

The Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) **Fights Against Rightists Who Would Liquidate the Party**

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Recent issues of Vanguardia Obrera, Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), report on the struggle being waged by this Party against a group of factionalists who had emerged within the ranks of the Party. This group, of a rightist and opportunist character, has launched a campaign of ideological and political confusion with the intent of splitting and liquidating the Party. The CPS (M-L) is the party of the proletariat of Spain. Our Party supports their resolute stand against the rightist elements. Below we reprint excerpts from various documents of the CPS(M-L) on this question which have appeared in the pages of Vanguardia Obrera. The translation has been made by The Workers' Advocate.

Excerpt from the "Call of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) to All Its Militants" (from Vanguardia Obrera, March 6-19, 1981):

Comrades: A group of factionalists and plotters of a clear rightist and opportunist character have launched a vile campaign of ideological confusion and poisoning in our ranks, with the aim of splitting and liquidating the Party....

The essence of the factionalists' positions is their desire to change the republican tactic of the Party, to dilute it in its entirety with opportunist groups and organizations that talk about the Republic but don't fight for it or organize the masses around it, as is necessary to fight the monarchy. They are seeking to make the Party's policy of alliances into something supposedly broader and more flexible, but which would actually lead to wiping out our own policy toward the monarchy and toward opportunism and to putting us at the tail of the opportunist forces.

They are trying to liquidate the AOA [Association of Workers' Assemblies] and to limit our tactics exclusively to working in the collaborationist trade union centers. These traitors and scabs are also trying to liquidate the Republican Convention and to devise an ambiguous and abstract policy of alliances with pro-Soviet grouplets such as the MC [Movimiento Comunista], the trotskyites and other opportunists. They also seek to have us renounce our struggle against Russian social-imperialism and to ally with the aforementioned pro-Soviet groups in our struggle against U.S. imperialism. They are seeking, in a word, a 180-degree turn in our Party in all those fundamental questions of its tactics and organizational structures so as to transform the CPS(M-L) into a party of an opportunist, revisionist character, with a structured minority and majorities, each one of them doing whatever it wants, while giving up the accumulation of forces for the revolution through a firm, principled policy toward opportunism and class collaboration.

Vanguardia Obrera reports that the struggle against the plotters came to a head at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. Below are excerpts from the article "Important Plenum of the

Central Committee of the CPS(M-L)" which appeared in the February 6-19 issue of the newspaper:

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) was held between January 31 and February 1.

At the meeting a Report of the Executive Committee, approved by the majority of this body, was presented....

Before going on to discussion of the Report, the Secretariat of the Central Committee presented a communication denouncing splitting attempts monitored and verified not only by the organs of leadership but also by the committees and cells at the base of the Party and among the Youth.

In the course of the meeting there was manifested, although in a hidden and obscure form, a series of minority positions of a rightist and adventurist character which had already been showing up inside the Party during the past months and especially in the Executive Committee itself, and which were exposed in the course of the debate.

These positions can be summarized as:

1) Negating, obstructing and being opposed in the practical work to the Party's tactic of popular republican unity.

2) In the same sense, being opposed to the Party's trade union tactic of class unity.

These positions, together with others of an ideological character and concerning organizational methods, would have led to the liquidation of the Party.

Toward this end, work of demoralization and distortion of the present situation of the Party and the present political situation in Spain had been developing at all levels. This work ended up, these last months, in activities of a splitting and anti-party type. It went to the extent that

numerous oral and written testimonies appeared, brought by comrades of the Party's different organizations which had been the object of these attempts.

Through a prolonged and exhaustive discussion, the Report was approved by the overwhelming majority of the Central Committee of the Party.

With regard to the comrades who had carried out the factionalist activities in the manner reiterated, the Plenum decided to suspend them from all responsibilities, both in the Executive Committee and in the Central Committee, and to form a Control Commission that would demarcate the individual responsibilities and degree of participation of each one involved in said activities, as well as the contradictions and *connections of every type* that may exist in some of the individuals implicated.

The minority who voted against the Report, which included those affected by the disciplinary measures adopted, took the stand, in a provocative manner, of leaving the meeting and the Party.

The Central Committee decided unanimously to condemn such a stand and decided to go forward with a Commission of Control and Investigation to fully bring to light the splitting activities. After these acts the Central Committee continued its work.

The Plenum concluded in an atmosphere of unity and revolutionary spirit.

Madrid, February 2 Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist)

Excerpts from the "Report of the Executive Committee to the Plenum of the Central Committee and International Aspects of the Present Political Situation" (Vanguardia Obrera, February 6-19, 1981):

... Turning back to the present political situation, it is fitting to point out in the first place the sharp crisis situation the monarchy finds itself in. along with the collaborationist forces which are in fact an integral part of this power. Its ruling party, the UCD [Union of the Democratic Center], is undermined and battered by every kind of contradiction between cliques and tendencies, and by problems of functioning, of focus, and of the interests of its different cliques. Carrillo's party [the Eurorevisionist "C" P of Spain -- ed.] and the Socialist Party, props and defenders of the monarchic power, are corroded by contradictions and factions at every level: contradictions and divisions at the level of the leading cliques, division between sectors at the base and the leading cliques, and the loss of influence of its organizations among the working and popular masses. The Socialist Party has lost two-thirds of its members; it has shrunk from 270,000 to less than 60,000 in two years. The Carrilloites, according to their own sources, have lost more than half their members, and their central organ is unable to keep appearing on a daily basis. The principal Carrilloite organization in Catalonia has formally abandoned the central theses of Eurocommunism and has rejected the organizational authority of the Carrilloite apparatus, and the dissident pro-Russian groups and the workerist high priests have formed a coalition to displace the Carrilloites in the leadership of the PSUC [the revisionist organization in Catalonia -- ed.].

On the international plane it is an undeniable fact that the struggle against Chinese revisionism and Maoism has demanded from our Party considerable effort on ideological, political and organizational grounds, and on both a national and international scale.... Chinese revisionism and Maoism have constituted an opportunist, counter-revolutionary deviation which certainly has applied the brakes to the development and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist parties on a world scale. This naturally had repercussions on the links of the masses with the new

Marxist-Leninist parties and affected, to a certain extent, the prestige of Marxism-Leninism among the broad masses. Our Party, although in a limited way, also suffered repercussions from the betrayal and maneuvers of the Chinese revisionists and Maoism. Some try to use this new setback to sow pessimism and obscure the prospects for socialism; as well, others fall into defeatist attitudes when we suffer reverses and don't advance as rapidly as we must.

At the Scientific Session held in Tirana in 1979, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in this regard:

"What has occurred in the Soviet Union and China is only a zigzag on the long road of the revolution. The retreat and zigzags are temporary and relative, they do not alter the general law of the advance of society."

On the other hand, the Chinese revisionists have followed a policy of plots and infiltration in the Marxist-Leninist movement.... On the international plane the Chinese revisionists have caused great damage to the development and strengthening of the movement as a whole and have succeeded in holding back its development and diverting some young parties from the road of Marxism-Leninism. This is a fact of the objective situation that we cannot fail to take into account. Nevertheless, having denounced and rejected this Maoist deviation of anti-Marxist China, some parties are getting stronger and new Marxist-Leninist parties are emerging...on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the concrete conditions of each country in particular, in opposition to the doctrinaire currents that Chinese revisionism was spreading.

Our Party, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, is developing and getting stronger in the midst of a colossal ideological storm that entails struggle against modern revisionism in all its variants, and under conditions of a powerful opportunist movement of intermediate forces generated by revisionism, and the reactivation of social-democracy on the part of the reactionary authority.

On the ideological plane, the Soviet Union, transformed today into an imperialist country, utilizes the prestige of the October Revolution and Lenin and Stalin to try to preserve its influence among the working class and toiling masses of the world. It makes use not only of sections of the revisionist parties but also of opportunist groups, adventurers and some unstable and uncertain elements inside the Marxist- Leninist movement itself and the parties. Its attacks are not always frontal and overt, but in a concealed way they try to open a breach in our ranks, through criticisms and attacks against our policy, sometimes from rightist positions and other times leftist ones. A typical case of this type of activity is the different sectors of the MC [Movimiento Comunista], the official ones and the dissident ones, as well as other little groups called "defenders of Marxism-Leninism," trotskyites, sectors of pro-Soviet revisionism among others, etc., etc. It must be said that some comrades have not always maintained the necessary ideological vigilance against these attempts to penetrate not only our Party but also the area of the mass influence of our Party. It is a simplistic and rightist, opportunist way to conceive of our policy of alliances, inasmuch as these grouplets and individuals not only do not represent in our country any important current of opinion, neither short-term nor long-term, but moreover their basic objective is to attack the Party's positions and activity and our Party as a whole....

Excerpts from the "Report of the Executive Committee to the Plenum of the Central Committee," "On the Ideological Struggle Inside the Party" (Vanguardia Obrera, February 6-19, 1981):

"Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of

the Party." (E. Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania*, p. 114)

To say that class struggle is the indisputable motive force in every revolutionary process -- from becoming conscious of the need for revolution, to the struggle to put it into practice and later to build socialism -- would be a general phrase, insignificant, except that events, currents and positions regularly come up which remind us by all their harshness and sharpness of such an important question. [It is] a question that is indissolubly linked to the struggle to build, develop and implant the Party and the different mass fronts and organizations led or oriented by it.

It would be pure utopia to conceive of the building, development, implantation and *practical conduct* of the Party without a sharp class struggle being waged right inside it (a struggle that does not move in a straight line nor with unvarying sharpness but comes up according to the different circumstances that we encounter).

All the work of Lenin, Stalin and also E. Hoxha is permeated with this question, with examples in this regard, with theoretical elaboration precisely on the *tumult of class struggle inside the Party*. In his *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, E. Hoxha says:

"...the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people *and in its own ranks*." (p. 109, emphasis added)

And without class struggle everything is reduced to something amorphous, to routine phraseology, doctrinairism, general pronouncements, but *without practical application*. And all those who, in one way or another, with one scheme or another, try to divert the Party from its correct line, fall precisely into this, time and again. In this sense our Party counts on its rich experience, on its 16 years of life, which we cannot forget but must recall and capitalize on so as to better arm all our militants and organizations against the inevitable attacks and

offensives of the bourgeoisie, as much from outside the Party as *from within it*.

Because, however much some people fill their mouths with "great principles," with "irrefutable quotations," if they don't know how to apply these quotations and principles to the concrete situation in each place, if they don't take into account that these quotations which they cling to so desperately to justify the unjustifiable are precisely the product of *distinct phases or moments of the class struggle at a certain level*, they unfortunately convert the principles and quotations into dogmas which, like all dogmas, are no more than empty words....

Therefore it would be a gross error, an outrageous verdict, to limit the expression of the class struggle to the level of general principle, without taking into account that this struggle above all *comes up and will come up inexorably* in our own ranks whether we like it or not; that this struggle can take different forms and aspects, more or less sharp, more or less frank. And thence the distinct nature of resolving this struggle, with criticism, warnings, sanctions, and in particularly serious cases, with expulsion. If this is not understood, or is belittled or treated lightly (as some do), it is impossible to understand the enormous struggle that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and E. Hoxha have carried out not only on the internal plane of their own parties, but also on the international plane (and there are many very recent examples).

The other mistake that can occur is to understand class struggle as only against rightism and forget sectarianism, "leftism," "centrism," etc. -- all those manifestations of opportunism, not taking into account that it is impossible to successfully fight one tendency without fighting the others. This does not mean putting them all at the same level, since at each moment it is necessary to determine *which is predominant* so as to emphasize it, but, we repeat, without excluding the others. And it is important not to forget this because, as we have said many times, confirmed by our own experience, the bourgeoisie in its offensives against Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist parties doesn't just

use its external detachments. Aware that "fortresses are taken from within," it tries by every means to infiltrate our ranks, to base itself on elements who haven't overcome their ambitious, individualistic, petty bourgeois inclinations and who end up degenerating and turning into enemies of the Party and the proletariat....

On Revolutionary Vigilance

... Revolutionary vigilance has to be applied firmly and consistently in all its aspects. And for this it is necessary to know that the enemies (both external and internal) use the most varied forms of attack or offensive against the Party, against the Marxist-Leninists.

As has already been pointed out on numerous occasions, at the present time we are witnessing a general offensive against the world's Marxist-Leninist parties and detachments by the bourgeoisie, by U.S. imperialism and its acolytes, by Russian social-imperialism and its different variants of revisionism, by the Chinese social-chauvinists (byproduct of imperialism) and casehardened revisionists.

You all know already of the degeneration, corruption and betrayal of Mr. Dinucci in Italy, for example, which has *momentarily* left that country without its vanguard detachment. And we must point out that in exposing and denouncing this group of opportunists, hidden agents of Russian revisionism, our Party played a decisive role.... But it has not only been in Italy. Rightist deviations of different hues, schemes and "theorizing" have arisen in different countries of the world as a result of this ideological offensive by our various enemies.

Considering the difficulties, the situation of ebb, the maneuvers of "transition," the decisions and weaknesses that we have, our Party *now* has been able to come through this situation with flying colors, although we have also had some *quantitative losses*. But we emphasize *for now*, because more that we'd like we are not some inaccessible desert island,

nor so powerful as to not be affected by the general offensive. And we also have our weak flanks which the enemies try to use; as well we are sure that we have some infiltrated elements, degenerate and ideologically corrupted, who are not inactive but quite the contrary, and other hesitating and vacillating elements.

Therefore, once again we call on all the comrades, all the committees, to remain actively vigilant, not to lose confidence and become disoriented, not to let themselves be drawn into the pessimism and defeatism that try to be sown in our ranks. Pessimism and defeatism are the product of petty bourgeois opportunism, *independently* of the "merits" or "history" of those who manifest it.

In this regard, it is fitting to once again recall Stalin, that great Marxist-Leninist whom many "forget":

"The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements. The source of factionalism in the Party is its opportunist elements." (Foundations of Leninism)

We could quote a lot from Stalin and we must greatly push forward the study of his works, but we end with this conclusion that Stalin puts forward in the work cited:

"Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists.... The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements."

Rightism, "Leftism", "Centrism"

"The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that *the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism....* (E.

Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania*, p. 109)

This statement of Comrade Enver, which we agree with completely, is, however, thrown in doubt by some comrades who in a schematic and doctrinaire way harp on the sectarian errors of some Party members (errors, on the other hand, which we have not failed to denounce or combat at any time). Thus they indicate that while on the *international* scale the principal danger is rightism or right opportunism, in Spain this danger becomes secondary, and the principal one, according to them, is "leftism."

But not the "leftism" of the ETA or the police group "Grapo" (or other similar ones), but the "leftism" of the Party!... Naturally to justify such an aberration they have to make a thousand pirouettes, theorize on the basis of suppositions and not realities, base themselves on events, people and situations torn out of the general context of both the national situation and the Party, distorting the Party's practice and falsifying the objective situation. And, of course, "forgetting" the statements that were made in this regard by the most important Party meetings, such as the II Conference (1976) and the III Congress (1979), as well as the plenums of the Central Committee held since then.

They swear and swear again that they agree with our Political Line, with the III Congress, etc., but in reality they distort them both, *consciously or unconsciously* (and this is something we must clarify, since putting the contradiction and the measures to resolve it in their proper place depends on it). In the Political Line we see that the text of Point 16 says:

"At the present time, the principal danger for the *international* communist movement (Marxist-Leninist) is *right opportunism*, revisionism."

The characterization of this danger, its description, etc., follow, concluding in Point 17 with the following warning: "One of the principal

tasks of the Marxist-Leninist and progressive forces of the whole world is the irreconcilable and merciless denunciation of and resolute struggle against modern revisionism, both on the ideological plane as well as on the political. *Any weakening* of this struggle of principle, *under any pretext whatsoever*, leads inevitably to strengthening the revisionist forces and does considerable damage to the revolutionary cause.

The Marxist-Leninist parties must maintain a resolute and implacable struggle against *all the opportunist variants* of revisionism and its *different features* which emerge regularly as the inevitable product of the class struggle, as much *outside as within* the Marxist-Leninist movement itself." (My emphasis, R.M.) Naturally those who proclaim that the main danger is "leftism," we repeat, "agree with" the Political Line, since to clearly say that they do not agree would immediately put them *openly* against the Party. But *it is impossible to agree with the Political Line and to proclaim the opposite*.

It also happens that some comrades see the right opportunist danger as something *outside the Party* (the Carrillo group, MC, ORT, etc.) and not as a *real, constant* danger that is not only lying in wait but *acts* persistently *inside* the Party....