FIRST EDITORIAL

Dick Croker’s Unerring Judgment.

By DANIEL DE LEON

“\textbf{A}s sure as anything can be, our ticket will be elected”: these were the words of the leader of the Tammany Democracy immediately after the nomination of his ticket and while it was being met by a storm of ridicule from the majority of the New York capitalist papers, who styled it the “Yellow dog ticket.” Dick Croker was right. Was it a shrewd guess on his part? No. Was it that his nominees were men of high moral and intellectual stature, commanding the respect and admiration of the community? This was notably not the case. Was it that his organization was one of such perfection and strength that it could compel victory? All those who know the situation of things in New York are aware of the fact that, whatever may one time have been said about the vigor of the Tammany organization, that time had passed. The “reform” victory of three years ago had inflicted serious wounds upon Tammany: its strongholds in office had been mostly captured and itself dislodged from them; its strongholds in the electorate had been dismantled; under the pretext of building parks, the most solid Tammany quarters, regular bandit rat-holes, were cleared; the poverty, that all this threw the Tammany organization into, brought on the usual result of dissensions: Tammany Hall was rent by internecine feuds; formerly powerful bodies of its constituencies seceded under prominent chieftains. Take it all in all, Tammany had been bleeding at its vitals for nearly three years, and, as an organization, was a staggering cripple when the campaign opened, and during the whole of its process down to election night. Whence, then, did Dick Croker gather the conviction of victory, since he could not gather it from any knowledge of pristine strength?

Dick Croker’s certainty of victory proceeded from his knowledge of the popular distress, that growing and spreading down to last year, so far from stopping, increased since McKinley’s election and inauguration. Tammany is the recognized Democratic organization of New York. The masses have, like sheep, flocked from the Republican party organization every time that they felt distress under the Democratic party organization, and have as regularly flocked back to the Democratic every time they felt distressed under the Republican party organization. Since ’93, driven by distress
under the Democracy, they have been flopping to the Republicans; their distress increasing, even after the culmination of Republican success with McKinley’s election, it was clear that the time had arrived for a receding of the tide from the Republican and its flow to the Democratic organization. Croker’s judgment was correct; it proceeded from a keen insight into these facts.

This is more important than might seem at first sight.

There flows from it, in the first place, the conclusion that the imbecile flocking backward and forward from Republicans to Democrats and vice versa, is a result of the masses’ being kept in ignorance of the economic reasons for their increasing distress, and in ignorance of the existence of a political party movement, the Socialist Labor party’s, whose very existence is born of these economic reasons, and, consequently, is alone able to cope with and end them.

In the second place it explains why, despite all the violence of language against Tammany before election, now, after election, there is an undertone of relief in the utterances of the “anti-Tammany” press. THE DAY WHEN, DESPITE THE INCREASING POVERTY OF THE WORKING CLASS UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF EITHER OF THE OLD PARTIES, IT DOES NOT, ON ELECTION DAY, TURN TO THE OTHER, IT WILL BE BECAUSE THE WORKING CLASS HAS CAUGHT SIGHT OF THE HEADLIGHTS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AND HAS TURNED TO IT.

“A thousand times rather Tammany than the S.L.P.,” thus argues, and justly for itself, the anti-Tammany capitalist class. The suppression of all information on the S.L.P. was necessary this year for Tammany’s victory. Croker knew he could rely upon that aid from his fellow capitalist foes, who still hold the principal means to distribute such information.

Hence Croker’s judgment as to the result was correct. Hence also the propagandism of Socialism receives a valuable pointer for future action.