ONE CENT.

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EDITORIAL

## INTEGRALIZATION.

## **By DANIEL DE LEON**

O Prof. Richard T. Ely belongs the credit of coining a new phrase descriptive of the present economic situation, viz., the integralization of capital. As the Corporation is a consolidation of small capitals, and the trust a consolidation of large corporations, so is integralization the consolidation of mammoth trusts, into one co-operative whole. Integralization is based on interownership and interrelation. It



RICHARD T. ELY (1854-1943)

expresses itself through interrepresentation in bank groupings and on boards of directors, by means of which trust interests are interlocked; and the control of the most important—the strategic—portions of the capital of the country—its means of production and distribution, sources of raw supply, transportation and exchange—is placed in the hands of a few collossal capitalists, known as the high financiers—the plutocracy.

Integralization not only interlocks and makes as one the forces of capital, but also the forces of labor, in a technical and social sense. It gathers into its folds and connects into

one continuous process all the divisions of labor that makes one craft or industry independent of all other crafts or industries. In integralization, for instance, the steel and iron industry no longer is limited to the conversion of ore into raw products, but includes every operation from the mining of the minerals to their erection in the finished form. The number of one-time independent and now allied industries that constitute the steel and iron industry, is simply incredible, as may be judged from the vast army, numbering 175,000, employed by the Steel Trust. In integralization, crafts and industries are merely the temporary expedients to carry on production and distribution that are wiped out as fast as possible, in order to economize, and thereby increase the amount of wealth expropriated by the plutocracy.

While integralization applies to the forces of labor, as well as capital, in a technical and social sense, it does not, as yet, apply to it in a protective and constructive sense. For the purposes of protecting and promoting its interests, labor organizes mainly on the principle of specialization. It narrowly takes each industry and splits it up into the crafts composing it. The broad policy of integralization is opposed; with the result that cohesion is missing, and hostility, impotency and defeat ensue. Bad as the matter is from a protective standpoint, it is even worse from a constructive one. The craft organizations of labor, in their espousal of specialization, fail to recognize the whole social trend toward consolidation and integralization. While they, as competitive individuals, are organizing competitive labor groups, Society is moving with great strides toward the obliteration of all competition through universal co-operation. They are reactionary and unprogressive; and, as such, are caught in the quicksands of enslavement, instead of reaching the heights of emancipation.

This, of course, does not apply to all labor. It applies specifically to the labor organized in the American Federation of Labor. With the Industrial Workers of the World, the case is different. They recognize both the integralization of capital and labor, and organize accordingly. They, too, break down the barriers of craft and industry, and organize not as printers or hod-carriers, but as workingmen, just as the capitalists organize not as iron mongers or steel makers, but as trust magnates and profit takers. And recognizing the tendencies of modern society to integralized industry, they are preparing for the day when these tendencies will make integralized ownership imperative; for the day when the industrial evolution of society will compel the integralized workers to overthrow the integralized capitalists, and thus achieve the freedom of themselves and society from capitalism and wage slavery. In pursuit of these objects, they call on the working class to unite as a class on both the economic and political field and take and hold that which their labor produces. Thus do they make the protective and constructive sides of labor square with the technical and social sides as developed by integralization.

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