

THE MARXIST

April

1939

**Workers Control of Production for Use
Road to the New Communist
International**

Mussolini, Red and Black - Review

Editorials

Aid The Refugees

Heartening Signs

Trotskyites in France

5 Cents

For A New Communist (4th) International

FIGHT

- For the six hour day, five day week with no reduction in pay!
- For work relief at trade union wages!
- For Workers Control of Relief Funds!
- For Adequate Cash Relief!
- For the unification of all trade unions on a class struggle policy, with industrial structure!
- For democratic rights; for the right to organize, strike and picket!
- For the coordination of free education and practical vocational training for all youth; for equal pay for equal work; for independent relief for all youth equal to the adult!
- For full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses!
- For immediate complete independence for the Colonies and protectorates of the U. S.!
- For the Class War— Against Imperialist War!

FOR A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT!

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST (4th)

INTERNATIONAL!

FOR INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION!

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THE MARXIST

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THE MARXIST

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Aid The Refugees

The bourgeois press reports that at least 8,000 workers have been slaughtered by the Fascists since the occupation of Barcelona. Fifty thousand are under "surveillance." Five thousand have been arrested — of which more than half are already executed.

There can be little doubt that these figures are an underestimation. The press of the world "democracies" has been strangely silent on these massacres.

Countless families have been torn apart. Thousands of working class militants and leaders are in foreign lands, forced to reorganize their whole life, wondering where the next penny is coming from.

No revolutionist, no friend of the working class, can rest while these thousands are hunted down or starved to death. We must organize united action to force "our great Democracy" to open the doors to the Spanish (and German and other) refugees. We must raise every penny possible to further this work.

* * *

HEARTENING SIGNS

"Isolationist" America is being pervaded by the boiling class antagonisms, which heretofore seemed to be characteristics only of "those damn foreigners". Fifty thousand workers in New York demonstrated in front of a Fascist rally in New York last month. Five thousand did the same in Los Angeles. Repeatedly, fascist rallies in Chicago have been called off or broken up by spontaneously arising anti-fascist forces.

The "impartial" police of Mayor (Labor Party) La Guardia in the metropolis beat and arrested hundreds of workers, while inside the hall 600 stalwarts of New York's finest gave 100% protection to the Fascists. The Trotskyite steering com-

mittee in the demonstration executed a brilliant strategy which resulted in drawing the workers away from the Fascist meeting, and wound up by telling them to go home. But even so, thousands of workers remained behind, and though leaderless and hard-pressed by the police, gave a few hundred Fascists a lesson in the class struggle.

Smoldering behind the present apathy of the leaderless masses is a growing hate of capitalism and a development of class consciousness. The spontaneous movements in New York, Chicago, and on the coast against the Fascists should be a living lesson to those who have given up hope in independent working class action, in favor of supporting one capitalist group (the New Deal) against another. The call for Workers Defense Corps, the agitational demand for Workers Control of Production For Use, and Independent Working Class Action, can revitalize the workers for a new offensive against capitalism.

BUILDING A NEW PARTY THROUGH LIQUIDATION.

A few months ago the followers of Leon Trotsky organized the Fourth International, — "new world party of revolutionary Socialism". Immediately the secretariat of the "New International" recommended to its French Group that it liquidate into the centrist P. S. O. P. (Pivert Group). The membership refused to follow the advice of Trotsky, but a large minority has entered the PSOP nonetheless.

In Mexico half the membership has recently been expelled for opposing Trotsky's support of the Cardenas' expropriations. The Belgian groups are out; the Holland Trotskyites have broken with Trotsky. The Australian group is split into three groups. We wonder where that famous one-man Italian section stands?

WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE

With sixteen million workers unemployed, and over ten million workers on part-time; with poor farmers and sharecroppers living in misery and starvation, the bankruptcy of capitalism in the United States becomes more evident every day. Millions exist in poverty, amidst plenty. The majority of the population eke out a miserable existence in the richest country on earth. Such is the lot of the American working class.

THE DECAY OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

The deep going decay of world capitalism, revealed in the world war, finally sucked even powerful American imperialism into the vortex, beginning with the 1929 crisis. Although the decay had started in the other imperialist powers some years before, the rapid tempo of this decay in the U. S. and the magnitude of its scope, have enormously intensified the contradictions of American Imperialism. Accumulation of capital in the United States has not reached its former level. The American industries can not find markets to run at even their present capacity, not to speak of expansion, although expansion is the very life of capitalism. Production is on a part time basis. Only "negative", destructive accumulation for WAR NEEDS and the billions in pump-priming spent by the New Deal have temporarily "saved" some industries from complete break-down.

WHAT IS AHEAD?

This development of IDLE MEN AND IDLE FACTORIES can not be considered as a "normal" condition of the "civil peace" that existed in the period of DEVELOPING CAPITALISM and under which we saw the growth of Reformism and the Second International. This condition of DECAY CAPITALISM means that it is no longer sufficient to fight ONLY upon the basis of the IMMEDIATE DEMANDS in the class struggle, even though these are properly coordinated with the

ultimate demands. This represented a correct revolutionary position in DEVELOPING CAPITALISM, but today no longer fits the new OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS.

This does not mean that at this moment in the United States there is a pre-revolutionary situation, even though all of the objective conditions are rotten ripe for Socialism.

The objective conditions of American capitalism in decay indicate that we are heading rapidly into a PERIOD OF IMPERIALIST WAR, or into a PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION.

American Imperialism has a foundation and economic structure that is WORLD WIDE in scope. As part of world capitalism it is subject to the laws of the capitalist mode in decay, even though at present it rests on top of the heap in decline. Important re-alignments of forces in any part of the earth, important class upheavals, can cause sharp turns and rapid changes in the tempo of the class struggle in the United States and in the oppressed Latin American countries. Above all the revolutionary Marxists and the workers in general must understand this perspective and be ready. Steps must be taken now to prepare the class for these decisive battles. Toward this end the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States presents as its key and centralizing slogan in the class struggle today, the struggle for WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

At all times revolutionists, by propaganda and action to the degree possible, connect the struggle for immediate demands with the overthrow of capitalism, pointing out that on the basis of the day to day struggle alone the class can not obtain its objectives. In the period of decay capitalism, with IDLE MEN AND IDLE FACTORIES, it is essential, even before a pre-revolutionary situation sets in, that

CONCRETE connecting links between immediate demands and ultimate demands be established. The slogan of Workers Control of Production serves this function. To the degree of economic break-down and of revolutionary development, the ultimate demands are transformed into immediate demands. It is false to present the dynamics of the class struggle in the strait-jacket of a program of immediate demands, a transition program, and a program for power. There is ONE program, the revolutionary Marxian program for all stages. Within the framework of this program, strategy, tactics and slogans are changed to fit the changing objective conditions.

REALIZING WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

Although the struggle for Workers Control of Production must be started under capitalism, its realization in the interest of the workers can be accomplished by the class only under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, under a Workers Council Government. That the struggle for Workers Control of Production must be started under a capitalist state but can be fully realized only under a Workers State, is a contradiction that must be solved by the vanguard and the class. It is one of the many class problems we confront, such as the possibility of starting a revolution, a proletarian revolution, in a backward country, but the impossibility of achieving socialism in any single country however advanced. Similarly, the workers can seize the factories under capitalism, but cannot run them FOR USE, for the workers interests instead of the bosses profits, until a parallel structure arising out of the workers' factory control, replaces the power of the capitalist state. This structure is that of WORKERS COUNCILS, DUAL POWER, that first effectively challenges the capitalist state, and later SMASHES and REPLACES the capitalist state.

WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION AND REFORMISM

In opposition to the above position, Reformism calls for the nationalization of industry, a measure which has nothing in common with the interests of the working class. In DECAY capitalism, in any national emergency of war or the danger of

social upheavals, the capitalists are compelled for self protection to have the government nationalize the weaker and sicker industries in order TO SAVE ALL THE INDUSTRIES, TO SAVE CAPITALISM. When and if the emergency passes the industries are returned to the exploiters.

"Sick" industries left to themselves would intensify the break-down and speed-up the antagonisms of capitalism. First the capitalist state subsidizes the sick industries as long as possible, then the more farsighted capitalists, realizing these industries can no longer earn a suitable profit on their investments, allow the capitalist state to buy these "white elephants". Fascism, to save the profit system, nationalizes many more industries.

Nationalization of industries under a CAPITALIST STATE operates against the workers' interests. In a revolutionary period, with the establishment of a Workers State after the capitalist state is smashed, nationalization of industry and Workers Control of Production is a progressive step. It is a step toward Socialism.

THE CENTRIST POSITION

Whereas the reformists mainly stress the question of nationalization of industry — that is, that the bosses' government take over the industries — the centrists pose the need of workers control of production, but "workers" control of production UNDER THE CAPITALIST STATE, under capitalism.

In many revolutionary situations (Germany, Italy, Spain, etc.) the workers took over the factories and established workers control of production, but failed to carry the revolution to the end. They allowed the capitalist STATE to continue to exist, and to establish its legal nationalization over the "workers" control of production. This was a contradiction that operated specifically in the interests of the exploiters under the adverse objective conditions that confronted them. Nationalization under the capitalist STATE control enabled the bourgeoisie to retain LEGAL control at the TOP from where they disrupted and played havoc with the "workers" control of production, until, step by step, they drove the workers out of the factories and regained complete control.

Some typical forms of agitation for Workers Control of Production under the capitalist state as presented by various shades of centrism are:

1—Proposals for Workers Control of Production coupled with **BILLS** to be presented before State or National Legislatures to be **PASSED BY THE CAPITALIST STATE**. This is a myth and a contradiction. Certainly, when the revolution develops and the workers are strong enough to take over the factories and the farmers the land, the "good kind-hearted capitalists" will "give" us that which we have already taken — Workers Control of Production (providing they are too weak to drive us out). But the capitalists and the labor agents in our ranks will fight to the end to see that the **CAPITALIST STATE** retain the **LEGAL** control at the **TOP**, superimposing their control **OVER** the Workers' Control of Production. The workers can "control" production at the **BOTTOM**, while the bosses government at the **TOP** dictates to and disrupts the workers control. This is a negation of workers control.

Only to the degree that the workers establish parallel bodies of **DUAL POWER**, Workers Councils, with **CONTROL AT THE TOP**, can the workers proceed with Workers Control of Production.

2—The centrists (and reformists) will enter the government, which by this simple expedient will become a "workers government". The workers through taking over the government, will then **CONTROL AT THE TOP**. So runs the argument. But the workers can not **TAKE OVER** the **CAPITALIST STATE**. The workers "leaders" who join the capitalist government can merely be agents of the capitalists to stem the tide of revolution. In Germany the Social Democrats "took over" the State, and "legalized" Workers Control of Production. But history proved the outcome. In Spain the workers took over the industries. But the Peoples Front Government invited and brought the workers leaders, the Stalinists and Socialists first and then the Anarchist and **POUM** leaders, into the bourgeois government and "legalized" (only partly at that) the Workers Control of Production. Again history records a defeat and a betrayal. Not "take over" the bourgeois state, but

establish Workers Councils, go on to **Dual Power**, and smash the bourgeois state — that is the road to victory.

3—The centrists will issue the slogan of "Nationalization of Industry and Workers Control of Production." But since they mean nationalization of industry under the **CAPITALIST STATE**, not the **WORKERS STATE**, they again fall into the trap of the exploiters.

4—Or the centrists will issue the slogan for Workers Control of Production, and leave it hanging in the air without any explanation in their propaganda and theoretical work as to **HOW** it is to be realized, as to the road ahead, the need of establishing side by side with the capitalist state the organs of dual power, etc.

INDEPENDENT CLASS ACTION

The struggle for Workers Control of Production can be developed only on the basis of **INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION**. The struggle to remedy the situation of **IDLE MEN AND IDLE FACTORIES** is not the job of the unemployed alone. Above all it is the job of the employed, and especially the millions of part-time employed. It **d e m a n d s** the unity in action of the employed and unemployed in class struggle, not bills before legislative bodies.

The slogan for Workers Control of Production is put forth not to **REPLACE** the struggle for immediate demands, but to elevate that struggle. Immediate demands put forth by the working class must be coordinated into this strategy.

The existing forms of workers organizations, the trade unions and unemployed organizations, must be utilized to the fullest extent toward this end. The workers in these organizations must be made conscious of the problem of **IDLE MEN AND IDLE FACTORIES AND ITS SOLUTION THROUGH WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE**. This will stimulate the day to day struggle for a class struggle policy against the reformist leaders.

In addition to these forms of workers organizations the workers must establish functioning **FACTORY COMMITTEES** in every plant. Take the control and direction of the unions, of the needs of the workers in the shops, out of the headquarters of the

(Continued page 8)

RESOLUTION ON THE NEW COMMUNIST (4TH) INTERNATIONAL

The increasing decay of capitalist economy, manifest in every country of the world in varying degrees, is reflected in the recurrent crises to which each nation is subjected, the intolerable burdens crushing the masses, repeated strike movements, uprisings, defeated revolts, and the onmarch of fascism. Having disoriented, rendered powerless and smashed the labor movement, the bourgeoisies have prepared the way for the second world war.

Feverish preparations in the military, economic, social, political life of each country serve the additional purpose of temporary stop-gaps to the break-down, keeping industries running even if on the most negative and destructive basis. Imperialist war and proletarian revolution is the prime question confronting the world proletariat.

A WORLD PARTY OF MARXISM

The creation of the scientific instrument of the proletariat — the revolutionary Marxian party — for the struggle against the system of wage slavery must take into consideration the fact that capitalism has brought about a world interrelation of economy, the whole of which is in decline and decay. The struggle against capitalism is a world struggle. It requires that the revolutionary forces band together into a world party whose program for revolutionary overthrow shall apply to all sections, but modified in its strategical and tactical application by the particular national and other peculiarities. Such an international party must provide for the fullest freedom and discussion in arriving at policies and decisions, but be unified in carrying them out.

Only if the proletariat can create this revolutionary force to organize and guide its struggles, will the disheartening repetition of defeat upon defeat be turned into its opposite.

Life has demonstrated that the existing Internationals cannot serve this purpose.

THE INTERNATIONAL OF BETRAYALS

The Third International, arising under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, out of the World War and the bankruptcy

and treachery of the Socialist Second International, overthrew capitalism in Russia. But with the victory of Stalinism the international party of revolution was converted into an opportunist and increasingly reactionary force which sacrificed and betrayed the masses in Germany in 1933, and by 1936-39 had developed to the point of open counter-revolution in Spain. The Stalinist today, with its line of People's Frontism (Labor Party in the US). Defend Democracy against Fascism, Fight the Aggressors, serves the interests of one set of imperialists against another. It is an open class collaborationist outfit, supporting in certain imperialist countries such as the US the war preparations and increased armaments. It is an obstacle and an enemy to the advancement of the working class movement. As a result of the new relationship of forces in Europe among the imperialists we can expect a shift in the Stalinist line and slogans, with a stronger orientation on American imperialism and an attempt at a reapproachment with German imperialism. Such a shift may even be accompanied by a possible revival of certain "left" phrases and slogans. But it is totally excluded that Stalinism can return or be reformed to serve the interests of the working class.

Old in treachery and betrayal, its support of the bourgeoisie in the World War and its butchery of the German workers after the war a never to be forgotten fact, the Second Socialist International continues in its role of agent of the bourgeoisie, opportunist and class collaborationist to the core. Its loose, amorphous structure, the loss of large sections (Germany, Austria, etc) render it less effective than the vicious driving force of the highly centralized Stalinist International. The sweep of Stalinism to the extreme right in the labor movement has placed even the Second International to the "left" by comparison; but on all essentials the Social Democracy has tail-ended Stalinism in complete support to the bourgeoisie (support of Peoples Frontism, Labor Party, democracy against fascism,

etc., etc.) Like international Stalinism, the Second International too is an obstacle and a break to revolutionary progress.

ORGANIC UNITY

The degeneration of the 3rd International to the historic position of the 2nd International has posed the question of organic unity of the two as a solution of the task of building the Marxist vanguard. Unity of these two Internationals, however, would be a unity that would further enmesh the proletariat in the clutches of the bourgeoisie. It would create a stronger organization to fight against Marxism and the proletarian revolution. It is part of the policy of supporting the "democratic" capitalists as against the Fascist capitalists. It would be a rejection of the Marxist line for building the revolutionary International. Working class unity can only be accomplished on the basis of a Marxist program. Unity of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals could serve only the interests of the bourgeoisie.

THE LESSONS OF SPAIN

The Anarchist International, sometimes called the Black or First International, received its supreme test in Spain, — and was found wanting. Militancy, courage, untold sacrifices came from the rank and file Anarchists. But the leadership, not understanding the role of the vanguard, completely at loss on the question of the state and state power, culminated decades of education and teaching against "the state" in the abstract by entering and supporting the capitalist People's Front Government in Spain. Using the Anarchist and POUM leaders to hold the masses in check, the bourgeoisie was able to liquidate step by step the independent organs of workers power. The Barcelona insurrection of May 1937 found the masses ready and waiting to strike; the Anarchist and POUM leaders calling them off the barricades, demoralizing their spirit, lay the groundwork for the Stalinists and bourgeoisie to step forward and deliver the class a crushing blow.

Politically, anarchism died in the Spanish revolution. We can expect reevaluations and regroupments of anarchist workers to emerge out of the chaos and disintegration. The Friends of Durrutti, left anarchist group evolving toward revolutionary Marxism, was cut short by the

repressions after the May Days. But this group was only a forerunner of future groups. Revolutionary Marxists must make one of their tasks the aiding of left anarchist workers, through discussions and political clarification and common activity, on to the road to revolutionary Marxism.

The Trotskyist movement, which by papal decree some months ago was converted from the movement "For a Fourth International" into "The Fourth International", is in most countries a paper outfit. Since the German defeat and the "French Turn" (orientation and liquidation into the Second International) Trotsky and his followers have moved steadily to the right in a breathless attempt to keep within hailing distance of Stalinism and maintain their role of "left critics". Politically, the Trotsky line is to the right of even the centrist POUM in Spain. They support the Labor Party (with criticism), advocate material aid to Peoples Frontism (with criticism), will support not only the Soviet Union but STALINISM in a war (with criticism), support (with criticism) the Cardenas nationalization acts, calculated by this puppet of American imperialism to channelize and throttle independent working class action. They take a centrist line on revolutionary defeatism. They were a political cipher in Spain. Trotskyism is a hopelessly opportunist force. It cannot be reformed or won over. It must be combatted mercilessly to clear the way for the new communist (4th) International.

The Lovestone-Brandler International has been reduced mainly to the Lovestone group in the US. Having supported the Stalinern even after their expulsion, they have only recently cut loose from it. But they have done so on a program to the right of even their own former program. They supported the POUM in Spain. In the US they support a social-pacifist anti-war outfit, advocate the Labor Party, collaborate with the worst trade union bureaucrats and fakers. Despite their "opposition" to Stalinism they stand on the same fundamental line of socialism in one country. They are a bankrupt sect, with a totally economist approach, that will shift from one unprincipled unity or

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orientation to another.

The London Buro, an international set-up of centrist organizations of varying shades (Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, etc), has for the sake of "unity" consistently watered down what positions it had, until today it stands with the vaguest of vague centrist programs. In action its ambiguous and noble platitudes have meant support of the Peoples Front in Spain, tail-ending of Stalinism generally. It would be principally false today for Marxists to affiliate to the Buro.

THE MAIN ENEMY IS CAPITALISM

The central task of our day is to assemble the revolutionary cadres into a new communist (4th) International. If it is to serve the unified interests of the proletariat it must be built on the line of political and organizational independence from all other parties, of independent working class action. It must fight capitalism as its main enemy. The work of building the revolutionary international cannot be considered as merely a struggle against Stalinism or Trotskyism. Such reformist and centrist forces must be exposed and fought, but as a part of the whole struggle against capitalism. To shift off onto what is essentially a side-track—concentrating the main struggle against Stalinism—is to negate the struggle against the whole.

United front activity, fraction work, merging on a Marxist basis with other groups, these are essential but auxiliary aspects of the line for building the new international. They come within the framework of the general anti-capitalist orientation. Not to understand this relationship, to take one of these aspects and make it the main line for building the new International, is to come rapidly to grief.

The New Zimmerwald concept, for example, proposes to establish an organization of "left" groups by a series of stages; first to build "councils of action", not for specific action but for abstract opposition to some evil of capitalism such as fascism or war, then to develop from this basis a unified organization on a "minimum" left program, — in other words on a left centrist program. Marxists reject this line for building the new international. The Fourth International must be built not by unification with centrist organizations on a

"minimum" program, but by the political and organizational separation from the reformist and centrist organizations and the winning over of their elements among others to a Marxian line on the basis of an anti-capitalist orientation.

CENTRISM CANNOT BE REFORMED

Underlying the New Zimmerwald concept, originally proposed by the Field group, is the question of reforming a centrist organization. Although it is possible, during certain periods, especially proletarian upsurges, to win over the bulk of the members of a centrist organization to Marxism, it is impossible to reform a centrist organization. Lenin "reformed" the Bolshevik Party in 1917 in his struggle over the April theses. In that instance Lenin fighting against a centrist **leadership** was able to again steer the Bolshevik Party (a Marxian Party) on the road to revolution without fundamental changes in the party.

But this is not true of a centrist organization. Its membership can be won over to Marxism only by a rejection of its whole past course, a purging of its leadership, a re-education of the membership, and a radical reconstruction of its structure and program. Unification is sometimes permissible with a left centrist force, but only on the basis of a Marxist program and as an auxiliary to the general line of building the revolutionary vanguard organization.

The Communist (4th) International does not exist today. In the present period to "proclaim" the International would be at best a gesture, on a par with the Trotsky adventurism (which proclaimed a centrist international at that). But the foundations can be laid today.

Scattered forces throughout the world are emerging, groping their way in this general direction. Some of these are split-offs from the Trotskyites, others from the Socialist movement, still others originated as more or less independent groups. Left elements of the POUM and of the Spanish Anarchists are slowly recrystallizing. Underground groups in Germany and Austria have begun to reach out.

For us in America the key task on the road to the new International is the building of the Revolutionary Workers League, U. S. For some time revolutionists have

recognized that the "center of gravity", so to speak, for the revolutionary movement of tomorrow has shifted to the Western-Hemisphere. The League can justly take pride in that it is the only group in the world to come forth with a fundamental rounded document of Marxism—the Draft Program. But this is also a sad indication of the state of the movement. The League must try to win over and unify the various revolutionary forces in the U. S. — set its own house in order. The Program can be a great aid in this work, as well as internationally.

As a first step in the direction of the new International, the R.W.L., U. S. is working towards extending its contact with revolutionary forces internationally, with the perspective of forming an International Buro or Contact Commission, upon the principles of Marxism.

Workers Control

(Continued from Page 4)

reformists, and bring the control and the union back into the shops through the **FACTORY COMMITTEES**. The Factory Committee will develop to a higher form of workers organization than the present trade union, once it gets into class motion involving all the workers in the shop and influencing the oppressed in the neighborhood.

The workers must establish Workers Defense Corps in every plant, in every neighborhood, to defend their rights against capitalism and reaction.

To coordinate their activity the workers and unemployed must also establish Committees of Action to intensify the struggle for Workers Control of Production and break away from the halts of the class collaborationists.

To summarize: Workers Control of Production, although essentially a propaganda slogan, nevertheless must be concretized for action TODAY as far as far as possible. Primarily that means the development of those workers instruments—factory committees, defense corps, committees of action, etc. — which will be the organizing instruments or embryos of them for Workers Control of Production when achieved under Dual Power and the Work-

ers Government. On this basis we advocate to begin today the actual seizure of idle land, factories, mines, mills, etc., which the capitalists refuse to run or which are being run only part time, or which are transferring the bulk of their work to other branches—the seizure of these idle means of production and their operation under Workers Control.

THE RWL CORRECTS ITS ERROR

When part of our organization was still the Left Wing of the Workers Party we fought against the Trotskyite concept of nationalization of industry and "workers control" under capitalism, but issued a slogan of "Nationalization of Industry and Workers Control of Production". We now consider this slogan an error and correct it. After adopting this slogan at our First Convention we failed to use it. Instead we issued the slogan of "Workers Control of Production under a Workers Council Government." We presented articles and materials which in content contradicted the early false slogan. It was an error in formulation, not content. Thus, in the Mexican oil seizures we correctly exposed the nationalization moves as bolstering up Mexican capitalism, and we fought the Trotskyites and others on this. When the Trotskyites supported the Mahoney Bill in Minnesota, which would establish state owned industries and "workers" control, we also correctly exposed this reformist position.

THE VANGUARD AND THE CLASS

The struggle for Workers Control of Production for Use must be carried on through independent working class action in all the workers organizations. As the struggle develops new forms will arise, such as Factory Committees, Workers Defense Corps, Workers Committees of Action, Workers Councils. In this struggle it is the vanguard, the Revolutionary Marxian organization that must point out the way and arose the class into action **FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE**. On this basis the ideological influence of the revolutionists in these organizations will unify the class in action against the capitalists and their agents within our ranks.

Book Review

MUSSOLINI RED AND BLACK:

By Armando Borghi; published by Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 45 W. 17 St.
New York, N. Y.

Mussolini the inconsistent; Mussolini the Socialist turned renegade; demagogue, murderer, Fascist Dictator — the career of Benito Mussolini — forms the theme of the tract by Comrade Borghi, Italian Anarchist. Documentary evidence, quotations and statements by Mussolini, reflect a painstaking care and research.

However, the value of the work, apart from its source material, suffers considerably from the approach. Instead of analyzing the man Mussolini in his relation to Italian economy, this "bad man" of history is superimposed upon the whole economic and political structure of Italy, and seems to stand in all his filth as the *raison d'être* of Italian politics in the last 16 years.

Borghi's emotional hatred for this man Mussolini, with whom he worked for a time many years back, permeates the whole little book. Lacking a broad social base this hatred seeks an individual outlet. Inevitably therefore it ends up with a backhanded lament that the efforts of "Lucetti, Zamboni, Michele Schirru, Domenico Bovone, Angelo Sbardello and many others.. to kill Mussolini".... have failed.

NO ANALYSIS OF FASCISM

The defeat of the working class in Italy after the seizure of the factories and the accession to power of Mussolini in 1922 appear to be the result of the "badness" of this one man. The errors of the working class leadership, the treachery of some; the failure of the Anarchists — and Malatesta, their guiding light — to understand the role of the state and the necessity of the Party despite these lessons (and the more recent lessons of Spain) are not mentioned.

There is no analysis of Fascism. Its economic roots and social base are not even dealt with. Furthermore the book ends without a single bit of advice to the Italian working class as to how to achieve liberation, how to overthrow capitalism in Italy.

Borghi speaks of the fact that the terror of Fascism, unlike the terror of other dictatorships in history, such as that of L. Bonaparte, Bismarch, Thiers, etc., continues with no sign of abatement despite the fact that the usual "ten year" period of "punishment" has passed. He speaks of this fact without understanding that world capitalism today is in **DECLINE**, unable — in its weaker links particularly — to maintain itself and suppress the proletarian threat without cold, open Dictatorship — Fascism.

"Mussolini Red and Black" throws light upon the essentially unscientific and "individualistic" mode of thinking of many Anarchist leaders. Guided by a blind opposition to "leaders" and "politics" they tend to exalt into glorified saints or devils the various individuals who come across their path. And sometimes they lean so far — as in this book — that they temporarily lose sight of the callousness and tyrannical of a whole system in the crimes and movements of a single individual.

Pamphlets by the R.W.L.

WHY COMMUNISM

SHALL WORKERS SUPPORT A
LABOR PARTY?

CAPITALIST DECAY AND
UNEMPLOYMENT

FIGHT AGAINST THE ROOSE-
VELT WAR PLANS

FIGHT FASCISM — DEFEND
REVOLUTIONISTS IN
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