

Discussion of the German Tasks

The draft resolution (unfortunately undated) clears up some differences (real and imaginary, that is, based on misunderstandings), but at the same time left others untouched. The task of the present criticism consists in defining as exactly as possible the real character of the differences today.

A Reply to the N. C. of the German Opposition

Here we are not concerned with anything but the second task. It results not from any "psychology", that is to say, from the state of mind of various layers of the proletarian vanguard, but from the whole of the objective conditions: from the victory of Fascism and the collapse of the policy as well as the organization of the Stalinists. The state of mind of the workers can yet change—especially in the sense of an ever clearer understanding of this historic fact. But the political attitude (perspective) of the Left Opposition should not have as its point of departure the fluctuating sentiments of the heart, but the objective changes in the situation.

1. The resolution ascertains right at the beginning that "the collapse of the C. P. G. has deprived the slogan of its reform of all content", in other words, that the C. P. G. cannot be regenerated. Needless to say this declaration, which signifies the renunciation of the position that we all held up to March 5, bears a tremendous significance for all of our activity.

2. But let us quote more extensively from paragraph 3: "Although the development is in the direction of a new party, the slogan of the creation of the latter would be premature and false." The whole sense of this sentence lies in the content that one gives the term "slogan": it may be interpreted as both an open proclamation of our new position with regard to the official party as well as an appeal for the immediate creation of a new party with the existing elements. Insofar as the second interpretation is concerned, it would be the most ridiculous sort of adventurism. Among ourselves, no one has made such a proposal. If at the opening of the discussion, such misunderstandings could arise, the exchange of opinion during the last few weeks has created absolute clarity on this score. It is not a matter for us of decreeing bureaucratically the creation of a new party, but of proclaiming openly our position towards the old party as well as our new perspective for work. It would be impermissible to diminish or to mask the significance of this turn. Our course is one of propaganda for a new party and preparation for it. It is necessary to speak out clearly and openly about this change. Are we agreed on this? The draft resolution does not offer the necessary clarity.

3. After a correct point of departure the resolution then falls into a number of contradictions, masks its fundamental declarations and does not give any practical directives. The slogan of the "new party", says the resolution, will repel all critical or semi-critical Communists. Why? Obviously because they still believe in the reform of the old party. The devoted but shortsighted revolutionists, who at the cost of great sacrifices will attempt to reestablish the Stalinist party in illegality will naturally show themselves to be hostile to our affirmation that the "perspective of the reform of the C. P. G. no longer bears any content" and that "the development is in the direction of a new party". But it is precisely on these two theses that we find agreement with the German leadership. What shall we do about it? Shall we keep these ideas to ourselves without expressing them out loud in order not to repel from us the partisans of reform? Such a position would be altogether unworthy of Marxists and I do not doubt that the German comrades do not have this in mind. Under the blows of experience the utopians of reform will become convinced that we are correct. The more firmly and the more swiftly we shall establish our position, the greater will be our political authority.

4. The draft resolution poses the question of the creation of cadres. In itself this slogan is absolutely irrefragable. It is only necessary to reply: for what purpose, the cadres? For the reform of the old party or for the construction of the new one? If under such conditions, we take the road of diplomatic silence, the Stalinists will demand an answer just the same of us and we shall appear before the rank and file Communists like those augurs who have two doctrines, one for themselves and one for the uninitiated. It is clear that the authors of the resolution cannot want and do not wish such a duplicity.

5. In the draft resolution as well as in other documents the idea is often repeated that the perspective of a new party is correct, but that the advanced workers are not prepared "psychologically". If it's a matter of creating a new party immediately, then the workers are not prepared not only "psychologically", but also politically and theoretically. The necessary cadres are lacking and the existing cadres have no masses. It is impossible to understand the reference to "psychology" otherwise than as follows: our own partisans and even our sympathizers are not prepared "psychologically" for the sharp change of perspectives. The authors of the resolution confuse, quite obviously, two questions: the preparation of the proletarian vanguard for the creation of a new Communist party and the preparation of our own organization for a courageous and decisive change of our own orientation in the question of the old and the new party.

6. To interpret the slogan of the new party as a mechanical unification with the elements of decomposition of the old party (Brandenburgers, S. A. P., Leninbund) would not only be an absurdity but a simple mockery of our entire past. With regard to one group or another, we can only speak of taking some steps together, steps dictated by the situation. So, for instance, at the anti-Fascist congress we should seek an understanding with the Suvellvet group, the S. A. P. (German Socialist Labor Party), etc. against the bloc of Muenzenberg with Barbusse and the Hindu bourgeoisie. There is not the slightest reason for confusing tactical understandings of this order with the question of the new party. Only one thing can be said: skilful tactical agreements, on the basis of a correct strategic line, can accelerate the process of the formation of cadres for the Communist party.

7. In the German documents, the slogan of the "new party" is interposed with the slogan of a "new Zimmerwald". It is absolutely impossible to understand this counter-posing of things. Zimmerwald represented a temporary bloc of Marxists and Centrists. The former marched under the slogan

of the Third International; the latter under the slogan of the reform of the Second International. There were, to be sure, some participants who avoided answering the question: for the II. or the III. International? by hiding their hesitation under the banner of Zimmerwald "in general".

8. By the way, how is the question of the S. A. P. posed? In the struggle for their own preservation, the leaders of the S. A. P. without giving an answer to any of the programmatic questions, dissociated themselves from the Left Opposition, alleging that we still nurtured illusions about the C. P. G. This fundamental argumentation has been eliminated since, by the march of events. Addressing ourselves to the S. A. P. we say: "After March 5, we are also concerned with the creation of a new party. But a party is created on the basis of a program. What is your program?" It is necessary for us to be able to utilize the advantage of our new position. If the leaders of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the only now in the process of elaborating their program, we can offer them quite openly our participation in the program discussion and propose even the creation of common theoretical discussion organ, naturally preserving our entire independence of organization as well as our political journal. The question of the S. A. P. is not, obviously, the decisive question. Neither do we want to substitute it for other questions, but only to place it side by side with them, as a serious partial question.

I will sum up: the discussion has already brought this result: it has cleared up a number of obvious misunderstandings and has thus restricted the sphere of the difference. Nevertheless, before getting

a clear and distinct reply from the leading German comrades to the questions posed above it would be premature to say that the differences have been overcome. We must recognize, not only formally, the perspective of a new party, but we must draw from this perspectives the necessary practical conclusions and fight in common agreement for them.

April 21, 1933. —G. G.
Note: The Resolution of the German leadership (Reichsleitung) referred to above was published in The Militant several weeks ago.

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L.O. Representative Denounces Fascism in Chilean Parliament

The following are the high points of the discourse delivered by comrade Emilio Zapato at the special session of the Chilean House of Deputies on April 24, 1933. Three days later at the special session of the Senate of the Republic of Chile, our comrade Manuel Hidalgo threw the workers' challenge to the recent Fascist move when the masked measure reached the upper house of the Chilean Parliament.

Deputy ZAPATA: At this moment, heavy with grave alternatives for the working class, I come forward, as a representative of the Communist Left (Chilean Section of the International Communist Opposition, Bolsheviki-Leninists) to present the viewpoint of the exploited masses on the proposed law. For us Communists, this attempt to give the existing government extraordinary power does not constitute a surprise. We know that it is necessary for the ruling class in order to impede the protests of the workers at the time when the nose in which they are held as a class is pulled tighter. We know it is necessary for them in order to easier stop the workers' complaints when wages are being slashed and unemployment is growing. By means of such a law you will stifle groans of the workers as they will slide under the whip of spreading pauperism. The law you propose is necessary for you, to bolster up and strengthen the existing forces of class repression.

Who is sponsoring the projected measure? the gross provisions of which do not deserve the flattery of detailed analysis? The same bourgeois parties that have served all dictatorships in Chile up to now. They now raise shrill voices in the praise of democracy. But the same hands have handed over the national sources of natural wealth, our industries and the control of the country's fiscal institutions to the imperialist powers. The same elements that have ever played with the misery of the Chilean masses are now proposing a law giving extraordinary powers to the existing government.

Shall we permit ourselves to be fooled by the pretexts they have sought to justify the proposed measure. Its undoubted aim spells more suffering for the workers. By means of it, you hope to stifle all protests against the crimes that have been and are being perpetrated by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois sections here represented. You are responsible for the excesses and crimes perpetrated by the several administrations that have recently victimized the country and....
Deputy URRUTIA (interrupting): Those were de facto governments. The honorable deputy should be careful about making direct accusations.
Deputy ZAPATA: The Conservatives have played an important role in the acts of those governments. Will you deny that the worthy representatives of that party have organized the several conspiracies that have recently devastated the country? Millions of pesos were

stolen from the National Treasury. This money is now being used for the purpose of solidifying the existence of your infamously White Guard.

(Tumult in the House. Several deputies speak at the same time.)
Deputy ZAPATA: I can prove to you, honorable gentlemen, that the commander in chief of this White Guard of yours, yes, Sr. Eulogio Sanchez Errazuriz himself, is one of those who harvested so luxuriantly in the period of the recent dictatorial governments....
I state that he robbed the treasury to the tune of one hundred million pesos.

(Tumult. Several deputies speak at the same time.)
Deputy URRUTIA: Can the honorable deputy prove what he has said?
Deputy PEREIRA: The honorable deputy is not being ethical....
Deputy URRUTIA: It is cowardly to bring in here the discussion of a person who is not a member of this honorable house. This is an act of cowardice!

Deputy ZAPATA: I can prove with my ample documentation the truth of my charge.
(Several deputies speak at the same time. The Chairman rings the silencing bells.)
Several deputies: Your honor lies!
Deputy ZAPATA: Quiet! dear gentlemen. Calm yourselves, defenders of the White Guard.

Several deputies: Your honor cannot express himself in this fashion about a person who is not here.
Deputy ZAPATA: I speak here as the representative of the revolutionary proletariat. If history does not give within the bourgeois democracy a parliamentary majority to the Communists it is because, as our own comrade Trotsky has stated, "history has not transformed nations into clubs that solemnly vote in the Social Revolution."

The Democratic Parliament cannot represent, it cannot even approximate the correlation of forces that labor in society. Being the instrument of class domination clutched in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the parliament will continue to sanction the acts of repression resorted to by the bourgeoisie to preserve its power. Only when the revolutionary proletariat will have taken in its own hands the power, the press, the schools, the army, etc., will an end be put to the comedy of bourgeois democracy, with its contradictions, its fake opposition parties, serving as social lightning rods and the entire scheme of constitutional demagoguery.

So that I place little belief in the purely formal and well-mannered opposition to the projected measure shown here by some sectors of the bourgeoisie. The time will come when we shall see the same false tribunes of the people applaud the butchering of the Communists. But as my comrade Hidalgo so well said in the Senate, when speaking in protest against the expulsion of the primary school teachers, we Communists shall not wait with

crossed arms, like the ancient Christians in the circus. We shall be ready, fists clenched, certain that the future belongs to us.

The violent repression being prepared for us will also be met in a violent form by the workers, who closing the ranks of the proletarian revolution will know how to put force and violence at the service of society.

For the bourgeoisie can no longer continue as the guide of human destiny. Under its direction humanity degenerates and rots. It is now the turn of the proletariat to take in its hands the reins of power in order to make possible the progress of civilization under the historic perspective of a socialist organization of economy, destroying without pity all that which stands in the way of the success of such an organization.

Referring to democracy, Trotsky, one of the most beloved leaders of the world proletariat, said: "There is no hope of conquering power peacefully as long as the bourgeoisie retains the instruments of domination. Triply crazy is the hope of attaining power by the road that the bourgeoisie itself simultaneously indicates and intrenches for itself, by the road of parliamentary democracy."

But this does not at all mean that we Communists should forego the opportunities, offered to us by the bourgeoisie itself, to make use of the national tribune in behalf of the revolutionary proletariat. "Battle must be given to democracy, thus tearing from the masses the illusion that the bourgeois parties can solve the problems of democracy."

In the measure that the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system become more acute, the bourgeoisie will abandon all liberal demagoguery and will resort to open government by force, thus hoping to postpone a bit longer the crumbling of the present social structure. All governments' all systems, about to fall, resort to brutal measures in order to retard the fall. However, no repressions, no massacres, can succeed to hold back the proletariat in its revolutionary mission.

Impelled forward historically, the proletariat will have to sweep aside the outworn forms of bourgeois society, in order to create on its ruins a society without classes without exploiters or exploited. Through the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will construct the socialist society. A beginning has already been made in the Soviet Union.

The social panorama is becoming more definite every other day. Everywhere, on all continents, amidst wars, dictatorships and diplomatic comedies, capitalist society is crumbling. As soldiers of the revolutionary army we Communist members of the parliament refuse to hide our ideas, but will continue to shout them and to defend them today in the tribune of this parliament, tomorrow possibly in your prisons, in exile or in front of the machine guns of the same White Guard, the legal existence of which the Government and the majority of this Parliament recognizes and even justify—for what purpose? For the purpose—so cynically made plain in the famous receding slogan of the Guard: "To shoot down the riff-raff!"

The End of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from last issue)
The war came and as its most immediate consequence, the Habsburg empire collapsed. As to Austro-Marxism, it lost the ground underneath its feet. But it did not notice this. It believed that its period of bloom had only begun. That was only natural. The domination of capitalism was heavily shaken and the bourgeoisie could not even think of rehabilitating itself by its own power. And so it transmitted the task of reconstructing economy—this is how it came to be called instead of: reestablishing the capitalist regime—to the social democracy.

And the latter went about this work with the greatest of enthusiasm, for according to its view the "reconstruction of economy" was the prerequisite and beginning of "socialization". And had not democracy anything else but the automatic generator of socialization? Things were quite simple: if capitalism developed, the working class grew, and side by side with the working class grew, and the social democracy would grow. Ultimately it would have to get the majority in the house of parliament and then, no obstacle would any longer stand in the way of socialization. Society would thus grow into socialism, without revolution, without blood-shed, without a dictatorship and without a reign of terror.

The Dream is Punctured, But...
But one fine day the cup overflowed. The bourgeoisie parties discovered that they could now get along even without the social democrats and took leave of their coalition brethren. But that did not rouse the social democrats from their democratic intoxication. The unfriendly attitude of the bourgeoisie parties only went to prove to them the correctness of the theory that the social democratic camp there arose a contest of calculation as to the chances of the party for the conquest of parliament.

While the latter wallowed in the delights of this socialization-mathematics, the bourgeois parties accomplished a less romantic but much more effective task. They cleaned up all those conquests of the revolution which the socialists

A Review of the Past That Helps to Understand the Present

praised as irrevocable. One after the other of these conquests came under the knife, so that a short time ago a madame social democrat voiced the complaint in the National Assembly: "From the commonwealth state, which we were supposed to be building up, nothing has remained any longer."

The bourgeoisie parties were, however, of a different opinion. They believed that there was still a great deal of "revolutionary garbage" that had to be cleaned up and that this work could not be done at all by democratic means, or at least, not as fast as they would like. Fascism raised its head and today about to establish its own domination.

The Rise of Fascism, Unnoticed...
The oldest Fascist associations, the Heimwehren, arose as early as the days of the overthrow. Originally they were only to be border guards (therefore their name, Heimwehren equals Home Guards). But the reactionaries recognized in them, with their unfeeling intuition, the possibility of playing a role as self-defense organizations against the "internal enemy".

The social democrats naturally did not recognize this. As good patriots they even handed out arms to the Heimwehren. And when the Communists brought attention to the "white guard danger", the social democrats, at that time on their honeymoon with the coalition, put them off with a jest: they were sowing white mice.... White Guards? Something like that could exist in backward Russia, but not in a highly civilized democratic republic; this was all the more so, because the democratic wing of the Christian Socialists, which was at that time still strong, did not have the slightest inclination for the adventure of a civil war.

"Heimwehren? What for?" said Prelate Hauser, "I can get everything done that is necessary by agreement with Renner" (leader of the social democracy). And that was god's own truth. Everything

necessary for them could be got done in collusion with Renner. That was the pride of the social democrats and this pride allowed them to ignore the Heimwehren.

Of course, this could not go on for ever, because the Heimwehren soon began to show very distinct signs of life. Here and there, they went about assassinating one worker, then another.

The Incident of July 15, 1927
After every one of these murders the Arbeiterzeitung would write: if this should happen again, then... What was to happen "then", was shown on July 15, 1927. On this day, when the Venetian workers, embittered over the acquittal of several Fascist labor assassins, put the Palace of Justice on fire, the social democrats thought of nothing better to do than to propose the formation of a new coalition to the Christian Socialists!

And along this style they have continued to carry on the struggle against Fascism to this very day. The frightful aggravation of the crisis brought over new forces to the side of Fascism. Side by side with the Heimwehren there arose National Socialism (the Hitler Brown Shirts). The unification of the workers' enemies kept on making rapid strides of progress in spite of squabbles within their own camp. Their plans became constantly more distinct. But the social democratic party persisted in complete inactivity.

It is not even doing anything now, after Dollfuss, half encouraged and half terrified by the events in Germany, has gone about creating those advantages for the bourgeoisie which a Fascist regime has to offer to it, while at the same time protecting it from the irksome consequences which such a regime brings with it for the ruling classes.

Even Dollfuss Can Put One Over...
When Dollfuss cast aside the parliament and announced a new constitution on the basis of the Empowering Act of Wartime Economy, intending thereby to clean up the rest of the "revolutionary garbage", they had no other resistance to offer him than their democratic oratory. Austro-Marxism stands there just as helplessly today before the advent of Fascism as the theoreticians and practitioners of reformism did before the advent of the war. It starts out with the assumption that the normal condition for capitalism is prosperity and that through increasing prosperity the class antagonisms will be straightened out by the collaboration of the classes, leading up to a perfected socialism.

As to phenomena which appear to contradict this assumption—it does not know even how to begin to tackle them. To the question as to what can be done about the crisis and its offspring—Fascism—they have as little an answer as they have to the question: how socialism will be realized in case the earth should collide with some other heavenly body.... Austro-Marxism one will hear, is not astronomy, but economics and politics. It concerns itself, in spite of the arsenal of the Republican Schutzbund (the social democratic defense organization) which Dollfuss is so feverishly searching for, not with shooting irons and other weapons of destruction, but with elections and parliamentary negotiations. Austro-Marxism is democratic and if the others do not stick to the democratic rules of the game, then it falls into that same condition as that which Napoleon always defeated him, called out despondently: "How can one conduct war against a man who doesn't stick to the rules of military science?"

What can be done against Dollfuss when, going against all human and divine justice, he simply thumbs his nose at the whole democracy, the most democratic of all constitutions included? In that case only one thing is left: substitution. And in actuality, the Arbeiterzeitung has repeatedly declared that its party realizes that after the overturn in Germany, a good many things will have to change also in Austria and that it is prepared to negotiate with Dollfuss about the new constitution.

That means only this: the social democracy does not object if the democracy is beaten to death and interred, so long as, in consideration of propriety, the democratic ceremonial is retained. Naturally, the Arbeiterzeitung brings not only such declarations, but also others, contrary to these. It threatens, mocks' wails, hatches the most ridiculous plans, vacillates between hope and despair, just as befits such a condition of headlessness, into which that terrible Dollfuss has cast Austro-Marxism.

What does the social democracy still hope for? Naturally, it has no hope in its own powers, but—in the intervention of the foreign countries and in the quarrels within the Fascist camp. It does not see in the dispute between the Heimwehren and Nazis a war of unification, it does not see that it resembles a lovers' quarrel which ends in a warm embrace! It does not see at all any more, it does not understand the world, and more' it is incapable of acting and that is why it will go along the road of debasement and demoralization to the bitter end, and paralyzation in mind and body like the German social democracy. The Austrian workers can expect nothing from the Exemplary Party of the Second International except disgrace and defeat.

—AUSTRIACUS.
(From "Unser Wort")

A View of the Labor Scene in the British Isles Today

Edinburgh, Scotland.—British capitalism is still in the throes of the crisis but a temporary boom in the building trades and a slight improvement in certain luxury trades have been responsible for a reduction in the number of the unemployed. The capitalist press has seized upon this pretext in order to announce a "British trade revival" and the usual cry of "Prosperity Coming" has again been trotted out. So far as the majority of the wage workers are concerned, the position remains the same.

Although relatively better off than many wage earners in Central Europe, the British worker is beginning to feel the strain of speeding methods, while thousands of unemployed men and women have long since given up hope of ever working again. Especially in this case the in the heavy industries such as steel, iron and coal and on the Clyde side on the west of Scotland many famous factories and shipyards are standing derelict or being used as rough-house dance-halls, gambling saloons or scrap-iron stores. This was once the proud home of British shipbuilding, engineering and iron-working capital. The objective conditions are certainly favorable for a great advance on the part of the British working class movement, but unfortunately never was there greater chaos and confusion in the ranks of labor.

The Labour Party still holds the majority of politically thinking workers within its ranks but its policy continues to be a welter of everything under the sun and still is based on class collaboration. It therefore serves as a smokescreen for British capitalism and by the skillful use of "Left" phrases its leaders draw away from the Communist party thousands of healthy recruits. The many small sects such as the I. L. P., the S. P. G. B. and the anti-Parliamentary groups have been hammering at the "Reformist Labour Party and Trade Unions" for about thirty years but with little to show for their work.

After thirteen years, the Communist party is still isolated from the main strata of the working class and has completely failed to gain a foothold in the factories and workshops while the trade unions are still in the safe-keeping of the reformist bureaucracy who are conducting a policy of peace-at-any-price and brazenly selling the workers over the collective wage-bargaining counter.

Divorced from the employed, the unemployed and has been successful in staging several big unemployed demonstrations and hunger marches. The last attempt was a Scottish hunger march and on Sunday June 11, about 1000 poverty-stricken unemployed men and women marched into Edinburgh in order to demand an interview with Sir Godfrey Collins, Secretary of State for Scotland and in order to discuss their demands.

reduced 25 per cent. 4. That relief work be provided at trade union wages and conditions. 5. That social service schemes be repudiated. Sir Godfrey was not in Edinburgh and made it known that he had no intention of seeing the hunger marchers. No accommodations were available for the marchers to sleep but they declared that they would stay until Sir Godfrey climbed down from his high horse. The position resolved itself into a duel between the Edinburgh magistrates and the marchers' leaders among whom were Harry McShane and Aitken Ferguson of the C. P. and John MacGovern and Heenan of the I. L. P.

The marchers at first obtained halls to sleep in, then they were refused them and on Monday night that week they slept out in Prince Street, the main boulevard of the Scottish capital. By Wednesday their funds were getting low but they managed to threaten and cajole the magistrates into paying the marchers their fares back to the various parts of Scotland from whence they came. So the hunger march ended. It created great excitement and undoubtedly gave the Edinburgh authorities many a fright, but it failed in its main objective because of the sectarian nature of its make-up.

The members of the C. P. and National Unemployed Workers Movement, the party controlled unemployed organization were there to a man, but the large mass of the unemployed and employed treated the affair as "none of their business". As a consequence, the whole march savored more of a stage-managed stunt than of a real attempt to strike a blow on the part of the masses. All the recent marches and demonstrations have been of this nature and until the C. P. strikes a sound line, stunts will continue to be the order of the day.

Despite the fact that with each passing year thousands of sympathetic workers are turning their backs on the C. P. in disgust, the leadership still continues to whoop about imaginary victories—if not in Britain, then in Russia—but gradually the real situation is beginning to burn itself into the minds of many sections of the rank and file and with the recent German debacle and subsequent crazy united front antics of the Comintern, the Pollitts and Co. are skating on thin ice.

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