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# WESTERN CLARION

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## Direct Action

THE mass actionists or direct actionists have practically controlled the left wing of the Socialist Party of America. These November Bolsheviks, laboring under the delusion that the Revolution was around the corner, drew up a platform that either was the work of insane fools or government agents. They have no use for the ballot. They refer to the election of Berger, London, Noske, etc., as the result of the worker's efforts in the Parliamentary field. The election of Berger to Congress merely reflects the state of mind of the workingmen that elected him. If they had understood anything about Scientific Socialism they would not have sent Berger to Congress. Scheidmann and Noske were elected by the German working-class. It means that the majority of the workers in Germany were not interested in Socialism but in petty reform measures that in the end would not benefit them.

To say that the revolution is around the corner is ridiculous. Any sane minded man can see that for himself. We can only have Socialism when we have Socialists. We must always remember that the emancipation of the working-class is the work of the working-class itself. Only when they are educated in Socialism and cease to act like a pack of sheep will the workers be ripe and ready for Socialism.

Then again some direct actionists such as Karl Radek claim that "want and oppression, the cataclysmic effects even of that product of capitalism, war, will not suffice to cause the universal rising of the oppressed and despoiled. The revolt is always led by a minority which accomplishes the revolution."

Poverty alone does not make Revolutions. In fact the worse the conditions of the worker, the lower his spirit. The English workers lived under the most horrible conditions imaginable yet the English workers did not revolt.

Radek's ideas do not coincide with those of Frederick Engels: "The period of sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where the question involves the complete transformation of the social organization there the masses themselves must be consulted, must themselves have already grasped what the struggle is about and what they stand for."

Radek apparently forgets the terrible experience of the Spartacans when men like he were in control. Karl Liebknecht admitted just before his death that "the time was not ripe." The masses were not ready."

We must also realize that the days of the barricades are past never to return. Insurrection by a minority as in the case of Germany, or Ireland is foredoomed to failure.

Again quoting Engels. "Does the reader now understand why the ruling class is so anxious by all means to get us where the rifle cracks and the sabre clashes? And why today they accuse us of cowardice because we do not straightway betake ourselves to the streets where we are beforehand certain of defeat? And why they so passionately beseech us to be good enough to play cannon fodder just for once?"

Probably this explains the reason why government agents tried to incite the striking workers of Seattle and Winnipeg to riot. But our direct actionists will say, "What about the expulsion of Berger and the five Socialists from legislative bodies? Doesn't that prove that the ballot is an archaic weapon?"

Again let me quote Engels. "Meanwhile let them pass their anti-revolt laws, and make them still more

stringent; let them turn the whole criminal code into caoutchouc; they will accomplish nothing except to furnish new proof of their impotence.

The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the "Revolutionists," the "Revolters," prosper far better by lawful measures than by unlawful measures and violence. The "law and order" parties as they call themselves, go to ruin under the legal conditions which they themselves have established. They cry out in despair with Odilon Barrott: 'Lawfulness is killing us'; while we, under this lawfulness are getting firm muscles and rosy cheeks and are the pictures of eternal life. And if we do not so completely lose our wits as to let ourselves be drawn into a street fight just to please them, then there remains nothing else for them to do finally except to break down the lawfulness which has proven so disadvantageous to them."

The mass actionists have given the ruling class an excuse for them to crush working-class organizations. We, however, will not as Engels points out, "allow ourselves to be drawn into a street fight." Let them use their "Law and order measures." We will not stop them from digging their own graves. Meanwhile we will endeavor as far as possible to educate the working-class because we realize that Socialist knowledge is the greatest enemy of Capitalism. We will also endeavor to educate the working class to the extent that they will send real Scientific Socialists as their representatives to legislative bodies.

J. T.

## Freedom in the U.S.

During the past week or so the Department of Justice has conducted numerous raids on Radical meetings. Thousands have been taken in the net, and it is expected that a great percentage of these will either be deported or imprisoned. Many have endeavored to find the motives behind these raids. Some say that Atty. Gen. Palmer is trying to build up a reputation. Others say that it has some connection with the Russian problem. Perhaps the following clipping from the Buffalo Express" of January 4th will furnish us with the answer:—

"Mr. Blackman (Dept. of Justice Agt.) said he desired to thank the patriotic citizens that assisted his office in the raid. 'These patriotic citizens, numbering about 200, did a great service to their country,' said Mr. Blackman. 'They gave the use of their automobiles and much of their time. Some of them worked throughout the night. I deeply appreciate the assistance they gave.' Among the men praised by Mr. Blackman were included the following: Archer A. Landon, former President of the Chamber of Commerce and general manager of production at the American Radiator Company; Harry Wendt, son of W. F. Wendt, of the Buffalo Forge Co.; Wm. H. Donner, president of the Donner Steel Co.; Hugh Kennedy; Rogers Brown, Iron Co.; Daniel Sowers, Sowers Mfg. Co., etc."

In Detroit about 1,000 men and women were arrested. The House of Masses, the largest Radical hall in the country, was raided several times. According to certain business men, the government is going to continue raiding the hall until it is permanently closed. A reign of terror is on.

Long live the Democratic Party!

J. T.

## Letter from Charlie O'Brien

Rochester, N.Y.,  
January 19th, 1920.

Comrades:—

I have received letters and telegrams from various parts of Canada addressed to City Jail, Rochester, New York.

Three of us were taken in the nation-wide raid, and were allowed bail on New Year's Eve. Hearing was to be given on January the 15th, but has been postponed until February the 19th. We are charged with criminal anarchy. As usual, they accuse us of that of which they themselves are guilty.

Our masters and their henchmen are desperate with fear. Rivalry among the latter for the best jobs has caused each to outdo the other in demonstrating that he is worthy of hire.

But they appear to have overdone it. World events shall determine whether they increase or decrease their persecution of us.

A Defence Committee have engaged a couple of lawyers and are collecting funds. Though the raiders have taken between three and four hundred dollars' worth of our literature, our study classes, children's school, meetings, and general activities are as bright as ever.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

## A New Labor Daily

"Fleet Street," who has occasionally contributed to the columns of "Justice," writes:—"A rumour is abroad that the policy and tone of the 'Daily Mail' are shortly to be changed, and that Lord Northcliffe will add to the variety, if not to the number, of his journals by making his favourite daily a Labour organ. I give the rumour as I have heard it from a journalist who is fully convinced of the truth of what he states. Though doubtful, the change suggested is not at all improbable. Some of us have wondered for years past why the Napoleon of journalism did not start a daily newspaper on Labour lines. Perhaps he was waiting his opportunity, and the appeal of the 'Daily Herald' for £400,000 from the trade unions on 5 per cent. Debenture Stock may have caused him to take the step earlier than he otherwise would have done. Both the 'Daily Mail' and the 'Evening News' have been admitting contributions from well-known Labour people."—"Justice."

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