

## The PCE (r): between armed reformism and revolutionary rupture

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The Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) comes directly from the revolutionary impulse of the 1960s, where the capitalist crisis, the Vietnam War, the cultural revolution in popular China, the movement of May-June 1968 in France ...

These are years when in all countries of the world the revisionism of the pro-Soviet "Communist Parties" is criticized and when new organizations are formed.

In Spain, however, things happen slightly differently.

Indeed, instead of wanting to go beyond the former Communist Parties by learning from Mao Zedong, as is the case with the future Red Brigades, the Proletarian Left, etc., the Communists of Spain "reconstitute" the Communist Party of Spain.

They in fact intend to continue the Antifascist War started in the 1930s.

In its Program Manifesto, the PCE [r] tells us that:





"The world capitalist economic crisis also had a strong repercussion in Spain, at a time when one touched the ceiling of the industrial development plans, the regime entered entirely into the political crisis and began, by feeling the ground, the maneuver of "opening" with which he would have an exit.

The workers' and popular movement had recovered from the effects of the rout suffered in 1939 and the long years of open fascist terror, and each time that the policy of carrilist reconciliation failed [de Carillo, revisionist leader of the Spanish Communist Party] and its instructions for a "peaceful national strike", the movement began to move towards the path of resistance and armed struggle.

This general context will give rise to the appearance of new organized workers' movements. The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Spain (OMLE) was one of the first communist organizations born in this period (1968) ".

The PCE [r] came directly from OLEM in June 1975, at a crucial time when Spain moved from open fascism to a regime claiming to be "normally democratic".

As the PCE [r] Program Manifesto says ,

"in a moment of maximum aggravation of the political crisis of the regime, as well as of all social contradictions and tensions, the Congress constituted a platform which will allow the barely born PCE [r] to play an important role in political life, especially in denouncing the Reformation " .

"In 1975, when Franco disappeared from the political scene and the Bourbon monarchy was enthroned, following the succession guidelines established by the dictator, the old forms of fascist domination came from being demolished by the struggle of the masses of the last It was clear that the regime could no longer stand up while retaining its overtly fascist character.

On the other hand, the stability of these forms numbered each time more the realization of the plans of the Spanish ruling class, pushed to its total integration, economically and militarily, in the imperialist block.

This is how we open the way, in the middle of the division of political chapels and financial groups, to political reform " .

On the one hand the PCE [r] does not therefore question the political line of the CP of Spain, however revisionist as we have seen in the anti-fascist war. The CP of Spain had then positively rejected the anarchists and the Trotskyists, but had not led the struggle, hiding behind the Popular Front as did the CP in France at the same time (and in contrast to the PC of China).

The PCE [r] remains on this ground and wants to be simply "Marxist-Leninist"; he does not criticize the mistakes of the past, he only "reconstructs himself".

On the other hand, precisely because he retains in his political line many teachings of Lenin and Stalin, he rejects the pseudo democratic transition, and as such does not just fall like anarchists and Trotskyists in opportunism. more complete. The whole culture of PCE [r] and GRAPO is based on this contradiction.

The PCE program [r]: between anti-Party ambiguity and pragmatism

The CEP Program Manifesto [r] says:

"The Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) is a proletarian political party, ruling nucleus and detachment from the vanguard of the working class.

Our organization considers itself to be heir and continuator of the revolutionary work undertaken by the Communist Party of Spain that began José Díaz, the Communist Party of Spain today decadent, transformed by revisionism into an instrument of oppression and capitalist exploitation.



The Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) forms part of the international communist movement and is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the development of its political line and in its revolutionary action ".

"The PCE (r) sets itself as the primary objective the advent of communism, which means, the suppression of capitalist private property and of classes, with which the conditions necessary for the extinction of the state will be created.

To this end the Party mainly proposes to organize the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system, to achieve the complete demolition of its bureaucratic-military apparatus, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Currently the Party centers its main efforts on the education and political organization of the working class, defends the unity of action with other workers and popular organizations and the resistance struggle against fascism and imperialism, struggle which led to the accumulation of revolutionary forces and created the conditions for the conduct of the Extended People's War and the triumph of the general armed insurrection.



The Party lays down and defends the immediate political, economic and social rights of the workers and applies a mass line, so that it allows it to remain linked to the struggles and to collect and synthesize the experiences of the struggle.

But as the political leader of the working class, the Party does not follow in the wake of a spontaneous movement, except to try to elevate the workers to the understanding of their true class interests, to mark the objectives to be conquered and lead them in the fight.

The Party must inculcate conscious discipline in the masses of workers without a party, extend the methods of revolutionary struggle, class solidarity, the spirit of organization and firmness, combativeness; for this, the Party must be the personification of discipline, organization and revolutionary self-denial "(Manifesto Program).

"Fascism has been the main instrument used by the financial oligarchy and the landowners to subjugate the masses, and carry out the economic development of the country by monopoly. This dual character, monopolist (imperialist) and fascist, is the main feature of the Spanish state.

The development of big industry, capitalist agriculture, large-scale trade, transport, etc. eventually led to the merger of all economic sectors with the bank and the establishment of the State at their service; the oligarchy created the material conditions for the realization of socialism, made the proletariat grow and educated it in the school of almost permanent civil war.

In accordance with the general conditions that we have just highlighted, the revolution to be carried out in Spain can only have a socialist character. In our country there is no intermediate revolutionary stage, no "march of the historical chain" prior to the socialist revolution.

Therefore, the strategic objective pursued by the Party is the demolition of the fascist state, the expropriation of the financial oligarchy - landowner and the establishment of the People's Republic.

The proletariat is the most exploited and oppressed class, the best organized and the most revolutionary of the population, and therefore the class called to lead other popular sectors; the proletariat is the main driving force of the revolution.

Joined to the working class, the small peasants and many other workers and semi-proletarians (small transporters, the employees, autonomous, etc.), as well as the peoples of the oppressed nations and the progressive intellectuals will be able to take an active part in the fight for the destruction of capitalism or observe a position of neutrality.

Of these sectors, the closest to the proletariat are the semi-proletarians and the small peasants who bend under the debts of the banks. From the perspective of their future interests, all these sectors are objectively interested in the socialist revolution, although oscillating continuously between the consequently democratic and revolutionary positions of the proletariat and those of bourgeois reformism.

The Party's tactics are to seek them out, to attract them alongside the proletariat, with the aim of forcibly overthrowing the financial oligarchy and landowner, and to win the petty bourgeoisie or to try to neutralize it (...).



With the establishment of the People's Republic will begin a period which will go from the destruction of the fascist and imperialist state to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This period will cover a short stage of transition which can also be considered as the beginning of socialist restructuring, which will have to be chaired by a provisional government which will act as the organ of the great masses of the people raised in arms.

The main mission of this government will be to crush the violent opposition of the big bourgeoisie and other reactionary sectors, and to guarantee the conduct of truly free elections for a Constituent Assembly.

This Assembly will draw up the constitution and appoint a new democratic government.

The Party's program for a transition stage can be summed up in sixteen points:

- 1) Formation of a Provisional Democratic Government.
- 2) Creation of workers' and people's councils as the basis of the new power.
- 3) Dissolution of all the repressive bodies of the reaction and general armament of the people.

4) Release of the anti-fascist political prisoners and trial of their counter-revolutionary torturers and murderers. Large grace for social prisoners.

5) Expropriation and nationalization of banks of large agricultural properties, industrial and commercial monopolies and the main means of communication.

6) Recognition of the right to self-determination of the Basque, Catalan and Galician peoples. Independence for the African colony of the Canaries. Ceuta Y Melilla returns to Morocco.



7) Abolition of all economic and political privileges of the Church; radical separation of Church and school. Freedom of conscience.

8) Freedom of expression, organization and demonstration for the people. The right to strike will be an irreversible conquest of workers.

9) Incorporation of women, on an equal footing with men, into economic, political and social life.

10) Recognition of all political, social, etc. electoral rights immigrant workers. Suppression of all forms of racial, sexual and cultural oppression and discrimination.

11) Reduction of the working day. Work for all. Improvement of living and working conditions.

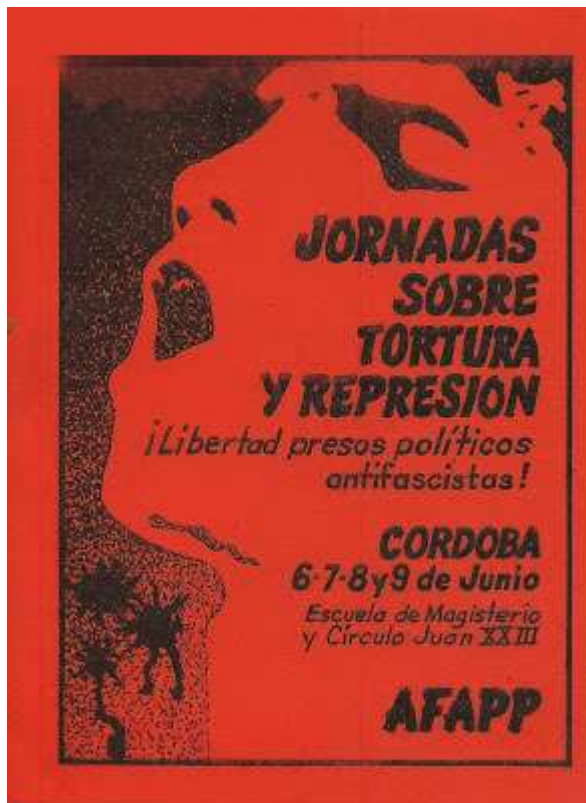
12) Dignified and economical housing; social security, health and education at the expense of the State.

13) Right of young people to receive full and free training, right to healthy and well-paid work, to have premises and other means for the free conduct of their activities.

14) Immediate exit from NATO and the EU, as well as from other organizations created for imperialist aggression and pillage.

15) Dismantling of foreign military bases on our territory and reintegration of Gibraltar.

16) Application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations with all countries. Support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.



Only a revolutionary government formed by the representatives of the popular organizations, which acts as organ of the victorious popular insurrection, will have the force and the authority necessary to organize the elections and an assembly of representatives of the people.

With the new government, the complete demolition of the old state machine of the bourgeoisie, on which the domination and the privileges of capital, will be carried out.

This is the first condition of any truly democratic and popular revolution. The necessary economic and social transformations will be undertaken immediately, this will facilitate the establishment of popular power and the political hegemony of the proletariat.

Any power that claims to be popular must be based on an armed people and genuinely democratic political organizations.

Organizing their own army and police, and basing them on the political organs of power, the revolutionary masses can defend their conquests and exercise control over the government.

The masses of the people can freely elect and dismiss, if necessary, their representatives.

In each factory, agricultural enterprise, military unit, educational center, village, city, district, etc., will be elected from the Councils. They will be the decision-making and executive bodies of the new power, with their own authority and autonomy to organize and direct all types of social activities: from work to sport, and from the police to the administration of Justice.

All communist, independence, anarchist, anti-militarist, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist prisoners will be immediately released. Today it is a sincere aspiration that will not be expected. [...]





Torturers and counterrevolutionary criminals who stand out in the repression will be detained and punished in an exemplary manner [...]. This will not be done out of thirst for revenge, but out of political necessity, the reactionaries, even after the revolution, will try to recover power and their lost privileges, the revolution will have to defend itself against them, repress and dissuade them.

The revolution will lead to the nationalization of the essential means of production; this does not mean the expropriation of savers or small properties legitimately acquired through work, personal and family effort, as can be the land of small peasants, nor all these goods or objects of particular use or domestic (like housing, automobile, etc.).

The new power will make vacant homes available to families and the homeless. The capital and the big nationalized companies will pass to the State and will be controlled by the Committees and Councils Workers and People. In this way, workers will become effective masters of the nationalized economy and put it at their service.

The principle of self-determination is a universally recognized right of political democracy that the new state born of the revolution in Spain will have to make effective.

As soon as possible, a consultation will be set up so that the peoples of nationalities decide to found a separate state or to continue to be united on a level of absolute economic equality.

Whatever the outcome, the new government, political parties and popular organizations must respect the decision freely expressed by the peoples of the nations and facilitate the exercise of all their rights.



The new People's Power will lead to the expropriation of the counter-revolutionaries, of all those who have actively collaborated with the counter-revolution; the others who, although being small owners, will take their place on the side of the people, the State will help them effectively, by means of credit with low or zero interest; they will pay a fair price for their products, services, technical aids, etc. These measures will be in accordance with the political and economic interests of the revolution.

After the overthrow of the oligarchy, the main means of communication, publishing, distribution, etc. will come under the control and direction of the people thanks to their representative organizations. Only in this way can the exercise of their rights of expression and true and objective information, as well as

a truly democratic culture, be ensured. "

As we can see, the leading role of the Communist Party, an essential principle however, is not clearly established. The government is "revolutionary democratic" ... in order to be able to bring together the different social strata against "the oligarchy".

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not directly established, because an intermediate period is necessary, that of the "people's republic".

This position was also that of the PCMLF [PC Marxist-Leninist of France] in the 1960s; the PCMLF also simply "reconstituted" the PC and did not see in Maoism a higher stage, even if it claimed responsibility for Mao Zedong. The PCMLF was founded on people who understood that the PC in France had sunk into revisionism, but they failed to get out of the quagmire and kept a petty-bourgeois scheme.

In fact, the PCE [r] is a party of this type: critical of revisionism, but refusing to cut ties with it.

The ideology of the PCE [r]: anti-Maoist Marxist-Leninist

The PCE [r] claims to be of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. There is no criticism of Stalin for this party. Mao Zedong is considered a revolutionary, but his contributions (in philosophy in particular) are considered to be erroneous. The PCE [r] categorically opposes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.



In fact, the PCE [r] defends, but defends, a revisionist point of view. On the one hand he says: the USSR according to Stalin and China according to Mao Zedong are revisionists, the clique in power in these countries is revisionist. On the other hand, the USSR until 1991 and China still today are considered socialists.

To understand the extent of what is for us Maoists a complete delirium, let us look at what the secretary general of the PCE [r] said in 1991:

"For all these reasons, and as confirmed by historical analysis and the most recent events, we deny that there can be a decline or a return to capitalism in all socialist countries.

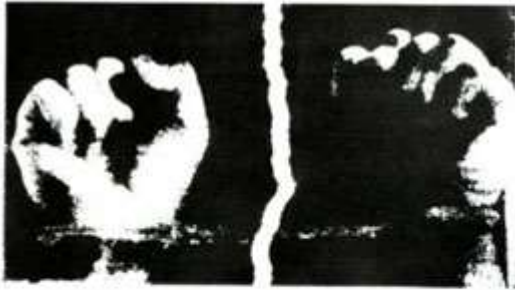
And even in the event that such a phenomenon takes place, we should consider that socialism would manage to reappear with tenfold forces. It should be borne in mind that the socialist system is fundamentally composed of the USSR and the PRC [People's Republic of China], two large, extremely populous countries, of large area, with enormous economic, scientific, technological and military capabilities.

They also have considerable experience in the organization and management of public affairs. It is true that the revisionists and the bourgeoisie have done great harm to the popular masses of these countries, leading them to the quagmire from which it is quite difficult to get out now, but they have not achieved, nor will they reach the objective of 'restore capitalism there.'

Consequently, the PCE [r] works for example with the people of "Northern Compass", a Canadian magazine working on the "reformation of the Soviet Union" with old schnocks from "Communist Parties" favorable to the old social -Russian imperialism.

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We Maoists are in categorical opposition to this interpretation of things.

For us, with the takeover of the PC of the USSR by Khrushchev and his clique, the USSR becomes social-imperialist. Socialism, led by the CP, becomes state capitalism in the service of a bureaucratic clique carrying out a fascist policy in the USSR. The socialist countries of the East become neo-colonies exploited by what the Communists of China rightly called "Russian social-imperialism".

Similarly, with the accession to power in China of Deng Xiaoping and the crushing of the communist leaders called by the Chinese revisionists "the gang of four", China becomes a fascist state, a state similar to the USSR: a

capitalism of state in the service of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

In this sense, we Maoists, categorically reject the ideology of the PCE [r]. We stand in solidarity with this progressive force, but we do not consider this organization as truly communist. We believe that one cannot be a communist without defending Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

This is why we have rejected the partisans of this pro-Soviet "line", who moreover today in France are trying to form an "international red rescue" with only anti-Maoist groups defending such a line.

Because we Maoists are not opportunists, we do not make convoluted constructions to avoid looking the masses in the face and to assume the immense revolutionary work which is to be done.

We Maoists assume all facets of communism, we are not fetishists of the "good old Soviet Union" or any other ideological trinket.

We Maoists place politics at the command post.

We do not do politics "in the name of the masses", we do not do "anti" (anti-repression, anti-fascism ...). We have objectives: revolution, communism. We have principles, a moral, a basis: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Consequently, our solidarity with the revolutionaries of the PCE [r] is not a blank check on their political line.

## GRAPO

We have seen that the PCE [r] considered that before the dictatorship of the proletariat there was an intermediate phase. We have also seen that the PCE [r] was the reconstituted anti-fascist war CP of Spain.



A direct consequence is the support of the PCE [r] in guerrilla warfare, but not its leadership. Not all the members of the PCE [r] are in the GRAPOs, and there are in the GRAPOs anti-fascists, democrats, etc. who are not from the PCE [r].

The practical difference with Maoism is obvious: for Maoism the army is directly organized and led by the Party (thus the People's Liberation Army is led by the CP of Peru, TIKKO by the TKP (ML)...).

The First October Antifascist Resistance Groups were formed in summer 1975, five months after the reconstitution of the CP of Spain, from the nucleus of the PCE [r] dealing with military actions (financing, repression of indicators, etc.).

The PCE [r] had decided to create an organization

"framing the greatest possible number of anti-fascist fighters, forming its own cadres (not necessarily being members of the Party nor professing Communist ideology); in addition, it was demanded that the Organization henceforth act autonomously from Gone and she would make her own decisions. "

Thus the GRAPOs are not the PCE [r], and vice versa. The PCE [r] only supports the GRAPOs, which are also made up of anti-fascists, democrats, etc. (even if the PCE [r] recognized to be the main origin of GRAPO activists).

The first actions of the GRAPOs consisted in a clear response to what is known as "the summer of terror", where the fascist forces violently repressed the masses of the people, and where the first anti-terrorist laws were passed (which were extended by governments "democratic").

On August 2, two members of the Guardia Civil were attacked by the GRAPOs in the center of Madrid, one was killed and the other seriously injured.

The start of GRAPOs was a difficult process. As they say themselves:



"At the beginning, there was the practice. We can consider that we were pushed to take up arms by the need to confront fascism at the moment when this enemy of all the people claimed to perpetuate themselves by appeal, as he always done, to repression and open terrorism.

Admittedly, the conditions were not already the same of other previous times. The regime had exhausted its possibilities in this area. Obviously, we had a very nebulous idea on this subject.

We especially felt in solidarity with the victims of the repression; sometimes we were also the direct object of the repression, but we did not know how to face it. The dominant charlatanry in the most "radical" left circles saddened us and we ourselves saw

ourselves powerless and extraordinarily limited by the weakness of the Organization and the shortage of material means.

So there was nothing else to do but go into battle with what we had: a few pistols, batons, hammers, etc. We had to snatch the weapons we needed from the enemy. "

On September 27, the fascist state executed five antifascists (two members of ETA and three members of FRAP). In response, on October 1, five different units executed five police officers and seriously injured another in several areas of Madrid, while Franco and his cronies "celebrated" the executions in Plaza de Oriente.



This action had a great impact. More than twenty trials with the risk of the death penalty were blocked.

This is a historic moment for the GRAPOs, because the masses were generalizing their struggles against fascism, and the GRAPOs succeeded in intervening to break the fascist attempt to break the movement by bloody repression.

The GRAPO thus say that

"We can say that as much experience as that which we have accumulated in the long struggle which we have waged since then, has provided us with absolute certainty on the necessity that the armed struggle and the movements of the masses must work together to wrest concessions and be able to finally overthrow fascism and monopolism. "

The GRAPO only claimed action on July 18, 1976, when 60 bombs exploded against fascist targets. It was the GRAPO's way of "saluting" the sixtieth anniversary of the start of the civil war. The attacks continued continuously; two GRAPO members perished while attempting to blow up the Seville courthouse.

The GRAPO subsequently organized the "paper operation" against television, a tool of the fascists, then in December 1976 a commando kidnapped the president of the State Council Oriol y Urquiso, and in January 1977 the president of the Supreme Court of the military justice, lieutenant-general Villaescusa. The "operation chrome" aimed to free political prisoners and to fight the institutionalization of fascism under the mask of "democracy".

But the same month the police arrested 40 members of the PCE [r] and the GRAPOs in Madrid and Barcelona, succeeding in freeing the prisoners from the oligarchy. The management of the GRAPO was stopped.

A few days earlier, the GRAPOs had executed two police officers and a civil guard, wounding three others, in two attacks against the fascist forces following the execution of five lawyers on the left by a paramilitary unit supervised by the Civil Guard.

The GRAPOs made their own criticism, considering that they had taken too much liberty with the security rules and underestimated the tactical capacity of the State to intervene.

It is then a new period for the GRAPOs, who will say that



"Just as the formation of the Central Commando marks the beginning of the constitutive stage of the Organization, its arrest, as much by the concrete conditions in which it occurred as by the new situation created in the Organization, would mark the end of this step and the beginning of another different step.

So far we can say that one of the objectives that we had shown ourselves was to demonstrate that we could fight fascism with weapons in hand, this was essentially accomplished.

Now it was necessary to demonstrate that we could continue to resist, until opening a breach through which to burst the revolutionary movement of the masses ".

On June 4 two civil guards were executed in Barcelona, the day of the first "free" general election

since 1936. This action was the clear symbol of the rejection of the "democratic" mask of fascism.

The GRAPO strategy is clear:

"Our actions corresponded at all times to the political necessities of the political movement: as a response to fascist crimes, as a denunciation of the electoral masquerade and the permanence of fascism, as an encouragement and support to the masses for the resistance struggle against exploitation and the oppression of monopolies. "

And it's a long process, a protracted people's war:

"Currently there is an imbalance of forces in favor of the reaction. The popular forces start from a position of inferiority and, for this, they are forced to maintain a struggle of defensive strategy.

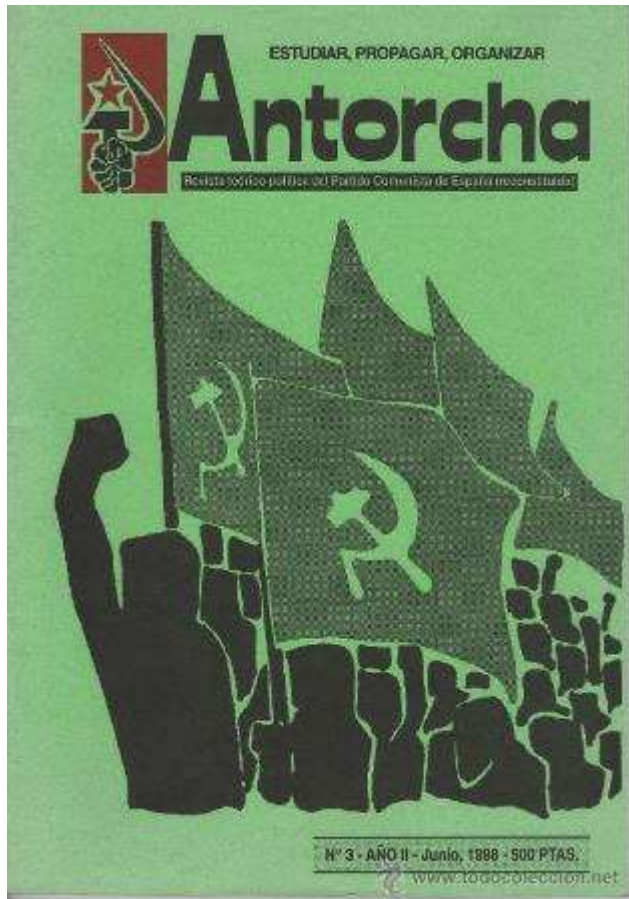
But since they are the bearers of everything new and they fight for a just and progressive cause, they get stronger during the war and will find wide support. On the other hand, the reactionary forces start from a position of superiority.

But as they carry all the old and already obsolete and they defend an unjust cause, they will weaken and remain isolated, until the end or produce a new imbalance, only this time in favor of the popular forces .



In this way they can go on the strategic offensive to annihilate the enemy's main forces in a relatively short period of time and to introduce a popular regime. "

But the enemy the GRAPOs face is intelligent:



"The Spanish ruling class knows, given its wide experience in the repression of the workers' and popular movement, that if it does not succeed in decapitating and destroying the organized revolutionary movement and in severing its links with the masses in this first stage, it will be impossible for him later. For this he uses all these forces and means to destroy us as soon as possible.

Being aware of the hard blow they had struck us and of the still weak links uniting us with the masses, at the same time as they lay down for us a police seat, they deploy a venomous campaign of disinformation based on the alleged "obscure origins" of our Organization and its "obscure" and "strange" goals and objectives. In this context, our revolutionary activity should come under continual pressure and harassment. "

On September 27, 1977, the police captain Herguedas was executed by the GRAPOs in Madrid; he was one of the fascist volunteers who had executed five antifascists two years earlier. The GRAPOs expropriate in passing more than 500 kilos of explosives.

In October, the central committee of the PCE [r] was arrested. The GRAPOs hardly continued their actions in 1977 and 1978, actions consisting mainly of explosive attacks by the police and army forces, as well as by government buildings.

Actions were carried out in solidarity with the prisoners of the Red Army Fraction in Germany and with the prisoners of ETA in France.

On March 22, 1978 the director general of the prisons was executed in Madrid; he was notably responsible for the assassination under torture of an anarchist prisoner at Carabanchel prison, the police trying to extract information from him about an escape plan for PCE [r] and GRAPO prisoners.

The GRAPOs then published a document entitled "Experiences from three years of struggle".

It explains that the war against fascism passes the popular resistance movement and must be led by the working class.

"The working class with its avant-garde party is the force guiding and directing our revolution, it is the clearest sector and in the first rank, and as such that called to guide and direct the revolution; resistance unit includes guerrilla warfare. "

The PCE [r] and GRAPOs are two independent organizations but benefit from each other.

The document also says:

"Because of the existence of fascism with as a consequence the lack of real freedoms and the super-exploitation which we have seen and which we see still submitting the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, the main contradiction which plays out is that between Spanish state confronting the people, against fascism and monopolies ".



For the GRAPOs politically the climate is favorable to the advances of the revolutionary movement, but the organization is made difficult because of the repression and the hyper centralization of the repression.

1978 was the year of a great political crisis, with a huge wave of strikes, especially in Andalusia, Galicia, and especially in Euzkadi where in San Sebastian the police were attacked. The regime was forced to change appearances, and proclaimed a constitution.

A five-point program was subsequently proposed by the GRAPOs, the PCE [r] and other organizations, a program which fell behind the communist program, but which was considered as a medium-term advance due to a polarization in the face of fascism.

The government rejected this program, which provided for an amnesty for prisoners and exiles, the abolition of anti-terrorist laws, an anti-fascist purge of institutions, political and trade union freedoms, the rejection of NATO, the dissolution of parliament and free elections.

From 1979 to 1984 the GRAPOs followed this political line, and the year 1979 was thus a crucial year.



It was marked by the largest number of armed actions since the civil war. The GRAPO executed Agustia Munoz Vazques, a military leader who negotiated the integration of Spain into NATO, as well as Rodrigues Roman, the director general of the DGS when a workers' demonstration was machine-gunned in 1976.

They attacked the police commissioner Beltan, known in Seville as the executioner of anti-fascist workers, as well as the director general of penal institutions, Garcia Valdes and the police commissioner for the district of Madrid. On April 6 they executed in Seville the head of the "anti-terrorist" brigade of the national police.

The second half of the year, 30 activists were arrested, many laboratories dismantled. The fascist state thought it had crushed the GRAPOs; 20 members of the fascist police were executed that year by the GRAPOs, who lost 7 members.

The GRAPOs wanted to avoid making a blow for blow, but the management had taken the risk of bringing them in this direction there; a self-criticism was made thereafter: a tactical withdrawal would have been preferable.

In Paris, a commando of the Spanish secret services executed two members in exile of the PCE [r], responsible for external relations: Martin Eizaguirre and Fernandez Cario.

On April 20 Juan Carlos Delgado de Codes, a member of the Central Committee of the PCE [r], was assassinated by the police when he was unarmed (neither was he a member of GRAPO).

But soon after, on December 17, 5 leaders escaped from Zamora prison through a tunnel (some PCE [r] members were minors by profession!).

In not even six months, the GRAPOs completely reorganized, again having commandos and laboratories for explosives. But three of the five escaped were executed by the police (1980,1981,1982) and the other two were captured. 1980 and 1981 were therefore quite difficult years for the GRAPOs, who lost nine members, executed by the police.

A PCE activist [r] died in 1980 from torture, another, Crespo Galende, after 94 days of hunger strike. The Spanish State criminalizes the PCE [r], assimilating it to GRAPO; thousands of his supporters passed through the prisons.

The GRAPO carried out these two years eight executions, including two generals of the army and a colonel, targeting the army because of its importance in the counter-revolution.

The long hunger strike was also a great victory. The prisoners were united in communes, including the Commune Karl Marx, in the prison of Soria, gathered 80 prisoners from the PCE [r] and GRAPO until the "socialists" broke it in 1989.

In October 1982, the day before the elections, 30 explosions took place in 15 different parts of the country, to denounce the electoral farce. But as the socialists came to power, the secret services executed the leader of GRAPO, Juan Martin Luna, disarmed.

The authors of the action, who had riddled him with bullets, had a trial in which they were acquitted. The execution of Juan Martin Luna marks the response of the Social Fascists of the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) to the unilateral declaration of truce by the GRAPOs.

The PSOE carried out a harsh repressive policy and organized a policy of "repentance". The regime believed that with 10 million votes it could isolate and liquidate the popular armed organizations. The PSOE therefore launched a major state terrorist program.

So, "considering that the last reformist illusions of the masses have disappeared, that the parties and unions sold are in total bankruptcy, that the workers and popular movements are growing and using truly radical and revolutionary means ..., and that ultimately the conditions that motivated and made possible the 5-point program have disappeared ", the GRAPOs ceased to focus on possible negotiations.

Now it is the overthrow of the state of monopolies that they believe should be organized. Consequently, the GRAPO reorganized to continue over time, for a prolonged war, to not only maintain but develop guerrilla warfare among the masses, in the "popular resistance movement".

It is a question of having "a strong communist party, firmly anchored in the proletariat, a large mass movement of a revolutionary character and a popular guerrilla army".

In practice, this is still difficult.

In 1983 the GRAPOs had to work to revive themselves; but the new leadership had a militaristic position. The lack of training of new cadres meant that the political hegemony of the PCE [r] was lost, leading to a militaristic, semi-anarchist line.

The new management no longer intended to be subordinated to the PCE strategy [r] and most of the actions were aimed at strengthening it.

The year 1984 was therefore a year of reorganization of financing: more than 100 capitalists paid that year a tax to the GRAPOs. A capitalist who refused to pay was executed, along with Manuel de la Padure, a known capitalist at the head of the employers' association.

The head of National Radio was injured in response to the counter-revolutionary propaganda he was organizing. A member of GRAPO was killed following this operation, another injured and arrested in the hideout.

In June, "Comrade Arenas" (Manuel Perez Martinez), secretary general of the PCE [r] was released from prison; he had been there since 1977 for "illegal association".

Like others, he had to go illegal immediately.



In 1984 46 actions were carried out, always in connection with popular struggles or internationalism.

January 19, 1985 was a catastrophic day: 19 GRAPO activists were arrested in 19 provinces, 17 apartments hiding weapons and money were discovered.

The GRAPOs had taken liberties with their own security instructions, and within 48 hours the police took advantage of them. The militarist line had allowed a single infiltrator to allow the rapid dismantling of a large part of the organization.

In 1985 the GRAPOs therefore practically no longer existed. The reorganization was very difficult; 7 members were arrested the same year in this process.

In 1986 the movement continued, as in 1987; there were expropriations from banks and police stations.

The revolutionary tax was again introduced in 1988; on May 27 the president of the bank of Galicia, recalcitrant, was executed. Two months later another capitalist was killed, another injured. On October 4, GRAPO managed to obtain 800 identity cards at the police station in central Madrid. The years 1987-1988 were those of the successful reorganization of the GRAPOs.

1989 was a year of revival. On March 10, two civil guards were executed while the TREVI group met (the TREVI group coordinates counterinsurgency activities in European countries).

In July GRAPO obtained 148 million pesetas (several million francs) from the bank in Castellon. In November a hunger strike began for political prisoners to end the isolation. The GRAPOs supported the movement from December.

On the 13th an army commander was seriously wounded in Madrid; on the 15th it was the turn to an army colonel at Valence; on the 18th a member of the secret services was executed near Barcelona; on the 28th two members of the Civil Guard on duty in Gijon were executed.

The government then indiscriminately accused the members of the PCE [r] of being part of the GRAPOs and brought the prisoners to the hospital, where they were shackled and force-fed. The organizer of this, Doctor Munoz, was executed on March 27, 1990 by a GRAPO commando in Zaragoza. He had even rejected a judge's order to stop this method.

The strike continued, and on May 25, after 177 days of strike, José Manuel Sevillano Martin died. He was a member of GRAPO and in prison since 1987.

An army colonel was executed on June 15 in Valladolid, then the GRAPO waited, to launch an offensive in September.

Six bombs exploded in Madrid (the Supreme Court, the stock exchange, the Ministry of the Economy), Tarragona (ten million francs in damage to oil-related installations), Barcelona (destruction of the PSOE building, one million damage) and Gijon (recovery of identity documents then destruction of the building).

In November two bombs hit official buildings in Barcelona. A pipeline destined for NATO bases was also attacked.

In 1991 and 1992 the actions continued. 1992 was a very important year for the regime: it was the tenth year of the PSOE government, the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the Universal Exhibition in Seville and the year of Madrid as "cultural city of Europe" .

The GRAPO did not seek to attack these demonstrations, the pressure being calculated in advance as too great.



They thus "contented" with blocking the TAV (the equivalent of the TGV) the very day of its inauguration, with blowing up oil pipelines and an electric station, as well as in April 1992 of an attack of the national institute of industry and the Ministry of Labor.

In 1993 the GRAPOs failed to execute the former Director General of Galavis Prisons.

In July three GRAPO members were killed in the explosion of the armored van they were attacking.

7 bombs were dropped in Madrid (PSOE and employers' union buildings, Ministry of Labor, National Institute of Industry, etc.) and the Zaragoza gas distribution center was attacked. But an intelligence commando was arrested in Madrid in the middle of celebrating the conference on the Middle East.

In 1994 the GRAPO carried out actions in support of the resistance movement as well as reappropriations (a few million francs obtained by the attack on armored vans). On June 27 they kidnapped Publio Cordon, president of Previa insurance.

He was released on August 17 after paying ten million francs. He had to pay as much after his release, but disappeared into the wild (for obscure personal reasons), which caused and still causes a scandal among the Spanish media.

In November three GRAPO members were arrested. From 1975 to 1995, 3,000 people came into contact with the police because of their sympathy for the GRAPOs, 1,400 were imprisoned, the GRAPOs carried out 60 executions, 300 explosive attacks, 3,000 armed actions (the Spanish government recognizes 545). Twenty GRAPO members were killed, as well as 7 members of the PCE [r].

According to the police, there are then hundreds of people in hiding.

From 1996 the GRAPOs made a truce, and talks took place between the Spanish State and imprisoned members of the PCE [r] and the GRAPOs.

But the PCE [r] still refusing to recognize the Spanish constitution, negotiations ceased and the GRAPOs resumed the fight. Among the many actions carried out (consult the various Social Fronts for this), we note the explosive attack on the Valley of the Dead, an immense funeral monument sheltering the graves of the generals of Spain.

The actions of the GRAPOs should not make us forget the very numerous actions of the "diffuse guerrilla".

The arrest of PCE [r] activists is therefore clearly to be understood as support for the anti-revolutionary policy of the Spanish regime.

And as such we must clearly support the imprisoned revolutionaries of the PCE [r]!

### **Freedom for imprisoned revolutionaries**

