Withdraw From Russia!

THE world is preparing for peace, and the world is happy. The terrible agony of death, of a world devoting its energy and its finest instincts to the tasks of death, is at an end.

Peace—and the problems of making a new world. Peace—and the joy of devoting one's self to life, and not death. Peace—and the opportunity of securing out of the horror that is ended the impulse and the will to make peace splendid and everlasting.

But this peace is not, as yet, universal. The nations that granted armistice and peace to Germany, Austria and Bulgaria refuse to grant armistice and peace to Russia. The Russian people, 5,000,000 of whom died in the war, who have suffered more than any other people, are refused an armistice, are refused peace, are still in the clutches of war.

French and British, American and Japanese troops, are still in Archangel, still in Vladivostok. Fighting is reported as proceeding between Soviet troops and the Anglo-French troops.

Russia was formerly associated with the Allies; yet the Allies grant peace to their former enemy, and refuse it to their former associate.

Why this discrimination? If blood is the price of peace, the Russian people have paid the price in full, an infinitely heavier price than that of any other nation at war.

Our people are happy at the coming of peace, but the Russian people are threatened with a new war, they cannot devote themselves fully and confidently to the tasks of peace and life. Alien troops apparently still threaten the Russian people, in whom is an overwhelming love of peace and the simple joys of life.

Is this Soviet Russia's fault? The facts are the most convincing answer:

The Soviet Government recently, through Commissaire of Foreign Affairs Tchicherin, proposed an armistice to the Allies. Absolutely no answer was given to this proposal—and alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok.

According to declarations of President Wilson and the State Department, the purpose of the Allies was to get the Czecho-Slovaks out of Russia, not to re-establish an "eastern front" or to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people. The Soviet Government has declared and emphasized its readiness to negotiate with the allies concerning the Czecho-Slovaks and to facilitate their departure from Russia. These official proposals to the Allies have produced absolutely no response . . . Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok.

To negotiate with the Soviet Government, it is said, means to recognize the Soviet Government; therefore, there can be no negotiations, because the Soviet Government is an autocracy. But the Allies recognized the bloody autocracy of the Czar, they recognized the murderous autocracy of Turkey, they even recognized the autocracy of the Kaiser! Why discriminate against the Soviet Government? . . . Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok.

It is not because the Soviet Government is an autocracy. The Soviet Government is a democracy, representing the majority of the people, the workers and peasants. It has existed for more than one year, and is becoming stronger in spite of attacks and counter-revolutionary plots, in spite of starvation. The Russian people, who had the revolutionary energy to overthrow Czarism, to overthrow the government of Lvov, Guchkov & Co., to overthrow Kerensky, would and could overthrow the Soviet Government if they wished to. But they don't. The Soviet Government is their government, the Russian people are the Government. To ask the Russian people to overthrow their government is equivalent to asking a man to cut his own throat.

The Russian people have contributed enormously to the coming of peace; it was their revolutionary ideas and propaganda that produced revolution in Bulgaria, Austria and Germany, and without this revolution the war would still be on. The Russian people have died and starved for one year to bring revolution in Germany, and peace—but there is no peace for them . . . Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok.

Men and women of the United States, our slogan should be: "The Russian people shall have peace. Withdraw from Russia!"

They said that the Soviet Government was an ally of the Kaiser, was prolonging the war, was aiding Germany to win the war. These were lies, and events have proven them lies; but now even this lying pretext no longer exists—withdraw from Russia!

What government Russia should have is the business of the Russian people. The Allies have officially assented to that; but in practice they have encouraged "governments" in Russia which represent no one but counter-revolutionary conspirators. They have violated the principle of self-determination of nations. They have morally and physically waged war upon the Soviet Government and the Russian people.

And men still die. Men and women in Russia are still being starved. Is it all to crush the great Socialist Republic in Russia, the magnificent pledge of a finer and more human world?

The intentions of the American Government are in doubt, although it has officially declared against intervention. Secret diplomacy is in action. But the newspapers are openly mobilizing public opinion against war against the Soviet Republic, against the Russian people, who have had more soldiers killed in the war than perhaps all the other nations put together. Is their payment a new war?

And in this murderous press campaign, the mask is off. War against the Soviet Government is urged, not because it is "pro-German," but because it is revolutionary and Socialist.

The Russian people have paid the price of peace in blood. Out of the agony and the ruins they are building a new and finer society: let them build in peace! Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok: Withdraw from Russia! Withdraw immediately!
The Time For Action Has Come!

WITH the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to grant Mooney a new trial the case now stands decided. For nearly two and a half years Mooney has suffered under a sentence of death. But there is still much crushing to which the workers of this country, to say nothing of the victims of his gastric distemper, must still submit, only by the executive pardon of the governor of the State of California can Mooney be snatched from the gallows, but there is a power stronger than any law ever passed on a continent—than any law in the world. The bitter cry to halt this murder—the power of the will of the people.

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The Coming Of The Final Struggle

By Gregory Weinstein

I N THE past revolutions took place once in a hundred years, generally speaking. There have been very few great movements of mankind. Generations have gone by without witnessing, much less participating in, any great spasm of the masses against the particular, learning about them only from the tales of old men—"the veterans", or from school text books; and the concepts formed about them were they that went out to make the world a better place, or that which the people had been built of different stuff—"you are not the warriors"—a time that had been and never would return....

But even those exceptional revolutions, scattered through centuries, left an indelible mark on the whole future development of mankind, having given peculiar color to whole epochs of history. In this instance, the great French Revolution of 1789 has not yet been extinguished even today—Now, by all indications, the world has entered a new phase of its development—a path fraught with revolutionary undertones.

During the short period of one year two such events of world importance have taken place—the proletariat revolution in Russia, and the reaction in Germany. One, the revolution in Germany. Of course, we are not talking about leaving a mark on mankind—on the toiling masses—because just now the war has been brought to an end; the war which for its very existence has awakened mankind from lethargy.

Certainly not! The spirit of discontent and protest, the continuous "revolt and hunger" will spread to the adjacent countries, where states, also according to authoritative statements in the bourgeois press, "there is observed a sufficient quantity of combustible material".

But what have you, the workers of this country, to say? Painstakingly such movement demanded by the law has been close through and through, and the time the machinery has been thrown out of gear, finally the repairing engineer of that machinery—the Supreme Court of the United States—has refused to function.

In both the state and the federal executives have declared their belief in Mooney's innocence, others, including one of the judges involved in the trial, have expressed regret at his guilty verdict, while to the ordinary reader, from the evidence presented in the case and the character of the witnesses upon whose testimony conviction was had, it seems far from clear that no doubt attaches to this conviction. Mooney may have committed a crime, but it is the system and the spirit under which the workers of this country, to say nothing of the victims of his gastric distemper, must still submit, only by the executive pardon of the governor of the State of California can Mooney be snatched from the gallows, but there is a power stronger than any law ever passed on a continent—than any law in the world. The bitter cry to halt this murder—the power of the will of the people.

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The countries of the "Allied cause" at the present moment lie generally over to the "inaction of victory", which temporarily has affected the working masses. For them, the moment of bitter disappointment, "counting the roll of our soldiers" and "judging a man thinking" is yet far away. However, it must be noted, that, even at the present moment we are already entering upon a phase of approaching moment of reassessment. It would suffice to mention, for example, the demand made by the French Socialists or the resolution of the British Labor Party concerning the end of "civil peace" and on the recall of "labor ministers" from the cabinet.

But the war, inseparable as the workers of the neutral countries are concerned, has not brought them even the flickering, flimsy "victories", that could provoke at least a temporary alleviation. Instead the war has brought them enough of misery, want and starvation, and even more than enough, more than, according to the official statistics of the different governments.

Hence it is not surprising, that from all neutral countries come reports of "alarmism character" about the growing inclination of the working masses to working stoppages.

There was a general strike in Switzerland. In Holland there has been a strike of workers who refused to work under a government order to recall striking workers. In Sweden, the "Socialists have found no justification for the intervention of Soviet workers and soldiers deputies everywhere, in order to establish a Socialist Republic..." In Denmark: "bourgeois and liberal ministers will be defeated." In all the neutral countries circulars are beginning to get alarmzed...

Such are the reports reaching here from neutral countries.

For the Kaiser is but the vilest flower of a system, and it is the system and the spirit which underlies it that must be uprooted, not those workers in these countries, as compared with the revolutionary relation of forces in Russia, Germany, and Austria, is not wholly in favor of the bourgeois but the power of resistance of the bourgeoisie and the governments in these neutral countries is considerably lower than that of the class which in Russia, Germany, and Austria—government and army—under the "intoxication of militarism" has been snatched from the power of the master class, but the times are changing; it is the system and the spirit under which the workers of this country, to say nothing of the victims of his gastric distemper, must still submit, only by the executive pardon of the governor of the State of California can Mooney be snatched from the gallows, but there is a power stronger than any law ever passed on a continent—than any law in the world. The bitter cry to halt this murder—the power of the will of the people.

And, of course, it goes without saying, that the victory of the workers in these neutral countries—in spite of the fact that they play a secondary role in the family of the"empires"—will have deep significance, politically speaking, as to the general result.

That victory of all, will strengthen and prolong the universal "great unrest" which was begun by the Russian, Austrian and German revolutions. It will bring new faith, boldness and energy into the ranks of the working class fighting for its emancipation; it will be a new blow and an additional sign of the approach of the ultimate revolution.

This victory will increase "the anxieties" among the international bourgeoisie in the Central Europe, which is now alive with the "Bolshevist anxiety", thereby considerably depress the power of resistance of the bourgeoisie in these countries. Besides, the attempt of the bourgeoisie to use the working regulations of the Allied court for "condemning" the countries contaminated by the revolution—another attempt which this time they will not be able to dispose for "patriotic" reasons with beautiful slogans and empty promises—will be the last drop which will overflow the cup of patience of the workers of Allied countries.

Peace—Where There Is No Peace

I N A remarkable, but misnamed, article entitled "Peace at Last" The Nation takes a small word longer in the liberal press of this country. One of the disappointments of American solution in the war is the placid confidence in the philosophy of the old liberal political parties. While the newspapers generally spoke out against injustice as they saw it in the press of this section of the American people was practically silent. What few papers were a reaction to this state of affairs were quickly put out of business without substantial advice.

Now The Nation speaks clearly and unequivocally:

"For if the mills of the gods have ground and crushed the Hebrews and Haspburg and the Kings of Bavaria and what have the people come to? Nothing! The real remaining king, whether well-meaning figure or despot, about the voice of this nation of the American people is practically silent. What few papers were a reaction to this state of affairs were quickly put out of business without substance of advice.

Then we agree with the German Socialists that no man who had anything to do with starting and maintaining the war should remain in office—nor in Hungary, and in Turkey they are gone. We hope and trust that the spirit of revolution will not yet be out and the work of the secret treaties can not last out and, with them, as among the worst enemies of mankind, the armaments manufacturers, the Kapets, the Cress..."
Bolshieviks

ONE never knows what those Bolshieviks will do next. Finding their imperial masters in Germany, they have been known to take charge of their countries immediately and to work with the German revolutionists. Or can it be supposed that they are in a minority, and that our government is not in its first place and that Lenin and Trotzky were not the agents of imperialism after all? There is no question in an American journal of the world war.

In other times the common people knew nothing about peace, or if they did, the conference which would be held, would be infinitely settled. Now things are different, secret diplomacy is an affair of the past— the cards of the state are to be put in proper hands. Everyone who can read a newspaper has access to all the details, the relative values of the different places the conference might take place. I have been a newspaper, and I have been a photographer, I have seen the different buildings mentioned are openly published so that the common people may decide for themselves whether the momentous proceedings shall take place beneath the vaulted arches of medieval architecture or within the less impressive halls of the mid-Victorian period, the approximate date of the sittings is common knowledge, even the probable personnel of each country's delegation is openly forecasted and homes have already been broken up over the uncompromising Bolshievists of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Japan.

One can multiply the time and the intensity of an immediate demand of the compromise. The Soviet form of government would be quite acceptable to the moderate Bolsheviks, but it is the government, not the government. The acceptance of "advisory functions"—that is what the agreement actually means—is not an act of revolutionary energy, it is an act of stipulation, a parleying with the problem. To accept a division of power, which the fact of the Provisional Government is clearly not satisfactory to the revolutionary masses, it is a policy that the Bolshevik revolutionists would change it, and it would promote a counter-revolution. But the policy of "agreement" of hesitation and compromise will prove equally unsatisfactory to the revolutionists. Division of power promotes either revolution or counter-revolution; it cannot prevail. It cannot be reversed; but it can multiply the time and the intensity of the struggle, until either power to the bourgeoisie nor to the proletariat, must necessarily mark time, evade all real action, and accomplish no important accomplishments. Division of power in Russia made the revolutionists a minority, and increased the demoralization of the country, complicating enormously the task of Socialist reconstruction. This is not the Soviet system of government as the Bolsheviki are made to understand, that Bolsheviki are not clear just how, but he is certain of two ways it can be settled, so long as the complete independence of Ireland nor the coercion of Ulster under any form of Home Rule government is to be set aside. Now the whole power is made clear.

The Soviet form of government would be quite agreeable to many Irish rebels we know of.

The Bolsheviki have at last pulled off the coup de grace to the St. Bartholomew's Day (Russian calendar), isn't that just magnificent, and so I say? Such a delicate compliment to the French!

The Spartacus Group

The New York Evening Telegram has discovered that the German Socialists are plotting to bring the Kaiser back to the Imperial Throne of Germany. "Warned by Lord Reading, Sir George Cave and others" it says that the Hun has shown no change of heart and mystified by the sudden faces of Bolshevism in Germany London opinion finds nothing extravagant in the suggestion that the Socialist Reds are providing a handy tool for projects cherished before the armistice was signed... So that's why the Kaiser put Liebknecht in jail.

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The Origins of Worker's Control in Russia

By John Reed

The following article was written when Reed arrived in Sweden and Russia, as he arrived in Russia, in answer to false stories being circulated by the capitalist press about the management of Russian factories. Owing to the variety of circumstances it has not hitherto been published and now appears for the first time.

all the privilege of military law, ran away. Unlike the Russian situation, therefore, official government measures were not taken. The workers, in order to prevent anything of that kind, had to take charge of the administration. In some places, at Sestroretsk, this meant taking charge of the town also. And these government plants the Factory Shop Committees had a comparatively easy time. For a long time after the Revolution there was still a fear of the military authority of the workers, and finally when the Kerensky government began to interfere, the workers had complete control. Working as they were on a more or less friendly basis and in a hurry, there was no excuse for closing down, and in fuel and raw materials the Government itself supplied them. According to the report of November 21, the Factory Shop Committees appointed delegates to Bakskoye oil, to Kharkov for coal, and to Siberia for iron.

From Sestroretsk the Shop Committees spread like wildfire to other government shops—then to private establish-