THE MARTIN’S FERRY FORE-TASTE.

By DANIEL DE LEON

FROM Martin’s Ferry, O., and almost immediately after last election day, the news was published that the Laughlin plant of the American Sheet and Tinplate Company was to close the works after November 15 and thereby throw 2,000 men out of work “because the Socialists’ city ticket was elected.”

Capitalist action supplements Socialist Labor Party agitation and education, by elucidating the same.

The “Socialist ticket” that was elected at Martin’s Ferry was the ticket of the Socialist party.

The administrative goal that party aims at is the substitution of Socialist political officials for Republican and Democratic dittoes, in other words, the substitution of a governmental political machinery run by Socialists instead of other politicians. That is not the goal of Socialism.

The goal of Socialism is the overthrow of class rule, therefore, the overthrow of the “political State,” along, of course, with all the minor branches of the same, such as municipal, etc., political rule, and the establishment of the Industrial Social Order.

Goals determine the means thereto. We do not fish for sharks with trout-lines: we do not go after trout with whalers.

The political body of Socialism, which, being like the S.L.P. up-to-the-handle Socialist[,] has for its goal the overthrow of the “political State” and the establishment of the Industrial Social Order, is bound to shape its means to that end. Such a political organization necessarily centers its agitation and education upon the propaganda that will crystallize into the integrally economic organization of the useful occupations of the land, that is the constituents of the Industrial Government.
On the other hand, the political body of Socialism, which, being like the S.P. a dilution of Socialism, has for its goal the substitution of Socialist officials for the present bourgeois incumbents in Government, is likewise bound to shape its means to its end. Such a political body necessarily gives no thought to the revolutionary economic organization of the useful toilers; it centers its agitation and education upon the attracting of votes.

The goal determines the means—therefore, if the goal be sound, the means will be effective; if the goal be visionary, the means will boomerang back.

The visionary goal of the S.P. can not choose but prove such a boomerang, eventually, if not sooner. The law of the slogan: “Votes! Votes! Votes!” compels the cultivation of blindness to social facts, and of deafness to social teachings. It is worse than a non-educator: it is a mis-educator. Un-taught and mis-taught on the nature of the capitalist’s fortifications; their minds filled with false expectations; their hopes buoyed up with enticing errors;—the men who, if well posted, would first organize their battalions on the economic field, rush forward, an unorganized mob, and when they “capture” the enemy’s political fortifications find themselves without the power to make the “capture” good.

The political organization is not the organization to execute the revolutionary act—the transforming of the political into the industrial State. Useful, serviceable, necessary, indispensable though the truly Socialist political organization is towards that end, the power does not lie in it to deal the revolutionary blow. Nor is that its real mission, which begins and ends with the proclamation and drilling of the Revolution in the open.

In order to be fit to deal the revolutionary blow, the revolutionary element must be organized industrially. Perforce organized along the lines of the political State, hence perforce organized upon the territorial basis—which necessarily ignores the separate industries and jumbles several and all manner of occupations together—in the political organization the revolutionary element must be in a disorganized state. Accordingly, the political organization of the Revolution that fails to equip itself with the revolutionary, industrially organized Union comprehends not its mission. It is no better than a gun without bullets, and with only powder and noisemaking
blank-cartridges. It is worse. How much worse, the news from Martin’s Ferry fore-
shadows.

A Socialist political victory, tho’ gained, as the one at Martin’s Ferry, with a lo-
cal Proletariat so utterly disorganized, hence, helpless, that it holds not the locking-
out power over the Exploiter, but the Exploiter over it—a Socialist political victory
gained, as the S.P. victory at Martin’s Ferry, where the Exploiter can and does re-
venge himself for the political rebellion of his wage slaves by throwing, or but
threatening to throw them by the thousands out of work and bread—such a local
political victory, together with its consequences, is a foretaste and warning of what
is in store for the working class in the event of a similar victory on a national, or
even a State scale, to wit, inevitable mass bread riots, followed by ruthlessly vindic-
tive massacres of workingmen, cravenly left in the lurch by the very pure and sim-
ple “intellectual” bourgeois who led and drove them into the mare’s nest.

May the Martin’s Ferry foretaste serve as a “gentle” warning administered in
time to the workers of the land. It will be spur and goad to the Socialist militants for
all the more uncompromising education and organization. It certainly is a luminous
flambeau by the light of which to discover the precipice whither S.P.-ism leads.