

A Call to the Workers of the World

PROLETARIANS! Men and Women of Labor! Comrades!

The revolution in Germany has come! The masses of the soldiers who for four years were driven to slaughter for the sake of capitalistic profits; the masses of workers, who for four years were exploited, crushed, and starved, have revolted. Prussian militarism, that fearful tool of oppression, that scourge of humanity—lies broken on the ground. Its most noticeable representatives, and therewith the most noticeable of those guilty of this war, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, have fled from the country. Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have been formed everywhere.

Workers of all countries, we do not say that in Germany all power actually lies in the hands of the working people, that the complete triumph of the proletarian revolution has already been attained. There still sit in the government all those Socialists who in August, 1914, abandoned our most precious possession, the International, who for four years betrayed the German working class and the International.

But, workers of all countries, now the German proletarian himself speaks to you. We believe we have the right to appear before your forum in his name. From the first day of this war we endeavored to do our international duty by fighting that criminal government with all our power and branding it as the one really guilty of the war.

Now at this moment we are justified before history, before the International and before the German proletariat. The masses agree with us enthusiastically, constantly widening circles of the proletariat share the conviction that the hour has struck for a settlement with capitalistic class rule.

But this great task cannot be accomplished by the German proletariat alone; it can only fight and triumph by appealing to the solidarity of the proletarians of the whole world.

Comrades of the belligerent countries, we are aware of your situation. We know full well that your governments, now that they have won the victory, are dazzling the eyes of many strata of the people with the external brilliancy of their triumph. We know that they thus succeed through the success of the murdering in making its causes and aims forgotten.

But we also know that in your countries the proletariat made the most fearful sacrifices of flesh and blood, that it is weary of the dreadful butchery, that the proletarian is now returning to his home, and is finding want and misery there, while fortunes amounting to billions are heaped up in the hands of a few capitalists. He has recognized, and will continue to recognize, that your governments, too, have carried on the war for the sake of the big money bags. And he will further perceive that your governments, when they spoke of "justice and civilization" and of the

The revolutionary aspirations of May Day are magnificently expressed in this appeal of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Klara Zetkin, issued Decemb 25, 1918.

"protection of small nations," meant capitalist profits as surely as did ours when it talked about the "defence of home"; and that the peace of "justice" and of the "League of Nations" are but a part of the same base brigandage that produced the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Here as well as there the same shameless lust for booty, the same desire for oppression, the same determination to exploit to the limit the brutal preponderance of murderous steel.

The Imperialism of all countries knows no "understanding," it it knows only one right—capital's profits; it knows only one language—the sword; it knows only one method—violence. And if it is now talking in all countries, in yours as well ours, about the "League of Nations," "disarmament," "rights of small nations," "self-determination of the peoples," it is merely using the customary lying phrases of the rulers for the purpose of lulling to sleep the watchfulness of the proletariat.

Proletarians of all countries! This must be the last war! We owe that to the twelve million murdered victims, we owe that to our children, we owe that to humanity.

Europe has been ruined by this damnable slaughter. Twelve million bodies cover the grewsome scenes of this imperialistic crime. The flower of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been mowed down. Uncounted productive forces have been annihilated. Humanity is almost ready to bleed to death from the unexampled blood-letting of history. Victors and vanquished stand at the edge of the abyss. Humanity is threatened with famine, a stoppage of the entire mechanism of production, plagues, and degeneration.

The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this unchained chaos—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is incapable of banishing it, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

Socialism alone is in a position to complete the great work of permanent peace, to heal the thousand wounds from which humanity is bleeding, to transform the plains of Europe, trampled down by the passage of the apocryphal horseman of war, into blossoming gardens, to conjure up ten productive forces for every one

destroyed, to awaken all the physical and moral energies of humanity, and to replace hatred and dissension with internal solidarity, harmony, and respect for every human being.

If representatives of the proletarians of all countries could but clasp hands under the banner of Socialism for the purpose of making peace, then peace would be concluded in a few hours. Then there will be no disputed questions about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or colonies. Then there will be only one people: the toiling human beings of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right: the equality of all men. Then there will be only one aim: prosperity and progress for everybody.

Humanity is facing the alternative: Dissolution and downfall in capitalist anarchy, or regeneration through the social revolution. The hour of fate has struck. If you believe in Socialism, it is now time to show it by deeds. If you are Socialists, now is the time to act.

Proletarians of all countries, if we now summon you for a common struggle it is not done for the sake of the German capitalists who, under the label of "German nation," are trying to escape the consequences of their own crimes; it is being done for your sake as well as for ours. Remember that your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress in blood our revolution, which they fear as they do their own. You yourselves have not become any freer through the "victory," you have only become still more enslaved. If your ruling classes succeed in throttling the proletarian revolution in Germany, and in Russia, then they will turn against you with redoubled violence. Your capitalists hope that victory over us and over revolutionary Russia will give them the power to scourge you with a whip of scorpions.

Therefore the proletariat of Germany looks toward you in this hour. Germany is pregnant with the social revolution, but Socialism can only be realized by the proletariat of the world.

And therefore, we call to you: "Arise for the struggle! Arise for action! The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions, and high-sounding words is gone! The hour of action has struck for the International!" We ask you to elect Workers' and Soldiers' Councils everywhere that will seize political power, and, together with us, will restore peace.

Not Lloyd George and Poincare, not Sonnino, Wilson, and Erzberger or Scheidemann, must be allowed to make peace. Peace must be concluded under the waving banner of the Socialist world revolution.

Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist liberation, to give a human aspect to the disfigured world and to make true those words with which we often greeted each other in the old days and which we sang as we parted: "And the Internationale shall be the human race!"

Bourgeois or Proletarian Dictatorship — Which?

By A. Nyemanov

THE dark forces of Capitalism always avail themselves of the opportunity, at any favorable moment, to raise a howl about the "horrors" of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. To Russia is now added the Soviet Republics of Hungary, and Bavaria. Every opportunity and every means are used to spread condemnation and calumny. In the press, the churches, clubs, theatres, parliaments and courts, the bourgeoisie and the agents of the bourgeoisie hypocritically express their "indignation" at the fact that, the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria having become the ruling class, it deals blow after blow mercilessly at the class of the exploiters. Look—say these impudent lackeys of Capitalism—the Soviet Government rejects "freedom" of the press, "freedom" of assemblage; it deprives the people of the right to the franchise; it prosecutes and even throws into prison those who until now were considered the "elite" of society.

To be sure: the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria, having become the ruling class, builds its policy in accordance with its class interests. Fearlessly, it introduces measures which are dictated by the interests of the proletariat and the poor (proletarian) peasantry. Needless to say, all the measures of the Soviet Government in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria are directed toward one object—to raise the oppressed class economically, politically and socially, and crush the oppressors: to end the division of society into classes. If the accomplishment of this requires the application of forcible measures against the bourgeoisie, these measures are determined by the logic of the class struggle, by the dominant majority of the proletariat and proletarian peasantry.

But has the bourgeoisie the right to attack the proletarian dictatorship when it itself everywhere has

established an iron dictatorship of the bourgeois class?

When a delegation of Norwegian journalists interviewed Lenin, in March, and asked him concerning the suppression of "freedom" in Soviet Russia, Lenin advised them to go to Siberia and compare the bourgeois dictatorship there with the dictatorship of the Socialist proletariat.

We know already how Admiral Kolchak, that hireling of the Russian and Allied bourgeoisie, deals not only with the Bolsheviks but with his own former supporters—the social-patriots. Kolchak suppresses them both, thoroughly, brutally.

The Kolchak dictatorship—which the Peace Conference in Paris apparently wishes to recognize—is an eloquent example of bourgeois dictatorship in all countries. If there is any difference between the Kolchak dictatorship in Siberia and the dictatorship in power in Italy, France, India and Egypt, in any capitalistic country, the difference is purely formal. And always the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is the dictatorship of the propertied, privileged minority against the vast majority of the people, the toiling masses.

Let us take as an example the coterie of Allied diplomats now sitting in Conference on Peace in Paris. Do they realize, in fact, the dictatorship of the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the Allies, a dictatorship directed against not alone the proletariat, but against the whole peoples (Russian, German, Hungarian)?

When a clique of British imperialists applies violent measures to crush the Hindus, Egyptians and other oppressed peoples, is not this a dictatorship of

an insignificant minority over an overwhelming majority?

The bourgeoisie, with the aid of the press, parliaments, courts and prisons, in a most cynical and brutal manner crushes down the least move of the working class to better its conditions. Martial law and "states of siege" are not an exception but the rule in bourgeois society. The so-called "freedom" of the press in bourgeois society is an obvious mockery of real freedom of the press. Consider our own American press. The proprietors of our "big" newspapers are large capitalists and financiers, possessing excellently equipped printing plants, their own factories where paper is manufactured for them, and their own large capital. The whole of the "influential" press is in the hands of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, the big capitalists. Where does even the most elementary freedom of the press come in when the organs of information and publicity are under the vigilant eye and the rigid control of the large capitalists? As Lenin phrases it, "the so-called freedom of the press in bourgeois society is simply the freedom of the bourgeoisie to deceive the people."

Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, defending the interests of all the toiling masses of the people, has the full right to introduce its own concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only is this its right, it is its duty. The hysterical cries of "indignation" on the part of representatives of bourgeois society against the ideas and the practice of proletarian dictatorship are merely the impertinent hypocrisy and fraud of deceivers and oppressors, who for centuries have plundered the people. There is no sense in arguing with them or "moralizing" with them. There is one answer to them—proletarian dictatorship itself.