

# Huey Is Tammany Hall Rising From the South

Second Installment on Life of Louisiana Kingfish

(Continued from last issue)  
By DAN EASTMAN

Huey's career from 1928 to the present day is a history of complicated political maneuvering, whereby he worked himself up from an ordinary governor to monarch of Louisiana.

Huey Long is absolute dictator; not only does he control the legislature, the governor, and the supreme court; but also the Commissioner of Taxes, Alice Gros Jean (one time Secretary of State in La.) who holds a bluegeon of taxes over business; the Commissioner of Levees, Abe Shusan, who raised a \$377,000 campaign fund by an extra legal tax on state employees; the Commissioner of Forests, Seymour Weiss, who has favors for steamship companies; the Commissioner of Conservation, Bob Maestri, who has jobs to hand out.

Long even has the power of appointing the police, fire chiefs, sewer and water commissioners, etc. Since the last primary, Long has captured the New Orleans municipal government.

**Controls 13,500 Jobs**  
Politicians calculate five votes for every job. Huey controls some 13,500 jobs, and so he can be sure of 67,000 votes out of 300,000 no matter which way the wind blows.

In the end, however, his real strength lies in his ability to get the support of the masses. Huey Long has actually accomplished reforms, by piling up a tremendous debt which will ultimately have to be paid by the workers.

The fulcrum of Long's political lever is the state highway system. He has built hundreds of miles of fine concrete, bringing tourists and trade to the impoverished countryside. His highway system, however, is a patchwork. Only the Parishes, or counties, that vote for Long get roads; so that one may travel fifty miles of fine concrete to cross in a moment into a mire of ruts, an anti-Long county.

**Rich Get Richer**  
His reforms are attractive, make a fine show, and satisfy some of the smaller needs of the voters. But the rich are still rich and the poor get poorer in Louisiana, no matter how Huey may talk.

Huey knows that he can't go on forever in his home state. His reforms, small as they are, have been accomplished at an expense which is almost prohibitive. In the year 1928 the bonded indebtedness of Louisiana was \$11,000,000. In 1934, after six years of Huey Long, it was \$140,000,000, 41 percent as large as the debt of New York, the richest and most populous state in the Union.

**Huey and the Banks**  
Huey will soon reach a critical point in his career. He must have money to go on with his "popular" government. He can't get money from the poor voters who elect him. There is only one source large enough for the sort of campaign Huey conducts, that is the banks. If money continues to flow in Louisiana, or in Long's national campaign, it can only be by virtue of a behind-the-scenes agreement between Huey and the very big business he flays.

**Huey and the Government**  
The most pressing of Long's opponents is the federal government. Through relief agencies, through the PWA, through the FERA, through all the federal activities the government controls a great many jobs in Louisiana, and these jobs, at the rate of five votes to the job, are going to anti-Long men. Further, the government can withhold PWA funds, as it is threatening, and thus bring Long to his knees.

At present the government is engaged in an investigation of the incomes of Long's followers. Several of his right hand men have already been caught in the net; indeed so close a companion as Abe Shusan, the Commissioner of Levees, is being investigated for the \$377,000 he raised for Long's political campaigns.

**Huey's Program**  
Before we try to predict anything of Long's future, let us look at the

## Bill White Dead

William J. White, a member of the C. P. O. (Lovelostone group), and a fighter in the trades union and political movement since 1889, died in New York, Jan. 7. He had been ailing for some months but carried on as a field organizer in Fort Wayne, Ind. and Ohio. A few weeks ago he returned to New York. Comrade White was born in Pennsylvania in 1871, of Irish parentage. At an early age he went to work in the steel mills, joining the S.L.P. and the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers at the age of 18. From then on to his death, Bill was engaged in every political or industrial struggle that took place in the steel towns of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

## NEW MILITANT

with which is merged  
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a bad thing. It makes for efficiency and cheapness of production.

It is the ownership of capital, in the form of factories, by private persons that is the real difficulty. The factories become continually more and more efficient, but at the same time, by the very concentration of ownership by which the efficiency is obtained, it is continually less and less profitable for the owners to operate them. Thus we arrive at the stage where the most efficient and progressive industrial nation in the world is forced to leave millions unemployed, to operate its factories at one quarter capacity, to deprive and starve one half the population, and drive the other half to death.

**Solution in Ownership**

This state of affairs is not the result of the efficiency of our industry, but of the ownership. The solution lies not in subdividing industry and going back to the U. S. Steel corporation to the blacksmith shop, but in taking the ownership away from the U. S. Steel and giving it to the workers.

Huey Long's program contemplates the subdivision of capital by limiting fortunes to some reasonable figure such as \$50,000,000. (It should be clear that in fact, Huey Ford could never get all his wealth in cash, for there isn't that much currency in the country. Huey Ford's fortune consists in the ownership of factories, mines, oilfields, etc. Thus Huey Long speaks of dividing up the wealth of the country he is only clowning.)

Huey Long may be clever enough to know that his plan is nonsense. Certainly he knows how to appeal to his voters. Huey's program reflects the emotional, unreasoned, desire of the small bourgeois, the owners of little, inefficient factories, the owners of small stores, the owners, in effect of blacksmith shops, the desire to go back. The desire, not to turn the great potential power of the U. S. Steel to the use of the workers, but the desire to destroy the U. S. Steel corporation, so that the workers may be exploited by outdated blacksmith shops once more.

(To be concluded in next issue)

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE  
NEW MILITANT.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

NEW YORK CITY.—The third week of February will mark the opening of the first semester of the New York District Workers Party School, to be called the International Workers School. Final plans for its organization will be completed in the next few days.

Enthusiastic response is expected to the school arrangements. Overflow audiences at recent mass meetings and open forums of the Workers Party clearly indicate the great interest in the program and policies of the Workers Party. Both new and old members in the district organization have made requests for the early commencement of classes.

To satisfy these needs and desires, a list of competent instructors and lecturers has been compiled. They are being assigned to take charge of those courses in which they are most experienced. The policy of the school will be to concentrate on the more elementary subjects to educate the militant workers and train them for more effective participation in the class struggle. Only by sound theoretical understanding of the problems of the class struggle can the workers conduct intelligent and victorious action. Courses included are:

Workers Party fundamentals, Marxian Economics, History of the American Labor Movement, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, History of the Three Internationals, History and Problems of the Youth Movement. In addition there will be lecture courses on cultural problems.

As part of the School a library is to be organized. This will contain the Marxian classics and literature of the social sciences, as well as current periodicals. Readers of the New Militant are invited to contribute suitable books or pamphlets: Joseph Carter, Administrator, International Workers School, 112 East 19th Street, Room 702, New York City.

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!  
For List Bookshop  
PIONEER BOOKSHOP  
102 East 11th St., N. Y. C.

**Memorial Meeting**

**KARL LIEBKNECHT**

**ROSA LUXEMBURG**

WORKERS, HONOR THE MEMORY OF OUR HEROES DEAD  
PLEDGE SOLIDARITY WITH THE GERMAN MASSES

SPEAKERS:

ARNE SWABECK REVA CRAINE  
of the Workers Party Nat'l. Educational Dir. S.Y.L.

NATHAN GOULD  
National Secretary S.Y.L.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 13, 8 P.M.  
IRVING PLAZA HALL  
Irving Place & 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party N. Y. District and Spartacus Youth League

# Cult of Leadership, Zig-Zags And Turns Mark C.I. Policy

By JOSEPH ZACK

An analysis of the Comintern and its national sections would not be complete without mentioning the peculiar leadership cult introduced by Stalin. First it was, "Comrade Stalin, secretary of Central Committee". Then it became, "our Central Committee led by Comrade Stalin". Now already for some time it is, "the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Stalin".

The same practice has been introduced in the other parties. In Germany it reads "the C. P. of Germany under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann". Perhaps it is better to say it that way, for the Central Committees have long ago been reduced to a consultative capacity; under Stalin's regime they become assistants to the secretary. This runs to such extremes that even when the bulk of the party is in jail in Germany the demand is made for "the release of Comrade Thaelmann" as if the others did not matter. Stalin's idea of centralism is the one man principle. The rest must be subordinated, chosen by the One under the camouflage of nominating committees and "ratified" by the body having formal jurisdiction. Each new leadership glorifies itself through articles, pictures, folders, anniversaries, etc. The whole system is so arranged that it is exceedingly difficult to have any of these people ever "promoted" out of office through pressure from below, let alone removed. Thus firm leadership is established in the Communist parties.

Naturally, such a leadership, freed from any control by the party masses, are at liberty to change the policy at will without consulting the membership. The policy swings from one extreme to another. The party membership learns about the

latest "turn" after it is already in effect.

**Right-Left Turns**  
Between 1923 and 1928, a period of high prosperity in this country, we had two basic changes in policy. First, in line with the Kuomintang experiment in China and similar policies in India, we in this country were organizing the Farmer-Labor Party and seeking alliance with LaFollette.

This outright opportunist policy reduced the Communists to the function of organizers of reformist parties. Lenin untiringly preached against such policies.

At the same time we echoed the theory of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats on the trade union field, namely, "No Dual Unionism". This slogan was originated by Samuel Gompers, late president of the A. F. of L. It meant that the workers had no right to organize outside the A. F. of L.

This opportunist policy created a sharp division into right and left in the Communist parties. The Comintern leadership (Stalin) got panicky, made a sudden, sharp turn to the left and got from under by unloading the whole thing on Bucharin and denouncing the Right as the main danger.

While "prosperity" was still at its height (1928) a totally new set of theories were promulgated without any connection with objective conditions. The new theories rested on the conception that everyone else except the followers of Stalinism are direct or potential enemies. These enemies were divided into categories such as "Social Fascists", or "Left Social Fascists".

The panic found its most profound expression however in the excommunication of the genuine left wing of the Comintern as "counter-revolutionists". In this characteriza-

tion, incidentally, Stalin revealed the true character of his own policy and the tremendous falsification perpetrated by the pseudo-left policy of the "Third Period".

Naturally with such a policy there could be no united front, not only with other classes as before but not even with groupings and organizations of the working class. The workers were simply invited to support the C. P. and this was called "the united front from below". If, before that, the Communist Party was hidden under the bloc of classes, farmer-labor parties etc., now everything was to be subordinated to the C. P.

**Red Unions Period**

A corresponding change was effected on the trade union field. No more of Gompers' slogan of "No Dual Unionism". Now there was to be not only new unions everywhere, whether they had a base for existence or not, but they were to be "red" unions, unions that must acknowledge the C. P. as their official leader and endorse its program. As to the left and progressive minorities in the reformist unions, they were to be called upon to leave those unions double quick and go into "red" unions.

The evil fruits of the theory of "Social Fascism", "Red Unions", the "United Front from Below", and the rest of the "Third Period" rags, are well known. Thanks to them, when the day came in Germany Hitler was able to shove aside the best organized working class and the strongest Communist Party in any capitalist country. Defeats and isolation everywhere resulted from the "Third Period" of "left" adventurism in the Comintern. A new "prevention" was needed. It came, eventually, in full force. Without any discussion of the past errors, to say nothing of a recognition of them, a new swing to the Right is now under way.

No more is heard of "Social Fascism". This theory is sunk without a trace. The conflict with Social Democracy is now softened down to a dispute with "class brothers" and proposals are made to end the dispute altogether. The first step in the direction is the signing—or proposals to sign—"non-aggression pacts". Under these pacts the two parties—C. P. and S. P.—agree not to criticize each other inside or outside party meetings (France).

On the trade union field there are to be no more "Red" unions. More, there are to be no new unions generally. Stachel, trade union expert of the C. P. now declares that "we never believed in dual unionism" (November issue of Communist). This new swing to the right is only in its inception. Resistance to it inside and outside the Soviet Union has retarded its rate of development, but the swing to opportunism is well under way. If Brandler and Lovestone have not yet returned to the fold it is not any more because of serious differences of policy but out of the difficulties of face-saving on both sides.

**Why the Zig-Zags?**

Thus we have seen three basic changes in policy back and forth within ten years. Did these swings have anything to do with the objective situation? Not at all! They were the results of defeat after defeat. What we strove to do one year we had to undo the next year. Did these policies have anything to do with Marxism or Leninism? Nothing whatever! Exactly the contrary, as Trotsky shows with crystal clearness in his numerous pamphlets. Did the movement grow stronger at each turn? Just the contrary. The desire to overthrow capitalism on the part of the workers is undoubtedly stronger than ever before, but Communism as an organized force was never as shattered as now.

Stalinism has not only disorganized the international movement of the workers' vanguard. It has also weakened and undermined the position of the Soviet Union. The task of the international proletariat now is to reorganize its ranks, prepare for revolutionary struggles and thereby, also, provide the necessary defense—the only real defense—of the Soviet Union. In order to accomplish this historic task the vanguard of the international proletariat must free itself from the blighting influence of Stalinism. The Workers' Party and the movement for the Fourth International are leading the way to the revival of the revolutionary movement on the basis of Marx and Lenin.

**OPEN FORUM**

WEST SIDE BRANCH

Speakers:

HUGO OEHLE and

ALFRED TERRY

"Can Roosevelt Give the Workers Security?"

FRIDAY, JAN. 18, 8 P.M.

Masonic Hall, 23rd St. & 9th Ave.

## MUSTE CANNON TOUR

Buffalo, January 13-14—Muste and Cannon.  
Youngstown, O., Jan. 15—Cannon.  
Newcastle, Pa., Jan. 15—Muste.  
Cleveland, Jan. 16—Muste and Cannon.  
Toledo, Jan. 17—Muste, Cannon.  
Detroit, Jan. 17—Muste, Cannon.  
Chicago, Jan. 19-20-21—Muste, Cannon.  
Waukegan, Ill., Jan. 22—Cannon.  
Madison, Wis., Jan. 22—Muste.  
Minneapolis, Jan. 23-24—Cannon.  
St. Paul, Jan. 24-25-26-27—Muste.  
Kansas City, Jan. 26-27-28-29-30—Cannon.  
Davenport, Ia., Jan. 28-29—Muste and Cannon.  
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 30-31—Muste and Cannon.  
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 31—Cannon.  
Illinois Mine Fields: Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, etc. Feb. 1-2-3—Muste and Cannon.  
Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 4-5—Muste and Cannon.  
Charleston, W. Va., Feb. 6—Muste and Cannon.  
Pittsburgh, Feb. 7-8—Muste and Cannon.  
Pittsburgh, Feb. 7-8—Muste and Cannon.  
New York City, Feb. 10—Muste and Cannon.

## F. D. R. Deals With Relief

(Continued from Page 1)

PWA for the last eighteen months only \$146,000,000 has gone for housing, out of which only a few millions have been used. Almost three times the amount went to the army and navy to build its machine of destruction.

Now that we have seen what will happen to three and one-half million of the unemployed what about the other 1,500,000. These Roosevelt called "unemployables". How he arrived at this figure is not disclosed but it looks very suspicious. It is more than one-fourth of the total under consideration, which means that in the eventuality that Roosevelt has underestimated the number of unemployed—and he certainly has—this one-fourth will be turned over to local relief.

And how will the cities carry on this relief when most of them are

**Draft of AFSW No Good, Giordano Says**

(Continued from Page 1)

vision in the draft which specifies that representation to the District Convention be "one to each 500 members . . . and no less than two delegates from each branch". The aim of this clause is all the more evident since representation to the National Convention is on the basis of one to 200. The only proper and democratic basis of representation to the District Convention is one delegate to each one hundred members.

**Limits Democratic Rights**

The draft also makes inadequate provisions for trials and for nominations to office. It would leave trials entirely to the Branch Executive Boards and to the Joint Board; and gives nominating committees the final say on nominations. Both of these provisions limit the democratic rights of the members, who are entitled to be guaranteed the right of trial by jury, and the right of nominating by petition.

The proposed draft makes no provisions for special conventions. Such a provision is essential. Special conventions should be held upon the request of any one Department of the organization.

Finally, and by no means least important, is the fact that the proposed draft takes a step backward in respect to the industrial as against the craft form of organization.

that broke? New York City has a deficit of \$4,000,000, Chicago \$125,240,000, Philadelphia \$9,000,000. All these cities have cut the salaries of city employees during the last year. Some have restored the cuts but most of them have not. Many of these cities have introduced sales taxes. Now consider the situation of the smaller cities, towns and counties if such a deplorable situation prevails in the metropolitan centers.

After a short burst of enthusiasm the local agencies will turn their backs on these 5,000,000 men, women and children and claim that they are financially unable to assist them. Furniture of evicted families will clutter the streets. The million bread line will return. Roosevelt towns instead of Hoover towns will become standing institutions. Into this breach Roosevelt will step and through his "own personal efforts and the influence of the office" that he holds, the "unemployables" will be taken care of. Hoover did the identical thing. He made radio speeches and his heart bled for the destitute. Then the hat was passed, Result: starvation and suffering everywhere.

After laying out this black tomorrow Roosevelt turns to God: "In the face of these spiritual impulses," he prays in conclusion, "we are sensible of the Divine Providence to which nations turn now, as always, for guidance and fostering care".

Yes! Roosevelt may turn to God for consolation after damning the unemployed. But the jobless worker will have to take care of himself.

**Sacramento Case**

(Continued from Page 1)

of Norman Min's case.

At this conference the prisoners unanimously adopted a resolution calling on all workers and sympathetic organizations to send deputation action for the defense of the gates to a conference to establish 18 prisoners and the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law. The prisoners emphasized their desire to see a serious, militant, broad movement on their behalf. They included in the resolution a general appeal for bail funds.

On behalf of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense all contributions for bail or incidental expenses should be sent at once to James Rorty, 1,200 Washington St., San Francisco, California.

## REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

"A More Abundant Life"

That's how Roosevelt speaks, but here is how the National Guard acted in Rossville, Ga. "In two rushes, National Guardsmen patrolling the Richmond Hosiery Mill, where a strike is in progress, today rounded up 33 persons, including five women . . . they will be placed in a military detention camp. . . . The walk-out came when the mill posted a notice of a 10 percent reduction in pay." (A. P. dispatch)

**Democracy and Communist Party**

"Communists are prepared to join the Labor Party movement". So Earl Browder announced at the Unemployment Insurance Conference in Washington, and that announcement was the first information given to the Communist Party members and supporters on such an important change in policy. Nodiscussion pro or con, just the papal bull from Browder. Is there any wonder that the entire audience laughed loud and long when a C. P. member, speaking from the floor at the New York Zack meeting, said: "We have democracy in the C. P."?

**"The Slums We Give Them"**

"The poor are always with us and the slums we give them (give them!) are usually better than the hovels they lived in on the other side. In many cases they are not Americanized enough to know what cleanliness means." So spoke Joseph P. Day, real estate magnate, before the National Housing Conference, and in so speaking, he voiced the real opinion of his class. The fear of the "dirty poor" keeps many from speaking so openly but every action taken by "the powers that be" to meet the unemployment crisis shows that they consider the working class to be dishonest, lazy, incompetent, dirty, and drunkards. Beef that is not considered good enough for the animals in the Zoo is canned and fed to the unemployed. "Made work" is prescribed for them. Snoopers are sent into their homes to make sure that they are not getting drunk on the miserable dole. A man whose ancestors may have come over with George Washington's father is looked on as an "alien" if unemployed. Joseph Day merely expresses the uncaring attitude of a parasite ruling class to those who do the so-called dirty work.

**Pastors, Preachers, Messiahs and Crooks**

The Reverend Ethelbert Brown, Pastor of the Herbert Harrison Memorial Church, New York City, in a sermon last Sunday denounced "religious crooks who call themselves Messiahs and who sell charms to cure illness in Harlem". This attack, which apparently was directed against one of Earl Browder's favorite "united-fronters", is a dangerous thing for a preacher to start. Beginning with an attack on the "rank and file God" where is such a fight against "religious crooks" to end? A very important and respectable organization, the Holy Catholic Church, gets quite a bit of its income by selling passes through Purgatory, and where is the preacher who is not ready to raise his paws to Heaven in a prayer for the ailing—for a price? When "religious crooks" are to be attacked, all dope peddlers from Holy Jumpers to the Vicar of Christ should remember the old saying about those who live in glass houses.

**"Free Workers" in Auto Paradise**

The statement issued by Alfred Sloan, president of General Motors, in which he attacked the tyranny of "trade unions" and spoke in favor of "free workers", was further illuminated by the testimony given before the Joint Commission on Stabilization of Employment in the Auto Industry. This Commission got an earful on just what Sloan's "freedom" and "high wages" mean to auto workers. One witness said the workers were so speeded up that it was next to impossible to get away "even for a few moments for hygienic purposes". A tinsmith testified for workers who knew they would be fired if they appeared to testify. That in itself is a touching tribute to "the freedom of workers" under union domination. "Men working under bonus systems, so complicated that they never knew what they were supposed to get and had no way of checking up—wages so low that workers were better off under relief—guards to prevent workers from speaking to each other on the bridge entering into the Ford plant—these are a few of the benefits enjoyed by 'free workers' in the auto paradise of Detroit, where there is no 'union domination' . . .

**Chicago Mass Meeting**

Speakers:

A.J. Muste J. P. Cannon

on

"THE WORKERS PARTY, ITS PROGRAM AND AIMS"

SUNDAY, JAN. 20

8 P.M.

CAPITOL BUILDING  
150 North State Street