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THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

Devoted to the theory of Marxism

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# THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

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It is a well known fact that the labor theory of value is the axis for understanding the capitalist mode of production and the class struggle. So too it should be known that the revolutionary Marxian organization is the axis for understanding the development of the proletariat in the class struggle toward overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although the form of the Communist organization may change, and its stage of development will be altered at each given period, the content of this instrument, must remain, if the vanguard is to serve its class interest.

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The content of the Communist organization is expressed in the formula, "the revolutionary Marxian Organization". These three words denote the precise term to designate a communist organization in opposition to other "working class" organizations. Marxian organizations denotes the program, "Without revolutionary theory (Marxian) there can be no successful revolution". The term, "Revolutionary Marxian", defines the difference between the individuals and groups who read and study Marxism and the study group sectarians, or the petty bourgeois opportunist students of Marxism who read and talk about theory but never practice it. Marxism is a living force: We can have "Revolutionary Marxism only by properly coordinating the theory that explains the world and the practice that remakes it. And last, but not least, the word "organization" and not "party" is essential to complete the scientific formula. There can be a revolutionary Marxian Organization which has not yet developed to a PARTY. A party is a high form of a Marxian League or Group. The role of the Revolutionary Marxian organization is to develop and to further the independent action of the class. The axis, is therefore, the weaning of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie. A larger organization - a party - can naturally (if it is Marxian) do this better than a small organization, - a group or league. But to say that a group or league or small party does not have to maintain its independence is to make numbers the decisive factor, as if the formula were: "When the vanguard does not have the masses it must tail-end it" (i.e. support the dependence of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie). This is not a difference in tactic but a difference in principle- the difference between the Marxian method and the reformist method. To speak of the independence of a revolutionary Marxian party, meaning that this does not include a Revolutionary Marxian Organization that has not yet developed to the stage and form of a party, is to negate the principle question into opportunism.

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A revolutionary Marxian organization is a question of principle for us. Without a revolutionary Marxian organization, which not only brings socialist ideology from "without" to the class, but which also crystallizes this ideology in organizations, the class consciousness that develops from "within" the class would never reach its highest stage; and instead would be diverted into class collaboration and social-patriotic channels, and therefore dependent upon the bourgeoisie.

The principle question can be divided into three phases of one problem. In turn each of these phases can be further subdivided. This in no way alters the principle question; it explains the question.

1- The first aspect of the principle question is the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization. The organization must retain its political independence in order to maintain its organizational independence, that is to present a Marxian political position. When an organization gives up its organizational independence this conceals or contains within it a revision of Marxism on a principle question.

Nominal organizational independence may be retained, with the political revision of Marxism, as is the case with Stalinism; but in reality the party and the class are organizationally subordinated through the development of new forms, such as organic unity, Peoples Front, Farmer-Labor Party, etc. Earlier forms were the Kou Ming Tang, The League Against War and Fascism, etc.

Other forms of revisionism of Marxism carry with it organizational and political liquidation. Such was the case of the new turn of the Internationalist Communist League, and their entry into the S.F.I.O., in France. This was carried out on an international scale. Organizational liquidation is not possible of it self. It can only flow from a revision of a political principle question. The organizational liquidation may take place in a form that completely conceals the political revision. This expresses itself as a fetishism. What appears as an organizational step, is in reality on the result of a political change of fundamentals.

2- The second aspect of the question is the international character of the Revolutionary Marxian organization. It must be an international organization, both politically and organizationally, no matter how few in numbers, or even if the whole cadre is isolated in one country.

Since the class struggle is international in content through national in form, the program and organization must be international. This flows from the international character of capitalism. The class struggle and civil war is a struggle against world capitalism. Every position and decision adopted and every act taken by the organization must be considered from the standpoint of a world organization, presenting its international character. Any political and organizational deviation from this approach will shift the axis from Marxism.

3- The third aspect of the question is democratic centralism of the revolutionary Marxian organization. Democratic Centralism presents a coordination of opposites and by this procedure avoids at the same time dictation from the top, and endless discussion and anarchy in the membership resulting from allowing each individual to do what he or she pleases. The entire membership takes part in arriving at positions and actions, and individuals of the party can present their positions; but once the question has been discussed and the majority has adopted its position the membership must carry out the position of the ORGANIZATION.

The democratic procedure of the organization is built on a centralized structure with each committee elected with power to act on program, policy and tactics in between the meetings of the membership of the units, districts, central committees and national convention that govern said body.

Under democratic centralism every member must be an active member, according to the needs of the organization and the ability of the comrade.

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The revolutionary Marxian organization in its first stage of development takes on the form of a League or group. This Marxian League has more chances of falling by the wayside than chances of maturing into a Marxian PARTY.

The political formula for the league, based upon the previous understanding of the principle questions is: "A Revolutionary Marxian League is a propaganda group with a mass orientation." This is the concrete formula of the two-fold condition of theory (propaganda group) and practice (with a mass orientation) for an organization in its first stage of existence. The emphasis in the coordination must at all times be on the political line. In proportion as the organization is consolidated politically, in that proportion it can strike out into class struggles and realize its mass line. To present a position unduly stressing either side, failing properly to coordinate theory and practice at this early stage will result in a non-Marxian group, a centrist or reformist group.

A propaganda group without a mass orientation will result in a Sectarian group. A group that does mass work without a correct theoretical base and theoretical activity becomes an opportunist group. In reality, sectarianism and opportunism are only two sides of ONE question, which represents two forms of the revision of Marxism. (note: we will not consider other questions here, such as the legal and illegal forms, and how Marxists must work with and in centrist and reformist organizations.)

A propaganda group with a mass orientation can only win advanced workers and the workers of the broad layers of the class it carries out anti-capitalist propaganda, within the framework of the positive approach of the road to communism. To concentrate on the advanced section of the class (in the name of anti-Stalinist work, etc.) can only lead to sterile sectarianism. To concentrate on the broad layers of the class, the raw workers (in the name of less factionalism and fights among the working class) can only lead to an activist group void of Marxian fundamentals, to opportunism. These are two different forms of a non-Marxian road to the "masses."

The Marxist organization can only defeat reformism and centrism by winning the decisive section of the class to its banner upon an anti-capitalist positive line.

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The transformation of the League into a party is not a question of mere numbers, although the question of numbers is a PART of the problem. Number differ in each country; likewise the same number in a party may denote a weak or strong party.

The political axis of the league evolves to a higher level when this small cadre is able to transform its mass orientation into mass influence. This new stage is a cadre party with mass influence.

The development from a league to a party can be explained only on the basis of the political axis of the process and not on the mere organizational axis.

A mass party and a cadre party are two different things. Marxists are not for a mass party. By that we do not mean using the term as a loose phrase. By mass party we mean taking the masses into the party. Allowing entry at such a rate that the new recruits cannot be assimilated and the theoretical and ideological level of the party liquidates the party into the class, in spite of the organizational forms that remain. At all times the party admits raw workers into the party, but this process proceeds upon a planned basis of considering the new material in relation to the party as a whole politically and organizationally.

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This brings us to the question of the end and aim of the party. The party must serve the INTEREST of the proletariat as a class. The party must not stoop to the DESIRES of the class. But the class in order to obtain its objective must conduct independent action against ALL exploiters. The class can carry on independent action only on the basis of an independent line. This independent line and action of the class is possible only through the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization. Without a revolutionary Marxian organization that can influence the masses the proletarian class will be subordinated to the exploiters.

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The class and its party have as their goal the seizure of STATE POWER. But while the exploiters state exists, and no workers state exists, the party functions as the kernel of the future Proletarian State. The question of party and classes in times of civil peace, is the kernel of the question of the state and classes in times of civil war. In the development of this relation, from the embryo to state power a complete metamorphosis takes place. To have a false position on the question of the party and the classes today, means an inevitable error tomorrow on the question of state power, as we as the question of the party and the road to power, the party and the classes, the party and the state.

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The organization with a Marxian program, based upon democratic centralism, with an international character, which maintains its political and organizational independence, is the only organization that can serve the interest of the only progressive class in society, the proletariat; such is the Revolutionary Marxian Organization.

For a Communist Fourth International.

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## REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

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The Marxists, in opposition to the reformists and pacifists are not opposed to WAR: The Marxists are opposed to IMPERIALIST WARS, and are for class war, for civil war, and for colonial wars against imperialism.

In opposition to IMPERIALIST WARS, the Marxists are opposed to any every form of DEFENSISM, the defense of "our" Imperialists. In the first world war the Marxists were against the defense of "democracy" vs Kaizerism; were against the defense of German Kultur vs Czarism, etc. In the present period the Marxists are against defense of democracy vs Fascism; against the defense of "defender" vs aggressor.

The Marxist at all times fights for and DEFENDS the DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS of the masses, but this has nothing in common with the "Defense" of "Democracy", bourgeois Democracy which is a form of boss rule.

To defend bourgeois democracy is to defend one FORM of boss rule against another. It is just as treacherous as defending any of the various capitalist blocs which support the various forms of bourgeoisie "democracy". To fight for democratic rights is to struggle AGAINST the bourgeoisie rule in all forms..

In opposition to the Defense position, to Social\*Patriotism, the Revolutionary Marxists presents the position of Revolutionary Defeatism. Revolutionary Defeatism, is the principle question and axis for all strategical and tactical questions to serve the Interest of the proletariat in a period of Imperialist War. Revolutionary Defeatism means , to WORK FOR THE DEFEAT ON ONES "OWN" IMPERIALIST GOVERNMENT.

To say that Revolutionary Defeatism means for the revolutionists to defeat their own imperialists, is to revise the content and remain the shell of the formula. TO WORK FOR THE DEFEAT of ones own imperialist government and FOR THE REVOLUTIONIST TO DEFEAT their own imperialists are not the same.

The revolutionist attempts to do both-- gain the defeat of his "own" imperialist country and in turn defeat the imperialist in civil war against capitalism. But it is impossible to prepare for the turning of the imperialist war into a civil war, for the further break up of the capitalist system, without working military defeat of one's own imperialist country. Those who are not for revolutionary defeatism can not therefor turn the imperialist war into a civil war even though they put forth the slogan.

The formula, to work for the defeat, contains within it, as PART, the second formula, for the revolutionists to defeat their own imperialists. By itself, the second formula is a revisionist position of Marxism, in the name of revolutionary defeatism.

IN times of civil Peace, Marxists attempt to break up the bourgeoisie system by class struggle action. In time of Imperialist war, the class struggle tactic is to work for the defeat our "own" imperialists.

To be for revolutionary defeatism, is times of civil peace, and to reject it, by claiming the time is inopportune, or for any other reason, in times of imperialist war, is to throw out living theory and action for words and phrases.

To work for the defeat of ones own imperialist government means to do everything possible to bring about its defeat, even if it means the "victory(?)" of the "enemy"(?) army over "our"(?) army.

In periods of Imperialist war the exploiters are forced to carry through greater government control of industry and nationalization of the industries of basic war needs. This brings to the surface to the greatest extent the real relation between the exploiters and their government, which is concealed under normal conditions of civil peace.

The struggle against the capitalists, even for the smallest economic demands, becomes then, a political struggle against the state and against the imperialist war. This brings to the surface the need of those slogans which will coordinate the individual struggles of the class which can be used to disrupt the whole productive relations of war needs. That slogan and concept is revolutionary defeatism.

The propaganda slogan of yesterday (civil peace) for "nationalization of industry and workers control of production" which can only be realized under a Workers Government, becomes a slogan of ACTION in the imperialist war period of increased misery of the masses. The bourgeoisie nationalizes industry for its war needs, the workers must fight for WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION.

Workers control of production means nothing unless WORKERS COMMITTEES control production. But workers control of production, under control and domination of the exploiting STATE is such in name, but NOT IN CONTENT.

Only when the workers control of production, develops in factory committees, which is the beginning of Dual Power, does it have any meaning.

The struggle for WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION, in imperialist wars in all periods of political and economical crisis is the POSITIVE side of the struggle for Revolutionary Defeatism, to coordinate the manifold economic struggles of the class from day to day into a powerful political driving force toward the overthrow of capitalism.

Whereas an Imperialist War is a transformation of the condition of civil peace, to a high and climactic phase of the inter-imperialist struggle so too, a defeat of "our" imperialist government in war leads to a transformation of the condition of Imperialist War to CIVIL WAR, a higher plane of the working class struggle!

Revolutionary defeatism, in day to day action, is the key in turning an Imperialist War into a civil war.

The new conditions, civil war presents a revolutionary situation, which the party and the class must further transform into a successful revolution. It is not the condition of imperialist war that can be turned directly into a successful seizure of power. It is the imperialist war that is first turned into a civil war, and it is this condition that is turned into a successful revolution, to the seizure of power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Revolutionary Defeatism demands that the party and the class use every means of coordinating its political and organizational line and action toward the defeat of its own imperialist war. Every tactic, every action, every slogan revolves around and is subordinated to REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM.

For example, the slogan of peace is used by reformist, centrist, pacifists and revolutionary Marxists. The difference with the Marxists slogan for peace, which in form may be the same as the other, but which in content is entirely different is the subordination of the slogan of peace to Revolutionary Defeatism. This is the line of demarcation of the Marxists and non Marxist position, of the position for the interest of the proletariat and the interest of the imperialists.

To call for peace in periods of civil peace, when we should demand class war, and to call for PEACE in times of IMPERIALIST WAR, with the slogan of peace subordinated to revolutionary defeatism, are two different things.

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM, the principle question confronting the working class, in periods of imperialist wars, is subordinated to the end and aim of the interest of the Proletariat and Marxism--to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian state power, and communism.

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