JOE COLBERT-LABOR'S MARTYR

It was back in 1927, during the great, national strike, when the coal miners of cynical reply. the United States were making a gallant fight for the preservation of their union, that I first met Joe Colbert. That was an early September morning when 1500 the killer asked. strikers had gathered at Old Ben number 15 near West Frankfort, and persu- in Illinois until they give us an honest aded the miners of that mine not to count." Joe countered. return to work under the separate agree-(ment policy that would desert the heroic out there," was the threatening re miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio and joinder of the gunman. inevitably wreck our union. Joe was "We will be out there in spite of all there for the first time actively partici- your army, there is nobody going to tell pating in the affairs of his umon. From the Illinois miners to work under conthen on he became a constant fighter for ditions that they never had an opportuna more militant union until the morning ity to decide upon", were Joe's last rehe was assassinated by a guard from marks as we went on. the mine where he was employed.

mines and his missing right hand was county jail along with a student body the credential to prove that he had gone that I was accompanying. That night 1 through the mill. The injury left a stub was released and the following conversaabove the wrist but still his youth and tion took place between myself and the robust health permited him to work on states attorney: the conveyors of the Chicago, Wilmington Franklin Coal Company.

In 1926 we elected Joe the president of our local union, for his courage and go and where to stay? his constant struggle against the oper-Secretary, then served three years as S. A. recording secretary and Pit Committeeman of our local in which capacity he served until his death. He was also Auditor of Sub-District number 9. United Mine Workers of America.

on several committees. Acting on our thousands of my men", I answered. local union's resolution committee for the International Convention held last I know," was the answer. January Colbert stood by a militant the most constructive resolutions, numbering 36 in all, were presented to the International Convention by our delegation. Colbert collaborated with me in the presentation of these resolutions. During the district scale committee negoour union and the coal operators.

bury held the strike intact for weeks. And not until the operators had brought into play the Federal government, which arrested every active foreign-born miner were they able to break the strike for porch and the killers laughed openly in which seven Communists are now facing her face as her husband lay crumbled long prison sentences on the charges to earth of violating the Crimial Syndicalist laws.

Colbert had become known throughout the mining regions. His courage, tenacity and leadership had developed thousands of friends throughout the coal fields of the state. At the same time he had aroused the enmity of the coal operators and their agents-the fakers within the Unite Mine Workers of Am-

A Fateful Conversation

Returning home from the Benld conference of a week ago, where Colbert and between Joe and the mine guard.

'Where are you going with that?", ment. Joe queried.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

SEYDEWITZI

your copy now!

35 c

RED STRATEGY?

"Goin' to look for rabbits", was the

"I assume that there will be plenty around here pretty soon". Joe asserted "What are you fellows going to do?",

"We are going to strike every mine

"Well, you fellows better not come

The following morning doputy sheriffs Colbert had been a trip rider in the arrested me and threw me into the

"You had beter not stay at home tonight", stated the S. A.

"Who is to tell me where I am to

"Well, I am merely telling you what ators' abuse of conditions, endeavored him I know, they are going to kill you and in the heart of his fellow men. Later some other leaders of this movement if he served in the capacity of Financial | you do not watch yourself", said the

"This industrial war could not be any worse than a military war; if war was declared I would not be consulted as to whether I would go or not, therefore I refuse to be told what I shall do in I had occasion to serve with Colbert a fight that determines the very life of

"At any rate, I am telling you what

"Very well, since you, as the leading program and led the fight for the re- authority in this county tell me that my avenues between production and districognition of the Soviet Union and against life is in danger I demand a permit to bution. The workers solution is forthe Criminal Syndicalism law. Some of carry a gun for my protection," he replied.

"Can't do that, I am disarming people," was the last response of the state's check the march of industry, to turn the ing class issues have penetrated deeper attorney.

tiations we were delegates and side by threats were not bluffs. Joe was mur. must be supported in this light, as an the party leadership has become compelside we fought fgor an energetic program dered with a full shot-gun lead right auxiliary struggle in the class struggle led to engage in somewhat of a discussion carly and was busily engaged picking on an equal basis with the workers' meeting on Germany and the discussion and committee is in itself an enormous ers who may still retain confidence in mushrooms in teh pasture near his home. of struggle against the fakers within through his heart. Joe had gotten up against the capitalists. Not a struggle as, for example, in its recent New Year During my expulsion from the United mushrooms in teh pasture near his home. struggle, as indicated by the slogan of on "Trotskyism" now to be taken up in Mine Workers of America for my activ- He was accompanied by his father who ities in the National Miners Union Col- had gone out to stake a cow. At 15 bert almost single handed struck Orient minutes of six, an open touring car apnumber 1 in solidarity with Mine 2, peared, the driver got out and called for over an equal division of work. The Joe. Joe turned and started toward strike took place during the rank and them. He no doubt recognized the three file movement in which Colbert played men in the car. When he arrived ten already been ruined by the crisis and the a constructive part. Colbert and Ans- feet from the car, the gunman opened fire shattering his manly chest piercing his heart. Joe died almost instantly with a faint smile. . .

Joe's wife, Frankie ran out on her

The murder of Colbert by the gunman of the coal operators is part of the program of the Lewis-Walker-Edmundson this crisis. The problem is many-sided a wage cut down the throat of the Illincis coal miners. They feared Colbert because of his bravery and influence. It was necessary in their desperation to stop the rank and file movement from taking hold of the union for the movement threatens to engulf them forever for the miners-therefore desperate men use desperat tactics.

The death of Joe Colbert will be I had again acted as delegates from our avenged. We, the militant miners of Illlocal union, we stopped at a filling station inois, pledged in mass funeral of 15,000 on the outskirts of West Frankfort. There strong that we will carry the fight to the we observed James Sutton Company bitter end. Joe Colbert is dead but the guards with shot-gun in hand. The fol- things that he fought for will be reallowing interesting conversation took place ized as long as there is a breath of life left in the militant working class move-

-GERRY ALLARD.

(Continued from page 1)

today as was the case in the past when Pepper, as a representative of the Right-Center bloc, lost the Communist movement into opportunism with his twoclass party idea.

made up of patriotic Americans, "Loyal with bullets shifted the "army" and many leastets on the German situation. of its sympathizers to the Left, and away from their patriotism.

culture-to coordinate it with industrymovement, restricts it to a struggle attempting to hold in check the concentration and centralization of wealth. They want to turn the wheels of industry backward.

Workers' Strike and Farmers' Strike

When the workers strike it is a blow against capitalism, at the basic contradictions of the system, a blow at the relation of the exploiting machine owner and the exploited producing wage slaves. But the farmers' strike turns on a different axis. The farmers strike does not unearth the same relationship to the basic contradictions of capitalism. The farmers' strike reveals the relationship of a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, the capitalists who have monopolized the ward to the social revolution. The "solutiqn" of the farmers is an attempt to the workers to overthrow capitalism.

The Middle Class in the Crisis

Large sections of the middle class have, industry by the financiers. The farmer, letariat, they are of value to the further development of society.

the struggles of the former centuries. crowd roared.

The struggle against capitalism in proper level in the class struggle. The Stallnists attempt to elevate the farmers' strike to the same level of the workers' struggle against capitalism must be rejected, if we are to approach the pro-Marxian policy.

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

By N. Leniu

THESIS with which, in comrade Trotsky's phrase, the Bolshevik party was rearmed; the Thesis submitted by Lenin ened the individual party hoodlums to in the Daily Worker (March 6 and 12, to the First Congress of the Comintern be quiet or go home. When a vote was 1931), under the tile: On the organizaat Moscow, March 2-26, 1919, under the put whether to go on with the meeting or tion of Relief Work by Unemployed title, BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND not, a forest of hands voted yes, and a Councils. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PRO- solitary hand voted no. The hoodlums LETARIAT; A LESSON ON TACTICS; and other short pieces. Paper cover-82 pages; Limited number on hand.

Price 25 Cents (no discount) Order at once from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street,

New York, N. Y.

EXCHANGE OFFER

This is a notice to all and sundry that we are willing to open negotiations with the lucky holders of those works of comrade Trotsky that are out of print, or rare, etc., on the basis of an exchange of our current stocks for these rare works. We are particularly anxious to Martin Abern 65 € get copies of Democracy versus Dictator. Max Shachtman In Cloth | ship; Lessons of October; Our Revolutionary Lessons: Comrades who have spare copies-name your price and let us bargain. Or if you know where we Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; forcan get these works please let us know

The *Farmers Holiday* | •• The Left Opposition at Work ••

by the League in several directions. This of Marxism-Leninism. is first of all due to our campaign for a Bolshevik policy in the present fateful The crisis is throwing upon the sur- situation of the German proletariat and their attempt at disruption, but we were face new layers of rebels. These new our fight against the pacifist anti-war not able on this night to complete our well as in strike movements, has earned layers crystalize around issues of imme. masquerade. Support in the party and speaking program. We therefore and for him the deep respect and confidence diate demands at hand. The Bonus Communist sympathetic ranks has came nounced our third and concluding mass of the Minneapolis workers. March was a typical example of this. forward. Comrade Pappas issued his meeting for the following night, where The Bonus Army with the exception of open letter, which has already been about 800 workers assembled and listened the minority Left wing, was a force printed in these columns, and aroused attentively to our message. Comrade acting on such a committee, however, was considerable discussion. His arbitrary Avrin spoke on the Washington massacre. Americans", who wanted relief from expulsion has resulted in protest by sev- Comrade Bloomberg related the history eral New York party units. Our mem- and problems of the Left Opposition. not delay in completely dissociating himernment answer to their cry for bread bers have distributed a total of 30,000 Comrade Cowl gave the united front pol-

How Regime Reacts

The attitude of the party regime, culminating in the dastardly frame-up what a jackass Bloomberg is making of capitalism. The reorganization of agri- of support, has already proven to have the contrary effect. Quite a few new there is no doubt in anybody's mind who by the American imperialists pushed sympathizers to the Left Opposition have auxiliary organizations.

one such typical letter sent to a New story of the street meeting in the Daily a youth group and possibly an auxiliary. York comrade: "The minute I read that Worker, I, of course, knew that it really was not so. I spoke that same day to two other party members who work in my shop and they also agreed that it could not be so. We do not know you so position in Duluth, well but anyway we would not believe this, it has just so much surer to us that we must study this question of the Trotfarmers, fighting another section of the sky program. This we will do and we wish you success for your ideas."

During the recent few weeks we have received ample proof that the Left Opposition views on the present vital workwheels backward. This does not mean into the party and its sympathizers' that we reject the farmers' struggles as ranks considerable sections having re-The next morning I learn that the at the start to certain limitations and wanting to discuss. Secondly due to this to inform him before the appointment that the at the start to certain limitations and wanting to discuss. Secondly due to this to inform him before the appointment that the at the start to certain limitations and wanting to discuss. Secondly due to this "Workers and Farmers Government", but the Y. C. L. Thirdly, that the bureauas a struggle of allies in the fight of cratic regime has become alarmed and become frantic is well illustrated in its attempts at physical retaliation, and base frame-up method.

PROSPECTS FOR DULUTH

permanent crisis. The financiers have meetings and anti-war demonstration in unemployment insurance and set the shades of opinion, regardless of their already won a section of the "new" mid- Duluth are excellent for further organicourse for immediate relief, to the ex. political affiliations; the success or faildle class as flunkies. Not so with the zation work for the Communist League. clusion of every revolutionary demand. ure to attain which is the measure of farmes, who will fight to the end. It the Milliant the meeting previously reported in These are: Browder's pronouncements in every unemployment program, Browder is not correct to contend that the im- the Militant, the Party held an anti-war the Daily Worker of March 6 and 12, was silent. He let his readers infer that perialists have won the middle class as meeting at Court House Square recently 1931, the T U U L - N E C resolution ad- as with the line, so with its results in a whole to their side, nor is it correct to say the middle class will not survive in which we publicly advertised that we would participate. For this reason, all 1931, and now the Proposed Draft Prothe speakers turned their guns on the gram of Fighting Methods and Organiza- one step forward," said a worker, miscombine in the attempt to force and not so simple. The whole middle into a wage cut down the throat of the III. into an anti-Trotsky revival. We refused These are the theoretical fruits of the the first step backward on the road which class is divided and moving in many into an anti-Trotsky revival. We refused These are the theoretical fruits of the line and the inexorably to the opportunist directions and no solution of their men to be provoked, expect when one embold-course which has led into the opportunist has led inexorably to the bogged blems can be expected under capitalism ened bureaucrat said, "I challenge comist swamp. and particularly from the leaders of the prothe middle class. As allies of the proplatform. "No, no", shouted the speaker unemployment insurance under the leadin regret, "we don't want to hear what ership of the Communist party. Febru-This new farmers struggle is on an en- you got to say!" "Why did you invite ary 25 marked a tremendous decline in tirely different plane when compared to me?" asked Bloomberg simply and the the influence of the Comunist party over

> We issued a challenge to the Party, America is the struggle of the workers, the following day to a debate on the industrial and agrarian, black and white, question of their base slander that Trotetc. The farmers must be used as al- sky is an enemy of the working class. lies. The Communist workers must 1200 workers came down to the square. guard against the Stalinist attempt to This was one of the biggest mass meetelevate the farmers' strike above its ings held on the streets of Duluth in recent times. This turnout decisively proves that the workers and especially the Left wing do want to know the truth about the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. What they want to blems of the farmers with a correct know especially is how this relates with broader masses of workers, presented the the day to day struggle of the working class. And this we were prepared to a turn. Marxists would have begun

> > hit every attempt squarely on the nosc heresy. by exposing their tactics before the workfeared to vote lest it would be construed as "participation" in our meeting. From that time on the din lessened. "What is your program?" shouted a YCLer. "That is exactly what we are here to explain, we answered, and proceeded to our program of unity of the working class as a whole on the basis of the united front,

THE MILITANT Entered as second class mail matter Nevember 26, 1928, at the Post Office a. New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at \$4 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD

James P. Cannen Maurice Spector

Arne Swabeck SATURADY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1932 Vol. V, No. 36 (Whole No. 182) Bundle rates, 3 cents per comp. like so much unnecessary ballast.

The party was decisively defeated in eleven which is a late hour in this town.

The methods we used in handling the Some of this sympathy is expressed in Party members were completely vindicletters sent to the office directly or to ated by the results we obtained. What individual members. We quote a part of remains to be done however is some intensive organization work in Duluth with the view of organizing a branch. The Minneapolis comrades who have been organizing the work in Duluth will endeavor to follow up in an effort to establish a firm foundation for the Left Op-

-CARL COWL.

MINNEAPOLIS .-

Some time ago the Minneapolis "Farmer-Labor" Mayor appointed an unemployment relief committee composed of city added the one question which is assumpoliticians, businessmen and a sprinkling ing growing importance with every day of "workers' representatives." Among the passing by. He reitirated the imperative latter were our comrade C. R. Hedlund, need of a united working class front in of course given this "honor" without the the struggle for unemployment relief, inleast effort to obtain his consent or even cluding with the revolutionary forces er-Labor mayor should hit upon the idea put the Farmer-Labor Party politicians of including Hedlund among his appoint- to the test before the eyes of those work-

Recent advances have been registered and of the Communist party on the basis form it is a recognition of the fact that his loyal and devoted efforts at the head of numerous rank and file revolts against corrupt union officials, against opportunist Farmer-Labor Party politicians as

The question of comrade Hedlund's an entirely different matter and he did icy of the League in the organization of League policy. The Farmer-Labor Party the Unemployed. The Party members administration in the first place attained this time listened without making a to its position largely due its promises peep. Only once Gardner shouted: "Look for unemployment relief. After being elected it did exactly the same as its tirely different layer of "enemies" of against us, intended to squelch this wave himself". The speaker snapped right capitalist predecessors, a few miserable innovation in the form of forced labor is the jackass!" The crowd laughed of the unemployed. The sprinkling of their appreciation. A number of new workers' representatives on the commitoutlook on property relations warps this in this connection for very good reasons party members and sympathizers asked tee was designated only to give the workinfluential positions in the party and its discussed before the crowd until after gusting schemes. Comrade Hedlund in committee made this clear, declared his complete lack of confidence in such a committee of city politicians and businessmen and demanded serious action for unemployment relief.

> Comrade Hedlund stated that there must be immediate governmental reliefa system of unemployment insurancethe six hour workday without reduction of pay for those employed. Comrade Hedlund also pointed to the necessity of large scale credits to be extended to the Soviet Union, together with demands corresponding to the local situation in the city.

> This our comrade declared that he would continue to fight for as a member of the Left Opposition but he

Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

Three milestones mark the party's On the key questions of policy: of uncourse in its unemployment work since iting the employed and unemployed Browder, a little more than a year ago, The results of the successful mass turned the helm away from the fight for zational forms to include workers of all

the masses, insofar as its unemployment work was concerned. In the March 6th, 1930 demonstrations the party claimed a million and a quarter workers. In it claimed only four hundred thousand. That both figures were grossly exaggerated goes without saying. But that the

decline was great is equally true. The great loss in influence, at a time when the crisis was deepening and the struggle against it should have been rising to greater heights and embracing Stalinists with the necessity of making icies to find in them the cause of their require a change in policy of the T U with an examination of their past pol-The party bureaucrats had organized a failure. Not so the Stalinists. The corsquad of hecklers and even hoped to be norstone of their faith is the dogma that able to capture the platform. But we the line is correct. To doubt it is

To Browder was entrusted the ideoloers present. The workers understood gical legerdemain of pronouncing a turn, distortion in the files of the Daily Work-Containing Lenin's famous APRIL the reactionary role the Party plays in yet absolving the previous line of any er. It was published as a supplement to organizing to break up meetings, and suspicion of error. This he sought to the issue of November 11, 1931. create disturbances and in mass threat- accomplish in a series of two articles

The Turn

Browder called for the creation of from the larger capitalists and corpora-lief. tions of the locality, particularly in those institutions where the unemployed were formerly at work." Anticipating the question of uniting the unemfailure for this idiotic nonsense, Browder ployed movement with the "red union" provided: "When the committee is un- movement. This is fundamentally incorable to get food from the corporations rect. It is not at all a question of unand large capitalists, they shall then iting the two movements but of building begin to solicit small merchants and one united movement of employed and petty bourgeoisle generally, calling upon unemployed workers. This must be a these elements at the same time to join broad movement, much broader than the the Unemployed Council in demanding as yet weak "red union" movement. It relief from the government treasuries and must embrace, in the first place, the orin demanding unemployment insurance ganized labor movement. This means the nationally."

fish-wife haggling with the charities over ception of the united front as applied to eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy and the revolutionary goal was cast off sentially a united front of unorganized,

workers, and working out broad organi-

"Two steps backward in order to make swamp where the movement is bogged.

The TUUL NEC Resolution

Contrary to the Stalinists' expectations the pursuit of this policy, the orientation of the movement on relief, the relegation of unemployment insurance to the background, the failure to organize a fighting movement of a shorter working day, for credits to the Soviet Union, did not see the unemployed councils "grow and stabilize themselves as powerful orthe February 25th, 1931 demonstrations ganizations." They continued to be weak and ineffectual instruments embracing only unemployed workers, and only workers sympathetic to Communism. With the exception of Chicago and several other cities they took no deep root in the masses.

> By October the failure of the new turn was apparent to all. Time had demonstrated its bankruptcy. Yet the T. U. U. L.-N E C resolution of October 3rd and 4th affirmed the correctness of the line: "The present developments do not

> That this whitewash was meant to apply to the unemployment policy as well as the trade union policy is evident from the text of the resolution. Our readers can find this monument of confusion and

The unemployed and "red union" movements are conceived in this document as separate movements. This marks a retreat from the previous policy of the party which confined the unemployed councils to the organizational control of the T U U L. This is a necessary step toward establishing the correct base for food collection committees "to get food a broad movement for unemployment re-

But the party has made the division a formal one. In its resolution it posed A. F. of L. unions.

Under the leadership of Browder and In the question of the organizational Co. the movement was plunged into sys- forms the resolution made no advance tematic, organized beggary. It became a over the party's previous narrow conpennies. The revolutionary link be- the unemployed councils. The united tween the day-to-day, reform demands front projected in the resolution is es-

With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Brotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment. It is priced so low for a quick sale. Order

BRUENING?

RED ARMY?

In Paper

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

LEON TROTSKY

Vital Questions for the German

Proletariat

LENIN?

BOLSHEVISM

DICTATORSHIP?

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALS

W.HATINIEXT