TWO CENTS.

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EDITORIAL

## THE LABOR PARTY.

## **By DANIEL DE LEON**

HERE is a certain mirror in which the Socialists who oppose a "Labor Party," on principle, and those who favor a "Labor Party," on principle, should look at their own prospectives. 'Twill cause them to understand themselves better. If at all they have eyes to see, they will be able to detect the cloven hoof held in common by the two notions—and, if they have brains to think, they will quickly take backwater,

Our opposers of a "Labor Party," on principle, gather a vast material from American and British "Labor parties" to back up their views. They cite the cases in which the K. of L. carried municipalities only to display the party's impotence and ineptness; they cite the case if the San Francisco "Labor Party" whose Mayor landed in prison, a convicted boodler; they cite the instances in Great Britain where the "Labor party" fuses with the Liberals in many a constituency, and where Laborites in Parliament more than once strike attitudes that are essentially bourgeois.

On the other hand, those who favor a "Labor Party," on principle, take the witness stand with testimony that is equally unimpeachable. They cite the instance of the Socialist party in Wisconsin, where, notwithstanding the party numbers several members in the Legislature and boasts of what these accomplish, Wisconsin remains the most backward State in Labor legislation for the protection of the worker's life and limbs; they cite the case of James Carey in Haverhill who voted a \$15,000 Armory appropriation, and whose misconduct seems rather to have endeared him to the S.P. than to have earned the party's reprobation; they cite the more recent instance of dicker with the capitalist politicians perpetrated by the St. Louis S.P., and sanctioned by the party.

Planted upon the first set of facts the anti-Labor Party men pronounce a "Labor Party" unspeakable; planted, in turn, upon the second set of facts, "unspeakable" is the term that the pro-Labor Party men apply to a political party that is not set up by the Unions. He who would understand the source of such reasoning, and thereby grasp the reason of its defect, should turn to the reasoning of the pure and simple physical forcist and the pure and simple politician against each other.

With a truthfulness that is unimpeachable, as far as it goes, the pure and simple physical forcist convicts pure and simple politicianism of corruption; with a truthfulness, equally unimpeachable, as far as it goes, the pure and simple politician convicts pure and simple physical forcism likewise of corruption.

What is the feature that the conflict between the pure and simple politician and the pure and simple physical forcist reveals as common to both the disputants? That feature is the crippled mind, unable to hold two thoughts together. In the crippled mind only one thought can find lodgement at a time. The entrance of one thought implies the expulsion of another. Synthesis, the co-ordination of two or more thoughts, a process without which reasoning is struck with paralysis,—that process is an unknown thing to the pure and simple physical forcist and the pure and simple politician alike. In the mind of each only one thought finds room. The thought that, without physical force wherewith to carry out the program which political action agitates, educates and organizes for, political action is an idle pastime,—that thought is the sole tenant of the narrow chamber of the pure and simple physical forcist's mind; the thought that, without the agitation, education and organization brought about by political action, physical force never can crystallize to a purpose,—that thought crowds out all others from the equally narrow brain-cells of the pure and simple politician. The feature of these two opposites is mental lameness—one-legged hobbysim. The psychology of these two is the psychology of the anti-"Labor Party" and the pro-"Labor Party" exclusivists.

The fatal defects that mark the "Labor Parties" known in America and the Socialist party are not defects inherent in either a party organically of, nor in a party not organically of Unions. The fatal defects that mark the two is that, un-clear upon the actual goal of the Socialist or Labor Movement, the exclusive pro-"Labor Partyite" and the exclusive anti-"Labor Partyite" have taken hold of only a fractional, and have no sense of the four-jointed truth.

The panels of the Socialist Republic, evolution unquestionably establishes, must

be the organized useful occupations of the land: the central administrative authority of the Co-operative Commonwealth can consist of none other than the representatives of these organizations. This truth reaches the mind of the exclusive pro-"Labor Partyite" through the spectacles of his special training. There are in existence only industrial organizations. He concludes from this that none other will, or can, or should exist; hence he arrives at the tactical posture of rejecting all {any?} political party that is not strained through the loins of Unions.

Again, the Socialist Republic, evolution establishes with equal certainty, means the emancipation of mankind. This truth, in turn, reaches the mind of the exclusive anti-"Labor Partyite" through the spectacles of his special training. As a rule an "intellectual," actual or would-be, this species is able to perceive in Unionism a thing capable of embracing only a fraction of mankind. Hence he arrives at the tactical posture of rejecting all political party strained through the loins of Unions.

The synthesis of the two fractional truths—the truth that the constituencies of the Socialist Republic are bound to be the organized useful occupations, that is, Unions; and the truth that the Socialist Republic must be the tocsin of human emancipation—the synthesis of these two truths allows no conclusions other than—

1st. The mission of Unionism in the land is to embrace all the people who render useful services to the commonweal—not the manual, or industrial workers only, but those as well whose occupation consists in rendering to society those services which its mental and spiritual aspirations demand;

2nd. The political party fit to serve as the vanguard of the true Unionist Movement, must be one strained through the loins of that Movement itself;—the true political party of the Revolution can not choose but be a Labor Party;

3rd. As the scaffolding of a building precedes the building itself, and, the building once raised, becomes superfluous, a political party, whose agitation centers in and radiates from the principle that its mission is to call into existence the true Unionist Movement, such a political party must inevitably precede the formation of true Unionism;

4th.—Until the true Unionist Movement has arisen and gathered the strength sufficient to give birth to the Labor Party, a "Labor Party" can only be an abortion for the identical reason than anti-"Labor Partyism" is an abortion to-day—the latter, as well as the former, being the spawn of Truths so fractional that they are robust Un-Truths, hence inevitably corrupt, neither having anything to twit the other with.

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