

## Centre Marxiste-leniniste-Maoiste (B) PCE (ml) and FRAP in Spain

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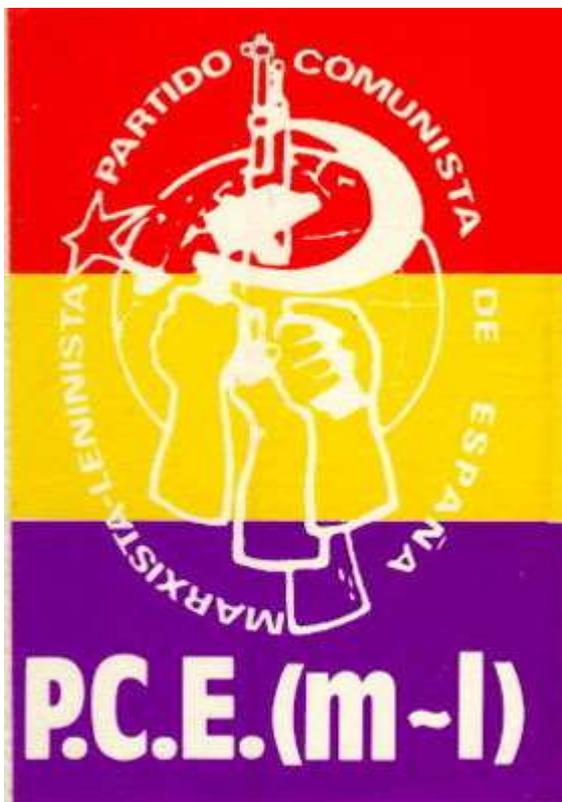
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When revisionism triumphed in the ranks of the Communist Party of Spain, revolutionaries came out of it to found, in 1964, the Partido Comunista de España (marxista-leninista), that is to say the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist).



The PCE having swung into revisionism had in 1956 abandoned the armed anti-Francoist struggle in the name of a "policy of national reconciliation"; the PCE (ml) was based on criticism of the Soviet revisionism carried out by China and Albania.

This means that the PCE (ml) is born directly in hiding, in the face of Spanish fascism. In October 1964, representatives of four anti-revisionist groups met in Switzerland, before in November in Paris at the Alhambra theater about thirty delegates debated the founding of the Party and elected a Central Committee, which met to the first time in December in a garage in Brussels.

The existence of a clandestine organization in the face of fascism is obviously difficult and the PCE (ml) experienced difficult times. In March

1965, Ricardo Gualino was, for example, seriously wounded in the mouth by a gunshot during an arrest while he was carrying out a propaganda action, while in April of the same year José Delgado Guerrero “Acero”, 25 years old, dies from torture. In November 1967, five members of the PCE (ml) were sentenced to 26 years in prison.

However, despite some exclusions and arrests in Spain (in December 1964 and April 1965 in particular, and even a complete dismantling in 1968), the PCE (ml) was able to develop quite profoundly, in a period of intense struggle for classes, while in 1969 a state of emergency had been declared.

Thus, during the visit of American President Richard Nixon in 1970, the PCE (ml) was able to organize rallies in Madrid (with 24 propaganda teams), Valencia, Murcia, Bilbao and San Sebastian; between 20,000 and 100,000 people went on strike at his initiative the same year for the release of political prisoners.

The line of the PCE (ml), expressed in its organ *Vanguardia Obrera* (Workers' Avant-garde), was as follows: the Spanish regime is of the fascist type and under the domination of American imperialism; the objective is People's Democracy in the form of the People's and Federal Republic.

The masses must be united and armed in a People's Army, the revolutionary process integrating the petty bourgeoisie and sectors of the bourgeoisie and must be ready to face an American intervention.

**VANGUARDIA OBRERA**  
ORGANO DEL COMITÉ CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE ESPAÑA (M-L)  
MADRID, 10 DE ABRIL DE 1965

**LEVANTEMOS AUN MAS ALTA LA BANDERA DEL PENSAMIENTO DE MAO TSE-TUNG**  
por Ricardo GUALINO

Después de los sucesos de los días de Madrid, el régimen franquista para mostrar a todo el mundo de la verdad, la noble y la inocencia, una vez y tantas veces de algaras y emboscadas contra la República Popular China, la Unión Soviética Cultural Proletaria y el camarada Mao Tse-tung, había comenzado, basándose en el principio de que « cuando más grande es la mentira más alto se levanta », tiene por objetivo levantar el día de mañana de mañana el « gigante » y el gigante que la reacción tiene a su alcance, es decir, el día de mañana de mañana, como entre las sociedades y otros temas políticos y propagandísticos, los parte social de todos los propagandistas que tiene a su alcance, como Partido para los trabajadores y estudiantes de todos los países de la península de Mao Tse-tung.

Los resultados de la campaña socialista contra China Pasa... (text continues)

**III. ANIVERSARIO DE LA MUERTE DEL CAMARADA JOSE DELGADO**  
por José SOLÍS

El día 12 de este mes se cumple un tercer aniversario de la muerte a manos de los fascistas españoles José Delgado Guerrero, « Acero », héroe de nuestro Partido, héroe de la lucha por la liberación de España.

Después de haber desahogado en el seno del partido comunista, en otros momentos y momentos de la lucha por la liberación, por la justicia del comunismo, del comunismo de Mao Tse-tung, nuestro camarada « Acero » se entregó a uno de los trabajos más importantes de la vida que a finales de 1955, el 12 de mayo de 1955, cuando se cumplió el primer aniversario de la muerte de José Delgado Guerrero, « Acero », uno de los grandes de la construcción y desarrollo de una de las grandes obras.

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**Jose Delgado Guerrero**

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The PCE (ml) therefore worked to build a front, the first step of which was the alliance with the Frente Español de Liberación Nacional (FELN), a republican organization founded in 1963 by the socialist Julio Álvarez del Vayo, Foreign affairs of the republican government from September 4, 1936 to March 28, 1939.

When Catalonia fell during the civil war, Julio Álvarez del Vayo returned to the republican zone from France, participating in the civil war until the last minute.

The FELN aimed to reactivate the maquis to restart the armed anti-Francoist struggle; he himself initially carried out multiple armed actions, which nevertheless ended with the arrest in June 1964 of Andrés Ruiz Márquez.



However, the Spanish regime managed to confine the resistance to isolation, avoiding talking about both its reality and its objectives.

Also, the PCE (ml), the FELN and the group Vanguardia socialista, then joined by Fracción marxista-leninista del Movimiento Comunista de España, founded the embryo in the Paris apartment of the writer Arthur Miller of the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (FRAP), which will be officially founded in November 1973.

From January, a pro-FRAP committee exists in Madrid, in February in Catalonia and in the Valencia region, while Andalusia, Asturias follow, practically all of Spain, but also France, Germany (with the massive support from KPD / ML), Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Canada.

The impact of FRAP is quite clear and when in July 1975 the Juventudes Socialistas of the PSOE held their illegal congress in Lisbon, the representative of the JCE (ml), speaking on behalf of FRAP, was warmly welcomed. The line was, as a continuation of the Spanish war, that of the alliance of the progressives, the advance in the spirit of fusion between communists and socialists of left. Julio Álvarez del Vayo was also the historic leader of FRAP, shaping his identity.



The objectives of this Antifascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front, formally a coordinating committee for its foundation for the period 1971-1973 - were the overthrow of the regime and the suppression of the presence of American bases in the country, the restoration of liberties, the establishment of rights for national minorities within the framework of a people's and federal republic, with a people's army.

The country was considered to be dominated by an oligarchy, whose property was to be nationalized, as were the possessions of foreign monopolies, while land reform was to be put in place, destroying the big landowners.

The mass organizations of the PCE (ml) put themselves directly at the service of the FRAP, namely the Oposición Sindical Obrera (Workers' Trade Union Opposition, secretly founded in the 1950s by the PCE), the Federación Universitaria Democrática Española (Spanish Federation of Democratic Universities ), the Unión Popular de Mujeres (Popular Union of Women), the Comisiones de Barrio (Neighborhood Commissions), the Federación de Estudiantes Demócratas de Enseñanza Media (Federation of Democratic Students of Intermediate Education), the Unión Popular de Profesores Demócratas (Popular Union of Democratic Professors), the Agrupaciones de Jóvenes Comunistas (marxistas-leninistas) (Grouping of young Marxist-Leninist Communists), as well as the Unión Popular de Artistas (Popular Union of Artists) whose body was *Viento del pueblo* .



When the PCE (ml) held its first congress in Italy in April 1973, it declared that its own objectives were combined with those of FRAP, against "*Yankee-Fascism*".

FRAP was a generated organization, intended to serve as a trigger for popular struggles against the regime.

The mass line was correct, since FRAP was able to agglomerate the entire antagonistic popular area. On September 16, 1970, 200 FRAP members crossed the central artery of Madrid, breaking the windows of the banks.

On May 1, 1971 processions were organized in the center of Valencia and Barcelona, in Seville, as well as in the center of Madrid, where the demonstrators were united with stones, sticks and iron bars, with infirmaries being prepared



for the confrontation. The latter was indeed violent, many police officers being injured, with also a secret police inspector stabbed to death.

During the very violent repression and generalizing the torture, Cipriano Martos Jiménez died under it, when he was made to drink the contents of a Molotov cocktail. However, FRAP manages to disseminate its program and to structure itself significantly. In addition to the multiple annual and illegal rallies on May 1, FRAP also organized a rally of 10,000 people on May 2, 1973, on the anniversary of the national anti-Napoleonic uprising.

However, the repression was terrible and its scale no longer made it possible to remain on the ground of violent coups. When the FRAP organized a rally for Vietnam on February 11, 1973, the police shot at the crowd of 2,000 demonstrators, seriously injuring five people.

To this was added the formation by the Communist Party of Spain, which had become revisionist, of a Junta Democrática de España, in July 1974, trying to capture the legalist opposition to Spanish fascism. The socialists of the PSOE also worked on their side to what they considered to be a convergence which should make the regime evolve.

The PCE (ml) launched the formation of Committees of Unidad Popular (Committees of Popular Unity), while the FRAP launched into armed struggle by means of "combat groups" appropriating weapons, robbing banks, attacking companies in support of strikes, as well as institutional premises.

I  
5 puntos de la  
LINEA POLITICA del  
Partido Comunista de España  
(marxista-leninista)  
sobre la Guerra Popular





Three policemen were killed in total during these multiple operations, the regime applying its death penalty in September 1975 against José Humberto Baena Alonso, José Luis Sánchez Bravo and Ramón García Sanz, executed at the same time as the ETA militants, Juan Paredes Manot (Txiki) and Ángel Otaegui.

These were the regime's last death sentences, Francisco Franco dying soon after, and they caused a shock wave in Spain and Western Europe, with vast solidarity. In France, 50,000 people paraded, the ideology of FRAP being very present in the dynamics.

The FRAP was then at the forefront of the anti-Francoist fight; with 49 people convicted in 1975-1976, it was he who suffered the most convictions, just behind ETA.

The FRAP was however in a very complicated strategic situation, due to the positioning of the PCE (ml). At the third enlarged conference of the Central Committee, in 1975, the PCE (ml) openly expressed its will to find a way to generalize the armed struggle, so that the masses seized the process of resistance and that here is the phase of people's war.

Besides " *FRAP, FRAP, FRAP, Republica Popular* ", the FRAP slogan is also " *FRAP, FRAP, FRAP, Guerra Popular* " and the PCE (ml) had formulated in 1967, at the second conference of its Central Committee, the consideration that the "people's war" was part of its political line.

We read in particular:

"In Spain, the dictatorship of the pro-imperialist oligarchy is exercised in the most violent way, through the Yankee-Franco state, which relies on a monstrous terrorist apparatus (army, civil guard, armed police, Brigada Político Social [secret police], reaction groups, etc.).

By means of this state, imperialism and the oligarchy exert the most pitiless repression on the people, persecuting bloodily any action of struggle on the part of the masses.

The revolutionary armed struggle arises among the working people only as a result of stubborn political agitation and propaganda.

It is only through propaganda work by avant-garde organizations, basically the Communist Party of Spain (ml), that the masses can be ideologically able to understand the need to rise in arms against the Yankee-Franco dictatorship.

The armed struggle cannot arise or develop isolated from the struggle of the masses, but only in close connection with the mass workers 'and peasants' movement.

From the initial forms (strikes, demonstrations), it is necessary to gradually pass (and the spontaneous evolution of the struggle confirms this trajectory) to higher forms of combat: violent confrontations with the forces of the dictatorship, attacks, riots, etc. "

**Espagne**

**ARRESTATION  
DE TROIS MILITANTS  
DU PARTI COMMUNISTE  
MARXISTE-LÉNINISTE**

Barcelone (A.F.P.). — Trois membres du parti communiste marxiste-léniniste espagnol ont été arrêtés à Barcelone, annonce-t-on jeudi 4 octobre de source officielle. Une femme figure parmi les personnes appréhendées.

On apprend, d'autre part, que de sérieux incidents ont éclaté mercredi à la prison de Carabanchel, à Madrid, entre des prisonniers politiques et des gardiens.

[L'agence de presse Espagne populaire fait savoir de son côté que M. Cloriano Martos, âgé de vingt-huit ans, ouvrier du bâtiment, membre du parti communiste marxiste-léniniste, est mort pendant un interrogatoire de police à Tarragone. M. Martos avait été arrêté à Reus il y a un mois et aurait été torturé.]

Here is also how the situation is presented by the Spanish Committee of South West France for the Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front:

"The imperialist reactionary forces are inexorably running to their loss, but to precipitate their defeat, the world anti-imperialist front must strengthen its ties and proletarian internationalism must play its role of solidarity without limits or borders.

In France, Spanish anti-fascists are prosecuted and expelled in violation of the Geneva Convention on the right to political asylum and under bilateral agreements with the Franco government (Debré - Lopez Bravo agreements).

The Spanish army "made in the USA" takes part in the company of French paras in anti-guerrilla maneuvers in the Pyrenees - quite recently still in the region of Bagnères-de-Bigorre - Arreau (Hautes-Pyrénées), under the patronage of high civil and military figures of the two countries, including the Franco governor of the province of Huesca - in anticipation of an inevitable popular insurrection in Spain and to break the help that the

French people can bring to the Spanish antifascists in their fight for the Republic and for national independence.

The visit that Maurice Schumann has just made to his colleague Lopes Bravo, a member like him of Opus Dei, is not accidental. Since the Castielle - Couve de Murville meeting in 1959, French imperialism has provided concrete support to the Spanish fascist oligarchy.

Military agreements have been signed for the delivery of 30 Mirage IIIs and the licensed construction of Alouette (anti-guerrilla) helicopters.

But where collaboration is the closest, it is to suppress the masses of emigrants and political refugees in France. The two police are already working together to transmit the files of anti-fascist refugees to France.

Antifascist Angel Campillo Fernandes was arrested and handcuffed to the Franco-Political Brigade, and sentenced to 6 years in prison, based on the file provided by the DST on February 23 in Bordeaux.

The status of political refugee in France is no longer any guarantee (we could cite dozens of these cases of interrogation and pressure exerted on Spanish refugees, but for security reasons, we prefer to remain silent) (. . ).

In Spanish prisons, 3,000 political prisoners suffer the most inhuman treatment (...).

FRAP committees outside of Spain are not fighting apart and unrelated to the inside. They are the organized rearguard of the FRAP Committees in Spain (...).

Without effective unity within an Antifascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front, which organizes and directs all multifaceted actions against the oligarchy of industrial monopolies, big landowners and banks, which sold the homeland to American imperialism, victory is impossible (...).

The oligarchy has become a vast institution of gangsterism which ruins all the non-monopoly productive classes.



The crisis affects all companies that do not submit to Yankee monopolies and that are seized by the INI (National Institute for Industry, financial monopoly and state banking).

Imports are 70% higher than exports and the deficit is covered by the currencies brought by the emigrants (who came from European capitalism like beasts of burden), and thanks to the currencies of tourism (...).

This "peace" and this "order" are maintained thanks to 500,000 repressive agents who receive 50,000 pesetas per month each (not counting the possibility of combining two or three treatments).

To assist them, there are approximately 250,000 bureaucrats in the administration and 150,000 others in the clergy (the state grants the latter three billion pesetas per year).

As a back-up force, the Yankee army with 35,000 soldiers and 30 military bases ("defenders of Western freedom and culture"), with, in addition, about 1,000 CIA agents, former Nazis, OAS, etc. (...).

The American imperialists participate in 70% of the investments of foreign capital in Spain (in certain sectors 100% of the invested capital) and the substantial profits which they derive from it are completely exempt from taxes (...).

In 1970 alone, there were over 1,000 strikes. And the struggle is increasingly taking on an insurrectionary character. "

However, the PCE (ml) did not know which direction to go when Franco's death opened what would then be called the transition. The PCE (ml) refused the process of recognition of the new regime, whose basis for him was exactly the same as before, however it oscillated between refusing everything as a whole and participating as a left wing in the change underway.

The question of the armed struggle - or more precisely of the guerrilla warfare that the FRAP hoped to become by its Maoist orientation - then became thorny, all the more so since the controversy launched by Enver Hoxha following the death in 1976 of Mao Zedong - against the latter - led him to place himself in the orbit of hoxhism and therefore to break with the Maoist theory of people's war.



What remained of the FRAP was then diluted in illegal actions consisting of Molotov cocktail attacks, accompanied by significant repression (56 people arrested only between June 1977 and June 1979), along with very numerous hold-ups, no doubt at least forty. It eventually disappears, the PCE (ml) replacing it with a Convención Republicana de los Pueblos de España, a Republican Convention of the Peoples of Spain calling for refusing the return of the monarchy and the formation of people's courts for the judgment of crimes Francoists, with in the background the attempt to form among the masses a provisional Republican Government.

This Republican Convention aimed to pose as a more radical alternative to what the Communist Party of Spain, which had become revisionist, proposed, but in practice it only placed it in its orbit. The new regime also took advantage of the hope for change and the abstention called by the PCE (ml) in the referendum on the 1976 political reform bill remained ineffective (77.8% of participation, 97.36 % yes), as in the 1978 constitutional referendum (participation of 67.11%, with 88.54% yes).

No longer finding any revolutionary path and having closed the path of popular war, the PCE (ml) abandoned the rifle in its partisan symbol and turned to electoralism and reformism, with a para-union approach entirely based on Asociación Obrera Asambleísta which gathered 2,500 delegates to its 1978 congress.



Still illegal, the PCE (ml) ran under the banner Izquierda Republicana (Republican Left) in the 1979 elections, obtaining 55,384 votes (0.31% of the vote), before achieving legalization in 1981, obtaining in the elections from 1982, as PCE (ml), 23,186 votes, only 0.11% of the vote.

This situation was untenable, while next to it appeared the Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) generating the Antifascist Groups of October 1st (GRAPO), date referring to the execution of four police officers by the embryo of GRAPO the first October 1975, in response to the death sentence of the three members of the FRAP and the two members of ETA (politico-military).

If the PCE (ml) knew therefore militant haemorrhages and splits, the PCE (r) started to organize hundreds of people in the armed struggle, with hundreds of attacks to come, taking the torch of the PCE (ml) without ever referring to it.





**LOS 6 PUNTOS PROGRAMATICOS DEL**



DERROCAR A LA DICTADURA FASCISTA Y EXPULSAR AL IMPERIALISMO YANQUI, MEDIANTE LA LUCHA REVOLUCIONARIA.

2

ESTABLECIMIENTO DE UNA REPUBLICA POPULAR Y FEDERATIVA QUE GARANTICE LAS LIBERTADES DEMOCRATICAS PARA EL PUEBLO Y LOS DERECHOS PARA LAS MINORIAS NACIONALES.



3



NACIONALIZACION DE LOS BIENES MONOPOLISTICOS EXTRANJEROS Y CONFISCACION DE LOS BIENES DE LA OLIGARQUIA.

4

PROFUNDA REFORMA AGRARIA, SOBRE LA BASE DE LA CONFISCACION DE LOS GRANDES LATIFUNDIOS.



5



LIQUIDACION DE LOS RESTOS DEL COLONIALISMO ESPAÑOL.

6

FORMACION DE UN EJERCITO AL SERVICIO DEL PUEBLO.

