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Rebel Code? The Transnational Imaginary of ‘Armed Struggle’ in the Fall of Southern European Dictatorships

Keywords

This paper focuses on armed organizations of the extreme left and their use of political violence during and after the fall of Southern European dictatorships. It seeks to explore whether militants and sympathizers perceived these extreme-left groups as part of a transnational network. The paper looks mainly at the transnational impact of the separatist Basque organization ETA, and to a lesser extent the anti-Francoist Maoist grouping FRAP in Spain, and briefly discusses their influence (or lack thereof) on the urban guerrilla organization 17th of November in Greece, and on the Guevarist *Brigadas Revolucionarias* in Portugal. The paper explores solidarity campaigns for so-called political prisoners of said organisations and militant publications. It looks at the ways in which key texts travelled, carrying with them major political messages vis-à-vis the experience of the ‘armed struggle’ in times of dictatorship and democracy. In doing so, this study looks not only at the organizations themselves, but at grassroots networks of followers and sympathizers and how these also operated. While it demonstrates a lack of direct transnational channels of communication, the article argues that young people belonging to the far left across the postauthoritarian European South in the mid- and late 1970s *did* empathise with ‘the other’, *imagining* themselves as part of a wider network beyond strict national boundaries.

Introduction

In the course of the twentieth century, Spain, Greece and Portugal shared certain similar features in pairs of two. Spain and Greece lived through civil wars that ravaged their societies, from 1936 to 1939 and from 1946 to 1949 respectively.ⁱ Systems of exclusion

of the defeated left-wingers followed the conflicts and waves of political refugees flooded France and Mexico, in the case of Spain, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Republics, in the case of Greece. Portugal and Spain both turned from authoritarian vanguards to relics, as Antonio Salazar came to power in 1933 and Francisco Franco ruled his country without interruption from 1939 until his death in 1975. The acute differences between the chronologies of these dictatorial dinosaurs, and Greece's 'young' dictatorship, established two decades after the end of World War II, directly impacted the countries' respective paths to democracy. The current article goes beyond 'paired comparisons'ⁱⁱ to look at cross-references between young radical left-wingers in the three Southern European countries' passage to democracy during the mid-1970s.

The 1970s have often been termed a 'pivotal decade', not just because of the effect of the oil crisis on national economies, but also due to the emergence of globalisation.ⁱⁱⁱ At the same time, Southern Europe was deeply marked by the collapse of dictatorships, undergoing the so-called 'third wave of democratisation' and the rise of Eurocommunism, especially in Italy but also in Spain and, to a lesser extent, in Greece.^{iv} This was the simultaneous "crisis of dictatorships", according to the title of the famous 1975 book by Nicos Poulantzas, that led to the relatively synchronic transitions to democracy. Poulantzas, an influential sociologist and philosopher of Eurocommunist leanings himself, tried to theorise the crisis of the three regimes in structuralist Marxist terms, focusing on their inherent contradictions and the role of the so-called 'popular factor'.^v

Left-wing political violence had already appeared as a reaction to the dictatorships in the late 1960s with variable degree of intensity and success. While in

Spain violence had above all the flair of micro-national politics – and in particular the Basque ETA’s combination of liberation theology, separatism, Catholicism and Marxism – in Portugal it was strictly Marxist-Leninist, and in Greece it had decisively third-worldist and anti-imperialist triggers. When it first emerged, this political violence was legitimised as ‘functional’, and as a reaction against illegitimate, violent and abusive regimes, like the ones of Salazar, Franco, or the Colonels.^{vi} However, even after the demise of the regimes, new and old extreme-left groupings using political violence continued to operate, on the premise that the democratic transitions had been ‘betrayed’ from the outset. ETA, the anti-Francoist Maoist grouping F.R.A.P. (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota), the 17th of November in Greece, and the Guevarist Brigadas Revolucionarias in Portugal were organizations almost invariably connected to resistance activities under authoritarianism. After the quasi-simultaneous transitions to democracy in Portugal, Greece and Spain post-1974/75, these organisations resorted to acts of terrorism. Even though the three countries have been studied mostly in isolation or in ‘paired comparisons’, the interaction between the three cases in terms of revolutionary circulation, highlighting their similarities and differences, has not received analytical attention.^{vii}

This paper focuses on the circulation and the contours between the three countries, seeking to expand our understanding of understudied aspects of these transformations.^{viii} It explores the transnational relations, or lack thereof, between the three countries, looking at the ways in which political violence and its semantics ‘travelled’ across borders and beyond national characteristics and specificities. It first briefly describes the background to the 1970s, looking at the events around 1968 as a key

date for subsequent developments, and the older, systematic or less systematic, contacts between the three communities of radicals, especially in Paris. It then focuses on a single, narrowly defined, example of revolutionary knowledge circulation: “Ogro”, Eva Forest’s infamous record of the assassination of Franco’s right-hand man, Carrero Blanco, by ETA in 1973. Looking at how the book’s translation was received outside of Spain, the article traces elements of transnational circulation beyond borders, making a point on how the space of knowledge circulation operates.^{ix}

Based on press reports, leaflets and political publications of the time, the article explores three separate conceptual spaces: the one of knowledge circulation; that of social experience and concrete political action; and the other of belonging and solidarity. It also makes use of visual sources, such as political posters, which were widely used to steer up sympathy and solidarity, especially around the imminent last ‘five’ executions carried out by the Francoist regime. As French philosopher and media critic Paul Virilio has argued on visual sources, such as political posters that mobilized popular support, modern day conflict was waged less for ‘material, territorial or economic conquest and more and more to dominate the immaterial territory of human perception’.^x

The article further makes extensive use of interviews with protagonists of militant action at the time, referring occasionally to the great semantic distance between past and present, as manifested in these testimonies. By focusing on both sympathizers and militants of groupings involved in revolutionary violence and their perceptions, the article attempts to highlight the existence of both imaginary and actual transnational links between the three countries, and the occasional lack thereof. The interviewees were selected based on their militancy and involvement in dissident activities during the final

stages of the dictatorial regimes and during the transitional periods. While the article makes use of a total of nine interviewees in order to convey the general activist mindset vis-à-vis other authoritarian countries of the European South, it zooms into the recollections of people who had a more central role in underground activities. Here I follow Ronald Fraser's lead from his oral history classic, *Blood of Spain*, that "what people thought – or what they th[ink] they thought – also constitutes an historical fact."^{xi}

Paris as the 'beginning before the beginning'

What were the contacts, if any, between grassroots activists in the three Southern European countries immediately prior and after the fall of the regimes? Up until the transitions, anti-regime social movements had very little interaction. In order to find contacts, one has to look at actors outside the three countries, and at places such as France, where around 1968 most conspiratorial activity that conjured so-called "dynamic" action occurred. In terms of the mechanics of transnationalism and its spatial characteristics, Paris acted as a common point of reference, cohabitation, mutual recognition and interaction; a space of social experience. The only Greeks or Spaniards who, in retrospect, mention Portugal as an influential case prior to April 1974 are those who lived in Paris, where they intermingled with their Portuguese – and other – counterparts. Apart from sporadic contacts between workers, it was not until 1968 that dissident students of the three countries briefly coordinated their actions at the Parisian *Cité Universitaire*. We could consider '68 as the actual incipit to the story of cross-fertilisation between grassroots actors – 'a beginning before the beginning', to use novelist Amos Oz's words.^{xii} The "Paris Moment" proves central to understanding the

evolution of the movements.

According to historian Alberto Carrillo-Linares, these expat communities in Paris comprised the three *Es*: *exiled*, *émigrés* and *expats*.^{xiii} In our case, the most important ones were the students, often self-exiled, like in the case of most young Portuguese men who had ended up abroad as deserters wishing to avoid being drafted to the colonial wars in Africa. The parallel occupation of the Greek, Portuguese and Spanish pavilions of the *Cité* during the May '68 events was the by-product of an understanding among these expat student communities in France that they shared a common political predicament. The Greek occupants even issued a *communiqué*, amidst the antiauthoritarian frenzy of the uprising, expressing at once their resistance to the Greek junta, their support for the French movement, and their solidarity to their Spanish and Portuguese colleagues: 'We, Greek students and workers of Paris, believe in the struggle of our French comrades, as well as of the workers and students of Spain and Portugal. If the fascist regimes are dangerous for the whole of Europe, the battles in the streets of Paris constitute the hope of the entire world.'^{xiv} A stencil of the time groups together Franco, Salazar and Colonel Pattakos (alongside General de Gaulle) as members of the same fascist gang (see Image 1).

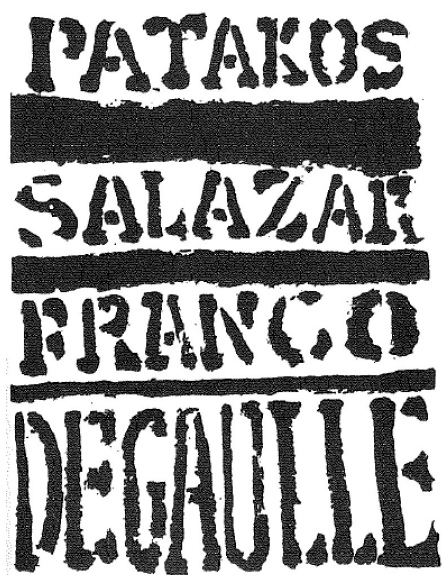


Image 1

In the post-'68 era, the experimental university of Vincennes in Paris turned into a meeting place for political refugees and a space for the reinforcement of thirdworldism.^{xv} Portuguese sociologist and revolutionary Manuel Villaverde Cabral, émigré in France before returning to Lisbon to join the 1974 revolution, notes with an evident sense of pride two of the few words he knows in Greek: these derive from the distinction between the reformist Communist Party of the Interior, and the Stalinist Communist Party of the Exterior, products of the traumatic division within the exiled Greek Communist Party (KKE) that took place in February 1968. In an interview, Villaverde Cabral remarked 'First *exo* and then *eso*. Yes, *exoteriko* [exterior] and *esoteriko* [interior]. I know some words in Greek, see?' [laughter] (Villaverde Cabral, interview). This is indicative of the familiarity of political activists of the time with the lingo used by their left-wing

counterparts in the other countries of the authoritarian South.^{xvi}

The Algerian War and Frantz Fanon were powerful referents, particularly present in the French capital, pointing at the liberating potential of the use of violence, as drawn from the anti-colonial experience.^{xvii} Was Spain a reference point for Portuguese radicals, such as Isabel do Carmo, who founded the ‘Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias’ to fight Salazar’s regime? In her recollection today do Carmo, is adamant that, apart from the ever-present memory of the Spanish Civil War, Spain was quite absent from their minds back then:

We here in Portugal felt Spain as that geographical space that stood between us and France (laughter). Because France had freedom, had democracy so had freedom, had books, had bookstores, one could buy books, one could buy newspapers, one could go to the movies and on top of that it had a very active political life. And at the time of the 60s and 70s it had all the student currents: the Maoists, the Trotskyists, the Communists, and it was the inspiration for those who also wanted to follow these currents. Therefore, Spain was that space that we had to cross by train, which was the Sud-Express, from one end to the other to get straight to France, but no contacts. I had to go underground and in fact I had to cross Spain, but I crossed the border [...] to reach France. So Spain, here in Portugal, Spain for us functioned as memory, memory of the Civil War. (Do Carmo, interview)^{xviii}

This blank space on the mental maps of Portuguese militants like Do Carmo indicates to some extent the degree to which Southern European dictatorships closed themselves off but primarily shows that militant groups saw their own struggles in isolation, at least vis-à-vis their close neighbors. Based on this account, it appears that Cuba and Algeria were more present (than Spain) in the minds of organisations with a pronounced transnational outlook and horizon like Brigadas Revolucionárias. Historian

Alberto Carrillo-Linares similarly shows how do Carmo's and her comrade Carlos Antunes' main influences were in the so-called Third World, as this emerges through their own writings, but also from the fact that their radical party was founded in Algiers in 1973. However, while from the vantage point of Paris it seemed evident that these students shared a specific narrative of resisting dictatorship in Southern Europe, at the same time it seemed equally or even more attractive to identify with a broader, global, "third-worldist" narrative.

Carrillo-Linares claims, nevertheless, that do Carmo and her comrades *did* maintain contact with Basque ETA fighters, especially on Galician soil.^{xix} Despite the genuinely transnational outlook of the Portuguese organisation, the first references to the Spanish political situation in its theoretical organ *Revolução* only took place in September 1974, *after* the Portuguese revolution. Specifically, its opening editorial stated the following phrase: 'Spain, a country right next to us.'^{xx} It seems, moreover, that the Spanish *past*, rather than its present, inspired people like do Carmo, as evident through the references to the legendary actions of the Trotskyist POUM or the anarchist FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) during the Spanish Civil War. This fact is exemplified by an original poster by POUM ('Campesinos: La Tierra es Nuestra') still decorating her living room today:

Spain, here in Portugal, Spain for us functioned as memory. The memory of the Civil War. This was very important. I still have an original poster there – the one that says 'la tierra es nuestra'. It is an original of the Andreu Nin posters. Of POUM. (do Carmo, interview)

In fact, imagined solidarity, mostly based on a feeling of a common political belonging in the past, often proved to be more concrete and influential than joint political action in the present. Hence, a common conceptual map existed and persisted even after 1968 and outside the common Parisian expat space.

Portugal: From Quiet Country to Revolutionary Hotbed

Until 1974 Portugal did not constitute a reference point for Spanish antiregime forces either. Despite the similarity of the political situations and their geographical proximity, no networks were created and no information exchange had taken place prior to the transitional periods. *Nuria, a Catalan student activist at the time, makes some acerbic remarks that are typical of this attitude:

We knew nothing about Portugal. We knew nothing... The connection started after April 25, 1974. Only then did we realise that Portugal was a country. The tourist announcement that Portugal issued at that point went 'So close, yet so far'. (*Nuria, interview)

A major exception was Catalan filmmaker Joan Joaquin Jordá, an intellectual figure who was influential in radical and militant artistic circles. Residing in Italy, Jordá clandestinely filmed the documentary with the ironic title *Portugal a quiet country* in 1969. The film focused on interviews with deserters from the Portuguese colonial army and political dissidents.^{xxi}

For radicals living in Greece, by contrast, the Portuguese Revolution happened during the hardest time of the seven-year dictatorship of the Colonels, namely during the brutal rule of Colonel Dimitrios Ioannidis (25 November 1973- 23 July 1974). The only

optimistic news that *Katerina,^{xxii} a young communist cadre in Athens, remembers during those months were the anticolonial wars that led to the Carnation Revolution in Portugal: ‘The sole stimuli were Portugal, Angola, Guinea Bissau’ (*Katerina, interview). Vangelis Kargoudis, a centrist student in Salonica, imprisoned during the Junta years, shared this memory but also stressed how awkward the Portuguese Revolution seemed to him, as it involved both the aristocratic General Spínola, with his characteristic monocle, and junior officers of a Marxist background, such as Otelo de Carvalho:

The air that was blowing was amazing. And at the same time there was Portugal. Portugal was like a Hollywood blockbuster. And you said to yourself: how is it possible? Carvalho? Where did these officers with a crystal-clear Marxist background end up in the armed forces of a dictatorial regime? That was absolutely insane. The revolution started off with that aristocrat, Spínola, and ended up with the captains. (Kargoudis, interview).

The bloodless ‘Carnation Revolution’ of April 25, 1974 became a major influence in Spain, too. From an institutional perspective, the Francoist establishment felt apprehension for a possible “domino” effect or a possible “Portuguese infection”.^{xxiii} From a grassroots perspective, the Portuguese radical rupture, coupled with the fall of the Greek Colonels some months later, boosted protest actions within Spain and reinforced the feeling that Franco’s regime was becoming increasingly isolated internationally.^{xxiv} What is more, the decomposed Portuguese Army, that had turned revolutionary after fighting a colonial war, shifted traditional views, leading some left-wing intellectuals to reconsider their grand theories on ‘revolutionary situations’ and the mobilising forces behind revolts. Jaime Pastor, Spanish communist student leader in the late Francoist years

and émigré in Paris, remembers:

The Portuguese Revolution appeared as an exceptional point of reference to us, though we never thought that it could be reproduced here [in Spain]. But one could then at least say that a dictatorship could fall. I suppose this happened in Greece, too. It became obvious to us that the fall of a dictatorship could lead to the emergence of a pre-revolutionary situation, with a process of self-management, and with the extension of the struggle for democracy to the struggle for national fulfilment, particularly over the Basque question. (Pastor, interview)

Historian Javier Fernández Rincón also corroborates the fact that the radical, albeit bloodless, rupture in Portugal made several Spanish underground organisations reconsider the practice of low-intensity violence to obtain political ends.^{xxv}

Villaverde Cabral shares the memories of the extreme density of the time when he returned to Lisbon from Paris, where he had spent eleven years as a militant émigré, editing the journal *Cadernos de Circunstância*.^{xxvi} He vividly describes a scene from April 1974, when he and his comrades returned to revolutionary Lisbon from their exile in Paris. The scene encompasses the past and future of the radical Portuguese left. Villaverde Cabral refers specifically to Camilo Mortágua, an emblematic figure of the militant Portuguese left, involved in the 1961 hijacking of a TAP airplane in protest to Salazar's regime. The 'Mortágua girls' mentioned in his testimony are none other than Camilo's two daughters, unborn yet, currently leading figures of the radical left-wing party Bloco de Esquerda.

We arrived at the border on the 30th, the 29th [of April] at night, and they stopped us and we stayed there a long time. And behind us, behind our car – I did not know that, but they told me later – came a car of the

exact same type as ours with people positioned in the chessboard of French exile, a bit different from us. In the car, I was with a friend of the old group of the *Cadernos de Circunstância*, which was a split of Marxist-Leninists, in contact with the Italian *operaismo* etc. And behind us, in an exact same car, a Volkswagen, was the father of the Mortágua girls, who did not yet exist; they were born later, much later. (Villaverde Cabral, interview)

Villaverde Cabral's car story brings to mind Spanish novelist Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's dictum on the Portuguese Revolution that 'this is the first revolution one can go to by car'.^{xxvii} Furthermore, in line with historian François Hartog's theorisation of past, present and future fused into one^{xxviii}, it intermingles the past and future of the Portuguese Left through the genealogy of one family.

Historian Alberto Carrillo-Linares mentions groups of Spanish anarchists – close to the *Grupos de Presencia Confederal y Libertaria* – going *en masse* to Portugal on May 1, 1974, to join the celebration of the Revolution.^{xxix} Barcelona-born Juan Trías Vejarano, an ex-militant and junior professor of political science in Madrid in the mid-1970s, similarly went to Lisbon to observe the Revolution, where he remembers meeting all his progressive colleagues from Spain. He describes the experience as a 'revolutionary pilgrimage' of sorts, again reverberating Vázquez Montalbán's recollection of going from Francoist Spain to revolutionary Portugal to 'peep' at freedom as *voyeurs*.^{xxx}

The Portuguese thing happened, and of course, there were pilgrimages there. We went to Lisbon for a pilgrimage. Besides, they could obviously not legally prevent you from going to Portugal, because it was a non-Soviet country. Because on our passports it was written that it was prohibited to travel to the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. But not to Portugal. So, during Holy Week, on 25 April ... I remember that I met the whole Faculty. My entire Faculty, all the *progre* [progressive] Professors and all the mobilized students, you could meet them there... People came from all over Europe, buses arrived! (Trías,

interview).

José Alvarez Junco, who also went to Portugal from Spain, stresses the difference with the pre-revolutionary period, which he describes as utterly sad:

I went to Portugal, of course, the following month. I had been to Portugal before, I think once, and I remembered it as a very sad country. Salazar's dictatorship, in times of Caetano, rather, was very sad, it was a repressed thing, the highways of Portugal were full of skulls with two bones, reading 'drugs kill', and it was horrible. A sad and repressed country. And all of a sudden, the revolution was an explosion of happiness and carnations, and people embracing each other in the streets, and the porn cinemas etc, well, all that. And yes, we went to Portugal everyone started travelling to Portugal, many times. (Alvarez Junco, interview)

The Portuguese Revolution deeply disturbed both the Greek Colonels and Franco, who described it as 'a pointless destruction of the achievements of Salazar'.^{xxx} The euphoria among anti-regime circles in Spain is captured by journalists who covered the events for alternative publications like *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*.^{xxxi} All this suggests that cross-references proved to be more important than geographical proximity. At the same time, revolutionary archetypes, such as the one of Portugal, became powerful stimulants, regardless of the physical distance.

ETA, F.R.A.P., and their direct impact on (distant) Greece

If Portugal stands out as a case of rupture, the transition in Spain is widely known as a product of negotiation. The standard way of looking at the onset of the Spanish transition to democracy was Franco's death in November 1975 that led to the introduction,

following a referendum a year later, of the ‘law of political reform’. The decisive blow, however, had been given some years earlier, in December 1973, when then Prime Minister, Admiral Carrero Blanco, Franco’s right-hand man and heir apparent, was assassinated by the Basque separatist organisation ETA [Basque Land and Freedom/*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*]. ETA was a nationalist, thirdworldist organisation of Marxist inclinations, with Catholic influences, especially from the Latin American-inspired theology of liberation.^{xxxiii} The organisation was a regional and ethnic separatist movement which operated on the premise of conducting an anti-colonial struggle. When theorist of Basque nationalism Federico Krutwig Sagredo published *Vasconia* in 1963, he referred to a foreign occupation of *Euskadi*, linking it with colonialism and outlining a revolutionary strategy modeled on third world struggles for decolonization.^{xxxiv} This theoretical backing served to legitimate ETA’s transition to the ‘armed struggle’ against the Spanish state.^{xxxv} After killing the policeman and torturer Meliton Manzanas in 1968, ETA became widely known in Spain during the December 1970 trials of six of its members by a military tribunal in Burgos and their death sentences, which were commuted to life sentences after the outbreak of international outrage. For historian Antonio Muñoz Sánchez, this was a “point of no return” in terms of international solidarity campaigns and for the creation of a favorable image for the organization abroad.^{xxxvi} Through the assassination of Carrero Blanco ETA acquired further international awe and notoriety. This was an extremely complex enterprise due to the high rank of the particular Francoist figure and the fact that the *Attentat* took place in the very centre of Madrid, right under the nose of the police.

Leftist militant at the time and present day historian José Álvarez Junco shares the conviction that this assassination marked the beginning of the end for the regime. Interestingly, Álvarez Junco places Carrero's assassination amongst a number of splendid cadavers of political figures of high calibre internationally:

One can find antecedents for everything, but I believe that only when Carrero died did we realise that something was going to change for good. Immediately afterwards, four months later, the Portuguese Revolution took place. For us it was extremely important. That spring of '74 [Argentinean President] Perón, who was still in power, died all of a sudden, without having notified anyone of his illness. And he suddenly passed away. [French President] Pompidou died in similar circumstances. Franco had his thrombophlebitis in the summer of '74. One could see that things were speeding up. Something was about to happen. (Álvarez Junco, interview)

Junco seems to refer to certain premonition of radical change among activists of the time, which indicates the degree of anticipation for “something to happen”, after decades of stagnation and repressions.

Both Carrero's assassination and Franco's death sealed the regime's decline, crippling any aspiration for continuity and signalling the beginning of the long transitional process. To avenge Carrero Blanco's assassination by ETA, Franco ratified a number of executions from his deathbed in the mid-1970s, partly also to show his firm grip on power, as authoritarian regimes were collapsing all around. Alongside the barbaric execution of young Catalan anarchist Salvador Puig Antich in the spring of 1975, Franco's ratification of the execution of three F.R.A.P.^{xxxvii} and two ETA members in late summer of the same year, gave rise to large riots in Spain and to a wave of international protest throughout Southern and Western Europe.^{xxxviii}

Various leaflets document widespread sympathy for these last five executed dissidents of the Spanish dictatorship, all in their twenties, who acquired heroic status among militant leftists in Spain and all over Europe. Alejandro Ruiz Huerta, militant lawyer at the time, remembers:

In those months, in late 1975, we held many acts of protest against Franco's executions. In September of '75 we occupied the *Colegio de Abogados*. We barricaded ourselves in the *Colegio de Abogados* asking that the death sentences be commuted to life imprisonment, as even Pope Paul VI had pleaded, who was no progressive. We barricaded ourselves and decided – some two hundred lawyers – , we decided that we would only be kicked out, because we wouldn't leave of our own accord. And indeed we ducked down and we were kicked out black and blue, as we applied tactics of non-violence. (Ruiz Huerta, interview)

The enthusiasm created by what was seen as the pending collapse of the Francoist regime resonated strongly in Greece. It prompted the drafting of lengthy, almost daily Greek reports, which dubbed ETA “the Basque fighters” and the “resistance”, despite its use of political violence to achieve its means.^{xxxix} The reports on the trials and executions became a privileged means of knowledge circulation, breeding radicalism and a youthful activism all over Greece. Some of the greatest demonstrations against the imminent execution of the five took place in post-Junta Athens, where the opposition to continuing repression in the last remaining authoritarian country in the European South was vividly discernible. Suffice to look at some of the headlines of the recently legalized Communist newspaper *Rizospastis* in Greece, such as “Franco-Fascist-Assassin”,^{xl} reverberating the slogan that was shouted in the streets, but also more liberal press, like *To Vima* and *Ta Nea*. Even the right-wing *Kathimerini* published a headline with the telling title “courageous before the death squad” referring to the five.^{xli} In October 1975 Communist

poet Yannis Ritsos, a revered figure for left-wingers in Greece of the transitional era and beyond, composed a poem in honour of the five, clearly capturing the widespread fascination for the executed ones and the rage for their untimely death:

Juan Paredes Manot

A name amongst the Five

Amongst the thousands

Of murdered ones.

How did you manage, Juan,

This smile?

I leaned over your hair

I kissed your thin moustache

I kissed the ground of Euskadi.

Come on now, Txiki

Enter the poem

Wait.

Not for long.

Wait.

Let the placards be bigger.

The swords barer.^{xlii}

Awe and admiration were indeed expressed in a placard circulated by the Greek Maoist organisation PPCP (Progressive Student Syndicalist Party) within the framework of the protest (see image 2), featuring an imprisoned man, steeped in red colour within his cell, defiant in front of the gloomy future ahead. According to historian Benjamin Ziemann “emotionalism, dramatization and stereotyping” tend to be hegemonic in the political iconography of social movements of the 1970s^{xliii}. What is more, the poster links

Chile with Spain under the title “Chile-Spain: Death to Fascism and Imperialism, Freedom to the People – Get Together to Demonstrate in Solidarity of the Struggling People”. This thirdworldist understanding of the suspension of geographical barriers and distinctions within a homogenized plateau of US imperialism and neo-colonialism connects the Global with the European South; it created spaces of imagined belonging that went beyond southern Europe.^{xliv}

In late October 1975, the same Greek Marxist-Leninist organization, PPCP, would organize its own demonstration in solidarity to Spain, this time with the participation of F.R.A.P. members. The gathering was titled “On the side of the Spanish people”, and its poster featured the Spanish Republican flag, F.R.A.P. thirdworldist logo with a hand holding a rifle, and a similar image to the one of the PPCPS’ above of an angry young man with a raised fist in defiance (see Image 3). F.R.A.P.’s own slogan was that ‘repression has to be dealt with in the streets and by the same token, that is violence’,^{xlv} visibly shared here by its Greek counterparts. The event, taking place in the emblematic Polytechnic School that had been the stage of the bloody student uprising against the Colonels back in 1973, exemplified close connections between Marxist-Leninist factions across the board, which went beyond rhetoric to arrange concrete common actions.

The late September demonstrations, and especially the October one, with the participation of F.R.A.P. members, were mainly spaces of concrete political engagement, and surely to some extent of knowledge circulation. They fostered a feeling of solidarity between participants, while the posters reinforced an imagined community of Greek and Spaniard leftists. Their actual impact on Greek society was, however, limited.

Significantly, the recently reopened left-wing journal *Anti*, which had acquired legendary status after being censored and closed down after only one issue during the Colonels' regime, claimed that the demonstrations in solidarity to Spain should have been more massive and energetic. Unfortunately, Greeks 'had already forgotten the seven years of dictatorship and repression which they themselves had gone through' the journal lamented.^{xlvi} Even though *Anti*'s expectations of people's combativeness might have been unreasonably high, this comment gives us a measure of things as far as the limitations of *actual* impact of such action on a social level is concerned.

In the following months leading up to Franco's death on 20 November 1975 and soon thereafter one can discern in the Greek press a deep fascination with Spanish politics and the possibility of a democratic transition, in general, and with the ETA phenomenon in particular. Carrero Blanco's assassination seemed to be turning into a *cause célèbre*, almost two years after the event. Left-of-centre daily *Thessaloniki* had been publishing extensive reports and analyses on the Basque separatist organization already since the early 1970s, namely the last years of the Colonels' regime. Like other Greek dailies of the time, it invariably dubbed ETA as "patriotic", its members were called "partisans" and were always categorized within the realm of heroic 'resistance' against Franco.^{xlvi}



(image 2)



(image 3)

In 1975, Eva Forest's interview with ETA's executioners of Carrero Blanco, originally published by the Paris-based publishing house *Ruedo Iberico*, was translated and published in Greece, where it soon turned into a cult text.^{xlvi} The translator of the book in Greek, Chara Dali,^{xli} had been herself involved in underground activities against the Colonels' dictatorship and was directly connected to radical circles after democratisation. A militant network of sorts was being forged between people involved in political violence activities throughout the authoritarian or post-authoritarian South in the mid- 1970s, who were *imagining* themselves as part of the same contour.

In October 1975 Greek liberal newspaper *To Vima* started publishing the various chapters of the book in daily instalments. After an initial period of growing anticipation, during which *To Vima* set the ground by publishing articles on Franco and on the “future”

of the Spanish transition, the centre-left daily started publishing not just snippets but entire chunks of the book.¹ As the editorial of 3 October 1975 went:

The text that *To Vima* starts to publish is a unique document of our time. Far more fascinating than any novel, it is the narration by four young Basques of how they planned, prepared and finally successfully implemented the plan to execute Franco's PM and successor, Admiral Louis Carrero Blanco.

The four young men, members of the organization ETA (Basque Nation and Freedom) – who for obvious reasons speak under the *nommes de guerre* Xabi, Iker, Mikel, Jon – describe all the stages of their operation: from the moment when they received the first directives and arrived in Madrid, where they lived for a year under the constant fear of being discovered in a foreign city, full of agents and informers, to the detailed planning of their task, up to the execution, on December 1973, of Admiral Blanco, and their own escape.

But their text is as much revealing, as it is fascinating. It conveys, for the first time from within, the full picture of nationalist and democratic organizations which carry out the clandestine struggle against the Francoist dictatorship and describes at the same time the daily life in a country in which a bloody regime is reaching its end, isolated and with growing strands of people turning their backs against it.

Needless to say, the text that follows does not circulate freely in Spain. But the readers might be interested to know that it has been banned in France, too.^{li}

One can discern the enthusiasm of the newspaper's editors for the text, which constitutes indeed a very elaborated and detailed analysis by the commandos who partook in the operation of their own thought process and deeds, in the form of an interview. The final sentence ("the text that follows does not circulate freely in Spain") flags the difference

between freedom of expression in Greece and Spain in 1975 (in the latter the circulation of the text is, in fact, still considered a felony). Hence, *To Vima*, a liberal paper which identified itself with the democratic transition in Greece demonstrated a certain fascination with revolutionary violence and with a book on a political assassination that “was more fascinating than any novel”.

The filming of “Ogro”, based on the eponymous book, by renowned Italian political filmmaker Gillo Pontecorvo was also widely covered by newspapers, like *To Vima* and *Thessaloniki*. A sympathetic review bore the headline “Gillo Pontecorvo studies Spain. The director of “Battle of Algiers” analyses the situation and psychology of Basque partisans”.^{lii} Pontecorvo’s own filmic contour from Algiers to the Basque Country exemplifies the fact that these spaces were perceived as parts of a common plateau of anticolonial struggles.^{liii}

Franco’s death led to an anti-climax regarding the admiration for ETA among the Greek press; but popular cultural items, like caricatures, persisted. A typical example was a cartoon in late November 1975 by popular cartoonist KYR in the radical left-wing newspaper *Eleftherotypia* on Franco’s ascension to heaven where he’s trying to stage a coup d’etat. In a fascinating chronotopical fusion the cartoonist blends elements and figures of the Greek and Spanish dictatorships together, suggesting a common repressive predicament, but also a joint liberation potential from the ‘hellishness’ of authoritarianism. Americans were featured as the major devils in this hell.^{liv}

In terms of actual political violence, Greece had its own share: numerous assassinations and kidnappings by the leftist terrorist group Revolutionary Organisation 17 November (referring to the landslide 1973 student uprising against the Colonels),

belied peaceful transition. They aimed at destabilization and hoped to jeopardise the shaky democratic edifice. 17 November's first terrorist act was the assassination of Richard Welch, the CIA Station Chief in Athens, in December 1975, followed by the assassination of policemen and former torturers. Both 17 November and, to a lesser extent, ELA [Revolutionary Popular Struggle/Επαναστατικό Λαϊκός Αγώνας] were initially perceived by the public by and large as avengers for past repression. In contrast to the Spanish *Transición*'s slogan 'freedom-amnesty-statute of autonomy', the Greek triptych of demands included 'amnesty to political prisoners – punishment of perpetrators - new departure'.^{lv} This clearly delineated the limits between blanket amnesty and accountability for political crimes during the dictatorship years. Still, the widespread conviction, especially after the so-called second round of trials of the torturers of the Junta, was that no justice had been done – a political disenchantment on which 17 November and similar organisations capitalized to gain support.

Dimitris Koufodinas, the main gunman of 17 November in later years, still a 18-year old teenager in 1975, remembers being equally inspired by ETA and by Portugal: 'I saw from close up and listened to that great figure, Otelo de Carvalho', he says in awe about one of the emblematic personalities of the Carnation Revolution.^{lvi} However, what stands out in his narrative is Che Guevara, and Carlos Marighella's city guerrilla manifesto in Brazil. In fact, despite the aforementioned connection between Greek Maoists and the Spanish F.R.A.P. it seems that different kinds of contours, such as the impact of Chilean or Brazilian experiences, were more meaningful for the people involved in this kind of action. The demonstrations that used this lingo and the direct references to the Latin American paradigm are a case in point.^{lvii} Perhaps it is no

coincidence that 17 November's first victim, Welch, has been CIA's stationer in Peru before being transferred to Athens. His assassination bore an acute resemblance to scenes of the political thriller "State of Siege" (1972). Directed by Greek cineaste Costa-Gavras, the film was quite popular at the time and featured the questioning and killing of CIA agent Philip Michael Santori in Uruguay by the Tupamaros.

The above examples demonstrate that transnational knowledge circulation was instrumental for the emergence of the dynamics of violence. This knowledge, moreover, 'travelled' from Latin America to Southern Europe, leading to a consolidation of an imagined belonging to the same underdog political predicament, which seemed to justify the use of all possible means.

ETA's not so strong image in (neighbouring) Portugal

ETA's heroic outlook was tarnished in September 1974 when it placed a bomb at the coffee shop *Rolando* in Calle Correos in the very centre of Madrid, next to the central police station, which served as a torture centre at Plaza del Sol. As the café was a hub of policemen, ETA had aimed to kill as many as possible but only ended up causing a carnage of mostly passersby.^{lviii} Actress Eva Forest – the real writer behind the pseudonym Julen Aguirre of "Operación Ogro" – was supposedly implicated in the enterprise herself, a fact that cost her years in jail. The bloodiness of the Calle Correo incident smeared ETA's image at home and abroad, which was further affected after Franco's death, in November 1975, with the heightening of its activity. Government reprisals led to a state of emergency in the Basque country in 1976. This led to the 'years

of lead' in Spain, to quote a phrase taken from the Italian context, when people increasingly realised that ETA's primary aim had not been to overthrow Franco's dictatorship, but rather separatism.

Francisco Fernández Buey, the charismatic student leader of the university mobilisations in Barcelona in the late 1960s, remembers this change of heart vis-a-vis ETA after democracy was established:

We started discussing what ETA really represented. In critical terms, I would say that already in 1975, 1976, that is immediately after Franco's death and especially after 1977 and the first elections, because there the discussion was, well, in the end democratic elections were held but terrorist attacks are still taking place, and so on. There was a rupture there, producing an inflection and a very clear separation. But until 1977, I would say, there was collaboration [between ETA and social movements]. (Fernández Buey, interview)

For ETA members the fight against the Spanish state continued, regardless of whether the government was democratically elected or not. Wave after wave of assassinations, kidnappings and police shootings ripped through the fabric of Spanish political life between the adoption of political reform laws and the organisation of the first free and fair elections in 1977, with political killings rising steadily until 1980. All political crimes committed by ETA were already amnestied in October 1977, in a process that analysts have described as extremely generous^{lix}, of which there was no equivalent in Greece or Portugal.

To what extent were ETA, and Spanish underground activities in general influential models for activists in Portugal involved in underground actions? Isabel Do Carmo was involved in said activities both during the Salazarist regime and after its

downfall, believing that the Revolution had been ‘betrayed’. Do Carmo, who was subsequently imprisoned for several years, argues that ETA’s influence was minimal (if at all existent):

The Brigadas Revolucionárias had never had any contact with Spain, neither with ETA nor with ... Nothing, we never had anything. Then we got to the Revolution of April 25, but during the dictatorship there was nothing. There was an attempt (laughs) in Venezuela by the political emigrants from Spain and Portugal to do something together which was the Iberian Republican Directory. With Galvão and Sotomayor of Spain, and it was this Directory that made the assault on the ship Santa Maria in 1960-61, and yes there were Portuguese and Spanish together. But this constituted émigré action. Here, locally, in the Iberian Peninsula, it never happened. So during the whole period of the dictatorship, forty or so years, there were never any contacts here. It is incredible how subjectively things, dictatorships work inside people’s heads. Because it was a bit obvious that we had to come together.

Do Carmo goes on to discuss the ‘isolation’ of the two cases, arguing against any kind of organic relation, contact or impact between the organisations, including the Communist parties.^{lx} She explains that the endless divisions within ETA (between a ‘political’ and a ‘political military’ faction) left no room for cooperation:^{lxi}

Our isolation was serious isolation, and so was the Spanish (one). Because the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party, which was abroad, wanted no involvement whatsoever with international movements . . . ETA had been around for I don't know how long, but it was very contaminated by the climate of the 1960s. And, in my view, it then had that very bad, militaristic evolution, when the assemblies started being divided down to the very last one. (Do Carmo, interview)

Even though Spanish radicalism had no direct impact on Portugal, transnational

“points of reference,” mutual awareness, or symbolic borrowing abounded.^{lxii} Information around Operation Ogro and the killing of Carrero Blanco became in Portugal, too, a popular read of sorts, around a *cause célèbre*. As in Greece, Eva Forest’s “Operación Ogro” came out in 1975 in Lisbon in a Portuguese edition attracting attention.^{lxiii} It featured a hooded man on the cover in-between the standard image of ETA members giving press conferences from the French-Spanish border, and a Zorro-like image of the popular avenger. The cover’s effect was equally terrifying and fascinating.

Lisbon as an Actual Place of Political Engagement

There is a contrast between Do Carmo’s statement and the general sentiment for what was seen as the exceptionally cruel and unjust executions of the five in September 1975. A poster that circulated in Lisbon days before the executions read ‘Freedom to all political prisoners in Spain’. The iconography points at a Cyclopic capitalist figure, with the typical bowler hat, a panoptic eye and a Hitler-like moustache, squeezing and about to crush with his thumb the blindfolded political prisoners (see image 4). In this respect, images and icons seem to be the most powerful agents of transnationalism, circulating more easily and with a more discernible impact than texts. This does not mean of course that images themselves could not be misinterpreted. Still, the very recognisability of images as symbols with a global significance rendered them more direct and succinct vehicles of internationalism than texts, which were often ‘lost in translation’.



(image 4)



(image 5)

Another poster (image 5) under the rubric ‘Solidarity to the Struggle of the Spanish Peoples’ uses Picasso’s *Guernica* as a reference point to depict repression and violence in a typically Basque subject-matter, connecting 1937 to 1975, and Hitler to Franco. The formulation also deliberately refers to ‘povos’ (peoples) instead of ‘povo’ (people) of Spain, hence embracing the Basque cause, but also the Catalan one against Francoist centralism and the premise of a single nation.

In September 1975, immediately prior to and especially right after the execution of the five by the Francoist regime, far-left Portuguese (and Spanish) protesters stormed the Spanish Consulate and Embassy in Lisbon. These incidents, where the Consulate and

Embassy were pillaged and set on fire (image 6), reportedly, infuriated Franco.^{lxiv} One can see in photos of the time graffiti written on the walls reading “Franco Assassin”, and “Garrote Vil”, referring to the barbarous mode of execution still exercised in Spain at that moment. The conservative pro-regime Spanish daily *ABC* reported in evident disgust the ‘acts of vandalism’:^{lxv}

The presence of Spanish activists in Portuguese lands is a fact that, of course, does not need any proof whatsoever, and since next to these elements demonstrated those who use the disguise of moderation, in the end of the day this only facilitated the actions of those who limit themselves to carry out an already thought-out plan: passing to revolutionary action in case the death sentences were carried out in Spain.^{lxvi}

At the same time the daily hosted extensive reports on the executions and the burials of the ‘five’,^{lxvii} also reporting ‘pro-government’ demonstrations against ‘anti-Spanish’ actions abroad. For the newspaper it was clear that these people were the ultra-left activists of the Marxist Portuguese party Democratic Popular Union (*União Democrática Popular*) at the helm, covering up for the Spaniards of the F.R.A.P. Similar incidents also took place in the Spanish consulates in Porto some days later. The Francoist police was in fact quite certain, according to historian Alberto Carrillo-Linares, that the organisation had underground training camps in Sine, in the vicinity of Lisbon.^{lxviii} In spatial terms, thus, revolutionary Portugal was turning into a transnational locus par excellence of a very concrete engagement and coming-together of diverse forces across the border.

It appears that the situation was so tense that Madrid cut off diplomatic ties and threatened Portugal with military reprisals. At some point, alongside reports of the enormous demonstrations and assaults of Spanish Embassies throughout Europe (Paris,

London, Bonn, Rome, Amsterdam), Greece is also mentioned, next to a spurious “shortage of drachmas” and the Spanish government’s decision to cease issuing Portuguese escudos. It is important to note that in terms of official foreign policy protest, the nine existing members of the EEC, with the exception of Ireland, withdrew their ambassadors from Madrid in protest.



(image 6)

A few months later, when Franco passed away, in Portugal as well caricatures proliferated that poked fun at his larger than life persona, which would supposedly continue to exercise some kind of evil power from the hereafter. Even do Carmo’s organisation *Revolução*, not habitually using cartoons and humour in its serious and

austere covers, featured such a vignette in late November 1974. The cover was making a sarcastic visual comment on the Falangist slogan ‘Viva la Muerte’ [Long Live Death]. It was perhaps no coincidence that this appeared right above the quite ominous headline, in black background, that the ‘Brigadas Revolucionárias’ were going underground (image 7).^{lxix} This was right after 25 November 1975, when the formidable nineteen months of the Portuguese revolution had passed and the process was abruptly over.



(image 7)

Things became more complicated regarding international solidarity in later years, as the much-adored F.R.A.P. continued to kill policemen throughout the Spanish transition, in response to the endemic violence on behalf of the Spanish state. In 1977, a similar organisation, GRAPO (Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre) kidnapped Antonio de Oriol y Urquijo, president of the State Council, and General

Emilio Villascusa, president of the military's supreme council, a powerful and influential figure, linking financial, military and political interests, in a move reminiscent of RAF's kidnapping of Hanns Martin Schleyer in West Germany in the same exact year. In reality they were holding hostage the entire transitional process, a fact by now unfavourably seen by the majority of the Portuguese (and the Greek) press and public. At the same time, the often revered by the liberal foreign press ETA was undergoing a variety of schisms and was entering its bloodiest phase. This fact started tarnishing its idealised image abroad putting an abrupt end to this period of Southern European solidarity and revolutionary cross-identification.^{lxx}

Conclusion

When analysing the outlook of radical movements, one has 'to steer a middle way between the Scylla of underestimating and the Charybdis of overestimating the[ir] [...] importance as collective actors', to paraphrase Benjamin Ziemann. Examining the function of the 'code of protest they used to constitute themselves' is, hence, more useful than any value judgements on the movements themselves, which need to be avoided.^{lxxi}

What can we thus learn from the interaction or lack thereof in the three cases examined? Was there a 'rebel code' that made its way legible from one case to the other, despite local particularities and linguistic or other barriers? And which were the contours of transnationalism, if any? I tried to show that from 1968, and in the 'neutral' space of Paris, a culture of interaction was created between left-wing (and ultra-left-wing) political tribes of émigrés from Spain, Greece and Portugal. The dynamics and mechanics of this transnationalism operated upon the thirdworldist assumption of a common denominator

and a similar predicament. Paris, as a concrete space of social experience, became at the same time a place where bonds of solidarity were created that would continue to shape the politics of the left between and in the three countries.

Moving on to the ‘long 1970s’, however, this article argues that, apart from sporadic cases of real transnational connections, in most cases the impact was indirect and symbolic, rather than direct and organic. F.R.A.P. and its appearance both in Athens and Lisbon is a case in point, as an organisation that had a very concrete strategy of transnationalisation. The article argued for much denser and tighter contacts between the still Francoist (and the immediate post-Francoist) Spain and post-authoritarian Greece than with the neighbouring, revolutionary or post-revolutionary Portugal. It demonstrated a perceptible ‘density’ of transnationalism, explaining, for instance, how Eva Forest’s extended interview with ETA members became a success transnationally, and especially in Greece. Her book became a canonical text of transnational knowledge circulation.

Operación Ogro travelled across borders, carrying the experience of the armed struggle. The text did not just travel from Spain to Greece and Portugal, but also from times of dictatorship to times of democracy, changing signifiers not only in spatial but also in temporal terms. It provided very concrete know-how on armed resistance, offering a symbolic and technical code to people and organisations aspiring to this sort of action. The book quickly became a standard reference point for the extraparliamentary and anti-authoritarian left, next to Carlos Marighella’s books on urban guerrilla. Even though there is a long history of such manuals providing “technical codes” of “rebel” activism, *Ogro*’s story stands out as its symbolic code far superseded the technical one. The power of the narrative, the spectacular element of the political assassination – one of

the most complex and impactful of the time – acted as a revolutionary guide of sorts for radical actors but also for a general public that was being increasingly radicalised, as testified by its circulation and promotion by liberal, mainstream newspapers.

The article further showcased the empathy that existed between the three countries, at least for some actors who imagined themselves as parts of the same contour, namely within the realm of imagined solidarity, and the same emotional community. The case of the Spanish F.R.A.P. is probably the only one in which an actual network was put in place, in Greece and above all in Portugal, as part of the same predicament, at least symbolically. In actual physical terms, while Paris had been the locus of co-existence between revolutionary expatriates in 1968, after the Portuguese Revolution in 1974 Lisbon turned to another plateau of co-ordinated action: after all the revolution *had taken* place there and could (and should) only produce more revolutionary outcomes in countries sharing a similar postauthoritarian outlook. In terms of *actual* spaces the very revolutionary situation Portugal was going through transformed Lisbon and its surroundings, turning them into a very specific locus of both imaginary and actual revolutionary potential during the nineteenth months that followed the Carnation revolution, including Spanish activists who finally crossed the border to militate.

All in all, this article showcased the relevance of transnational spaces for radical movements, which emerged in the immediate post-authoritarian moment in Southern Europe. It further argued that despite serious limitations in consistent transnational political engagement, Southern Europe nevertheless constitutes a paradigmatic space of knowledge circulation and (imagined) solidarity between countries.

Interviews

José Álvarez Junco, October 2017.

Isabel do Carmo, Lisbon, November 2017.

Francisco Fernández Buey, Barcelona, July 2002.

Alejandro Ruíz-Huerta, Cádiz, May 2017.

Vangelis Kargoudis, Athens, September 2002.

Jaime Pastor, July 2003.

Juan Trías Vejarano, Florence, May 2003.

Manuel Villaverde-Cabral, Lisbon, November 2017.

*Nuria, Barcelona, July 2003.

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ⁱ For a comparative view on the memories of the 1930s and 1940s and their impact on younger generations in Spain and Greece, see James, Townson, Voglis, “Inspirations”.

ⁱⁱ See Tarrow, “The Strategy of Paired Comparison”.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sargent, ‘The Cold War and the International Political Economy of the 1970s’.

^{iv} For a concise history of the Eurocommunist phenomenon and its legacies see Balampanidis, *Eurocommunism*.

^v Poulantzas, *La crise des dictatures*.

^{vi} Petsa, *Πολιτική Βία, Τρόμος και Μνήμη στη Σύγχρονη Ελληνική και Ιταλική Λογοτεχνία* [Political Violence, Terror and Memory in Modern Greek and Italian Literature], p. 516. Also see her *Όταν γράφει το*

μολύβι: Πολιτική βία και μνήμη στη σύγχρονη ελληνική και ιταλική πεζογραφία [Inscribed in lead: political violence and memory in contemporary Greek and Italian prose].

^{vii} See Pereira, 'Terrorismo en Portugal'.

Fishman, *Democratic Practice*; Voglis, 'The Junta Came to Power by the Force of Arms, and Will Only Go by Force of Arms', Papadogiannis, *Militant around the Clock?* For strictly luso-iberian exchanges during the transitions see the important book by Duran Muñoz, *Contención y transgression*. Also see the classic by Sánchez Cervelló, *La revolución portuguesa y su influencia en la transición española*.

^{viii} On the understudied transnational diffusion across non-democratic societies, see Kenney, "Opposition Networks".

^{ix} See in this respect Padraic Kenney's pioneering work on transnational diffusion around the revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe, "Opposition Networks and Transnational Diffusion in the Revolutions of 1989". Kenney crucially identifies six transnational modes of contact: *command*, *text*, *legend*, *pilgrimage*, *courier* and *convocation* (208). On a critical historiographical review of the role of transnational activism and its impact on postwar Europe see Belinda Davis, 'What's Left? Popular Political Participation in Postwar Europe'.

^x Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema*. Quoted in Benjamin Ziemann, 'The Code of Protest', 238.

^{xi} Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 32. On developing a 'critical methodology' to deal with the delicate issue of ex-militant testimony, involving the use of political violence, see Charlotte Heath-Kelly, "Talking about Revolution".

^{xii} Amos Oz, 'Big Bang di ogni storia', *La Repubblica*, December 3, 1997, quoted by Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, p. 40.

^{xiii} Emigrants had gone to Paris mostly for economic reasons; political exiles included the illegal Communist Party cadres and Portuguese draft dodgers who wanted to escape the colonial wars in Africa; finally, expats were either students, intellectuals or artists who voluntarily resided in France. There were qualitative differences between the three categories despite the fact that at times they overlapped.

^{xiv} Occupation of the Hellenic Residence of the Cité of Paris, ASKI, Collection Gogolou-Elefanti, box 4, EPES, 22 May 1968.

^{xv} Anna Chatzigiannaki, 'Παρίσι Μάης '68. Κλίκες και ελληνικός χαβαλές...' [Paris May '68. Cliques and

Greeks hanging out], in *Epsilon/Eleftherotypia*, 3 May 1992. For a definition of the thirdworldism see Kornetis, ““Cuban Europe?””.

^{xvi} Cross-references and networking between the three countries did become much more common during the transitions. Several bilateral collaborations on grassroots and leadership levels emerged from 1975 onwards leading to a certain degree of cross-fertilisation, especially between the soon-to-be legalised Spanish Communist Party (PCE) under Santiago Carrillo, and the Greek Communist Party of the Interior (KKE Es). It was precisely the Eurocommunist orientation of these parties that allowed for this. Carrillo had minimal contacts with the pro-Moscow Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). Interestingly, Carrillo did visit Portugal but in order to participate at the Portuguese Socialist Party Congress under Mário Soares, much to the dismay of Portuguese Communists under the leadership of Álvaro Cunhal. On the dissonance between Carrillo and Cunhal see Carrillo’s memoirs, *Memorias*, pp. 742-3. Some cross-fertilisation also took place between the respective socialist parties. See Andrade, *El PCE y el PSOE en (la) transición*; also see Fytili, *Memory, Oblivion and Democracy*, and Balios, *Grecia y España*.

^{xvii} See Fernández Rincón, ‘La izquierda radical española y ala tentación de la lucha armada’ in Avilés, Azcona, Re (eds.), *Después del 68*, p. 345. On debates on violence in Spain of the ‘long sixties’ and seventies, see Muñoz Soro, ‘Los discursos de la violencia política entre dictadura y democracia.

^{xviii} I have translated extracts from interviews I have conducted in Spanish, Greek and Portuguese. Quotations accompanied by the interviewee’s name in parentheses refer to interviews, which I have conducted and will not be referenced by a footnote. The date of each interview can be found in the bibliography. Quotations taken from published accounts will be footnoted, however. Passages from non-English sources are my own translations unless otherwise indicated.

^{xix} Carrillo-Linares, ‘Entre el universe simbólico y el mundo real’, 170. Also see Fereira, *Luta armada em Portugal*.

^{xx} ‘Represão e Lutas em ESPANHA’, *Revolução*, 13, 21 September 1974, p. 7. Quoted by Carrillo-Linares, *Ibid*.

^{xxi} See La Parra-Perez, *Displaced Cinema*, p. 221, and Martin-Márquez, “Propaganda”.

^{xxii} The name preceded by an asterisk is a pseudonym, respecting the interviewee's wish to remain anonymous.

^{xxiii} For Philippe C. Schmitter the Portuguese revolution had little impact at least on the initial phase of "third wave of democratization". See his "The Influence of the International Context upon the Choice of National Institutions and Policies in Neo-Democracies", pp. 26-51. For the 'infection' metaphor see Muñoz Sánchez, 'A European Answer to the *Spanish Question*'.

^{xxiv} See Sánchez Cervelló, *A Revolução Portuguesa e a Sua Influência na Transição Espanhola*.

^{xxv} Rincón, 161.

^{xxvi} See Aumond, *La trajectoire des membres des Cadernos de Circunstância*. Also see his interview to Accornero "Da militância política à investigação científica: história de uma vocação".

^{xxvii} Vázquez Montalban, 'A la revolución en coche', *TeleExpress*, 13 May 1974, p. 5.

^{xxviii} Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité*.

^{xxix} IISG, 'Primero de Mayo portugués. Impresiones de un group de Madrid', *Frente Libertario*, 43, Paris, June 1974, 4-5. Quoted in Alberto Carrillo-Linares, 181.

^{xxx} Vázquez Montalban, *Ibid.* Padraic Kenney as well identifies "pilgrimage" as a typical trait of transnational activism, wherein those who subscribe to the "legendary" stories about the exploits of movements abroad may sooner or later visit them, "not unlike pilgrimages to a revered (if not sacred) site." Kenney, "Opposition Networks", 211.

^{xxxi} See Tajuelo, *El MIL, Puig Antich y los GARI*. For the transnational connections of Puig Antich in France and the impact of his execution on French militants of the time, see Gildea, 'Utopia and conflict in the oral testimonies of French 1968 activists'. Also see Roca (ed.), *El proyecto radical*.

^{xxxii} See for instance Carandell, Barrenechea, *Portugal, sí*. On this also see Carrillo-Linares, 'Entre el universo simbólico y el mundo', p. 167.

^{xxxiii} See Kornetis, "Cuban Europe". Also see Wieviorka; Casanellas, *Morir matando*; Elorza, "Terrorismo e Ideología".

^{xxxiv} Krutwig Sagredo, *Vasconia*.

^{xxxv} Kornetis, "Cuban Europe", p. 21.

^{xxxvi} Muñoz Sánchez, 'A European Answer to the *Spanish Question*', 85.

^{xxxvii} *Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota*/Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front: armed organisation of the Partido Comunista Español marxista-leninista PC (m-l).

^{xxxviii} See Tajuelo, *El MIL, Puig Antich y los GARI*. For the transnational connections of Puig Antich in France and the impact of his execution on French militants of the time, see Gildea, ‘Utopia and conflict’.

^{xxxix} “Οι Βάσκοι αντάρτες της Ισπανίας. Εάν η Ισπανία ήταν δημοκρατία” [The Basque guerrillas of Spain. If Spain were a democracy], *Thessaloniki*, November 1970.

^{xl} «Φράνκο-Φασίστα-Δολοφόνε!» Η ανθρωπότητα ξεσηκώθηκε για τις στυγερές δολοφονίες» [‘Franco-Fascist-Assassin!’]. The entire world is in revolt to protest the coldblooded murders, *Rizospastis*, 30 September 1975. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was legalized in September 1974, after thirty-three years in clandestinity.

^{xli} «Γενναίοι στο εκτελεστικό απόσπασμα», *Kathimerini*, 28 September 1975. Also see Isidoros Sethelos Balios, *Grecia y España de las dictaduras a la CEE*, 198.

^{xlii} Excerpt from Yannis Ritsos, “Τραγούδια για τους Πέντε” [Songs for the Five], *Chroniko*, vol 6, September 1974-August 1975. My translation.

^{xliii} Ziemann, ‘The Code of Protest’.

^{xliv} See, in this respect, Gildea, Mark and Pas, ‘European radicals and the ‘Third World’, 449; Liauzu, *L’enjeu tiersmondiste*; Kornetis, “‘Cuban Europe’?”.

^{xlv} In the pamphlet ‘¡Abajo los Consejos de Disciplina!! ¡Abajo la represión fascista!! ¡Abajo el reformismo! ¡Viva la lucha de los estudiantes hacia una Universidad Popular!! ¡Viva la lucha del Pueblo por la República Popular y Federativa!!’, FUDE, miembro del Comité Pro-FRAP, 13 March 1973, Colección A.F.V. Quoted in Hernández Sandoica et al., *Estudiantes*, 340. On the history of FRAP see Castro Moral, ‘El terrorismo revolucionario marxista-leninista en España’.

^{xlvi} “Ευαισθησία και απάθεια” [Sensibility and Apathy], *Anti*, 29, 4 October 1975. Quoted from Isidoros Sethelos Balios, *Ibid*.

^{xlvii} See ‘Τηλεγραφήματα συμπαράστασης στους Βάσκους από την Αθήνα’ [Telegrams of solidarity to the Basques from Athens], *Thessaloniki*, 17 December 1970; ‘Μια εβδομάδα με τους βάσκους αντάρτες’ [A week with the Basque partisans], *Thessaloniki*, 12 June 1972; Sebastiano Grasso, ‘Κουβενιάζοντας με

τους βάσκους αντάρτες. Το παιχνίδι της παρανομίας’ [Conversing with the Basque partisans. The game of clandestinity], *Thessaloniki*, 1 March 1973.

^{xlvi} Agirre, *Operación Ogro*.

^{xlix} “Πώς και γιατί εκτελέσαμε τον Καρρέρο Μπλάνκο”, translated by Chara Dali (Athens: Vergos, 1975).

^l The entire book was published by the avant-garde, leftist Vergos Publications (also publishing Castoriadis and Hobsbawm). For a detailed overview of the fascination of Greek publishing houses with Spanish politics since the civil war and up to the death of Franco see Mais, ‘Ο Ισπανικός Εμφύλιος στον Ελληνικό Αριστερό και Αναρχικό Λόγο’ [The Spanish Civil War in the Greek Left-wing and Anarchist Discourse].

^{li} ‘Επιχείρηση «Όγκρο». Τέσσερις νεαροί Βάσκοι αφηγούνται πώς σχεδίασαν το μεγάλο χτύπημα. Η εκτέλεση του πρωθυπουργού και διαδόχου του Φράνκο μέρα μεσημέρι στο κέντρο της Μαδρίτης’. [“Operation Ogro”. Four young Basques narrate how they designed the great blow. The execution of the Prime Minister and successor of Franco in the centre of Madrid in broad daylight], *To Vima*, 5 October 1975.

^{lii} *Thessaloniki* 24 September 1975. It would be crucial to note here that Gillo Pontecorvo, who internationalised the book and the case even more through his eponymous film, starring Gian Maria Volonté, became apprehensive of the entire project and started to rethink its outlook, message and finale, after the heightening of left-wing terrorism in West Germany and especially his native Italy, with the Brigade Rosse abducting and killing Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro in 1978.

^{liii} Famously Jean Paul Sartre had likened the two contexts during the Burgos trials: “Independence or death: these words, which were recently spoken in Cuba and Algeria, are now being repeated in Euzkadi. Armed struggle for an independent and socialist Euzkadi is what the present situation demands. It is either that or submission – which is impossible.” Sartre, ‘The Burgos Trial’, Preface to *Proces de Burgos* by Halimi.

^{liv} ‘Ο Φράνκο πέθανε. Πραξικόπημα στον άλλο κόσμο’ [Franco is dead. Coup d’état in the afterlife], *Eleftherotypia*, 22 November 1975. Quoted from Balios, *Grecia y España*, 392.

^{lv} Kousouris, *Temps de la défaite*, p. 219.

^{lvi} Koufodinas, *Γεννήθηκα 17 Νοέμβρη* [I was born on 17 November], p. 49. Also see Kassimeris, *Europe’s Last Red Terrorists*.

^{lvii} Similarly, the Greek organisation of the extreme left KO Machitis launched the slogan MIR - Fedajin - Tupamaros – Vietkong, linking several thirdworldist contexts together.

^{lviii} For the change of tone by anti-regime Spanish intellectuals from a hitherto condoning of violent methods of anti-Franco terrorism as legitimized in a context of ‘tyrannicide’ and as products of the dynamics and repression of the authoritarian regime itself, to an outright condemnation of the *Rolando* incident as abominable see ‘Con muy vivo dolor’, *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, 132 (September 1974). For an elaboration see Muñoz Soro, 14.

^{lix} Sartorius, Sabio, *El final de la dictadura*.

^{lx} Also see her autobiographical book *A luta armada* (Lisbon 2017). For leftist radicalism in Portugal also see Cardina, *A Esquerda Radical*.

^{lxi} It’s noteworthy nevertheless that the Brigadas Revoluçionarias developed a close relationship to the small Spanish grouping *Acción Comunista* right before the 1974 Revolution. See Carrillo-Linares; also see Rincón.

^{lxii} For the importance of analysing the symbolic meanings of politics see Nehring, “Politics, Symbols and the Public Sphere”.

^{lxiii} Aguirre, *Operação “Ogro”*.

^{lxiv} ‘Lisboa, el salvaje atentado contra España’, *ABC*, 28 September 1975.

^{lxv} *ABC*, 30 September 1975.

^{lxvi} ‘Impune Destrucion de la Embajada y el consulado españoles en Lisboa’ 28 September 1975.

^{lxvii} ‘Entierros de Txiki y Sanchez Bravo’, *ABC*, 30 September 1975.

^{lxviii} Alberto Carrillo-Linares, op.cit.

^{lxix} On this see Ana Sofia Ferreira, “La lucha armada en Portugal”, 512.

^{lxx} See Belinda Davis or Padraic Kenney,

^{lxxi} Quoted in Ziemann, ‘The Code of Protest’, 261.