

Libertarian Spain

Bulletin of the Libertarian Spain Committee

No. 1.



CNT DEAD?

Dead - that's how Santiago Carillo (leader of the reformist communist party of Spain) described the CNT, last year.

Carillo was already planning his compromise with the conservative government of Suarez, and he was ready to accept the "democratic" state, with its fascist flag and its imprisonment of working class militants.

Although the CNT has now been legalised it took some time to organise in conditions of repression. At the beginning of this year fifty or so of its militants were still imprisoned. The legalisation of the CNT is a gain for the workers movement, but the basis for its growth remains in the struggle against exploitation, authoritarianism and sexism.

The demands of the CNT as formulated in its first national post-civil war congress of July 1976 were minimum demands : for a forty hour week, for

20p

retirement at sixty, one month's vacation, trade union rights, etc. Demands such as these have been applied and developed in the struggle in Spain, such as the Roca struggle, reported in Anarchist Worker (see article) . The CNT has also gone beyond these generalised demands to criticise the qualitative functioning of sections of the economy and society. (See article on Education).

The growth of the workers movement in Spain reflects this combativity in struggle : mutinies in prison, anti-nuclear marches, growth of the feminist movement and Mujeres Libres (Free Women) strikes at Roca, Air Iberia , building workers in Asturias etc. In struggles such as these, in which the functioning of the system is challenged, that the possibility of revolution in Spain develops. However, such a development will be based on an extension of the strength of the libertarian and revolutionary movement (The CNT, MCL, Mujeres Libres). Already the CNT is represented in every town in Spain. This needs to be strengthened so that CNT unions cover every sector of industry. Before 1936 the CNT had over one million members. Today they can sell 150,000 copies of their national paper and in May had 40,000 members.

However even in 1936 the CNT did not manage to lead a revolution. Sections worked for a revolution in practice in self-managed factories and villages. Sections of the CNT (allied with the POUM) called for a revolution against fascism and the popular front government - a government in which Federica Montseny participated, who is now again associated with the CNT.

Carillo and Ibarruri (La Passionaria) are back - so are the reformists and compromisers within the CNT. The lessons of the Civil War : the betrayal of the communists, the socialists and tendencies of the CNT need to be learnt, so that the prospect of a revolution in the future is safeguarded. In this respect the development of a libertarian communist movement in Spain is an immediate necessity - a necessity which will become realised only in the struggles of the spanish working class against repression, sexism, authoritarianism and exploitation.

IT'S LEGAL!

On the 7th of May the Secretary and the national CNT committee applied for the legal registration of the CNT giving a copy of the CNT statutes to the Trade Union registration office.

The statutes declare that the CNT aims to raise the level of organisation, (association) of the workers, the only means by which the material and moral conditions of the workers can be raised in present society, and prepare for the total emancipation in the future: the conquest of the means of consumption and production.

To provide material aid in strikes and at other times . To develop relations with other workers organisations.

In this struggle the CNT and unions will use direct action, without delegating their struggle to an intermediary body.

The May issue of the national paper "CNT" declares that legalisation is not an end in itself but only a means allowing the CNT to organise, making access to the thousands of workers easier. It should be used to increase the numbers of affiliated workers. "The CNT is the active people preparing their destiny without intermediaries, without "providential" men. To confirm this assertion we shall without vacillation construct a proud, massive CNT, with strong unions, which will be the embryo of libertarian communist, that is self-managed, society."

"CNT"

'CNT'

Although circulation of the National organ of the confed - 'CNT'-has risen to 150,000, gifts of money are needed.

Send to: Pedro B. Guazo,
Banco de Bilbao - AGC 18
Lopez de Hoyos no.103,
Cuenta Corriente 4328 00 9136
Madrid 2.

The Weakest Link

The response of the ruling class throughout western Europe to the ravages of the economic crisis has been almost uniformly to fall back upon its supporters in the reformist political parties and trade unions.

Their job has been to discipline the workers movement to accept a series of measures designed to lower living standards, increase the rate of exploitation and raise the rate of profit. In Britain this scheme is humourously called the 'Social Contract', in France the 'Barre plan', in Italy the 'Historic Compromise' and in Spain the 'Austerity Measures'.

The working class resistances to these measures has a qualitative difference in Spain, for there exists a libertarian workers movement of growing size and combativity. The development of the CNT (the anarchist union federation) illustrates the possibilities of workers struggle.

Despite the rush of CIA funds through German reformists, (a £2 million "loan" to the UGT, Social Democratic Union linked to the Socialist Party, which was announced in the Economist of 6/8/77), the Spanish ruling class has still to establish its control of the growing workers movement. The carefully managed June elections established the "form" of a "democratic regime", but that itself doesn't deal with the wave of workers demands.

The hasty resurrection of the Socialist Party and the touching 'moderation' of the Stalinists carry no guarantees either. For independent of them the autonomous workers movement develops its organisation, increases the scope and range of its propaganda and engages in the struggles which daily threaten to "destabilise" everything.

J.F



Contents:

Front	- editorial
page 2.	- Legalisation
page 3.	- The Weak Link
page 4.	- Women at Roca
page 5,6	- The June elections

page 6	- Montjuich
page 7,8	- International Festival
page 8	- Prisoners
pages 9,19	- Background and Analysis

WOMEN AT ROCA

During January and February the CNT organised solidarity work for the strikes at the ROCA factories at Gava near Barcelona.

The strikers went back to work on 12.2.77 after guarantees that no action would be taken against them by the paternalist management.

An aspect of the ROCA struggle which has not been reported is the important participation in the struggle of the women of ROCA - not only on the picket lines - but also in the home, where they also had to struggle.

When the women tried to stop workers going back across the picket lines they were slandered as "terrorists, thieves, criminals and prostitutes". They argued that workers should stay out TOGETHER, or go back together.

The management had built a ghetto for the workers, cutting them off from other people, who were led to oppose the strikers and saying that the Civil Guard should be brought in.

The women had to face violence from the State and in the course of demonstrations learnt to run and throw bricks to defend themselves.

Children also experienced the violence. They became affected by it as a woman at ROCA explained...

"at Xmas ROCA gave presents to children. My son got a machine gun. He came with this gun to me and said - Mother it looks real - I could kill Civil Guards-"she added, "if my son becomes a terrorist it will be their doing. I'm happy he's a terrorist on our side."

The ROCA women are housewives too. They realise that their husbands don't help with domestic work - even when they are not working.

A group of the women worked around this problem - and told this anecdote: When one woman was called to a meeting she left her husband to look after the children. When she got back she found him in front of the telly. So she asked have you eaten and where are the children. He said he'd taken them to Mrs. X next door - pushing the responsibility onto another woman.

IRL(Lyons)/TS



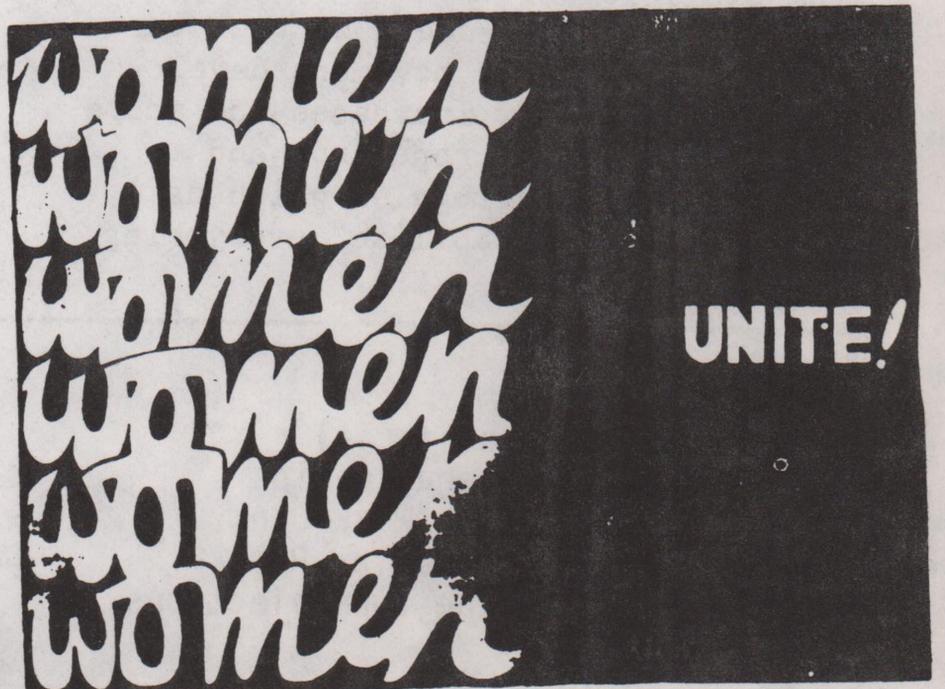
'feminism'

Mujeres Libres - a group of libertarian women who helped to support the strikers - made this comment when the ROCA women weren't allowed to speak at a 'feminist' meeting. "We want to know the nature of a feminism which cries liberty, boycott and other political slogans and yet SILENCES its own (ROCA) comrades - just like the (capitalist) media."

The group has declared 'the fundamental problem is not the liberation women as such but rather winning liberation in the context of general emancipation in a libertarian direction.'

They have also been active in campaigns for abortion and divorce rights, for the ending of the 'crime' of adultery in Spanish law, and for sexual information.

IRL(Lyons)/TS.



The June Elections

On June 15 'Spain' went to the polls - some of it did - thousands of adults including militants in the CNT abstained. Many other 'children' were given no opportunity to vote.

The result was a 'victory' for two bourgeois parties - the centre under Suarez, and the 'socialists' under Gonzalez.

The CNT explained in June why it adopts an anti-parliamentarian position. Firstly because elections are used in both East and West to justify the present political systems. In all these systems manipulations exist in favour of big finance and political elites representing the dominant classes. The selection of candidates, propaganda campaigns, manipulation of constituency boundaries guarantee that it is impossible to build a majority against the system.

Where such a majority was possible in Spain in 1936, or Chile in 1970 etc. the bourgeoisie used the army to intervene. It is also true that decisions are now taken by large banks and multinational companies on an INTERNATIONAL scale, so that, in any case only small modifications of the system could be attempted.

Change does not come about through either the socialist governments of Britain or Portugal, but through revolutionary struggles, workers self-management and the direct action of the oppressed.

'CNT'



MODERNISING CAPITALISM

The July 'CNT' notes that reformist unions in Spain are modernising capitalism. The UGT (linked with the 'socialists' ie Labourites) has come out for lightening of employers social security contributions.

The CCOO (CP trade union front) declares that inflation can be avoided with energetic government measures.

The aim of the CNT is to build 'libertarian communism' and in the immediate future self-managed struggles in factories, schools etc. avoiding all pacts with the State and capitalism.

FUTUR

translation:-
"phutt"?

Results

1. The June 15 elections were called to legitimate the post-Franco regime without in any way opening up the possibility of a threat to the ruling class.

It was a token 'democratisation' of the State with the results arranged well before. These arrangements included uneven representation (it took 87,000 votes to elect a deputy from Barcelona, 43,000 in rural Avila) ballot stuffing (there were nearly 10,000 complaints of this nature in Madrid alone); deletion of candidates from the lists; removal of opponents of the regime from the electoral role (an estimated 200,000 in Barcelona alone). To ensure that the whole operation went off smoothly the real opposition were repressed - meetings and any propaganda for boycott were banned.

2. The elections had their desired secondary effect - of legitimating also the chosen 'opposition' - the Socialists and Communist Party; and, of pushing the Francoist ultra-right into a reserve position, on hand for later use perhaps but away from the centre of the stage.

3. As a final bonus the 'leftwing' groups who were lured into the game were effectively marginalised, by the collapse of their electoralist ambitions and their isolation from the main current of the workers' movement, which centred around the campaign for the boycott. The pretensions as well as the naivety of the Mandel-trotskyists (LCR) and the various maoist parties were thoroughly exposed by the election campaign itself. The LCR was put into the position of distancing itself from the movement against the repression in the Basque country because of the support for boycott of the forces involved; it refused to allow any speakers from organisations supporting the boycott at its Madrid rally.

The result of this sorry state of affairs is revealed by the 'Report' in the INPRECORR on 21.7.77 which gives a great deal of bourgeois psephology analysing the 'results' on their face value. It ignores the boycott and the forces involved and manages to avoid analysing the LCR's programme in the elections, or its campaign, or its results.

Are we then to assume that the total of 38,000 votes represents the joint support for the LCR and its two partners? A far cry from the claim in 'Socialist Challenge' on the 16th June that 'the LCR stands in the same relation to the Spanish left as the

SWP does in Britain - in fact it is considerably larger".

But of course size is not the key - the ability to learn is - and we look forward to the full analysis which is surely in preparation.

4. The CNT's participation in the boycott campaign was undoubtedly correct, although whether this was derived from the old-fashioned 'abstentionist' politics or an accurate judgement of the actual situation itself is difficult to determine. The editorial in the June "CNT" gives us reason to hope.

However its clear revolutionary stance is undoubtedly the right position to take at this stage of the development of the Spanish workers movement.

JF

Boycottist case

Communist League (LC), Organisation of the Fourth International (OCI), CNT (the anarchist trade union), EMAS and LAIA (two organisations of the Basque left) in Alava, one of the four provinces of Euskadi.

ALERT AGAINST THE ELECTORAL FRAUD

To the people of Alava:

Our people have the right to exercise their freedoms because that right has been won with enormous and heroic sacrifices. For this reason the people must give no support to political operations which attempt to avoid their demands, which try to manipulate their wish to be free, which are a trick designed to oppose their aspirations.

The Suarez government has called a general election. It is an election whose framework has been agreed with the most purely reactionary section of Francoism (the Popular Alliance); an election before which the so-called "democratic opposition" has shamefully backed down;

an election which places extreme limits on freedom of expression and which scandalously sabotages the demand for amnesty and the action of the parties and organisations of the working class etc...; an election in short which guarantees a parliament in whose corridors the urgent demands of the workers are smashed and converted into anti-working class laws, and to which the youth, the poor peasantry and those fighting for women's rights will have no access.

It is a parliament which sets up in advance an impassable and oppressive barrier against the national rights of the Basque people and all the other nationalities. It is a parliament which is trying in the name of "democracy" to protect, through all the repressive institutions the rule of the repressive Francoist oligarchy.

In the name of freedom, amnesty and all our social and political rights

**DON'T VOTE
BOYCOTT THE FRAUDULENT
ELECTIONS**

MONTJUICH

Shortly after being legalised this year the CNT staged a mass meeting in Montjuich. Two hundred thousand people turned up, making it the biggest political meeting in Europe since the war.

Federica Montseny topped the list of speakers at the rally. Montseny was one of the anarchists who, failing to see the immediate need to smash the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie, joined the coalition Republican government as Minister of Health.

Readers of 'Libertarian Spain' might consider that a meeting of this size would have drawn some comment from the press in this country. Coverage in Britain, however, has been remarkable only by its absence: the Times and the Guardian managed a couple of paragraphs and the remainder breathed not a word - including the left press, who are presumably worried that the harsh light of reality will hurt their fraternal organisations, which include such tender flowers as the Liga Comunista Revolucionario.

The Libertarian Spain Committee, and 'Libertarian Spain' have among their objectives an attempt to remedy this situation, by publicising events in Spain through the bulletin, by supplying information to other newspapers and by organising events: that will draw attention to workers struggles in Spain.



INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL

BARCELONA, 25 July. The four day International Libertarian Festival ended here today in the Parque Guell, after attracting 600,000 people from all over Spain.

The closing rally was addressed by members of the CNT Regional Committee, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and by delegations from European libertarian organisations, including the Union des Travailleurs Communiste Libertaire (France), the Swedish Workers Centre and the Anarchist Workers Association / Libertarian Communist Group.

Organised by the CNT's Catalan region, the festival's declared aim was "to obtain the massive participation of the libertarian community, both Spanish and international, and to open a debate around diverse antiauthoritarian and revolutionary options in all countries and - why not ? - a few days of relaxation and fraternal festival."

A major aspect of the festival was a series of debates organised around themes such as anarchosyndicalism, marxism and anarchism, organisation, ecology, culture and women's oppression. Among the films shown during the event was a dramatic reconstruction of the Civil War and the events leading up to it through contemporary newsreels.

By the nature of its participation in the festival the CNT demonstrated its character as a mass social movement, uniting struggles around issues like ecology with its anarcho-syndicalist organisation.

★ ★ ★

part of AWA address -

The Anarchist Workers Association / Libertarian Communist Group of Britain sends fraternal greetings to this international meeting convened by the CNT.

We see the situation in Spain as being the key to the class struggle throughout Europe. Nowhere else are the contradictions in society so profound, nowhere else are the workers combatting the attacks made on them so forcibly.

The struggle for workers power in Spain opens the way for a revolutionary dynamic throughout Europe.

Its successes will finally expose the reformists of the European communist parties and will give rise to enormous stresses in Italy, Greece Poland and France, as well as creating the possibility of a resurgence in Portugal.

For it is vital that the lessons of Portugal are learnt. The compromises with the reformists, the destruction of the gains of the working class, and the tragic set-backs for the self-management, are areas where the CNT is the only force capable of demonstrating, through its practice, the nature of the mistakes that have been made.

Going forward in a clear, principled way, guarding against the dangers of bureaucratisation, uniting the autonomous struggles of women, blacks, gypsies and gays in a revolutionary project, and leading an intransigent struggle against the bourgeoisie and the reformists, the CNT can raise a new banner in the relationship of class forces in the world.

The eyes of the workers of Britain are upon you !

cont. over



On amnesty

We have seen throughout history that in the struggle for socialism, in the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people, the just struggle for equality and libertarian communism, that the only weapon that the bourgeoisie knows is terror, the imprisonment and even murder of the people that speak for social change.

But we warn the bourgeoisie that we, too, know how to organise a terror; and we will use an intransigent struggle of the working people to crush the armed opponents of socialism.'



PRISONERS

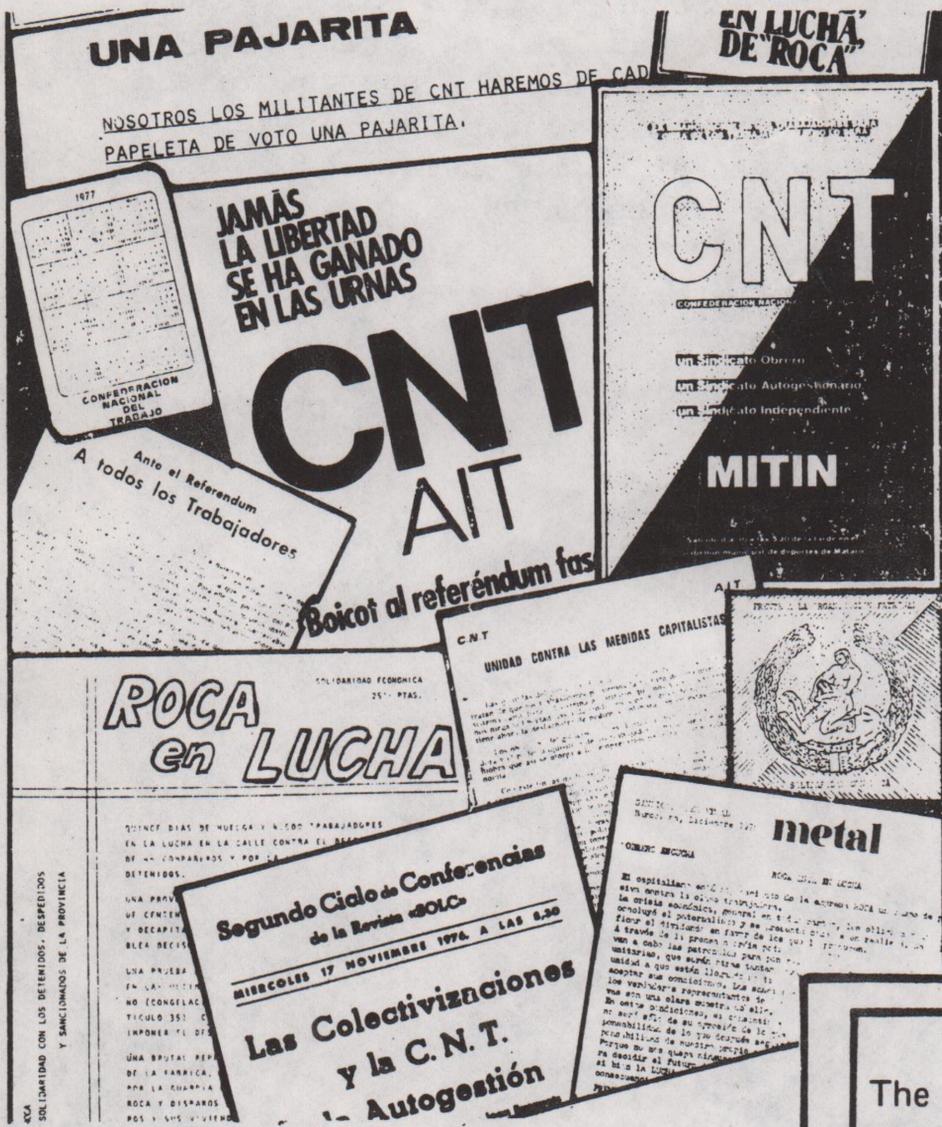
In the course of the election campaign the CNT Madrid committee for Prisoners started to coordinate its work with feminist and gay groups.

10 CNT comrades are in prison in Barcelona, as well as J.Carballo and detainees in Murcia.

Last year, when Santiago Carrillo was saying that the CNT was dead, 50 prisoners were being held. This type of repression was initially responsible for slowing the growth of the CNT.

The comrades held in Barcelona are given as Juan G. Nieto, Jose Palan, Jose M Malaguer, Joaquin G Hernandez, Jose Caravaca, Roque C Perez, Antonio M Aranda, Alfonso Garcia, Carlos Egido and Ramon Trilla.

The bulletin will carry further information on prisoners in future issues.



The
tyranny
of
sTRuCTurEleSSneSS

by
Jo Freeman 5p

In this pamphlet Jo Freeman attempts to sketch out an approach to organisation that would prevent the growth of elitist leaderships—which both highly centralised and highly informal groupings tend to produce. In revulsion from the tyrannical structures of governments, unions and other organisations some anarchists have shied away from any meaningful consideration of self-organisation. The Anarchist Workers Association played no part in the writing of this pamphlet but has found it highly applicable to the ineffectuality of anarchism in Britain in recent decades.

Send 5p + 7p p&p to AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside for a copy. 10 or more 3½p each. Please make cheques/POs payable to: 'AWA General Fund'.

BACKGROUND & ANALYSIS

There has been a great deal written about Spain in the Press recently, both bourgeois and revolutionary papers have done little, however, to inform their readers about the historical, economic and social situation which forms the basis for the 'democratic' manoeuvres of the ruling class and the response of the Spanish workers.

We are therefore glad to print such information from various sources in Europe as well as material from Spain itself.

Although the main focus of the Committee's work must be to support and learn from the development of the Spanish workers' movement, to do this it is useful to try to give militants in Britain an understanding of the international discussion and an insight into the ways the lessons of Spanish experience are being understood and applied internationally.

TO PROPERLY CARRY OUT THIS ASPECT OF OUR WORK WE NEED REGULAR MONITORING OF PAPERS AND JOURNALS, TRANSLATION OF MATERIAL FOR THE BULLETIN etc.

IF YOU HAVE THE ABILITY TO TRANSLATE ANY LANGUAGE (BUT ESPECIALLY SPANISH) PLEASE OFFER YOUR HELP.

A Section from SPAIN AND REVOLUTION by Alfredo M. Bonnano "Anarchismo", Sicily. This article has already had a limited circulation but its demographic/statistical section is well worth a wider circulation.

CHANGES IN THE POPULATION STRUCTURE

The population of Spain is around 34 million, according to the 1970 census. The birth rate is the highest of all the neighbouring countries, with the exception of Portugal. The population increase is around 300,000 inhabitants per year, around 10% calculating the difference between births and emigration... Spain is traditionally a country with a high emigration rate, it is estimated that in the ten yrs. between 1960 and 1970 around 700,000 people emigrated, even temporarily to France, Switzerland, Germany and Belgium. The consequences of population changes are very great. Some provinces gain large numbers in population, others recede. Up to 1960 Madrid had an increase in population of over 236%, Barcelona over 172%, but the greater part of the country had fairly moderate increases. The South had an increase of hardly 10% per annum. After 1960, in the ten years to 1970, this was consolidated. Depopulation increased in the South, in Aragon and New Castille. The maximum points were in the Iberian Cordillera of the East and in the Central Cordillera.

The population of Spain is growing old statistically. Those over 65 who were 5.2% of the population in 1900 and 5.3% in 1930 were 18.2% in 1960. Those over 50 years were 12.5% in 1900 while in 1960 they were 17.2%

The study of the change in the socio-occupational composition is very important. Two analytical methods can be used, either directly through research into the occupations, or

indirectly evaluating the process of urbanisation. The first method indicates general tendencies. Between 1900 and 1960 the active population increased by 43%, against the 64% for the whole of the population. Jobs for young people have had a tendency to decrease, which would mean less occupational possibilities in 1960 than in 1900, which would explain emigration. For the rest the distribution of work in the broad socio-economic categories has changed. But this is late in comparison with other West European countries. We maintain that the process will be accentuated according to estimates for 1976.

The development of the large cities is achieved at the expense of the small ones, but at the same time the number of small and medium rural communities is growing. Spanish towns with a population of over 50,000 inhabitants in 1900 contained 13.4% of the population, in 1969 42.8%. Spain is becoming urbanised at the expense of the country and agricultural sectors in the same way as the neighbouring countries.

AGRICULTURE

More than 60% of the active population was occupied in agriculture at the beginning of the century. In 1967 they had decreased to 27.8%. While at the beginning of the century agriculture represented around half the national product, in 1967 this had gone down to hardly 16.4%. That does not mean, obviously, that entire regions are not still exclusively tied to agriculture. It only means that the great problems which were posed concerning collectivisation in the course of the Civil War

must be out into a new dimension in their recent perspective.

The extension of this disintegration is very varied. There are the areas of the smallholdings of the Galician coast, the areas of the still more or less small farms of the rest of Galicia, Asturias, and the French border. Similar regions, with smallholdings in the South of Catalonia and in the Levante, intermediate areas in the north of Catalonia and Mediterranean Andalusia. On the contrary the farms relatively large in the interior, often more than 20 hectares. The very large farms are the rule in the mountainous provinces of Guadalajara, Ciudad Real, Sevilla, Cadiz. South of the Central Cordillera are the large properties, which exceed 100 hectares on av. It is not possible to make a reasonable evaluation of what way internal emigration will influence, even in a very short time, the structure of these areas.

One could say broadly that the peasant population has diminished in number and has, on average, become older. The number of those active in agriculture has decreased from 4,558,300 in 1900 to 3,488,000 in 1967. This decrease has been much more rapid in the last 20 years. Obviously this means a decrease which varies according to different regions. Weaker in the irrigated such as the Levante, very strong and superior to the national average in the internal regions (Estramadura, New Castile, Old Castile, Leone, Galicia and the Aragon mountains).

The growing old age of the rural population can be indirectly evaluated by the diminution in mortality rates, and the slight tendency to an increase in the birth rate. The characteristic of the past, illiteracy, is tending to disappear, especially in the South. Many peasants are following agricultural study courses. The average income remains far below the national average. The presence of the State in the agricultural organisations has made itself felt in the past ten years through various interventions, mostly of a marginal character concerning infrastructure, but financing the acquisition of machinery which obviously serves to accelerate the process of economic development and re-enter the structure of the project. Up to 1959 motorised cultivators, threshing machines and irrigation motors, did not exist in Spain. In 1969 there were respectively 63,650, 30,000 and 167,650 of these. Unquestionably Spanish agriculture has been submitted to a remarkable push towards structural modernisation, both of its methods and of the mentality or management itself. The push comes from the considerable increase in consumer demand, from the wealth from tourism (to think only of the fishing).

but the obstacles are considerable: the cultivable surface is conditioned by precise historical divisions which are not easily changeable, too old peasants, a diminishing rural population, and a lack of technical knowledge.

INDUSTRY

Slowly this has become the principal economic activity of Spain. The number of industrial wageearners is continually increasing. From 15% at the beginning of the century, they were 23.5% in 1950 and 36.4% in 1967. After 1956 industrial production graphs took on a rapidly increasing rhythm of development. After centuries of protectionism, the intervention of foreign investment was greatly increased in the mineral, metallurgical and manufacturing sectors. This is mainly English French and Belgian capital, while American intervention is less direct. The integration of the Spanish industrial economy into the international market is becoming more and more visible. On the other hand internal resources are still considerable. The mining industry employs at least 60,000 workers in 4,000 sites. There are 100,000 workers employed in engineering and metal working. It has been the steel industry which has, with a real production explosion between 1966 and 1968, reduced the imports deficit. In this sector gigantic international interests are involved. FIAT have installed the SEAT at Barcelona, SIMCA are producing BARRIEROS lorries in Madrid, RENAULT is working in Valladolid, and CITROEN in Vigo. The textile sector employs 221,000 people, the chemical sector 162,000 and the construction sector reached 751,000 in 1960. These are impressive figures which give the measure of the great industrial take-off in Spain in the last few years, Spanish pepper-mills which employ around 300,000 workers (including the wood industry) are often without competition in the US, French and German markets. Heavy industry in Spain has developed from 352 milliards of pesetas in 1964 to 595 in 1969. The rate of increase was 9.8% in 1965, 9.3% in 1966, 5.5% in 1967, 6.1% in 1968 and 11.2% in 1969. The sectors with an accelerated increase are the basic ones: steel cement, petrol, metalworking (ship and car) and the chemical sector.

TOURISM

Tourism in Spain occupies a special place, it being capable (along with emigrants' returns) of systematically balancing the commercial trade deficit. In spite of various attempts made by revolutionaries all over the world to put a brake on it through propaganda and acts of sabotage, we are faced with an enormous

wave of people who go off to Spain every year for holidays. It is not possible to reach precise conclusions about the effects of Spanish tourism on the economy. It is not possible to calculate the employment it determines, especially because the work is seasonal. It remains to be said that it was tourism itself which accelerated the modernisation of the Mediterranean coastal regions and which is one of the weightier elements in the possible future integration of SPAIN into the economy of the European democratic countries.

WHO SUPPLIES SPAIN

Between 1961 and 1969 the value of imports has quadrupled. If imports are classified according to country of origin we can see that Spain acquires the major part of the products it needs from a small number of countries. In 1969 the US led the field with 17.2% of all imports, then came W. Germany (13.3%), France (10.1%), Britain (7.5%), and Italy (5.9%). After 1969 the distribution was slightly changed with the increasing presence of Middle Eastern and Japanese suppliers. However, trade is still strongly unbalanced, since these countries do not absorb many Spanish produced exports.

WHO BUYS FROM SPAIN

In the last few years there has been a decrease of exports to West European countries, and particularly to Britain, and there has been a relative increase of sales to the American continent and to certain African countries. In fact the US constitutes the biggest market, with 15% of Spanish exports in 1969, followed by a considerable increase in later years. Then came W. Germany, Britain, France, Holland and Italy.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE NEW ECONOMIC BALANCE IN SPAIN

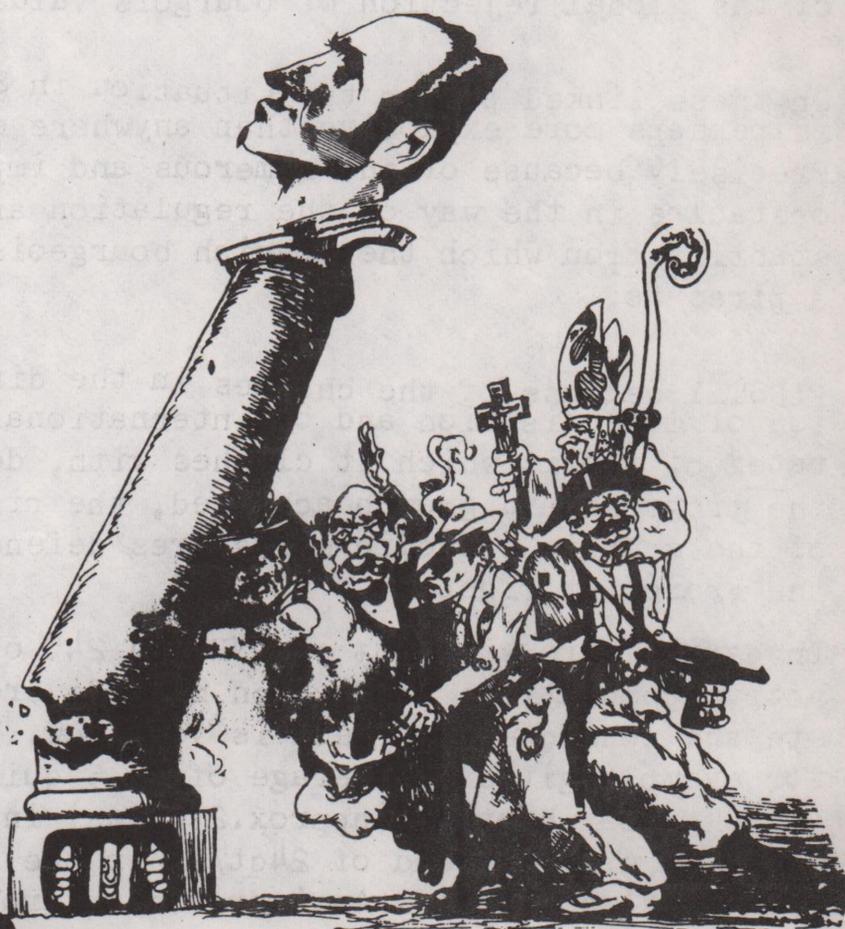
The internal political changes in Spain are directed, in the first place at avoiding a hold-up in the economic development which appears to hold a great deal of promise. It is intended to strengthen internal developments and to ensure the provision of supplies from abroad whilst taking into account the deficit in the balance of payments which can never be covered by flow of money from emigrants abroad and from the tourist industry. The modernisation of the industrial infrastructure in Spain is not as impressive as the foreign ob-

servers may initially think, since the productivity indices can be explained by the incredible exploitation which Spanish working people are subject to. Positive elements (industrial achievements) and negative ones (intense exploitation) will probably be mixed together in a so-called democratic future for Spain. In this way, even the industries in difficulties, such as textiles and mining hope to solve their problems, whilst agriculture will have to find a solution in increasingly difficult outlets.

The countries interested in supporting the Spanish economy (the US first and foremost, the EEC countries, Middle Eastern countries and Japan) all wish to witness the realisation of 'democratisation'. The old authoritarian administration of power, and nostalgic returns to strict fascist methods do not seem probably. Even the Church with her 'long hand' the Opus Dei, which represents an economic and technocratic force of the first order in Spain, has also changed towards this type of behaviour and is hoping for a revision of the Spanish Concordat. Wound around the picture of the dead dictator are memories which, if not nostalgic, at least do not damn the man who, in the final analysis, has not only maintained 'peace' (that of the cemetery) for 40 years, but has also prepared a programmed progressive development without excessive leaps which constantly disturb the dreams of the national and international bourgeoisie.

.....

Nov. 1975.



SPAIN

For twenty years Spain has been involved in the same sociological changes as the rest of Western Europe. Industrialisation and urbanisation.

In 1940 the rural population properly speaking made up 18.4% and the semi-urban 32.8%. That is, of the total population, almost half were urban dwellers. Thirty years later the urban population was 66.5% of the whole against 11% rural and 22.5% semi-urban. To stress the scope of this movement its necessary to add that the transfer is greatest to the most industrialised regions - Catalonia, Castile, Valencia and Biscay.

In relation to this change the wage-earners (in secondary and tertiary sectors) are the majority of the active population of Spain; the tertiary sector (Services etc.) moreover has grown more rapidly than the secondary sector.

The political consequences of these changes are obvious:-

- the reorientation of a large section of the bourgeoisie in favour of European integration and representative democracy and its corollaries (reformist unions and political parties to hold the working class.

- the formation of a new mass movement everywhere in Europe. Created by the constraints imposed by the development of capitalist society, with the characteristic of the global rejection of bourgeois values.

On these linked points the situation in Spain is perhaps more explosive than anywhere else. Precisely because of the numerous and important obstacles in the way of the regulation and stabilisation which the Spanish bourgeoisie aspires to.

FIRSTLY because of the changes in the direction of modernisation and of international rates of profit which it clashes with, despite the progress and growth achieved, the rigidity of the archaic economic structures defended by the Francoist right.

In agriculture with 13% of GNP and 24% of the active population, production methods are obsolete and consequently yield is very low. Wheat for example gives an average of 15.5 quintals (1550Kg) per hectare (approx. 2½ acres) in 1974/5 compared with a yield of 24qt/ha in the EEC countries as a whole. An increase in productivity is difficult with the present structure of ownership: 5 million proprietors have less

than a hectare and a half (ED. approx 4 acres), whereas 400 proprietors have more than 5000 hectares (17500 acres) (A process of redistribution is slowly underway). Besides the social drawbacks, the weakness of agriculture obliges the country to import food to satisfy domestic demand which is developing expectations of higher living standards.

The export of finished products and machinery have strongly developed in recent years, but they are realised by a small number of enterprises, and within limits, an improvement in the balance of payments is possible even if a large number of companies tried to orient to exporting. The interest in investment produced fear of foreign competition, marked by a fall in the competitiveness of Spanish companies. The size of enterprises - 95% employ less than 50 workers - measured against the size of European companies prevents their penetration of foreign markets.

SECONDLY the aspirations for autonomy are founded solely, in Spain, in the development of capitalist society but also in the anarchist tradition. Everyone knows that in this respect Spain is unique in the world as a country where the libertarian movement had a mass base.

The Spanish bourgeoisie desperately hopes to navigate between the new mass movements, the rigidity and the sociological deadweight inherited from the past, the economic crisis (inflation rate approached 20%, unemployment 1.2 million). In this fairy tale voyage the bourgeois have two cards to play, the middle classes and the reformist parties and unions. These cards, contrary to some opinions, are not negligible. Industrialisation and urbanisation have created a 'new middle class' (mainly in the service sector) which did not exist in 1940 and which provides a factor of stability. The Communist and Socialist Parties moreover, without much embarrassment at the terms, are prepared to offer social peace in exchange for legalisation and their representation in the system. The process has advanced slowly - because of fear of Francoist reaction. But it is definitely underway-

This manoeuvre has a number of risks. In effect the CP and SP (and their corresponding unions) have not really organised the working class in Spain, as they have done in other European countries. The working class has

escaped the great game. On another side the intermediate classes (service sector, middle classes of the small towns and countryside) are fully aware of the 'moderation' to be suffered but also of the constraints of capitalist society. In consequence these layers produce contradictory currents. Neither because of their nature (heterogeneous) nor because of the place they occupy in society are they unconditionally tied to the govt's political approach.

Everything depends upon the workers movt. and its self-organisation in the struggles it faces. This article attempts to give a first approach to that question.



After the check to the revolution in 1937, and the fascist victory in 1939, the spanish workers movement was not completely destroyed, during the 2nd World War and up to the middle 50's the CNT, the principal organisation of the Catalan proletariat, remained active in Catalonia, Madrid and in the Valencian region. In that period only the libertarian movement carried out the social struggle on the terrain of guerilla warfare.

But repression, isolating it, triumphed over the workers' movements resulting from the vanguard activity. After the general strike of 52 led by the CNT (which then had 50,000 members in Catalonia) a new wave of repression smashed it (200 killed in Barcelona alone), the destruction of communications, breaking up the movement. Since 1939 hundreds of thousands of comrades have been executed.

This crushing of the libertarian and workers movement had the secondary consequence of giving rise to groups based solely on the armed struggle, and, on the other hand, some CNT militants argued for participation in the (fascist - Ed.) vertical syndicates in the hope of being able to transform them, but the structures triumphed over these individuals.

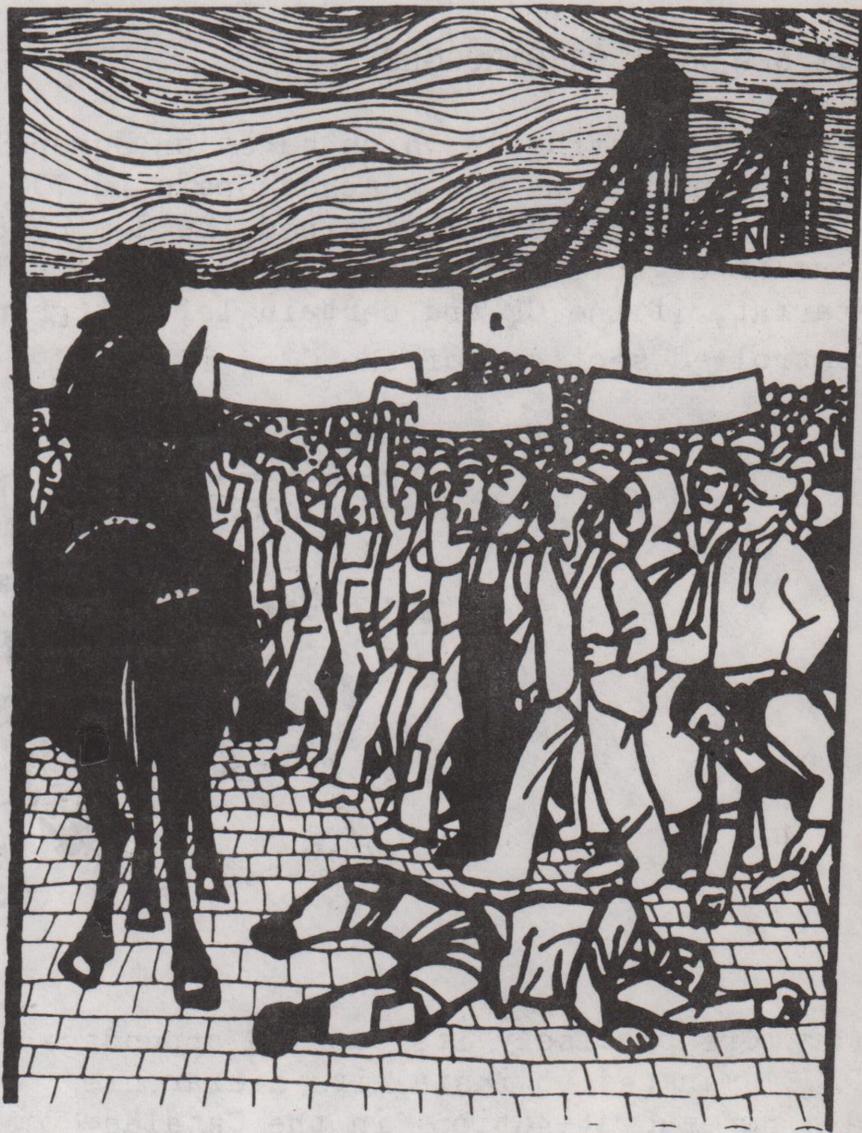
THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW WORKERS MOVEMENT

THE WORKERS COMMISSIONS

The new workers movement in Spain began in the early 60's. In this period Spain underwent an industrial boom prompted by US and European investment, a whole new series of factories were built, bringing the modernisation of old units of production, economic restructuring, big social and demographic changes and an opening to the world market. The strike of the Asturian miners was a detonator, following their example the workers

movement reorganised throughout the country in the form of COMISIONES OBRERAS - workers commissions - based on mass assemblies: the CO's group all the radicalised workers on the basis of general assemblies of the militants, the assemblies were autonomous - of the parties, the vertical syndicates - the CO's took the initiative in calling general assemblies of workers.

The key point is, and its very important, that the movement of COs in the early 60s developed and made systematic in the minds of the workers the principle of power lying in the general assemblies; of direct democracy and non-delegation of powers; of workers' autonomy. Through the CO movement there began the spread of the new mass movement. The workers learned from the



struggles which took place throughout Europe - 68 in France, 69 in Italy, 74 in Portugal were the most marked of these phenomena.

The development of the CO phenomenon forced all the political groups and opposition unions to become involved in this dynamic by trying to create or capture COs. Nevertheless the particular character of the CO organisation made it very difficult to transform them into the particular hunting ground of this or that political or union organisation despite their blandishments.

After the eruption of the years 61-62, the movement experienced a phase of withdrawal.

It was in this framework that the PCE (Communist Party) began a successful attempt to control certain sectors of the COs (Bas Llobregat) which then passed under its reformist orientation to a greater extent.

In 67, the government began a measure of liberalisation and introduced a law for 'Union Reform' which instituted election of delegates to office in the official syndicates. The PCE profited and managed to persuade some of the COs to participate in the official elections. The CO's presented candidates and many were elected, but immediately the police launched a wave of repression and numerous delegates of the COs were arrested. Shrugging off this repression various 'fronts', very important for their radical influence, appeared among the COs; the youth and the workers districts.

THE NEW WAVE OF STRUGGLE

The wave of struggle which burst on Europe at the end of the 60s reached Spain in 70. At this time, the COs remained the dominant form of organisation among the Spanish proletariat, if the CP and certain leftist groups controlled sections of the COs, if the CP



(or more precisely its Catalan appendage - PSUC) managed to instal its hierarchies and bureaucratisation in the Catalan Commissions with the creation of CONC (Nat. CO of Catalonia), a permanent leadership in place of the traditional direct coordination between the factories, nevertheless the bulk of the movement was still autonomous.

At the same time the student movement came onto the scene with the development of the ACRATAS movement in Madrid in 68.

In 70, Spain experienced a series of very hard struggles accompanied by an extremely brutal repression: Vigo (2 dead), Madrid, Barcelona a Termica (1 dead), Grenada (3 dead), Seville a la Carmona (2 dead) etc.

The murder of a student militant in Madrid provoked a student general strike in the whole of Spain which lasted 3 months.

It was significant that not only were the strikes widespread throughout the country,

the organisational form was based upon general assemblies, the strikes lasted several months, the confrontations with the police were almost systematic, and above all the demands by their content show the qualitative level of the movement:-

- lowering of working hours: 44hr week; one months holiday pay.

- easing of working conditions, slow down of work rhythm, opposition to time and motion studies

- equal wage increases.

- solidarity against the bosses and the police repression.

THE SITUATION BEFORE THE DEATH OF FRANCO

This phenomenon of brutal repression provoked in reaction to it an orientation towards armed struggle by some groups: PCI; MIL; ETA; FRAP. The COs at this time were still dominant, nevertheless the pressure of the CP provoked a number of splits in its conflict with the numerous groups which developed in the 60s.

The renewal of the workers movement provoked many splits in the CP on the one hand and in the HOAC (Catholic Workers Action) on the other. The CP gave rise to the FLP which in its turn led to two rival Trotskyist groups the Communist League (LC) and the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR).

In 64 a split in the CP in Madrid produced the PCML (FRAP).

In 67 it was in Barcelona this time that there appeared the group UNIDADE from the PSUC (Catalan CP), which produced the Internationalist CP (PCI), and in turn this group gave birth to three marxist leninist groups

- PTE (Labour Party)
- PCI (proletarian line)
- **Bandera Rojo** (Red Flag)

At the same time the HOAC in Navarre gave rise to two marxist leninist groups: ORT and MCE. In Catalonia HOAC produced QUE HACIER?

(WHAT IS TO BE DONE?): this latest groups was the origin of part of the MIL and the GOA with a councillist and libertarian orientation, another section of the ANTI-CAPITALIST PLATFORM animated the marxist-leninist group OIC which had councillist splitting off from it following strikes at Vitoria.

The same period the PNV (bourgeois Basque Nationalist Party) underwent an important split creating the ETA. Also the UGT (social democratic union federation) reappeared in its historic centre of Asturias and the USO appeared in the banking sector.

The libertarian movement itself developed considerably in parallel with the struggles of the new mass movement, not only in the factories but among white collar workers, students and in the working class communities. A new advance for the movement occurred with the ACRATAS in the University of Madrid 68/69.

Nonetheless, during the period the libertarian movement was extremely divided into a multitude of autonomous or anarchist groups. Various initiatives were made to create a coordination between them - the bulletins "Opcion", "CNT Information" etc. but the result was not significant.

To sum up, before the death of Franco the following characterised the workers movt.

- a level of struggle which identified the Spanish workers as among the most combative in Europe.

- the strengthening of the CP control of the communications of the COs which were then the principal organisations of the proletariat.

- the political reorientation of the working class set off by the rise of the COs; this was in part a response and a protest against the bureaucratic hand on the CP on the movement.

- the rise of an important but uncoordinated libertarian movement.

C. N. T.



A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
COMITE NACIONAL
SECRETARIADO PERMANENTE

THE DEATH OF FRANCO AND THE EXPLOSION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS

The removal of the Caudillo (Leader) provoked an acceleration of Spain's evolution in the sense of 'democratisation' and the opening to Europe, this political orientation of the Spanish bourgeoisie, necessarily requires a close control of the working class through the 'workers' parties and unions.

Nevertheless the government realised that the State of disintegration of the vertical syndicates gave a strong hand to the CP and decided in favour of a number of unions, its because of this they used the stick and carrot, playing each organisation against the others, legalising some, banning others, so the UGT, USO, COs, CNT benefited from a semi-legality. The strains of this produced a series of splits in the COs - CSCO, (PCE); SUCO (PTE); CO autonomous (OICE).

At the same time an accelerated politicisation in the working class, an extension of struggle, the organisation on a national scale of the various unions. The death of Franco was the awakening of the Spanish working class.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE C.N.T.

In spite of different tendencies, the CNT was almost nonexistent as an organisation at the death of Franco, the old militants in exile maintained structures empty of militant content the libertarian groups were unable to coordinate. The death of Franco opened new perspectives for the CNT

One can date the process of reconstruction from December 75, several weeks after the death of Franco, almost 400 militants met in Madrid and constituted a local federation of the CNT, very quickly other meetings followed: in Barcelona in February 800 militants, in Valencia etc. Soon the CNT was reconstituted in every region - Central, Catalonia, Aragon, Levant, Asturias, Andalusia, Basque Country, Galicia, Estramadura, Canaries etc. In every big city - Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Malaga, Murcia, Alicante, Bilbao, Saragossa, Valladolid, San Sebastian, Oviedo etc. etc. created local federations, branches, district organisations. One year after the first meeting in Madrid, the CNT was reconstituted on the national level, uniting at that time (Dec.76) 20,000 militants (4,000 in Catalonia, 2,000 in Madrid) producing dozens of publications, at that time the national organ CNT sold 20,000 copies (in May 77 this was 150,000-Eds); SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA in Catalonia sold 15,000 etc. The sections were not at that point nationally integrated but several of them were very strong - eg.

Construction, Engineering, Education etc.

RIVISTA ANARCHICA

An intense discussion is going on inside the CNT-the 250 delegates to the first Catalan regional plenum met for 8 days, in effect there are several currents inside the organisation - the FAI in exile; the group around the journal FRENTE LIBETARIO; the revolutionary syndicalists; the libertarian communist current (MCL); a current of autonomous groups opposed to syndicalism; these currents are involved in the debates around the orientation and development of the CNT, at the same time the CNT has been involved in important struggles such as ROCA and TARABUSI. The debate and action give hope of leading to a revolutionary workers organisation built on the basis of working class autonomy, the CNT has the task of developing the self-organisation of the workers on the basis of the general assemblies.

In this sense, despite the struggles that occur elsewhere, that the CNT represents today the most advanced form of autonomous workers organisation in Europe.



A Libertarian alternative to Teaching ?

OBJECTIVES FOR THE C.N.T. TEACHING UNION
IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INSTITUTIONALIZED
EDUCATION AND FOR A LIBERTARIAN
APPRENTICESHIP.

(From a leaflet of the CNT Education Union
in Madrid, June 1976)

We see in our union an organisation with the structures of a federal, self-managed society. So as to get away from the possession of specialised culture our union depends on organisation of all persons in teaching - teachers, students, psychologists, workers in administration or maintenance - (included in this category are parents). We are opposed to the division by class and sector into "teachers' movements", "non-teaching staff", "parents", etc.

This anarchosyndicalist organisation corresponds to our idea of the process of revolutionary selfmanagement in the existing system, which depends as much on the struggles of exploited people for education, as on the ending of class society, authoritarianism and the boredom of education. It also implies the creativity of a libertarian apprenticeship.

The CNT Education Union denounces by direct action (immediate action to impose alternative solutions - avoiding the separation of ends and means) the class and bureaucratic role of education now. Assemblies are the only area of decision for autonomous syndicalism, a sovereignty which allows no mediating body.

We struggle to develop a collective awareness of how culture is developed from all people and is used against them. Revolutionary struggle in education has to go through the destruction of education as such - as a hierarchical institution - and work for free apprenticeship, in particular so that professors and technocrats disappear. This is the only guarantee for the destruction of his dialectical opposite: the student as the raw material of the education industrial complex.

Our activity, as a group of individuals linked to the educational process, for social emancipation will adopt the following immediate objectives :

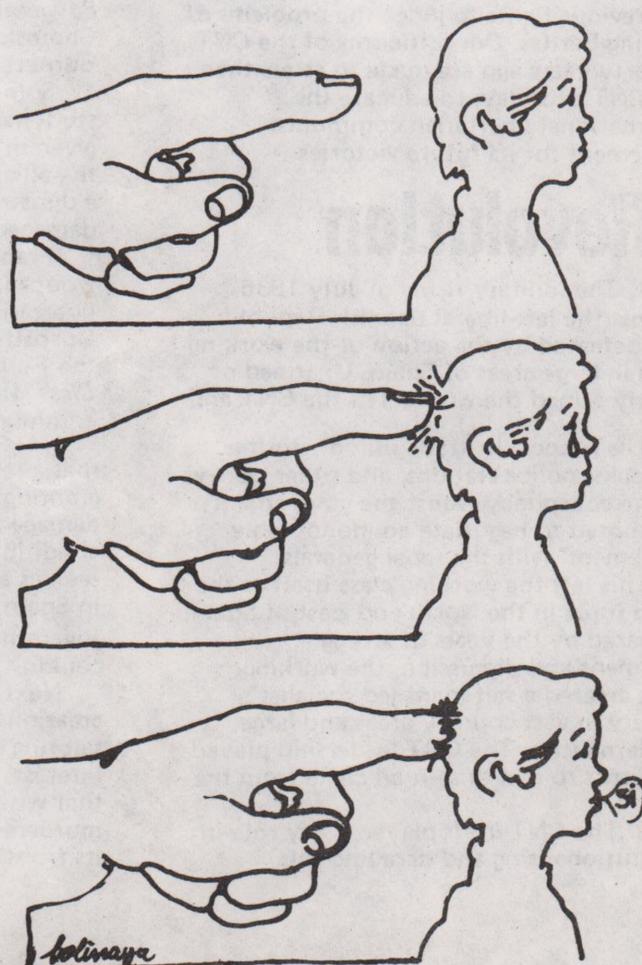
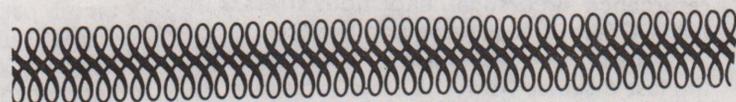
- struggle against the maintaining or aggravating social differences
- against manipulation of children when they cannot oppose adults physically or mentally
- against all selection which is present in every system of institutional education, beginning with pre-school education up to university; which is obvious in the cloistered and authoritarian behaviour which we struggle to destroy.
- against the division of in-training apprenticeship timetables, subjects, curricula and all ritualisations at school.
- against the system of exams and other forms of assessment
- against titles, hierarchies and privileges
- against exploitation of apprentices by state or commerce
- against taxes, fees, grants and other forms of monopolizing and discriminatory commercialism in apprenticeships
- against academic isolation for scientific research in relation to general work and knowledge in life
- against immiserating salaries, the intensive exploitation especially for women used as auxiliary manual workers in teaching in general and in cleaning and maintenance in particular
- against differences in salary between teaching and industry
- against authoritarianism and elitist and repressive activity of the scholastic/academic apparatus
- against the sterilising differentiation of roles attributed to teachers and pupils
- against ideological confessionalism and all sorts of dogmatism
- against the physical and cultural separation of teaching centres from local communities

The CNT Education Union struggles for the restoration of apprenticeship to its authentic protagonists : individuals and natural groups federating freely. For the egalitarian redistribution of educational resources; for the integration of body and head work; for the unity of all those affected by the educational system in order to free it; for complete individual cultural and trade union freedom; for permanent criticism of establishments; for the continuous experimentation with new forms of apprenticeship in its natural environment, based on play, art, mutual respect and help; for the abolition of all selling of work for wages and the commercialisation of learners, and knowledge as merchandise.

The CNT Education Union will stimulate the development of its militants toward revolutionary objectives and will contribute to spreading the work of libertarian apprenticeship amongst anarcho-syndicalists and all workers.

In this perspective the Union has no sense in itself, but only as one branch of the coordinated struggle of other workers in other industries in the CNT & IWMA for the recuperation of economic and cultural gains (sequestered by capital and the State) by egalitarian communities freely federated together.

On the road to libertarian apprenticeship and self management the militants of the CNT Education Union propose and accept united action with all who want the emancipation of natural communities and the restitution to these groups of their rightful cultural and apprenticeship functions.



The fight for workers' power in Spain

—ANARCHIST WORKER July 1977

Weak link

The history of Spain's working class isn't of interest only to anarchists and the libertarian communist currents leaving the anarchist movement behind.

Spain is today the weak link in European capitalism. The fight for workers power in Spain opens up the prospect of a resurgence in Portugal, enormous stresses in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and France.

A genuine workers power would strip the last disguise from the state capitalist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe. It would leave the western CPs, who at the moment oscillate between being the Leagues of Russian Empire Loyalists and giving their services to their native rulers, high and dry.

Spain is once again the key as it was forty years ago. The problems in Spain—how to make the revolution, how to safeguard it, the dangers of the state capitalist parties destroying the revolution from within—are all the same. This has been proved by the events of the last two years in Portugal. The collapse of fascism unleashed a tide of working-class initiative, factories, farms, housing, transport—in every field the working class began to create a society of producers, of equals. Around all this the various forces of 'order' strove to reestablish the power of Capital.

For this reason we look at this history of previous fights to judge the problems of coming battles. Our criticisms of the CNT of forty years ago are made to strengthen the CNT of today, to educate the international libertarian communist movement for its future victories.

Revolution

1. The military rising of July 1936 against the left-liberal Spanish Republic was defeated by the action of the working class in large areas of Spain. Unarmed or poorly armed the workers of the CNT and

the UGT (socialist trade union) stormed barracks, police stations, and other centres of the conspiracy whilst the government attempted to negotiate an 'honourable settlement' with the rebel generals.

This left the working class itself as the main force in the North and East of Spain. Prepared by the years of struggle, argument and discussion, the working class created a self-managed socialist society in vast country areas and large modern cities. The CNT leadership played no direct role in this—it all came from the base.

2. The CNT itself played a key role in institutionalising and derailing this

movement. It agreed to set up 'revolutionary committees' which were made up of representatives of the parties and the union hierarchies. These were not democratic organs of workers power—which are always based on the factories and streets that the working class lives in, electing delegates and mandating them.

These committees were mini-parliaments. In one area where the CP represented nothing at all, the CNT would give them some seats in the hope that in another area the CP would return the favour.

3. The CNT accepted the CP and Liberal left arguments that 'first we defeat the revolt then we can create a better society'. This led to the republican capitalist parties taking part in the committees. It led to the dismantling of those areas of socialism that had been created. Usually the CP played hatchet man, the CNT kept quiet and counselled 'moderation'—all this to please their liberal allies in the Republic and so as not to 'shock' foreign governments.

4. This cooperation in miniparliaments led quite naturally to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (there were anarchist ministers of Prisons, Health, and Commerce). They were really just hostages by this time but they did provide a 'left' cover to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

Defeat

Millions of words have been written on this tragic collapse of the CNT. The best books are *The Revolution and Civil War in Spain* by Boue and Temime; *American Power and the New Mandarins* by Noam Chomsky pp 66-129; *Grand Camouflage* by Burnett Bolloten.

Some particular points that are worth studying for working-class militants are given in Chomsky's book. He shows that the alliance with the liberals not only had a disastrous effect on the revolution, it also damaged the efforts against the fascists.

Franco was using a large number of troops from Spain's Moroccan colony. The libertarian communists of the Friends of Durrutti (the 'left opposition' in the CNT) the FIJL (Libertarian Youth) and the paper *Class War* edited by veteran libertarian communist Camillo Berneri were all arguing

that a revolutionary policy of immediately granting freedom to these colonies would damage the fascist forces and create the conditions for a war in their rear. This was seen as another thing that 'liberal' opinion in Spain and the western 'democratic' governments would not tolerate and so it couldn't be done!

Next, the CNT went along with the creation of a 'traditional' army. Officers, saluting etc were all reestablished in the interests of 'discipline'! Small wonder, then, that with its gains taken away, its militants murdered by the Communist Secret Police, its front line units disbanded or refused

arms and supplies, the revolutionary working class movement was defeated and the struggle against fascism irreparable weakened.

Broue and Temime and Bolloten are quite clear on the way that the CNT ministers and the other leaders dealt with the libertarian communist opposition to their treachery. The libertarian communist opposition to the counter-revolution was making headway in breaking the CP and SP youth and sections of the UGT from their Stalinist and reformist leaders. In the spring of 1937, pacts on revolutionary unity around a programme for workers power were agreed in Catalonia, the Asturias and Levante. The revolutionary politics of the libertarian communists were making inroads in key areas.

The CNT itself began the counter offensive. Those papers and journals which supported the libertarian communists were sabotaged by withdrawal of subsidies, production of 'loyal' alternatives, statements from the CNT leaders attacking them and so on. In early summer 1937, the Spanish Revolution was delayed for 40 years. In May the CP brought in its elite units (naturally they were better armed and equipped than the revolutionaries who fought at the front against the fascists) to seize the key points of Spain's second city—Barcelona. The city was the centre of the CNT and because of this history was the bastion of the revolutionary libertarian communists.

The CNT workers rallied to the call to the streets. Barricades were set up. Communist and bourgeois parties declared dissolved. The fighting was bitter but once again the CNT played a key role. It told the workers to go home. To avoid 'provocations'. Whilst the CNT leaders strove to disarm the workers, the CP

murder gangs killed Berneri and the other editors of *Class War*, half the FIJL regional committee and many other libertarian communist militants from the Friends of Durrutti.

The 'mopping up' that followed in the next few months destroyed the last collectives, broke up the last centres of the libertarian communists and then the various trotskyist groups who had oscillated between 'influencing the CNT' by 'critical support for its leadership' and supporting the libertarian communists.

It took two years for Franco to occupy the whole of Spain but his victory was not over the Spanish working class—that had already been defeated.

Today

And today? The CP announces that it's totally in favour of 'democracy'; that it will serve Franco's hier—Juan Carlos; that it's not for class war but for 'normalisation'; that it will, very reasonably, give up the clenched fist salute—symbol of working class power and the final gesture of many a militant before a fascist (or stalinist) firing squad—and perhaps the fascists will reciprocate by giving up their raised arm. All these problems can be worked out by reasonable men. And as long as they can exclude the working class then they can come to mutually acceptable solutions.

The CNT rally a few months ago shows that their wishes are already doomed. The Spanish working class is coming back onto the scene. If it is to win out over so many enemies and false friends then the lessons of Spain 36/7 and Portugal 74/5 have to be learned well. The working class must manage its own struggles, democracy in the class is the key to organising to win and to hold onto gains. No pacts with 'progressive capitalists', 'democratic monarchs' and liberal priests. ●●●●●

from the archives

In the summer of 1937 a manifesto of communist unity was distributed in the name of the 'Friends of Durrutti', the POUM and certain elements of the Libertarian Youth. Communist Union declared amongst other things "It is the treason of Garcia Oliver, of Federica Montseny and of the leadership of the CNT which allowed the stalinists and assault guards to commit the cowardly murder of Camillo Berneri and the young Francisco Ferrer ... Since the 19 July the anarchist leadership has capitulated many times in front of the bourgeoisie and, in the name of anti-fascist unity they have arrived at the point where they have betrayed the working class. Anti-fascist unity has been only submission to the bourgeoisie ; it has entailed the military victory of Franco and the triumph of the counter revolution in the rear ... To fight Franco one has to fight Companys and Cabalero. To beat fascism there is the need to crush the bourgeoisie and its stalinist and socialist allies. The capitalist state needs to be destroyed completely, to be replaced by workers power rising from the rank and file workers committees. A political anarchism has been defeated... To beat the bourgeoisie and its allies: stalinists, socialists and CNT leaders, workers must break with traitors of any hue or colour. Their vanguard, that is, the militant revolutionaries: 'Friends of Durutti', POUM and the youth must regroup to elaborate a programme of proletarian revolution."



The immediate cause of the appearance of the LIBERTARIAN SPAIN bulletin was the report back to the British Libertarian Communist movement on the International Festival in Barcelona (see article). The decision arose from the discussion held at that meeting.

On page two we have given the address of the appeal for funds to aid the paper "CNT". Elsewhere in the bulletin we have made the point that we need help from those willing and able to undertake the translation of articles and to monitor news from Spain. Obviously the list of ways in which the Spanish movement can be aided and our work developed is as long as the imagination and effort of the british libertarian movement.

We need help to distribute and sell the bulletin - single copies 30p inc. post bundles 5 for £1, c.w.o.

^{shall} We have the resources of the AWA/LCG centre, at present being built in London, at our disposal, and we hope that having office facilities will allow us to produce regular bulletins, news releases etc.

We hope to be able to develop direct links between the sections of the CNT and their trade union militant counterparts in this country.

We intend to organise tours for speakers from the CNT, MCL and Mujeres Libres.

To do each and every one of these and to develop the contacts and resources to enable us to mount extensive work in the British working class movement we shall need help.

Future issues of the Bulletin will carry important articles on the mujeres libres, the militia organisation, the Durruti column, as well as current news and pictures direct from comrades in Barcelona.

Until building work allows us to move into our 'office' please send all communications offering help, news, ideas etc. to:

Flat 1,
Pearson House,
5, Huntley Street,
London W.C.1.

Orders for copies of this bulletin (with cash please) to:

LSC,
136 Burley Road,
LEEDS 4.

What we stand for

The CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo - National Workers Confederation), the main force in the Spanish working class up to the defeat in the Civil War of 1936/9, is once again building a mass workers movement.

We aim to publicise all revolutionary initiatives in Spain to the British working class and to give material support where needed.

In particular, we wish to highlight those comrades in Spain who have learnt from the mistakes of the past and are now building a libertarian communist movement as part of the new mass workers movement.

AIMS

1. To support and publicise revolutionary initiatives in Spain.
2. To give material aid to the revolutionary sections of the Spanish working class movement, particularly the libertarian communists (MCL).
3. To support the Spanish working class in combating the "Austerity Measures" (Social Contract) of the Spanish ruling class.
4. To develop solidarity and active links between the British and Spanish workers' struggles.
5. To develop a discussion with Spanish libertarian communists and give them concrete assistance in their publications and political action.

The Libertarian Spain Committee will work as closely as possible with the Spanish aid activity of the European libertarian communists, in particular that of the French UTCL and OCL.

Whilst the Committee invites support on the basis of these aims, in the event of pressing matters of great urgency, be they particular struggles such as the strikes at ROCA or combating new measures of repression such as those recently experienced in the Basque country (Euskadi), the Cttee will endeavour to secure joint activity with the widest possible range of collaborators from the libertarian and revolutionary movement.

30.7.77.