VOL. 13, NO. 220.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1913.

ONE CENT.

EDITORIAL

BOBBY SELF-EXPOSED.

By DANIEL DE LEON

N a previous occasion—it was when he tried upon the history of the Union Movement in Europe the Procrustean trick of stretching the same out of shape and of cutting off from it such portions as did not fit his Stone-Age A.F. of L. notions—Mr. Robert Hunter was taken across our knees and dusted in a series of Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan dialogues.

It is now our unalloyed pleasure to exhibit the gentleman in the, to himself, more creditable role of candid self-exposure.

In the Brewery Workers' Journal of the first of this month, Mr. Hunter says:

"'The Socialist ballot,' says De Leon, 'is weaker than a woman's tears, tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance, less valiant than the virgin in the night, and skilless like unpracticed infancy,—unless it is backed by the might to enforce it. That requisite might is summed up in the Industrial Organization.' In another place De Leon says: 'A political organization cannot perform a revolutionary act.... The error has gone abroad that a political party can take and hold (the factories, etc.) It is an error, because you cannot legislate a revolution. A political party cannot do it. The nature of its organization prevents it.' In the above few words the entire contention between direct and political action is set forth. I believe it is true that Haywood, Bohn, Kerr, and nearly all the other Direct Actionists in this country have little love for De Leon. Yet he is the fountain head of all their philosophy. He is not, to be sure, so unwise as to put direct action against political action, as they so often do. His thinking is too skillful, and TWO IDEAS CAN IN HIS MIND DWELL HARMONIOUSLY TOGETHER." (The underscoring is ours.)

Correct—which means that more than one idea can not find lodgment in Mr. Hunter's skull at one and the same time without jarring and falling out. Which, in turn, means that Mr. Hunter's mentality is still under-developed, and has not yet reached the maturity needed in order to reason, or to think.

We shall make no point of Mr. Hunter's substituting the term Direct Action for the term "might" and the term "take and hold" the reins of production, as explained in the address from which he quotes. The gentleman's unfamiliarity with the subject that he presumes to handle, and the history of the terms connected therewith, account for the slip. What he means is obvious—"Political Action" and "Physical Force" are two ideas, hence may not dwell harmoniously together.

He in whose mind two ideas cannot dwell harmoniously together cannot reason; has not reached the reasoning stage. Reasoning is excluded so long as the mind either does not, or cannot hold more than one idea. Reasoning, thinking, begins when two ideas can be harnessed together by the same mind. As the mind develops and gains in vigor it holds more and more ideas, and its reasoning faculties expand. The mind that can hold only one idea is rudimental. It is built on he pop-gun principle.

The fully developed, or Marxist, mind knows—

First, that the Social Revolution means the overthrow of a Ruling Class.—Idea No. 1;

Second, that to this end physical force is a necessary thing.—Idea No. 2;

Third, that the pending Social Revolution—to an even greater extent than its predecessor, the bourgeois revolution,—needs the conscious action of the masses.—Idea No. 3;

Fourth, that mass revolutionary action can not be organized and drilled in secret; must be organized and drilled in the open.—Idea No. 4;

Fifth, that the necessity of organizing a revolutionary physical force in the open, excludes the idea of destructive, and points to the necessity of constructive force as pivotal.—Idea No. 5;

Sixth, that the overthrow of the present Ruling Class means the overthrow of the Political State and its substitution with the Socialist, or Industrial Republic.—Idea No. 6;

Seventh, that the Political States can be overthrown only by the physical force of the integrally organized useful occupations of the land.—Idea No. 7;

Eighth, that the only field upon which the revolutionary purpose can be freely preached and its organization promoted is the political field, that is, through political action.—Idea No. 8.

Accordingly, the fully developed mind embraces these eight ideas; harmonizes them; grasps the Marxian dictum regarding the necessity of Unionism for the true political party of Labor; rejects the Civic-Federationized and Militia-of-Christized A.F. of L. as a buffer for the Political State; takes the political field to agitate for, preach and organize the Revolution, to achieve the Revolution in the heads of the Revolutionary Class, and to supply the Revolution with the physical force, the only physical force that is available to it, withal, the all-sufficient physical force for its historic purpose—the Nation re-cast in the Industrial mold.

Of this process the pop-gun mind of the pure and simple ballotist politician, and the kindred mind of the pure and simple bombist Anarchist, is incapable.

In the Anarch pop-gun mind the single idea of physical force leaves room for no other, and it thereby turns the Revolutionary physical force of the proletariat from its constructive into a destructive power—a purely bourgeois concept.

In the politician's or bogus Socialist's pop-gun mind the single idea of the ballot leaves room for no other, and thereby turns the Revolutionary political action of the proletariat into a political job catching scheme—likewise a vulgar bourgeois concept, with Bobby as a self-exposed type.

Transcribed and edited by Robert Bills for the official website of the Socialist Labor Party of America.

Uploaded August 2014

slpns@slp.org