

AN UNCORRUPTED MOTTO THAT TRANSCENDS GENERATIONS

"OF THE DEAD, THE LIVING AND THE YET TO BE BORN"

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In the successive influx of new comrades to the Party militancy and in the successive replacement of new generations of militants as continuation of the previous generations of communists and revolutionaries, our Party must **"transmit the flame along the historical "thread of the time" (...)** *The transmission of this non deformed tradition, with the efforts to make real a new international party organization without historical pauses, cannot be based organizationally on the election of very qualified men or very informed of the historical doctrine. Instead, it cannot but organically use in the most faithful way the line between the group action with which it was manifested 40 years ago, and the current line. The new movement cannot hope for supermen or to have the Messiah, but it must be based on the revival of what may have been preserved over a long time. This preservation cannot be limited to the teaching of theses and the search for documents, but it even makes use of living tools that form an old guard and that rely on giving an uncorrupted and powerful motto to a young guard. The latter launches itself towards new revolutions, which perhaps should not have to wait more than a decade from now for action on the plane of the historical scene; the party and the revolution are not interested at all in the names of the one or the other.*" (Considerations on the organic activity of the party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965).

The Party lives **"above the generations «of the dead, of the living and of those yet to be born»"** (The continuity of action of the party on the thread of the tradition of the Left, 1966) and every time a comrade falls as a result of the inexorable passage of time and the conditions to which capitalism subjects us, it is for us a war report, a war to which we dedicate our lives.

In the revival of the struggle of the preceding generations, we want to remember a generation of comrades who made a technological leap of 200 years by emigrating first from the interior of the Iberian Peninsula to Madrid and then to Germany in the 60s and 70s. There they met old Italian comrades of the *Sinistra*, of the International Communist Party, an old guard from whom they were able to learn an uncorrupted motto that from that moment on they defended tooth and nail against any deviation, renovation or updating of the line of Marxism and the *Sinistra*.

"Now, since it is imposed on us ultimately to be clear, simple and concise, like those polemicists supplied in series to the "cadres", let us be so.

Let us take the side of the dogmatists, of the Talmudists, and also of the scholastics and even of the pedants; let us take up the defense of a Marxism that never creates anything new and constitutes a constellation of precise unbreakable theses, and let us resolutely refuse unguibus et rostro, to hand it over as prey to those who want to enrich it, claiming it as rigid and poor as it was born, not from the inflexible misery of Marx but from the lap of history, when, and only when, it should have been pregnant with it.

It coincides instead with periods of counterrevolution, of class regression, of history and of long involution of the social forms, the empty discourse of the creativists and pretended creators; of the discoverers who boast of rich unpublished conquests, while they ruminate on

stale and miserable formulas of which the last dispenser was Josif, and which poorly conceal the very well-known ones with which Marxism has fought like a lion all the time in waves - of Proudhon, Lasalle, Bakunin, Dühring, Bernstein, Sorel, and of the dreadful mud tide of 1914, when, above all, an athlete, a gladiator of revolutionary orthodoxy, made bite the dust to the innumerable who wanted to create its falsification, to enrich it with the Judaic price of betrayals: Lenin." (Dialogue with the Dead, 1956).

They studied Marxism and the texts of the Left with these old comrades and took Marxism to the Spanish state, where there had never existed a truly Marxist party or current, constituting a Section of the Party.

Far from any fickleness and personal pretension, they took on the Party's tasks with overflowing energy, as anonymous militants of a unitary mechanism:

"The party organization that allows the class to be truly such and to live as such, presents itself as a unitary mechanism in which the various "brains" (not only the brains, by the way, but also other individual organs) absorb diverse tasks according to aptitudes and potentialities, all at the service of an objective and an interest that progressively becomes more and more intimately unified "in time and space" (this convenient expression has an empirical and not a transcendent meaning). Not all individuals have therefore the same position and the same weight in the organization: to the extent that this division of tasks is carried out according to a more rational plan (and what is valid today for the party-class, will be valid tomorrow for society), it is perfectly excluded that whoever is higher up may gravitate as a privileged over the others. Our revolutionary evolution does not go towards disintegration, but towards the more and more scientific connection of individuals with each other." (Lenin on the Road to Revolution, 1924).

"The sense of unitarianism and organic centralism is that the party develops within itself the organs suitable for the various functions, which we call propaganda, proselytism, proletarian organization, trade union work, etc., until arriving, tomorrow, at the armed organization, but nothing should be concluded by the number of comrades who are considered to be dedicated to each of these functions, because in principle no comrade should be a stranger to any of them." (Considerations on the organic activity of the party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965).

Proletarians of condition, although always rejecting any kind of laborism, they took on the titanic task of translating into Spanish the fundamental materials and texts of the *Sinistra* while never abandoning the trenches of the struggle at the union level. Completely distinguishing themselves from the "coffee shop charlatans" and "marshals without troops" that abound so much unfortunately also among those who claim to be part of the *Sinistra*, they always carried out a hard and daily work of intervention in the class struggle and of organization, assuming that *"it is the task of the party, in the unfavorable periods and of passivity of the proletarian class, to foresee the forms and encourage the appearance of organizations with economic objectives for the immediate struggle."* (Characteristic Theses, 1951).

In the late 70s and early 80s they participated in the struggles of the unemployed in the Spanish state and organized and led - not in words but in deeds - the struggle for housing during the reconversion of the shantytowns in the outskirts of Madrid, confronting all the corruption of the false left groups that united around the cooperative business. Until the end of their lives they were at the head of countless struggles and strikes, big and small ones.

Through the collective study and dissemination of the texts of Marxism in the living of the struggle, giving continuity to the work in contact with the working class, these comrades radiated and cultivated a true "*fiercely anti-bourgeois atmosphere*" (Theses on the historical task, action and structure of the world communist party, according to the positions that for more than half a century have formed the historical heritage of the communist left, from Naples, 1965), in which an authentic **class hatred** flourishes and is transmitted: "*the working-man (...) can save his manhood only in hatred and rebellion against the bourgeoisie.*" (Condition of the working class in England, Engels, 1844), transmitting also an uncorrupted motto to new generations of militants.

They confronted the "New Course" inside the Party and the tactical deviations on the trade union question introduced in 1972 and which prepared all the later tactical errors (Proletarian United Front in 1974, National Committee against Dismissals of 1978) which led to the indulgence on the movementist political united fronts: anti-nuclear, anti-militarism, Palestinian nationalism, etc. The Party was immersed in this drift spread through the loudspeakers of *El-Oumami*, *Le Proletaire*, *Proletarier*, *Il Programma Comunista* and the previous edition of *El Comunista* when part of those responsible for that degeneration decided to accelerate the pace and tried to formally liquidate the Party. Another part of those responsible for the same degeneration did not agree. But the discrepancy between those who demanded the formal liquidation of the Party and those who remained responsible for its organs, was only on the formal aspect: they shared and had been implementing the *de facto* liquidation of the line of the *Sinistra* and of Marxism. Their subsequent quarrels for the possession and control of *Il Programma Comunista*, will not eliminate this common origin (among themselves and with the liquidators). This applies both to those who recovered through the bourgeois courts the ownership of *Il Programma Comunista* and to those who lost it and founded *Combat* first and *Il Comunista* later.

In another moment we will address this question again with the depth it deserves in order to take stock of this circumcentric attack of liquidation of the Party and of the *Sinistra* line.

The Spanish Section, expelled for its opposition to this "New Course", was initially isolated by the dynamics of the Center, which was preparing its liquidation by preventing contacts between sections, although they quickly managed to resume contacts at the international level with other sections that had also opposed the degeneration of the Center.

Having resisted the attempt of liquidation, they began the new edition of *El Comunista*, and the task of the "*organic continuation of the serious work of historical consignment of the fruitful lessons of the past to the present and future generations, to the new vanguards that were being outlined in the ranks of the proletarian masses*" (Theses of Naples, 1965), to which the group of comrades who give continuity to the Party - currently organized in Venezuela, Italy, Chile and Spain - have added, within the same publication plan, the reviews *Per il Comunismo* and *The Internationalist Proletarian*.

There has been no lack of contacts, rapprochements and ruptures in a generally unfavorable period in which "*a large part of the proletariat, rather than being crushed by the bourgeoisie, is controlled by parties that work in the service of the latter and prevent the proletariat itself from any revolutionary class movement*" (Considerations on the organic activity of the party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965) admitting aloud that "*the party cannot but resent the characters of the real situation that surrounds it*". (ibidem)

In the pages of *El Comunista* and in the various works published, one can also read the effort to give continuity to the "*work of scientific registration of social phenomena, in order to confirm the fundamental theses of Marxism. It analyzes, confronts and comments on recent and contemporary facts. It repudiates the doctrinaire elaboration that tends to found new theories or to demonstrate the insufficiency of the doctrine in the explanation of phenomena.*" (Characteristic Theses, 1951), as well as a truly Marxist analysis of the recent history of the Spanish state and of a good part of Latin America.

In the development of all this work, these comrades have always been clear that, if there will be a resumption of the class struggle, it will be only on the basis of the line of the *Sinistra*, of the fundamental texts of the *Sinistra* and Marxism, of the historical party (and not of any statement or article that we or anyone else may have written in this or any other review).

"*The effort of the left Marxists is to work on the **broken curve of the contingent parties**, to redirect it to the **continuous and harmonious curve of the historical party.***" (Theses on the historical task, action and structure of the world communist party, according to the positions that for more than half a century have formed the historical heritage of the communist left, from Naples, 1965).

"*The objection that these were perfect, irrevocable and unmodifiable texts would not make any sense, because throughout all these years it has always been declared in our midst that these were materials in continuous elaboration, and destined to reach an ever better and more complete form; so much so that from all the ranks of the party, and even from very young elements, the contribution of admirable contributions perfectly in tune with **the classic lines proper to the Left** has been verified more and more, and with increasing frequency.*" (Considerations on the organic activity of the party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965).

"*Death of individualism*

*It is not possible for the proletarian class party to govern itself in the good revolutionary direction if **the confrontation of the agitation material with the stable and non-mutating bases of the theory is not total.***

The questions of contingent action and future program are but two dialectical sides of the same problem, as so many interventions by Marx until his death, and by Engels and Lenin (April Theses, October Central Committee!) have shown.

Those men neither improvised nor revealed, but wielded the compass of our action, from which it is all too easy to deviate.

*This one clearly teaches the danger, and **our questions are happily raised when going against the wrong general directions. Formulas and terms may be falsified by traitors and by the deficient, but their use is always a compass when it is continuous and concordant.***" (The revolutionary program of communist society eliminates all forms of ownership of land, production facilities and the products of labor, 1958).

What determines whether the statement or article is correct is its coherence with the fundamental texts (its continuous or

concordant line), whatever the year it was written and whatever the name of the journal in which it was published. We do not defend a word or a phrase: we defend a line.

But for this it is essential the continuous individual and collective study of the fundamental texts of Marxism and the Party:

*"Consequently, the problem of the party's praxis is not that of knowing the future, which would be too little, nor that of wanting the future, which would be too much, but that of **preserving the line of the future of its own class.**"*

*It is clear that, if the movement does not know how to study, to look into and to know it, it will not even be in a position to preserve it. It is no less clear that if the movement does not know how to distinguish between the will of the constituted and enemy classes and its own, the game is lost, and the line is lost. The communist movement is not a question of pure doctrine; it is not a question of pure will: however, the lack of doctrine paralyzes it, the lack of will paralyzes it. **And lack means absorption of alien doctrines, of alien wills.**"* (Prometeo, Property and Capital, Chapter XVII, Utopia, Science, Action, 1952).

As vital and necessary it is to discipline oneself to think not with one's own head ("la **testa**") but with the texts ("i **testi**"), which greatly annoys the "marshals without troops" that abound so much also among individuals and organizations that claim to be of the Left, but who need to fly free and draw conclusions from their head instead of from the texts.

*"One of the false reasons why distrust of the party form was dangerously nourished, was that the party, by forcing everyone to think alike, was a church, and by making all decisions come out of a center was a barracks. In nonsense of this nature, which for decades and decades has disturbed our work, there is the true infantilism against which Lenin attacks without compassion; but against which the Marxist and especially the Italian left has fought with equal energy. **Yes** - we always said to the comrades, perhaps in a more imprudent way than Lenin did, and therefore more hurtful to generations of miserable philistines, who still today have not died out - **if I am in the party my personal head and its critical pretensions will have to shut up seven times a day, and my actions will not arise from my individual will but from the impersonal will of the party, as manifested and dictated by history through that same organism.**"* ("Extremism, infantile disease of communism, condemnation of future renegades", 1960-1961).

"The disinfection to which we devote ninety percent of our poor work will only be completed in a long future and will continue long after us: it is that which combats the epidemic of all places and all times (everywhere and always dangerous) of revisers, actualizers, contemplators and innovators.

*It is useless and harmful to specify or personalize, and to search in the distance or in the vicinity for the launcher of the bacteriological bombs; it is a matter of individualizing the virus and applying the antibiotic, which we stubbornly distinguish in the **continuity of the line, in fidelity to the principles, in preferring nine hundred and ninety-nine times over a thousand the catechist remastication to the adventure of the new scientific discovery that requires eagle wings, and to which every mosquito feels called by destiny.***

So let the angry flyers, whom we bring back frigidly and little by little to the modest altitude to which we are allowed to soar,

be concerned, we who are forbidden all heroism and all romance, who stick to irony instead of lyricism and are forced from time to time to turn back the fiercest: Do not play the Phaethons!¹

Therefore, while too many have the hysteria of sublime calculation, we catalog them at the level of the abacus, and verify whether they know how to count on the tips of their fingers." (The Marxism of the stammerers, Battaglia Comunista, no. 8-1952).

*"The main objective of our discussions - **in which it is indispensable to continually repeat certain claims of the fundamental "theorems", and better if it is with the same words and phrases** - is the critique of the delusion about "unforeseen" forms and deformities of the most modern capitalism that would force to revise the bases of "prospective" and therefore of the Marxist method.*

*Such a **false** position is easily put in relation to the **ignorance, or rather to never having known, the essential lines of our doctrine, of its cardinal principles**".* (Soul of the Steam Horse, Il Programma Comunista no. 5, 1953).

An essential core of the uncorrupt motto is the unconditional vindication of organic centralism. The starting point is necessarily the unity and centralization of doctrine, program and tactics. Only from this starting point can unity and centralization in action and organization be achieved:

*"To the first we refute that **the unity and real centralization - claimed by us more than by any other - in the action and in the way of organizing the Party is the product, the arrival point, not the cause and the starting point, of the unity and centralization of the doctrine, of the program and of the system of tactical norms: useless to look for those if these are missing; worse than useless, destructive and deadly.** We are centralists (and this, if you will, is our only organizing principle) not because we recognize centralism as valid in and of itself, not because we deduce it from an eternal idea or an abstract scheme, but because the end to which we tend is unique and the direction in which we move in space (internationally) and in time (over the generations "of the dead, of the living and of those yet to be born") is unique; **we are centralists by the force of the invariance of an immutable doctrine, which neither individuals nor groups are in a position to mutate; and of the continuity of our action in the ebb and flow of the historical contingencies, in the face of all the obstacles that the road of the working class is strewn with. Our centralism is the way of being of a Party, which is not an army, although it has a rigorous discipline, as it is not a school although teaching is done, but it is a real historical force, defined by its stable orientation in the long war between the classes. It is around this inseparable and very hard knot, doctrine-program-tactics, collective and impersonal possession of the movement, that our organization crystallizes, and what holds it together is not the whip of the "organizing center", but the unique and uniform thread that binds "leaders" and "base", "center" and "periphery", committing themselves to the observation and defense of a system of ends and means, none of which is separable from the other.***

*In this real life of the Communist Party - not of any party, but only and precisely of it, as communist both in fact and in name - **the puzzle that bothers the bourgeois democrat, - who decides: the "leadership" or the "rank and file", the***

¹ Greek mythological character who wanted to drive the chariot of the sun and it got out of control, generating all kinds of messes, as do those who

pretend to update Marxism. The expression can be translated as: *Don't be cretins!* (N.d.T)

many or the few? who "commands" and who "obeys"? - is itself definitively dissolved: **it is the unitary body of the Party, the one that embouchures and follows its path; and in it, as in the words of an obscure leveling soldier, "nobody commands and all are commanded", which does not mean that there are no orders but that these are adapted with the natural way of moving and acting of the Party, whoever may be the one who gives them.** But break this unity of doctrine-program-tactics, and everything collapses, leaving nothing but a... coordination of block and direction at one end (maneuvering the masses of militants, as the general - supposed strategic "genius" - moves the little soldiers, supposed poor fools; perhaps making them pass with weapons and baggage to the enemy camp, or as the station master maneuvers his trains, perhaps making them crash one against the other) and an unlimited place of arms for all possible maneuvers, at the other end. **Break this unity, and logically and historically justified comes Stalinism, as logically and historically justified comes the ruinous subordination of a Party like ours, whose first task is to ensure "the historical continuity and international unity of the movement" (point 4 of the Livorno Program, 1921), to the false and deceitful mechanism of the "democratic consultation". Break it and you will have destroyed the class Party.** (The continuity of action of the party on the thread of the tradition of the Left, 1967).

"Leader means in fact guide. The leader of the party does not have a steering wheel in his hands and in front of him the arbitration of the angulation of the direction, he is the conductor of a train or of a tramway. His strength lies in the fact that he knows that the track is determined, but it is certainly not straight everywhere, he knows the stations through which it passes and the goal to which it leads, the curves and the slopes.

Certainly, not only he knows it. The historical outline belongs not to a thinking head, but to an organization that goes beyond individuals above all in time, made

of a lived history and of a doctrine (for you the hard word) codified." (Economic and social structure of today's Russia (V), 35 - Master Lines of April, 1955-1958).

We know that " During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it." (The State and the Revolution, Lenin, 1917).

But we also know that *"The Revolution will rise again tremendous, but anonymous."* (Carlyleian Ghosts, 1953): the only valid homage to all the anonymous comrades who have preceded us in this long struggle and who have formed part of that old guard through which the uncorrupted motto of integral Marxism has been transmitted is to **continue defending anonymously the same positions with the same energy and the same spirit of sacrifice and abnegation, the struggle for the abolition of the slavery of wage labor, of private property and of the capitalist mercantile regime, for a SOCIETY OF SPECIES, the SOCIAL MANKIND, COMMUNISM.**

"The violent sparks that jumped from among the conductors of our dialectic have taught us that it is a communist and revolutionary militant comrade that who has been able to forget, to deny, to tear from his mind and heart the classification in which the anagram of this society in putrefaction inscribed him, and sees and confuses himself in the whole millenary arc that links the ancestral tribal man fighter with the wild beasts, with the member of the future community, fraternal in the harmonious joy of the social mankind". (Considerations on the organic activity of the party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965).

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