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EDITORIAL

"DIRECT NOMINATIONS" AGAIN.

By DANIEL DE LEON

ITH hardly an exception the leading journals of the State are in favor of what is called Gov. Hughes's "direct nomination" plan. They are more than in favor; they are enthusiastic. So enthusiastic are they that it is more than likely they will spoil their broth.

It may seem a wild conclusion, yet the fact is true that much of the steam behind the "Hughes plan" is nothing but a newspaper-stock bulling scheme.

Of course, as was explained last week in these columns, the "direct nomination" plan is a move to retrench expenses. As things now are, the capitalist, who can not live without the proper political prop, has to incur large disbursements to the political "boss." The capitalist, ever on the alert to reduce the tax upon his plunder from Labor, seeks to "get there" without the "boss." "Direct nominations" will do the trick. All that is true; but it is not the whole truth.

In a loose way capitalists have been called Anarchists. In essence the capitalist is no Anarchist. He not only believes in centralized government, he know the thing is necessary. He knows that the days of the "New England town meeting" are gone by. He knows that direct government is possible only at the stage of small communities, and that, in the measure a community extends and expands, direct government is a physical impossibility. A hundred, perhaps a thousand men may gather and confer; five thousand can not; still less five million or more. Where direct government ceases, there intermediary, or indirect, or representative government begins, must begin.

Leadership, or headship, or bossship flows inevitably from indirect government. Between "leadership" and "bossship" there is only the difference that exists between "reverence" and "impiety." Impiety has been well defined as "irreverence toward **my** deity." It is the other fellow who is "impious." So with "bossism." A "boss" may be

defined as "a fellow who will not accept **my** leadership." When the capitalist fires at a fellow the epithet "boss" he must by no means be supposed to be an ass who denies the necessity and inevitableness of leadership. He simply objects to some one else's leadership, to a leadership that will cost him money, whereas his own leadership will save him cash.

It follows that the capitalist, up in arms against the political "boss," is simply striving to set up a leadership to his liking. Leadership being necessary, where masses are concerned, who else is there to step into the shoes of the political "boss" but the newspaper, whose privately owned editorial powers already presume to speak for "the public." Nominations being made directly by a people many thousands in number, the power of the political "boss" would be gone, but his mantle would drop upon the newspaper. The consequence is obvious. The newspapers would become of vastly more importance. Their ownership would be striven after more than at present. Newspaper stock would go up.

No wonder most newspapers are delirious for "direct nominations" and pronounce Gov. Hughes their prophet. They are bulling their stock.

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