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NEWS FROM

# LIBERTARIAN SPAIN

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## URGENT

### TO ALL OUR READERS: ALL LOVERS OF FREEDOM

There is one great force in the world WITH MUSCLE that refuses to play by the rules laid down by THE ESTABLISHMENT: a force that confronts State Capitalism--"Welfare" Capitalism and "Free Enterprise" Capitalism--with a really humanistic, revolutionary economic and social alternative: LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM -- THE FREE SOCIETY.

This force is the Libertarian Movement of Spain -- The National Confederation of Labor (CNT), the network of anarchist groups, libertarian neighborhood centers and the hundreds of other associations throughout Spain.

Newspapers, television and radio--"right" wing and "left" wing authoritarian political parties and groups-- all of them have either distorted or blacked out the role of the CNT and the Libertarian Movement in the life of the Spanish people. They are afraid of its growing influence and are determined to crush our movement.

NEWS FROM LIBERTARIAN SPAIN provides the information the news media fail to give us. Our growing list of readers attests to interest around the country in learning the facts about the revolutionary labor movement in Spain.

We thank our readers who send in subscriptions and contributions. BUT NOT ENOUGH IS COMING IN TO ASSURE OUR CONTINUATION BEYOND ANOTHER FEW ISSUES.

We have relied on voluntary contributions until now. We hope that we can continue to do so. If we must limit ourselves to subscribers only, we will do so with regret.

WE NEED YOUR CONTRIBUTION OR SUBSCRIPTION NOW.

The Editors

CNT PLENUMS OUTLINE PROGRAM

CNT (Organ of the National Confederation of Labor-- December, 1978) reports the proceedings of the Regional Federation of Asturias and the National Plenum of Regions from which we extract the following highlights:

ASTURIAN PLENUM

- The Plenum decided to re-structure the organization by promoting closer coordination between the Asturian, Leon and Palencia local federation and the Regional Center.
- Step-up cultural and labor activities in rejuvenated CNT centers.
- Reaffirmed adherence to the Anarcho-Syndicalist International Workingmen's Association.
- Stressed respect for the right of different groups and tendencies to expound their own ideas and pledged fraternal solidarity with the Libertarian Movement as a whole.
- Elected a new Regional Secretary, treasurer, and new editor for the organ of the Asturian Federation, Accion Libertaria.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLENUM

The report points out that the importance of the Plenum lies not only in its constructive decisions, but in the way the delegates tackled severe internal problems and tensions between members during the last two years.

The report also hails the spirit of solidarity which enabled the delegates to compose their differences. The spirit of cooperation was further enhanced by the presence of a fraternal delegate from the Basque Federation and another fraternal delegate from the National Secretariat of the CNT.

NATIONAL CNT PLENUM OF REGIONS OUTLINES PROGRAM

The resolutions enacted at the opening session (Proceedings of the second session in next issue of CNT) vigorously restates the opposition of the CNT to all forms of collaboration between the government, the employers, the political parties and the labor unions controlled by them. The coalition is denounced as a brazen attempt to "...unload the consequences of the severe economic crisis provoked by the capitalists themselves, on the backs of the workers..." In line with this policy the Plenum stresses:

- The need for direct negotiations between workers and employers on agreements, contracts, grievances, settlement of strikes and all other matters. The CNT is unalterably opposed to any form of outside interference in the relations between workers and their employers.

- The proliferation of separate contracts, particularly in smaller enterprises, leads to fragmentation, lack of unity against employers, and fosters "...a spirit of narrow workplace chauvinism..." The situation can be remedied by uniting the scattered factories, workshops, etc. into local union federations in effective opposition to the highly organized employer associations. Workers' assemblies cannot, in the long run, survive in isolation.

#### THE UNEMPLOYED

To meet the widespread acute problem of unemployment the Plenum advanced the following most important measures:

- Thirty-five hour work week and the thirty hour work week for unhealthy or dangerous work.
- Retirement at age sixty--optional retirement at age fifty-five-with full pay, adjusted to increased living costs.
- The unemployment program must be controlled by the union.
- Free rent, free transportation, free education for retired workers and their children. (Though not explicitly stated, benefits would also include the chronically unemployed.)
- Expropriation without payment of allegedly "unprofitable" establishments to be operated by the discharged workers.
- Eliminate profiteering, parasitic middlemen, by establishing a network of cooperatives for the procurement and distribution of commodities at cost.
- Control of employment offices by the syndicates.

#### AGRARIAN PROBLEM

- Eliminate blacklisting of militant workers and favoritism in hiring of agricultural laborers, and fixing of wage rates by the agricultural syndicates.
- Administration of unemployment funds by the agricultural syndicates.
- These and other measures to be coordinated by the establishment of labor exchanges by the syndicates.
- Collective cultivation of unused land.
- Establishment of rural producers, consumers, and marketing cooperatives for agricultural products.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLENUM

Restructuring the CNT to meet the changed conditions in post-Franco Spain is, even under the most favorable circumstances, a difficult and prolonged process, not yet completed. The National Plenum of Regions called to meet the need for better coordination of CNT units on a nation-wide scale, and the formulation of constructive alternatives to crucial problems, surely constitutes a significant progressive step in the right direction.

Sam Dolgoff

GREAT DEBATE CONTINUES IN BARCELONA CNT

The great debate on whether the CNT unions should enter into collective bargaining agreements with employers which began on May 25, 1978, with an open debate in the Barcelona Sports Palace, was still receiving major attention in Solidaridad Obrera in its issue of January 20, 1979.

The Construction Union of Barcelona opposes entering into contracts with employers because "anarcho-syndicalist unions cannot participate in agreements that stabilize and reinforce capitalism; because the State participates in the negotiations; because it establishes the pattern of negotiating year after year, tying the hands of the unions and making the unions only agents for bargaining."

The Construction Union went on to charge that "government regulation of Labor-Management conflicts facilitates the integration of the organized labor movement in the capitalist State system as has happened all over the world."

Jose Antonio Diaz, a militant of the Printing Trades Union, charges in the same issue that CNT workers on the job face practical issues on a daily basis and they are given no assistance or guidance on how to handle them. He also deplures that: "There is a serious separation between the official CNT as expressed by Plenums, Committees, Secretariats, etc., and the realities and situations that unions must cope with on the job."

MUST ORGANIZE ON THE JOB

One militant of the Metal Workers Union summarized the situation as follows: "Either we will develop a course of action that enables militants to organize unions on the job with support from the organization or we will be wiped off the union map."

Diaz quoted another CNT veteran that "the goal is Libertarian Communism but we cannot organize if we do not have immediate goals to reach the workers."

To cope realistically with the present situation, the immediate tasks of the CNT are: 1) strengthen, increase and encourage the membership; 2) with or without signed contracts, the CNT must present a program of practical demands which go beyond the restricted provisions of the Moncloa "Social Pact."

Last December 5th, Solidaridad Obrera reported on the presentation of Luis Andres Edo of the Barcelona Construction Workers Union, popular speaker and Secretary of the CNT Regional Committee of Catalonia, at the weekly series of debates. Edo's thesis and a response to it follows:

Edo contends that violence on the job is inevitable. Every negotiation, every contract with employers that does not aim to achieve self-management of the means of production constitutes support of capitalism and participation in the terror of private enterprise which is the terrorism of the dominant classes. He struck at the "modernists" in the CNT, those who participate in the dynamics of trade union struggle, however radical their position.

Edo's position is well-known and consistent: do not participate in any type of negotiation and direct confrontation in view of the terrorism and violence of the State on which private enterprise stands.

Jose Antonio Diaz challenged Edo's position along the following lines:

Edo's position is very good for a specifically anarchist group which is ready to take up arms against the armed police. But this has nothing to do with an anarcho-syndicalist organization which has been historically an organization of the masses.

The workers cannot wait for self-management to become a reality in order to eat and improve working conditions. Workers have fought many times in recent years, including even on the barricades, for higher salaries and better working conditions, but not primarily for self-management.

#### "SOLI" SUMMARIZES

"Soli's" editors summarized the situation briefly as follows:

The Construction and Chemical Unions are opposed to negotiating contracts. But the Insurance Workers Union and the Bank Employees Union are engaged in negotiations right now.

It is certain that the Printing Trades and the Entertainment Unions will negotiate new contracts. The majority of the

Metal Workers Unions in Catalonia will enter into negotiations but there is doubt about what the Barcelona Metal Workers will do.

Agreements that get wage increases higher than the "Social Pact" limit are not "integrated" (within the limits and according to the rules laid down in the agreement between the unions, the State, and the employers). Contracts by the Hotel Workers on the Canary Islands and the Motion Picture Workers in Barcelona are examples of such contracts.

If strikes are "programmed" (one hour or one day stoppages, for example), the agreements are probably reformist. But if the strikes are for indefinite periods and involve all the workers in the industry, such as the metal workers in La Coruna and the Printing Trades, they are not "integrated."

A contract limited to wage issues is solely economic, but it has social vision if it includes provisions reducing hours of work, creating employment exchanges, etc.

Neither one side or the other is altogether right or altogether wrong.

Abe Bluestein

#### THE CNT ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Indigenous movements of different regions of Spain for national independence--a permanent feature of Spanish life--which makes up so much of Spanish history, persist in one form or another to this day. What to do about the complex problems of independence and regional autonomy is now being heatedly debated everywhere.

In this connection, the declaration of the Basque (Euskadi) Federation of the CNT clarifying the position of the CNT, where separatist struggles are most acute, takes on added importance. (Solidaridad Obrera--organ of the Catalanian CNT--November 20, 1978) We summarize and take the liberty of supplementing the salient points with our own remarks.

The declaration defines the unbridgeable difference between the concept of the nation-state as against natural communities. The natural community, a confluence of human beings, with a common history, a common language and cultural background, springs from free social alliances.

The nation-state is not a natural community. The absolute power of the state over all its subjects and their associations is the indispensable condition for its own survival and expansion. Nationalism, the political theology of the state, must not be confounded with one's natural love for the place and the people with whom one is reared.

The nation-state breaks up the organic unity of the natural community. The Basque community, for example, is artificially split up, with one part under the jurisdiction of the French government and the other under the rule of the Spanish state.

To survive and grow, the fluid, ever-changing associations which constitute natural communities, must be constantly renewed and enriched by free association with equally free communities. The free associations must transcend the unalterable, artificial boundaries erected by the state.

The anarchist alternative to Basque nationalism is a libertarian, stateless federation of the Basque people with all other peoples of the world.

National autonomy is by no means synonymous with the internal freedom of individuals, groups and communities. Native regimes in "liberated" independent states (Africa, the Middle East, etc.) are no less despotic and no less corrupt than their former rulers.

Nor is national autonomy synonymous with social revolution. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) both the quasi-independent Catalonian "Generalidad" and the Basque regime made common cause with their erstwhile enemy, the Central Government and the capitalists, to extirpate the CNT and to crush the libertarian social revolution.

Nationalistic minorities, struggling to escape the domination of central governments, to establish independent states of their own, only to find themselves shackled by new rulers, will come to realize, with Bakunin, that "...despotism manifests itself not in the FORM, but in the PRINCIPLE of the state..."

The CNT will not be involved in conflicts between centralist and secessionist states.

Sam Dolgoff

#### PEASANTS LEAVE POLITICAL MOVEMENT, JOIN CNT

The entire Local Committee of the Farm Workers Union (SOC--Sindicato de Obreros del Campo) of Osuna, Province of Seville, with the exception of one member, voted to join the Peasants Federation of the CNT. The Youth Division and the majority of SOC members in Osuna agreed with the Local Committee. The decision was reached after a number of Assemblies. Their statement follows:

"We left the Farm Workers Union (SOC) because it does not follow the course of action we have always defended. We joined the CNT because we believe that this organization em-

braces the aspirations of the Andalusian workers and the entire working class. These are the reasons for our decision:

"1 - The Labor Party of Spain (PTE), in spite of our demand for autonomy from all political parties, organized and dissolved the SOC at the whim of leaders in the Labor Party of Spain. They respect the decisions adopted by assemblies in each village less and less. They exploit the interests of workers to get votes for their candidates to the Cortes and the municipal governments. Who will guarantee that they will not become another Camacho (Communist Party leader) or Felipe Gonzalez (Socialist Party leader)? They are already taking this road: this party conducted a symbolic occupation of the land at Osuna only as an opportunity for their leader to take four pictures with farm workers. The "seizure" was a mockery of the workers and it had no other purpose than to gain recognition by the Council of Andalusia as one more political force.

"2 - We used to defend the SOC when it was organized because the decisions were made at the Assemblies. The workers no longer count because most important decisions are made by four gentlemen from above. There are many examples: the incorporation of the SOC into the SAT (Andalusian Union of Workers) and the loss of all autonomy, or the development of a program without consulting us. This is the way it is done in any other bureaucratic union such as the CCOD (Communist controlled Workers Commissions) or the UGT (Socialist controlled General Workers Union). These gentlemen make their living from politics and justify their decisions at the top for the workers.

"3 - In answer to the charge that we have destroyed the unity of the workers, we point out that there is no such unity today. The political parties that speak of labor unity have divided us into different unions under their separate control: CCOD by the Communist Party, UGT by the Socialist Party, SOC by the Labor Party. We have demonstrated many times that unity exists when struggle requires it because we are all workers and comrades even though the leaders keep us in different unions. Some accept the deceptions of the parties. Others, like us, advocate rank and file unity for struggle. For this and other reasons we have chosen to join the CNT and unite with many other comrades in other towns and villages in the Peasants Federation. In addition to its history of revolutionary syndicalism, its decisions are made in open meetings, assemblies, with everyone participating. It has no place for paid officials. Everyone, from the first to the last, earns their living from wages, not through politics. The CNT does not believe that the problems of the workers will be solved in the Cortes, neither by the Leftists nor by the Rightists. Our problems must be solved by the workers themselves."

### OSUNA OLIVE WORKERS STRIKE FOR LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS

Twenty-five hundred workers in Osuna went on strike in opposition to a province-wide contract signed without consultation by the CCOO and the UGT. In their fight for a local contract, the strikers were supported by the CNT and the CSUT. The decision to strike was voted in open assemblies of the workers. Although the CCOO had only 5% of the workers and the UGT none at all, these unions did everything they could to sabotage the strike.

The employers resisted with brutal attacks against pickets and refusal to negotiate. Legal fines of 50,000 and 100,000 pesetas were levied against five strike leaders.

The original demand for 1300 pesetas for a six hour day was later reduced to 1175 pesetas. Although they did not win all their original demands, the strikers, more importantly, did win acceptance of the principle of separate, local agreements, made directly by the workers on the job without the intervention of the union bureaucracy.

### BARCELONA FISH MARKET CLOSED BY STRIKE

The 600 workers of the Barcelona Fish Market went out on a legal strike November 10, 1978. Ninety per cent of the workers voted "strike" at open shop meetings or assemblies after the employers refused to negotiate.

Four of the five members of the strike committee are members of the CNT, the dominant union in the market. The workers are demanding improved working conditions as well as higher wages. "Each dressing space is one meter square and twelve workers must change their clothing there," one of the workers stated. "There is no running water and workers cannot wash. The dressing rooms stink."

The workers demanded an increase of wages from 6,000 pesetas per week to 9,500, the installation of a First Aid Station to take care of accidents, and improved sanitary and hygienic conditions. Negotiations had started in September but the employers refused to make any offers to the workers.

After the strike was on a full week, the Civil Governor's office called for negotiations under their auspices (a service denied to the gasoline station strikers). The fish market workers strike was settled with a compromise of 8,500 pesetas per week plus the various other demands.

Solidaridad Obrera, 12-5-78

CNT FISHERMEN RESIST CONTRACT SIGNED BY CCOO AND UGT

The fishermen of Denia, Province of Valencia, succeeded in breaking a contract signed and sealed by the CCOO, the UGT and the employers. The majority of the fishermen are members of the CNT. They drew up their demands in open meetings and fought for them without compromise. After keeping the fishing fleet idle for fifteen days, they won their demands:

Recognition of the right to elect their own representatives and repudiation of the contract signed by the "majority" unions without listening to the workers they were supposed to represent. Determination, solidarity and direct action by the union of several hundred CNT fishermen gave them victory without reprisals against the strikers. This may be one of the first strikes won by a libertarian union under present conditions, with direct action on all fronts.

Bicicleta Number 10

CNT TEAMSTERS CALL FOR OPEN MEETINGS OF ALL WORKERS

REJECT MEETINGS WITH UNION LEADERS ONLY

The CNT Teamsters Union of Catalonia called for unity of action of all truck drivers regardless of affiliation in preparation for negotiations for the next contract. They warned that the trucking company associations were more united than ever and were dominated by the most reactionary employers in the industry.

They rejected false unity which meant only that 10 to 15 "gentlemen," bureaucrats, permanent officials of the other trade union organizations, would get together and decide for the workers what terms and conditions they would try to win in the new contract.

They also rejected the fraudulent Assembly of Delegates elected in the recent government-run elections. They charged that the delegates represented only a minor fraction of the workers because the overwhelming majority of the teamsters did not vote and many companies did not even attempt to hold elections. The CNT offered to open their union membership records in each company for inspection to prove that they really represent the rank and file workers.

The CNT warned that they would not permit the "domesticated" class-collaborationist fraudulently elected delegates to obstruct open meetings in which all the workers in the industry would participate directly in formulating the demands to be fought for in the new contract.

Solidaridad Obrero, 11-20-78

LABOR NOTES

890 contracts are slated to be negotiated in Catalonia during 1979. Among these are the Printing Trades with 50,000 workers; Teamsters with 25,000 workers; and large companies with as many as 30,000 workers.

\* \* \* \*

The negotiating committee representing 50,000 Insurance workers have called for a general strike in the industry after a breakdown of negotiations. The negotiating committee includes representatives of the CNT, UGT and CCOO.

\* \* \* \*

The agreement signed with the Navy by three Labor organizations, the UGT, CCOO and USO, is practically dead because it is ignored by the Administration. The three organizations which signed the agreement without consulting the workers are in a ridiculous situation, ignored at the top, the Administration, and ineffective at the bottom, the workers.

\* \* \* \*

Metal workers in La Coruna have been on strike more than a month. Because they were unable to get their side of the conflict to the public, they seized the National Radio Station in La Coruna and broadcast the true facts about the strike. Before they were forced out of the station by the police they won a promise from the station manager that he would broadcast news about the strike as issued.

\* \* \* \*

The railroad shop committee of the national reformist unions ordered a 24 hour general strike on January 11th at a "programmed" assembly of the railroad workers.

The CNT Railroad Workers Assembly attacked the other meeting as a step to destroy the Assembly Movement and hold in check the revolutionary impulse of the workers seeking to open the doors of liberty. The CNT denounced:

1 - The appointment of the shop committee and the call for a controlled strike without prior consultation with the base.

2 - The shop committee followed a line prepared in advance which placed the interests of the party above the interests of the railroad workers.

"SOLI" PUBLISHES CRITICISM OF THE CNT AND WITHDRAWAL  
OF LOCAL FEDERATION

Solidaridad Obrera of December 5, 1978, organ of the CNT in Catalonia, (page 2) features a manifesto of the Local Federation in Orense, declaring their dissolution and withdrawal from the CNT on the question of the relationship of the CNT to other areas of social life.

In its January 20, 1979, issue, Solidaridad Obrera announces the re-organization of the Local Federation of Orense at a new headquarters and prints two letters expressing profound disagreement with the opinion that the economic struggle of the workers and their unions is secondary to the so-called "marginal" issues: prisoners, sex, ecology, women's rights, neighborhoods, education, culture, etc.

Soli not only respects their right to disagree and the right to secede, but even prints the Manifesto, including the invitation of the dissidents to communicate with them at the address given. Question: How much further can a libertarian or any organization possibly go in respecting the right to disagree?

ISRAELI KIBBUTZ WELCOMES CNT MEMBERS

A personal report from a visitor just returned from Israel tells of an offer by a Kibbutz to "adopt" fifteen or twenty young members of the CNT. The Kibbutz, situated a few miles south of the port city of Haifa, is a beautiful agricultural and industrial collective run on self-management principles. It has a membership of about 250 and numbers of volunteers who come there to work, study and learn how to function in a cooperative environment. (Kibbutz is the Hebrew word for collective or cooperative.)

The invitation to the CNT could develop into something very helpful all around. It is believed that if the CNT accepts such an invitation and things show promise of success, then this activity could be developed as an important aspect of international mutual aid for constructive purposes. We strongly endorse such an enterprise and suggest that this sort of practical work is a much-needed activity in our movement. Since the emergence of the CNT from the underground and its rapid growth, the Spanish movement has been relatively isolated from other countries, especially considering all the money and other outside assistance given to the Spanish socialists and communists. Perhaps the Israeli connection will help expand the international horizons of our movement. If this enterprise gets started, our comrades in Israel plan to organize a group to cooperate, which will be called "Friends of the CNT" and, from the Israeli point of view, they welcome people to come and work with them and see at first-hand how they live. This is the best kind of answer to the false propaganda and anti-Semitism of the petro-dollar billionaires and PLO-Khomeini axis.

Sidney Solomon

FEMINISM IN SPAIN: GOODBYE MACHOI

The feminist movement in post-Franco Spain is now being organized and its problems and orientation are intensely debated. Due to the particularly brutal discrimination that women have been forced to endure during the years of the Franco-dictatorship, the needs and specific demands of Spanish feminists are different from women in other countries. It is because of these special conditions that we must pay special attention to what women are saying. We must realize that the Spanish women still face a long hard fight to conquer the basic rights which women in democratic countries have already won. We translate the following extracts from an interview-article about different tendencies in the feminist movement which appeared in Solidaridad Obrera, organ of the Catalanian CNT, Nov. 5, 1978:

In Spain, feminism did not acquire a solid structure until 1976. Since the women have campaigned for the abolition of so-called "women's crimes" (free unions without legal or religious restraints, bearing children out of wedlock and a host of other barriers), legalization of abortion and legal equality of men and women.

"Soli" interviewed a number of women belonging to different tendencies as well as an individual not attached to any organization about the problems facing the Spanish feminist movement. The group included members of Marxist Feminist Revolutionary Organization, FRO; the Anarchist Mujeres Libres, Free Women; the Liberal Independent Radical, IR; the Independent Lesbians; the non-political Voice of the Women of the Sacred Family, VWSF; and a non-affiliated feminist.

\* \* \* \*

SOLI: How would you define the main tendencies of feminism today and with which of these tendencies do each of you identify?

INDEPENDENT LESBIANS: We fight against all forms of exploitation against women: economic, sexual and cultural. But we feel more oppressed than heterosexual women because, as lesbians, our own existence has been denied us by treating us as vicious or sick beings. We struggle especially for sexual freedom. We consider ourselves part of the radical tendency: non-reformist and non-party. The feminist movement should encourage a total change.

FREE WOMEN: The liberation of women should be an act for and exclusively by women. Free Women is a totally autonomous organization. Members are free to belong to any ideological group or labor union as long as they do not impose their belief on our association.

IR: I conceive of feminism as a process of self-understanding which every woman should experience. Loyalty to another organization detrimental to our own is incompatible with membership in a feminist association. I must seek my own identity along with other women whose ideas are similar to mine.

VWSF: I agree with the feminist tendency that concerns itself with the search for our own identity, but does not ignore our everyday problems. For example, many women believe that if they use the pill, their children will be born retarded. They therefore bear eight or ten children whom they neither want nor are able to support. Feminists must concern themselves with such problems.

"A WOMAN": One of the ways that patriarchy takes root is to deny people their individual identities. Patriarchy has always required that we join parties, labor unions, tendencies, groups in which individuality is downgraded--especially women's individuality. When you go to a meeting the first thing you are asked is to which group and tendency you belong, and if you don't adhere to any you are denied the right to be heard. Some feminist organizations, by not allowing one to speak as an individual, are helping to perpetuate male domination. To get a hearing radical feminists are often obliged to conceal membership by renaming their groups.

#### "UTOPIAN FEMINISM" AND "SCIENTIFIC FEMINISM"

The FRO Marxists preach what they call "scientific feminism." The FRO criticizes the "utopian feminists" because their response to a society hostile to women is to isolate themselves, withdrawing from male dominated society, uniting only with other women, loving only other women and developing their own means of survival.

SOLI: You want to organize as a political party in order to take over power?

FRO: Yes. The enemy never gives up its power; to reach a state of full equality a period is needed when all the power belongs to women.

SOLI: Do you think that you will reach power by participating in the electoral and parliamentary game?

FRO: We are not afraid to participate. I believe that it is better that we have the power instead of them....

INDEPENDENT RADICALS: A parliamentary structure is bourgeois.

FRO: But I believe that we, as the oppressed, will do a better job than they.

FREE WOMEN: As a libertarian, I am against all power, political parties and parliaments. As a libertarian woman, I don't in the least want a man's position in society--I want my own. I don't want to exchange one sexist structure for another, since any structure that is hierarchical and authoritarian I consider sexist.

VSWF: I am convinced that if socialism were to be instituted tomorrow, it would carry out some of your demands. But patriarchy would continue to exist and male oppression would

prevail.

FREE WOMEN: The most difficult thing to achieve is the destruction of the authoritarian family system. It is not a matter of modifying hierarchies, but of destroying them. The models of socialism we know today have hardly changed the situation of women.

\* \* \* \*

In spite of disagreement between the different tendencies on some points, we decided that one cannot speak of a crisis in the Spanish feminist movement, but of a transformation of the movement as a whole which enriches it and gives it variety.

We all agreed that the opportunist political parties endorse our demands because they see women as potential voters or because it gives them the appearance of "progressives."

After many centuries, more and more women are at last saying "Goodbye to Macho!"

Translated by Maria Gil

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