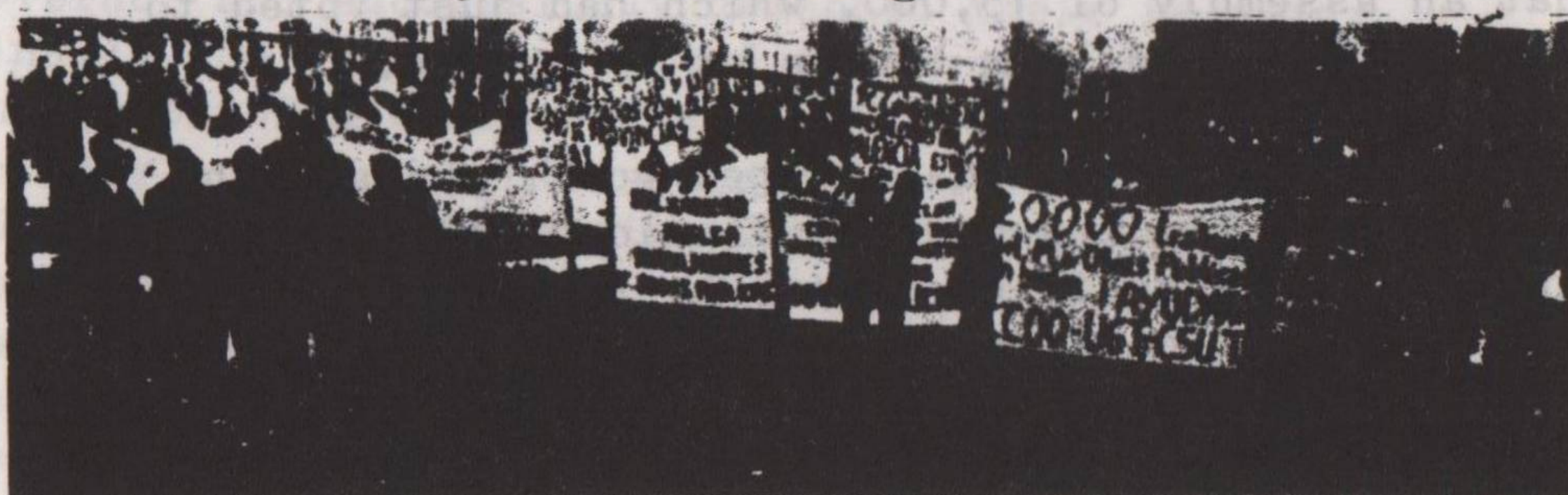
The management, perhaps the most fascist and gangsterlike in the country, took advantage of the split opened up by the CCOO's sectarianism by refusing to bargain with the assembly. Provocatively they offered a 18,000 minimum salary which is very low for a city with a high cost of living like Madrid. After this offer the workers closed ranks and in united assemblies decided to strike for their demands. In November there was a total stoppage in the sector. The CCOO was alarmed by this radicalism and boycotted the assembly. Many of its members responded by publically tearing up their union cards. However as the strike progressed sackings by the bosses, repression from the Civil Guard, and above all the CCOO's calls for black-legging destroyed its momentum. Immediately after one battle with the Civil Guard the CCOO's offices had to be protected from the strikers by the police. Finally the employers, under pressure from the CCOO and government, raised their offer to 23,000 (the maximum increase allowed by the Moncloa Pact) and then the strike was over. Unlike all the other unions, the CNT refused to sign the contract because the claim drawn up by the assemblies had not been obtained.

TENERIFE BUS WORKERS

The francoist owners of the "red buses" had made big profits out of exploiting the workforce. The workers were tired of abuses such as suspensions of pay, abandoned services, fraudulent national insurance deductions, and even occasions when management forgot to pay their monthly wages. Finally the workers, united in the "Sindicato Obreros Unidos del Transporte", stopped work on October 13th. The workers pointed out that the owners did not reinvest their large profits and demanded the creation of a public transport system on the island which would guarantee employment and provide a cheap and efficient service.

The UGT tried to boycott the long strike in order to break up the workers union, and in contrast they fully supported the struggle. Tempers flared up after the police harassed a peaceful demonstration by the workers on December 1st, and assemblies of transport workers, along with Tobacco and Cold Store workers who were also on strike, called for a general strike on December 12th. This was supported, more on paper than in practice, by the CNT and the other unions: except of course for the UGT and CCOO who called for a boycott of the general strike. Unfortunately manipulation of the strike by independent political groups reduced potential support for it (eds. note: Bici, doesn't say which political groups).

Police repression in Tenerife grew to resemble terrorism and ended with the death of a young student and a number of serious injuries. Finally the administration was forced to look for a solution and at the end of January the workers achieved their objectives. The bus company was taken over, jobs maintained and wages raised by 22%. However weariness, the Moncloa Pact and the lack of a revolutionary union like the CNT has prevented the workers from following up their victory with further gains.



Trade Union Elections

In the spring of 1978 the government sponsored and organised elections to factory committees throughout Spain. The reformist unions which had supported the Moncloa pact competed in the elections, whilst the CNT organised a boycott.

Faced by a situation of lack of confidence in Spain and vast withdrawals of capital after the death of Franco, the government and reformist unions (the communists workers commissions CC.OO, and the socialists UGT) concluded the Moncloa pact to 'stabilise democracy' (S. Carillo, leader of the communist party PCE). In reality the pact meant a sell out for the working class. Two statistics illustrate this: 1) It allowed for a 22% wage rise whereas inflation was rising at about 30%; 2) It allowed bosses to sack 5% of their workforces in businesses that were in financial difficulties. The pact implied that the interests of the employers should be put before those of the workers, it showed that the PCE and the PSOE would not defend their supporters. This was the background to the contest between the CC.OO, USO, UGT, etc in the trade union elections.

CNT BOYCOTT

The CNT decided to boycott the elections on various grounds. It considered that the basis for the development of workers power was the development of the factory assemblies. After the death of Franco the vertical fascist unions had died, being replaced by the union confederations, and by assemblies of all workers in any workplace. Although masses of workers had joined the reformist unions, the factory assemblies had escaped in part this political orientation and still allowed for open discussions where the moderate Moncloa policies had less effect.

The elections were designed to replace these forums where every worker could have a say with factory committees which would represent them. The government therefore placed legal responsibilities on the committees: they alone could summon assemblies, assemblies summoned without their authority would be illegal, the members were not revocable (thus there was no way that the electors could control the committees); the committees themselves were legally responsible - their members can be intimidated by the threat of prosecution. Because the committees were empowered to negotiate with the employers and run strikes, they also had it in their power to prevent hard strikes which would break the 'social contract' by preventing mass picketing, occupations, etc organised through daily assemblies. Over the last six months in strikes in metalurgy and construction (Madrid, Bilbao); Transport and papers (Barcelona) central leaders of the UGT and CC.OO have repeatedly negotiated above the heads of their members who have then torn up their membership cards in disgust. This pattern is felt most strongly by the most active workers in Catalonia and the Basque country, who cannot control or change the policies of the reformist leaders in Madrid, (cf. the article on the petrol workers strike in Barcelona).

RESULTS

In a workforce of eight million only 2.2m. actually voted. At least 800,000 workers abstain-



IF NO ONE WORKS FOR YOU,
LET NO ONE DECIDE FOR YOU,
NO TO THE UNION ELECTIONS.

ned, the exact number being difficult to quantify because there was no vote in workplaces with less than 7 employees. One interesting feature was the size of the vote for the two major trade union centres: their votes were much smaller than the

membership that they claimed although in the normal course of events one would expect that they should win a vote much bigger than the size of their membership. The CC.OO got 0.9m votes (35%); the UGT 0.6m (32%); autonomists 10%; yellow bosses unions 5%; and others (USO, Basque nationalists and Maoists) 8%. There were UGT majorities in 23 provinces including Vizcaya, Murcia, E. Andalucia, Extremadura, Castilla-Leon, Canaries; the CC.OO had majorities in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Asturias, Galicia, Aragon, Balearias; the USO in Cadiz; the ELA-STV in Guipuzcoa; and the SU in Navarre.

Examples of Abstention.

FASA - Renault (Valladolid) 46%
Dustmen (Logrono) 48%
and in Valencia as a whole there was a 50% rate of abstention by the 0.3m voters.
(all figures from Bicicleta).

state pay

THE STATE PAYS ITS SERVANTS

Following the June 77 elections the political parties who had representatives elected to parliament were given financial awards by the Suarez regime based on the number of seats and votes won. The PSOE and PCE both received 542 million pesetas and the PSUC 75 million.

Mujieres Libres

In July 1977 comrades of the LCG and the UTCL (the Paris based libertarian communist workers union) took part in a libertarian festival in Barcelona: (cf 'LS' No.1). In this issue we are printing an interview by our comrades with comrades from the Mujeres Libres group. The interview is introduced by the Women's Commission of the UTCL.

We intend to maintain our relationship with 'Mujeres Libres' despite our differences which we discussed together in Barcelona, and which we show here.

Firstly the Mujeres libres group is mixed- it doesn't refer to the feminist movement but to the libertarian movement.

We, libertarian women of the UTCL, believe that the autonomous movement which is concerned with women's problems is of necessity non-mixed at least to start with. The specific oppression of women has existed for ages, women have been aware of it and have analysed their oppression, and have taken action, but the workers' movement has not adopted it. Thus the only guarantee that we have in order to gain recognition of our struggle is that we organise ourselves, determining what we want for ourselves, so that we can work for a debate in the whole of the working class so that our demands are adopted. We also think that non-mixed meetings are needed within the libertarian movement, so that we can analyse our oppression, and express our demands together. When men are present at this type of meeting, even libertarians, some of them sneer stupidly and make scathing comments which are oppressive and are very much resented.

Of course there must be discussion in this debate with every individual, but this happens later, otherwise it is obvious that we will conform to the ideas that men have of us and the social and human relations between the two sexes.

A second difference between us and Mujeres Libres is over the analysis of women's oppression.

Mujeres Libres do not recognise specific oppression as such, but only capitalist oppression which affects women especially badly. We think that there is a contradiction here. If one looks at why women are super-exploited, it is obvious that this derives directly from the place that women are placed in society (women's inferiority, supportive salary, etc).

To say that it is the fault of society is not enough. We too are for a radical change in structures and social and human relationships, but in order to do this men's attitude to women must be changed first, a mentality that is born in patriarchal capitalist society, - this is one of the objectives of women's struggles.

Moreover Mujeres Libres refuses to organise women in places where they live outside of existing struggles: they do not want to create a mass movement. We think this idea is wrong because from the moment one wants to make women conscious of capitalist alienation and exploitation and of their specific position, one can not content oneself with enlightenment alone.

Whilst it is positive that every woman should take charge of herself individually, it is clear to us that the solution to the different economic, social and human questions are collective solutions which entail

a revolutionary dynamic. In this sense the fact that women are organising is an advance.

Lastly on the subject of rape, we too are not in agreement with the slogan: 'For Raped Women, Castrated Men'. If it is partly true that the society and the ideology that it upholds are responsible for the sexual misery of men and the attitude of women, this observation isn't enough. We need to find radical solutions to change this now! One can't let oneself be raped on the pretext that it is society that is at fault and not the rapist!

Men must realise that we are total human beings, not objects accessible at all times to their desires.

Organising women's self defence is right and in this we are in total agreement with Mujeres Libres, if it is necessary we will go onto the attack! Only we do not have the same analysis of the causes of rape, because if women are 'educated' to provoke it, men are conditioned to rape. We therefore have to make men aware of the role they have today in this society.

We have retained many positive points from our contacts with Mujeres Libres, in particular their libertarian specificity will allow us to work together on the different problems we have, and in particular on the link between the libertarian and the women's movement. Moreover their positions aren't definitive, they have not been in existence for long, and they are confronted by all the problems at once (given the particular situation in Spain), and are still working things out.

As for us, the women's commission of the UTCL, we are a part of the women's movement active in the factories and in the places where we live. Our particular role as libertarian women, is to link the struggle of women with the class struggle and revolutionary struggles, to ensure that feminist ideas enter into our organisations, because a libertarian communist society will not be made without a real liberation of women (and not just a sexual liberation*) and therefore from now on we must struggle to change the mentality of libertarian comrades who are men, and the whole mentality of the male working class.

*Sexual liberation is too often understood by men in the sense that they can satisfy their desires, but without taking the trouble to understand the desires of women; in this sense they are considered as available objects even more. Real sexual liberation takes into account, firstly the recognition of women as complete human individuals, and also their desires.

interview:-

***Some women in the libertarian movement in 1936 noticed that libertarian women were still oppressed. Many women were housewives who stayed at home and therefore were not integrated into the movement. As soon as we noticed this we started this movement. Mujeres Libres isn't just a movement that makes demands, it is a revolutionary movement. Because it

is a libertarian movement it will not just try to make a change in one very concrete field, but will try to arrive at a wider aim, a change in structures that goes beyond feminine aims. It is perhaps the only women's movement which, while it is perhaps not feminist, takes up women's problems without making any sexual discrimination, that is to say there are men in the group.

How is the movement organised and structured?

***On the level of groups-work groups. We work on many themes in each group, but we get together amongst ourselves-and then all together.

We want to promote these work groups. we work on many themes in each group.

We want to promote these groups, to get them to work a bit more openly, to get into estates and libertarian Athenaeum (a libertarian cultural movement) to speak out there, for the same reason we have produced a magazine. Work groups are formed according to the different needs we see in each area. When a group is no longer effective it disappears and other ones are built elsewhere.

What is the class background of the women who are generally involved in Mujeres Libres?

***Women have only recently reformed Mujeres Libres, at the moment there are students, working women, some professional women, and that's it. From the Roca strike onwards: I don't know if you know about that, it was quite an important strike...there's a group of women who are housewives there in the village who got interested in our movement and who are perhaps part of us - or we part of them.

Is there a women's struggle like there is a class struggle?

***We are struggling for men and for women. We think there is an identical problem for men and women which is built into the society we are fighting against. From the point of view of work laws are the same for men and women, but it is more difficult for a woman to get a job, or to get responsible jobs. In case of pregnancy, the firm provides three months leave, but you have no special attention after these three months.

It is more difficult for women to find work. But anyway, what I want to say is that it is more difficult to get a responsible job, a white collar job - but we don't want to get into power positions, we merely observe this but we don't want it. We want equality.

What action have you taken since you started?

***We are not trying to organise mass campaigns. We don't want a mass entry of people into our movement, to stage mass demonstrations in important struggles. We just want groups of women in estates, or whatever, to be made aware so that they can act individually against exploitation by being aware that exploitation really exists.

Which struggles have you participated or helped in?

***The Roca struggle here in Barcelona, Enduico at Madrid, and there are others in small factories. We intervened with support, published articles in our magazine, or pamphlets as for Roca, and we helped them with money as much as we could. We tried to help, to be with them, but not to capture them for our movement or brainwash them with our ideas.

And lesbians?

***We have talked with lesbian groups and asked them to say what their problems are. We think that it's up to them to make an initiative, rather than us. But in any case we are in complete agreement with them and are ready at any time to support them.

And rape?

***The inscription you see over there in the Guell



park, "raped women - castrate men", we disagree with that. It was done by an extremist feminist group which we have nothing to do with.

Rape is one of the themes we want to open up. We haven't yet, because as I said we haven't been working for long, and haven't been able to touch every question. One must not just blame the man, but also society. In many cases in Spain, and everywhere else I believe, a woman is taught to provoke, but not to give anything afterwards. Be we think that it is the fault of society and not just of the rapist. We are planning to organise a Mujeres Libres group to learn self defence, not to attack but to defend.

Women are economically and sexually dependent - what perspectives do you have for struggle?

***Firstly, we want to say to you that women are not more oppressed in Spain than in other countries; but oppression is more refined in other countries. We hope to work on housing estates: talking about sexual problems, providing advice on contraception, helping women find sympathetic gynecologists who they can talk freely to about their problems. First of all we are trying to publicise all the methods of contraception, including abortion. Economically, we think that neither men or women should be oppressed by this system. We don't think there should be wage labour. But in any case we are very aware that since childhood we have been conditioned to a certain way of life. We are economically dependent on men. The campaigns that we are preparing are to make women realise that they can succeed economically - by and for themselves.

Women's oppression in Spain is more blatant. Has the women's movement been harassed?

***Our movement is totally ignored, nobody disturbs us, not even the police. Normally the whole of the women's movement is treated in this way because they are looked at in a paternalistic way.

Do you define yourselves as an autonomous movement politically and organisationally?

***We object to political movements, so we are not a political movement.

What support do you get from male militants?

***We receive no support either from groups or from individuals. Some groups and individuals attack us.

Which?

***Even libertarian groups.

What links do you have with the CNT?

There is no link with the CNT. Mujeres Libres and the CNT are simply two libertarian movements, which at one moment or another support each other in common struggles.

**LOS HOMBRES CNT
LIBRES LUCHAN EN CNT**

FREE
men
FIGHT
IN
THE
CNT....



Repression

In December Spain voted in a new "democratic" constitution. The liberty this granted to the Spanish people is strictly limited. As other articles in this bulletin show, the state readily intervenes in labour disputes: this is only one aspect of the repression that has been directed against the CNT and all other opponants of the state. The movement is fighting back against the repression and brutality. In particular, COPEL, an organisation of prisoners and supporters, is campaigning to publicise conditions and has helped organise protests and uprisings in several prisons. COPEL demands an amnesty for all prisoners and is supported by the CNT.

A policy of repression is being directed against all sections of the movement in Spain. It is based on the need of the ruling class to both maintain "economic stability" in the face of a militant workforce and to resist the growing social challenge to its rule from many sections of the movement. We believe that revolutionaries in Britain should work to show their solidarity with the Spanish movement. We can publicise the extent of the repression, write to prisoners, and read and learn from what is happening in Spain. Our aim should be to develop a revolutionary campaign against repression irrespective of who is under attack.

While we should campaign against all repression, we should be wary of giving support to the vanguardist and "terrorist" strategies adobted by some Spanish groups. Their suicidal strategy is aimed at forcing the Army into seizing power in the hope that this will spark a workers revolution. In practice it can only further weaken and divide the movement, and pave the way for strengthening of state power as in Germany.

The CNT and libertarian movement has born the brunt of much of the repression. As the left press in Britain has ignored the rebirth of the libertarian movement in Spain, and has been silent about the repression it has faced, it will be up to libertarians in Britain to build the basis of a campaign. You can help by writing to us or to the addresses in this article.

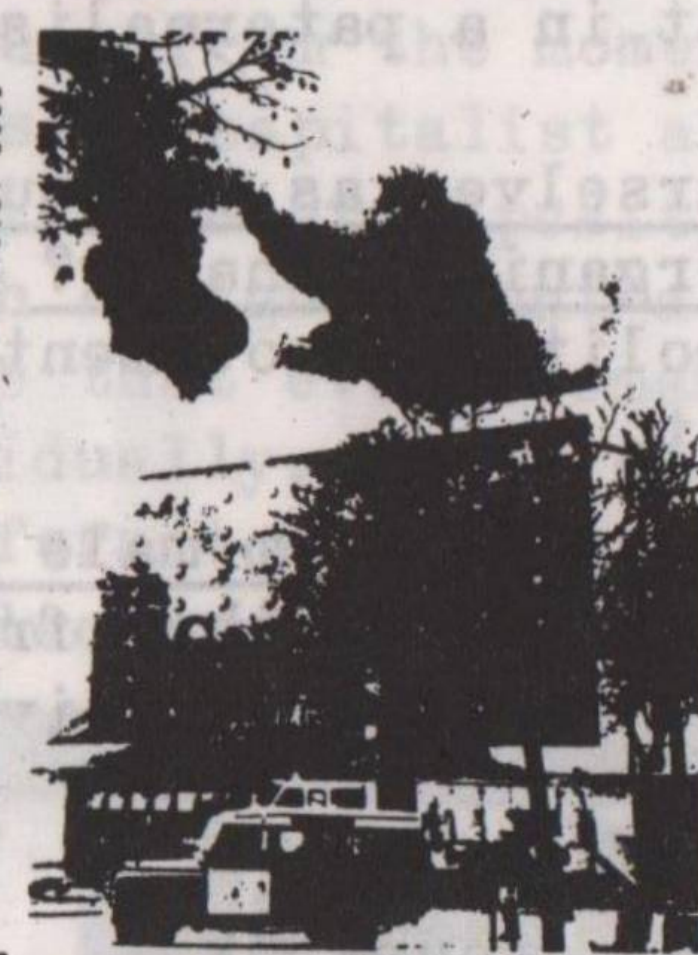
LSC, Box 3, 73 Walmgate, York, YO1 2TZ.

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

COMLOT CONTRA LA CNT

INDIGNACION

Indignacion por el asesinato de Agustin Rueda, miembro del CNT, en la carabanchel de Madrid. Los guardias de la policia le torturaron hasta la muerte. Este hecho demuestra la brutalidad de la policia franquista y la necesidad de una revolucion social.



SCALA: ATENTADO CONTRA CNT



FREEDOM OF SPEECH !

Below we are printing a brief chronology of events in 1978.

Jan 15 CNT demos against the Moncloa pact, and in support of COPEL (a prisoners defence group). 9,000 on the streets in Barcelona in the first legal CNT demo since 1939. Bombing of the La Scala music hall kills four including members of the CNT and one UGT member. Press campaign launched against "dangerous anarchists". The CNT organises an investigation to prove that it was not connected with the attack.

Jan 31 250 arrests in Madrid and 177 in Barcelona following a speech by the interior minister Villa who announced "we must finish with anarchism in Spain..." Many are released because of lack of evidence, but some are still held (our latest info is 15/9/78).

Feb 2-4 Arrest of French anarchists.

Feb 17 Mutiny of common law prisoners in the Modelo prison, Barcelona, against appalling conditions.

Mar 13 Agustin Rueda totrured to death by guards in the Carabanchel prison in Madrid.

Mar 18 Funeral and general strike in his home town, Sallents.

Apr 8 10 prisoners in Madrid go on hunger strike.

Apr 12 2 prisoners on hunger strike against conditions and for total amnesty.

Apr 13 4 women in the Trinidad prison in Barcelona strike. Warders are often members of the fascist Guerillas for Christ the King, sanitary conditions are inadequate and beatings common.

May 1 10,000 march on the Carabanchel shouting "prisoners out".

July 4 Three anarchists, Antonio Cativiela, Ignacio Sebastain, and Virginia Cativiela, sentenced to 33 years for "terrorism". Imprisonment a torture since March has reduced Virginia to a state of mental derangement.

July 8 Police assassinate Geman Sainz a member of the trotskyst LCR.

Nov After 9 months of imprisonment for "suspected terrorism", Bernard Pesirot and Vivotr Simal are released on 10,000 pesetas bail. They had just finished a 27 day hunger strike.

Torture..

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

In March 78 some French militants visited Spain during the wave of repression launched against the CNT for supposedly being a "terrorist organisation". The following is the story of one man as reported in Tout Le Pouvoir Aux Travailleurs (No.13).

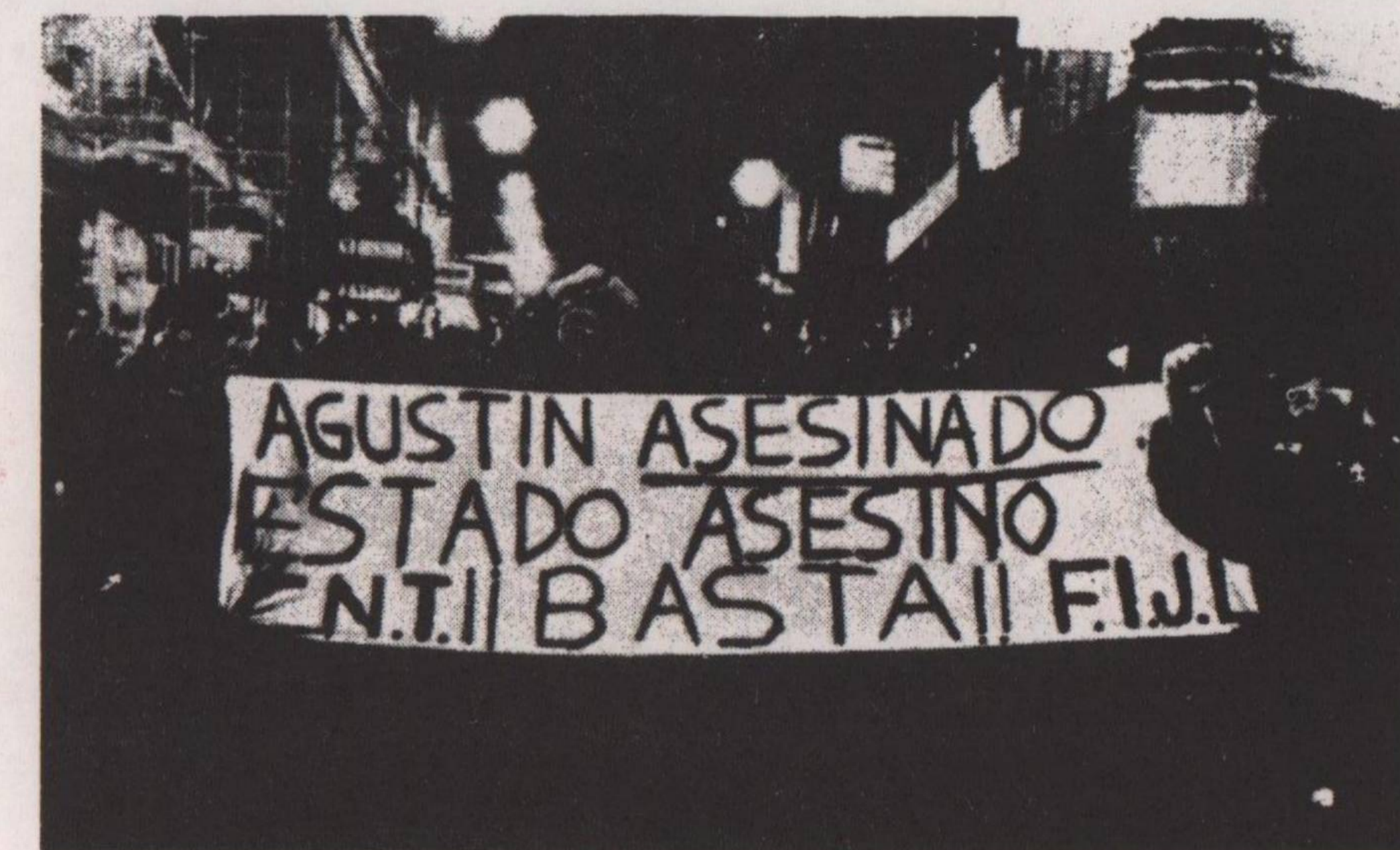
"I was arrested when I arrived at Bony. Up to then there was nothing against me. I could have been any member of the family, or a friend, or from the Electricity Board. It didn't matter. Two revolvers were placed on my temples and I was thrown into the middle of the flat and then thumped, threatened and assaulted. I was handcuffed with my hands behind my back, and stood up against the wall whilst they continued to hit me. They still hadn't asked for my papers.

The Civil Guard Colonel reminded us that we were in the hands of the army and not the police. He cried that he'd make me piss blood and that I'd get out either after signing a "confession" or dead.

Then the tortured Conhi in a room near mine so that I heard her cries. They brought the news with a sadistic smile: "She's very nice but we're in the process of demolishing her because of you"! Those were the most terrible words - the ones that hurt most.

The first night I was made to stand for more than 5 hours with my hands tied behind my back and unable to move. The struck and insulted me more and more each time they were near. For 2½ days I had nothing to eat or drink and was prevented from lying down.

The second night was the worst - they started torturing me. First of all the "bolsa" - the bag. This consisted of a bag that went round my head which was closed at the bottom. They only removed it when I



Demonstration in protest at the death of Augustin Rueda in the Carabanchel prison.

went purple from the lack of air. Throughout this time I as beaten on the sides and kidney with truncheons. I was bagged 7 or 8 times.

They didn't ask me to talk - only to sign whatever ocured to them, according to what information they had already. The names and facts in three quarters of my declaration were dictated to me. And as they received news from Madrid they added names to my declaration. They wished to link me with the La Scala bombing, the assassination of the Mayor of Viola, the death of Raselson, and various hold-ups. I knew nothing of. I received a lot of blows on this account.

In the courts no case at all was made out. The police had already warned us that the judge was expecting us - which we saw as a threat. We weren't wrong. I wanted to show him my marks and bruises but he wouldn't allow it. I declared that I didn't agree with my confession - he took no notice. Brutalized by the beatings I had received and mad at the judge I ended up signing a paper without reading it. I suppose it was decreeing that I should go to a closed prison. Prison seemed to represent freedom - getting out of the hands of the police. I don't think there's much else to say."

SOME PRISONERS - BICICLETA SEPTEMBER 78

Yeserias Prison
Virginia Cativiela, Maria T.F.Oliveras, Pilar A. Alvarez, Rosa L. Hernandez - the last 3 will be tried in connection with the "La Scala" bombing.

Carabanchel, Madrid
Antonio C.Alfos, Ignacio de Erice, Luis Gonzalo, Maximo Gonzalez, Jose Dies - autonomists and Catalan autonomists. Arturo Segura, Luis Garcia (La Scala) - both CNT members. Fernando Fernandez.

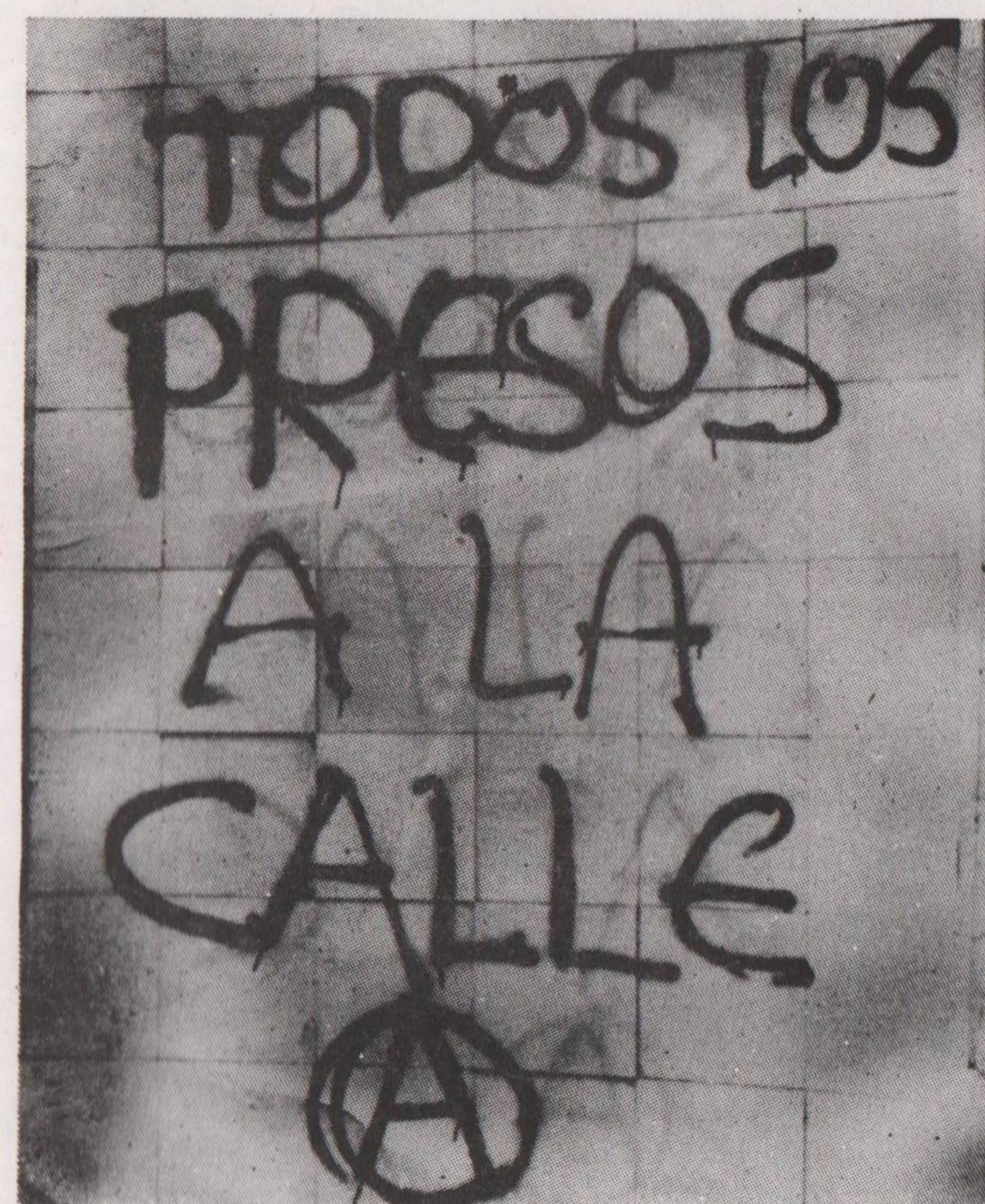
Modelo, Barcelona
Anres Barnes, Vincente Median, Angel Ardite, Jose Casado, F.Javier Gascon, Victor Simal, Bernard Pensirot.

Trinidad, Barcelona
Maria Rodino, Concepcion Seron.

Mislata, Valencia
Fernando Morales, Rafael Gomez, Eugenio Nogues, Anastasio Bravo - autonomists.

Vallodolid
Martin Rodriguez, Pedro Martinez, Fidel Manrique, Moises Alfonso, Alfonso Calvo, Jose Diez, Fernando del Rio, Jose Perez, F.Jose Toval, Angel Busnariago, Miguel Montes.

Altogether Bicicleta has direct knowledge of 60 prisoners.



ALL PRISONERS ON TO THE STREETS !