

Marx and Engels

The Communist Manifesto

(1848)



Education guide (2023 edition)

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Aims

This guide is designed to help understand the central ideas in *The Communist Manifesto* and how they relate to the politics of the Alliance for Workers' Liberty (AWL). By the end of this course, comrades should better understand:

- Class and class struggle
- Capitalism and the bourgeoisie
- The state
- The working class
- The labour movement
- The ruling ideas of the epoch
- Internationalism and nationalism
- Special oppression
- Marxism and other socialisms/communism.

Methods

"In the course of this work I adopted the habit of making extracts from all the books I read..."

Marx (10-11 November 1837) Letter to father. MECW 1: 17

- Five sessions, lasting no more than two hours each
- Before each session, do the required reading. Annotate your copy of the *Manifesto*
- During each session, listen to the introduction and presentation. Make notes
- Discuss the questions provided. Ask your own questions and contribute to the discussion
- Read further to extend your knowledge and understanding
- Teach this course and other courses.

Reading

Use the Engels/Moore 1888 authorised English translation. MECW 6 or Marxist Internet Archive.

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>

Session 1: Class and class struggle

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*: I Bourgeois and Proletarians

Session 2: Workers and Marxists

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*: II Proletarians and Communists

Session 3: Critique of other socialisms

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*: III: Socialist and Communist Literature

Session 4: Class and revolution

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*: IV: Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties

Session 5: Controversies and relevance

Matgamna, Sean (1998) *The Communist Manifesto after Stalinism*, *Workers' Liberty* 44: 37-44

Discussion points and questions

Session 1: Class and class struggle

Key points

• Classes and class struggle • The bourgeoisie • The state • The working class • The labour movement • The petty bourgeoisie	• “simplified class antagonisms” • Disappearing middle classes • Crises • Wages • Lumpenproletariat • Peasants • Ecology
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Questions

- 1) What is class? Why is class struggle the driving force of human history?
- 2) Why does Marx believe capitalism is progressive? Is it still progressive?
- 3) What is the nature of the capitalist state?
- 4) How does the proletariat differ from slaves and peasants?
- 5) Why is the working class the revolutionary class?
- 6) Why is the organised labour movement central?
- 7) Was Marx wrong about the middle class?

Session 2: Workers and Marxists

Key points

• Communists and the working class movement • Ruling ideas • Programme	• Personal possessions • Work • Family • Nationality • Religion
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Questions

- 1) Were Marx and Engels opposed to Communist Party organisation?
- 2) Do Communists want to take away individual's personal possessions?
- 3) Do Communists want to abolish the family?
- 4) What is the Marxist attitude towards nations and nationalism?
- 5) Is it true that “the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class”?
- 6) What does Marx mean by “winning the battle of democracy”?
- 7) What sort of demands are made in the 10-point programme? Are they obsolete today?
- 8) How does Marx describe the final goal of Communism?
- 9) Is Marxism inevitably sectarian?

Session 3: Critique of other socialisms**Key points**

• Reactionary socialism • Bourgeois socialism • Utopian socialism	• Socialism from above and below • Communists
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Questions

- 1) What is the defining feature of reactionary socialism?
- 2) What is the defining feature of bourgeois socialism?
- 3) What is the defining feature of utopian socialism?
- 4) Discuss modern examples of: reactionary socialism; bourgeois socialism and utopian socialism.
- 5) Is this division of socialists useful?
- 6) What other ways of evaluating forms of socialism are there?
- 7) Which other Communists doesn't Marx criticise in the *Manifesto*? Why?

Session 4: Class and revolution**Key points**

• Other revolutionary movements • Reform socialists • Bourgeois forces	• Permanent revolution • Workers' of the world, unite!
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Questions

- 1) Do Communists support for every opposition movement?
- 2) Were Marx and Engels right to advocate support for bourgeois forces? Under what conditions?
- 3) What is permanent revolution? Why is it important for Marxists?
- 4) Is international working class solidarity possible?

Session 5: Controversies and relevance**Key points**

• Stalinism • Human nature • Contemporary capitalism • Working class agency	• Inevitable totalitarianism • "wrong species" • There is no alternative • The labour movement and the left
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Questions

- 1) Does the fight for socialism inevitably lead to the horrors of Stalinism?
- 2) Does socialism depend on the assumption of human virtue and cooperation?
- 3) Has capitalism shown that is the most efficient social system humanity is capable of organising?
- 4) Are workers so fragmented, divided and bought off that they will never fight for socialism?
- 5) Does the disarray on the global revolutionary left show that Marxism has no prospect of success?
- 6) Given planetary boundaries, is it too late for working class socialism?

Text

Karl Marx wrote the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in German. It was written on behalf of the Communist League. It was first published in February 1848. It has sometimes been misdated 1847.

Frederick Engels supervised the authorised English translation, assisted by Samuel Moore, in 1888. It can be downloaded from the Marxist Internet Archive (MIA):

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>

The text is also in the Marx and Engels Collected Works (MECW), Volume 6, along with other important articles, drafts and reports from the time.

<https://lwbooks.co.uk/marx-engels-collected-works>

Engels also wrote two early drafts, which Marx used when writing the *Manifesto*:

Engels (June 1847) *Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith*. MECW 6: 96-103

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/06/09.htm>

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 341-57

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm>

Hal Draper also made a new English version, a complementary modern translation to the Engels/Moore version. This is published in *The Adventures of the Communist Manifesto* (1994/2020), the most comprehensive guide to the *Manifesto*.

There are scores of other editions by different publishers and other translations.

Authors

Karl Marx (1818-83) and Frederick Engels (1820-95) founded revolutionary socialism as working class self-emancipation, the first step towards universal human freedom. The *Communist Manifesto* was an early, published, accessible account of this view.

The names of the author(s) were not included in the first editions.

In June 1850, Marx first revealed he was the author of the *Communist Manifesto* in public in a series of letters to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (MECW 10: 387).

Marx and Engels were first identified as the authors by the Chartist George Julian Harney in his introduction to Helen MacFarlane's first English translation, published in four issues of the weekly *Red Republican*, 9-30 November 1850.

Harney wrote that the text had been "drawn up in the German language, in January 1848, by Citizens Charles Marx and Frederic Engels".

Their authorship was also revealed in the *Neue Rheinische Revue*, 29 November 1850.

"We give here an excerpt from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, published before the February Revolution" (Draper 1994: 28-29).

I: Bourgeois and Proletarians

Class and class struggle

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another... In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations."

"The basic thought running through the Manifesto... (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social evolution."

Engels (28 June 1883) *Preface to Communist Manifesto, third German edition*. MECW 26: 118

"The fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus... the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes..."

Engels (30 January 1888) *Preface to English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 26: 517

"So long as it is not possible to produce so much that not only is there enough for all, but also a surplus for the increase of social capital and for the further development of the productive forces, so long must there always be a ruling class disposing of the productive forces of society, and a poor, oppressed class... lord and serf... master guildsman and the journeyman and day labourer... big factory owner and the proletarian."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 349

"For instance they should study the historical works of Thierry, Guizot, John Wade and so forth, in order to enlighten themselves as to the past 'history of the classes'..."

"Now as for myself, I do not claim to have discovered either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes, as had bourgeois economists their economic anatomy."

Marx (5 March 1852) *Letter to Joseph Weydemeyer*. MECW 39: 61-62

Augustin Thierry... the "père [father] of the 'class struggle' in French historiography".

Marx (27 July 1854) *Letter to Engels*. MECW 39: 473

"Modern Europe was born of the struggle of the various classes of society."

Guizot (1828) *The History of Civilisation in Europe*.

Inevitability

"an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

"As things stand today capitalist civilisation cannot continue; we must either move forward into socialism or fall back into barbarism."

Karl Kautsky (1892) *The Class Struggle (Erfurt Program)*. 1910: 118

The bourgeoisie

"By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour."

Engels (1888) *Note to the English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 6: 482

Section II: "To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion. Capital is therefore not only personal; it is a social power."

Bourgeois progress

"The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors', and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'."

The "cash payment" and "cash nexus" were expressions used by Thomas Carlyle in his books, *Chartism* (1840) and *Past and Present* (1843).

"The bourgeoisie... has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society..."

Capitalist globalisation

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere."

Marxist geographer David Harvey (*The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989) argued that Marx and Engels were the first modern thinkers to recognise capitalism's need to provide 'spatial fixes' to its inherent contradictions.

"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country..."

"This eloquent passage is actually indicative of Marx and Engels' positivist illusion at that time regarding the progressive role of worldwide capitalist expansion – their adherence, albeit critical, to the view that advocates of imperialism, later in the nineteenth century, will call the 'civilising mission' of economically-advanced states. It took the two founders of historical materialism a few more years before they started reaching a more complex and dialectical view of the global role of capitalism: the huge cost of its plunder of agrarian economies and the contradictory effect of its export of industrial means in order to subjugate non-industrialised countries to the needs of capitalist metropolises, thus impeding their development according to their own needs."

Gilbert Achcar, *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism*. (2013)

Colonialism

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image..."

In his book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said wrote that Marx was guilty of "the Romantic Orientalist vision", citing these passages from the *Communist Manifesto*. Indian historian Irfan Habib (2006: xix-liv) argued that Marx's 1853 writings on India constitute the first instance of a major European thinker supporting India's independence. In the late 1850s, Marx supported the Sepoy Uprising in India as well as Chinese resistance to the British during the Second Opium War. Kevin Anderson argued that for Marx, the 1861-65 Civil War in the United States constituted one of the century's major battles for human emancipation, one that forced white labour to take a stand against slavery.

"There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindostan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindostan had to suffer before... Now, sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organisations disorganised and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilisation, and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village-communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism... We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life..."

Marx (10 June 1853) *The British Rule in India*. MECW 12: 126, 132

"England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia... The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether... The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilisation lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked."

Marx (22 July 1853) *The Future Results of British Rule in India*. MECW 12: 217-18, 221

"We have here given but a brief and mildly-coloured chapter from the real history of British rule in India. In view of such facts, dispassionate and thoughtful men may perhaps be led to ask whether a people are not justified in attempting to expel the foreign conquerors who have so abused their subjects."

Marx (28 August 1857) *Investigation of Tortures in India*. MECW 15: 341

"In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded... The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."

Marx (1867) *Capital*, Volume 1. MECW 35: 305, 739

Capitalist urbanisation and industrialisation

"The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West...

"The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground..."

Draper (1994: 123, 220-21; §28, §30) translated the original as:

"the privatised isolation of rural life..."

"Subjugation of nature's forces..."

"Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells."

This underlines the consequences of the capitalist drive for profit.

The state

"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Note the common misquotation: "The state is the executive committee of the ruling class".

Draper (1994: 117, 215-17; §18) translated the original as: "The modern state power is only a committee that manages the common affairs of the whole bourgeois class."

This formulation makes clear that the principal function of the state is to maintain class domination. But it assumes that the class that is economically dominant is also politically dominant, (which is not always the case, such as with Bonapartism or fascism). The words "common" or "whole" suggests an important distinction between the common interests of the whole class and the divergent and possibly conflicting interests of individual firms or fractions of capital, rather than the bourgeoisie as a single unified class.

Section II: "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another."

"One thing especially was proved by the [Paris] Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes'."

Marx and Engels (24 June 1872) *Preface to the 'new' German edition*. MECW 23: 175

Capitalist crises

"At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder."

"At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution."

Marx (1859) *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. MECW 29: 263

"At a certain stage of development it brings forth the material agencies for its own dissolution. From that moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society; but the old social organisation fetters them and keeps them down. It must be annihilated; it is annihilated... The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Marx (1867) *Capital*, Volume 1. MECW 35: 749-50

"It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed..."

"Permanent crises do not exist."

Marx (1861-63) *Theories of Surplus Value* II: 497; *Economic Manuscript*. MECW 32: 128

This shows the economists' enormous *fadaise* [vulgarity], when they are no longer able to explain away the phenomenon of overproduction and crises, are content to say that these forms contain the possibility of crises, that it is therefore accidental whether or not crises occur and consequently their occurrence is itself merely a matter of chance... the real crisis can only be deduced from the real movement of capitalist production, competition and credit."

Marx (1861-63) *Theories of Surplus Value* II: 512; *Economic Manuscripts*. MECW 32: 142-43

"The cycle of interconnected turnovers embracing a number of years, in which capital is held fast by its fixed constituent part, furnishes a material basis for the periodic crises. During this cycle business undergoes successive periods of depression, medium activity, precipitancy, crisis. True, periods in which capital is invested differ greatly and far from coincide in time. But a crisis always forms the starting-point of large new investments. Therefore, from the point of view of society as a whole, more or less, a new material basis for the next turnover cycle."

Marx (1865) *Capital*, Volume 2. MECW 36: 187-88

The myth of the disappearance of the middle class

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

"Two new classes which are gradually swallowing up all the other classes have come into being... The two decisive classes of society and the struggle between them the main struggle of the day."
Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 342, 352

"The bourgeoisie... has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers."

"...the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages."

"The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

Draper (1994: 131, 227; §41) noted the faulty translation at the beginning of the paragraph:
"Die bisherigen kleinen Mittelstände, die kleinen Industriellen, Kaufleute und Rentiers..."

"The small intermediate strata existing up to now – the small industrials, merchants, and rentier, the artisans and peasants – all these classes sink down into the proletariat, partly because their small capital is not enough to carry on large-scale industry and succumbs in competition with larger capitalists, partly because their skills are made worthless by new methods of production."

"The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry...
"The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history."

Draper (1994: 137, 235; §51) argued that the 1888 English translation used "disappear" for **geben unter** (go under) and gratuitously inserted "finally", even though the passage is tied to the present with the strong word **heutzutage** (nowadays, in the present day).

Section III: "In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen."

Draper (1994: 169, 290; §147) translated the later as the latter as "labour overseers and stewards".

The proletariat

"In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital."

"By proletariat, the class of modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live."

Engels (1888) *Note to the English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 6: 482

Draper (1994: 208; §7) argued that in 1848, the term "proletarian" was at a crossroads. The old meaning was wide, covering the lowest stratum of poor and propertyless, in both town and country. The modern meaning was narrower than workers in general, but the class of modern waged labourers.

The proletariat was originally a Latin term. The Swiss writer Simonde de Sismondi (1773-1842) is credited with reintroducing the term into nineteenth century discussion.

"The fundamental change which has taken place in society, amidst the universal struggle created by competition, is the introduction of the proletariat among human conditions, the name of whom, borrowed from the Romans, is ancient, but whose existence is quite new. The proletarians were in the Roman republic men who had nothing, who paid no taxes, and who belonged to the country only by the proles, by the offspring which they produced for it; for the Romans, as well as ourselves, had observed that they have the most numerous families, who having nothing, take no care to rear them. For the rest, the Roman proletariat did not labour; for in a community which admits slavery, labour is dishonourable to free men; he lived almost entirely at the expense of the community, on the distribution of provisions made by the republic. It may almost be said, that in modern times the community lives at the expense of the proletariat, on that share of the remuneration of his labour which it deducts from him."

Sismondi (1836) *Études sur l'Économie Politique. Introduction to Inquiries into Political Economy*. 1847: 144

"The proletariat is that class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labour and does not draw profit from any kind of capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose sole existence depends on the demand for labour — hence, on the changing state of business, on the vagaries of unbridled competition. The proletariat, or the class of proletarians, is, in a word, the working class of the 19th century."

Engels (June 1847) *Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith*. MECW 6: 99

"The slave is sold once and for all; the proletarian must sell himself daily and hourly. The individual slave, property of one master, is assured an existence, however miserable it may be, because of the master's interest. The individual proletarian, property as it were of the entire bourgeois class which buys his labour only when someone has need of it, has no secure existence. This existence is assured only to the class as a whole... the proletarian can free himself only by abolishing private property in general... The serf possesses and uses an instrument of production, a piece of land, in exchange for which he gives up a part of his product or part of the services of his labour. The proletarian works with the instruments of production of another, for the account of this other, in exchange for a part of the product. The serf gives up, the proletarian receives. The serf has an assured existence, the proletarian has not. The serf is outside competition, the proletarian is in it... The proletarian liberates himself by abolishing competition, private property, and all class differences."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 343-344

Waged labour

"These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market."

Marx had not yet distinguished labour from labour power (the capacity to work). He later argued that labour power becomes a commodity under capitalism.

"the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for maintenance... the average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer."

Section II: "The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer."

Many bourgeois economists in Marx's time believed the "natural" price of labour (power) would be driven down to the minimum level of subsistence. This is the theory of wages reflected in the *Communist Manifesto*. In his mature works, Marx later discarded this view. Marx stressed the variable elements in the determination of wages, those determinants beyond the simply physiological necessities to maintain the worker. Capital too required new consumption and new needs to increase profits, which would include workers' spending.

"Production of surplus value based on the increase and development of the productive forces requires the production of new consumption; requires that the consuming circle within circulation expands as did the productive circle previously. Firstly quantitative expansion of existing consumption; secondly: creation of new needs by propagating existing ones in a wide circle; thirdly: production of new needs and discovery and creation of new use values."

Marx (1857-58) *Grundrisse*. 1973: 408; *Economic Manuscripts*. MECW 28: 335

"Capital... impels... a greater diversity of production, an extension of the sphere of social needs and the means for their satisfaction, and therefore also impels the development of human productive capacity and thereby the activation of human dispositions in fresh directions. But just as surplus labour time is a condition for free time, this extension of the sphere of needs and the means for their satisfaction is conditioned by the worker's being chained to the necessary requirements of his life."

Marx (1861-63) *Economic Manuscripts*. MECW 30: 199

"The value of labour power is constituted from two elements, one of which is merely physical, the other historical or social... The fixation of its actual degree is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labour, the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum, and to extend the working day to its physical maximum, while the working man constantly presses in the opposite direction. The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants."

Marx (1865) *Value, Price and Profit*. MECW 20: 144, 146

Labour movement

"Thereupon, the workers begin to form combinations (trades' unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts."

Marx and Engels were demarcated from other socialists by their support for trade unionism.

"Every class struggle is a political struggle."

"This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and, consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier."

The revolutionary class

"the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class"

"dangerous class" = "lumpenproletariat"

Draper (1994: 238; §53) argues that Marx was not clear about the lumpenproletariat in 1848.

"The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property."

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."

"The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie... a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."

"Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

"In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."

"What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

Working class self-emancipation

“the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself... the exploited and oppressed class — the proletariat — cannot attain its emancipation... without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction, and class struggles.”

Engels (30 January 1888) *Preface to English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 26: 517

“No class of civil society can play this role without arousing a moment of enthusiasm in itself and in the masses, a moment in which it fraternises and merges with society in general, becomes confused with it and is perceived and acknowledged as its general representative; a moment in which its demands and rights are truly the rights and demands of society itself; a moment in which it is truly the social head and the social heart. Only in the name of the general rights of society can a particular class lay claim to general domination. For the storming of this emancipatory position, and hence for the political exploitation of all spheres of society in the interests of its own sphere, revolutionary energy and intellectual self-confidence alone are not sufficient. For the revolution of a nation and the emancipation of a particular class of civil society to coincide, for one estate to be acknowledged as the estate of the whole society, all the defects of society must conversely be concentrated in another class, a particular estate must be the general stumbling-block, the incorporation of the general limitation, a particular social sphere must be looked upon as the notorious crime of the whole of society, so that liberation from that sphere appears as general self-liberation. For one estate to be par excellence the estate of liberation, another estate must conversely be the obvious estate of oppression... Where, then, is the positive possibility of a German emancipation? Answer: In the formation of a class with radical chains, a class of civil society which is not a class of civil society, an estate which is the dissolution of all estates, a sphere which has a universal character by its universal suffering and claims no particular right because no particular wrong but wrong generally is perpetrated against it; which can no longer invoke a historical but only a human title; which does not stand in any one-sided antithesis to the consequences but in an all-round antithesis to the premises of the German state; a sphere, finally, which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating itself from all other spheres of society and thereby emancipating all other spheres of society, which, in a word, is the complete loss of the human being and hence can win itself only through the complete rewinning of the human being. This dissolution of society as a particular estate is the proletariat... Marx (1843-44) *Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction*. MECW 3: 184-87

“Only in the proletariat can [socialism] discover the active agent of its emancipation...”

Marx (7 August 1844) *Critical Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia'*. MECW 3: 201-202

“the proletariat can and must emancipate itself.”

Marx and Engels (1845) *The Holy Family* MECW 4: 37

“the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves.”

Marx (October 1864) *Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association*. MECW 20: 14

“That the emancipation of the productive class is that of all human beings without distinction of sex or race.”

Marx (1880) *Programme of the French Workers Party*. MECW 24: 340

“the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression, class struggles...”

Engels (28 June 1883) *Preface to Communist Manifesto, third German edition*. MECW 26: 118

II: Proletarians and Communists

Party and class

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement."

Draper (1994: 143, 245-46; §62, §64): original translation was "*besondern*" = special

"The Communists are not a special party..."

"They do not set up any special principles..."

The Chartists were the pivotal working class movement at the time of the *Communist Manifesto*.

- (a) the working class must rely on themselves and on themselves alone;
 - (b) the Owenite belief in the omnipotence of 'education' the central idea of the reformist ('moral force') tendency among the Chartists, must be rejected;
 - (c) society is divided into classes which are opposed to each other in an implacable antagonism.
- Harney (13 March 1839) *The Northern Star*. In Löwy, 2003: 128

"The working class is daily becoming more and more imbued with the radical-democratic principles of Chartism and is increasingly coming to recognise them as the expression of its collective consciousness."

Engels (30 November 1842) *The Internal Crises*. MECW 2: 375-376.

"The class war of the Chartists, the organised party of the proletariat... [had] become the most advanced class struggle the world has seen."

Engels (31 July 1848) *The Kölnische-Zeitung on the State of Affairs in England*. MECW 7: 297-98

"... the difference between a sect movement and a class movement... The sect seeks its *raison d'être* and its *point d'honneur* not in what it has in common with the class movement, but in the particular shibboleth distinguishing it from that movement."

Marx (13 October 1868) *Letter to Schweitzer*. MECW 43: 133

Marx and Engels had an organised party conception even with the Correspondence Committees.

"We therefore also agree with you completely that cheap, easily understandable books and pamphlets with a communist content must be widely circulated... In our view the contributions should be used only for the printing of cheap communist leaflets and pamphlets & to cover the costs of correspondence, including that from here abroad. It will be necessary to fix a minimum sum for the monthly 20 contributions, so that the amount of money that can be used for common purposes can be accurately determined at any moment. It is furthermore necessary that you should communicate to us the names of the members of your communist association — since we have to know, as you know of us, who it is we are dealing with."

Marx and Engels (15 June 1846) *Letter to Köttgen*. MECW 6: 54-55

Löwy (2003: 142-43) argued that the Communist League had a definite set of ideas, a paper, rules and an organisational structure, constituting a party in the narrower sense. So too did the Fraternal Democrats. On 13 December 1847, after two years of hesitation, they decided to organise themselves formally by adopting rules and electing a secretariat.

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

Draper (1994: 143, 247-48; §66):

1888 English translation added "most advanced and...."

1888 English translation added "ultimate"

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat."

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism."

Draper (1994: 143, 249; §68): "**Weltverbesserer**" = world improver

"panacea-monger" for "universal reformer"

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

The idea that private property needed to be abolished had a long history before the *Manifesto*.

Étienne-Gabriel Morelly, *Code de la Nature* (1755): "I believe that no one will contest the justness of this proposition: that where no property exists, none of its pernicious consequences could exist..."

Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, *De la législation* (1776): "Equality cannot exist in conjunction with private property, which is the source of all our social evils."

Lorenz von Stein (1850) *History of the Social Movement in France*. 1964: 156; Bender 1988: 3

Draper (1994: 145, 249; §73): pointed out that the 1888 English translation adapted the text to: "the exploitation of the many by the few" This phrase was derived from Percy Shelley, *The Mask of Anarchy* (1819): "Ye are many – they are few".

Objections

1 Personal property

"We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property..."

"We are not communists who want to destroy personal freedom and make the world over into a big barracks or a big workhouse. There certainly are communists who take the easy way out and want to deny and abolish personal freedom, which in their opinion stands in the way of harmony; but we have no desire to purchase equality at the price of freedom. We are convinced and will seek to show... that in no society can personal freedom be greater than in one based on communality." Karl Schapper (September 1847) *Editorial, Kommunistische Zeitschrift* [Communist League's paper]. Draper 1994: 281

2 Work

"It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property, all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us."

"Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence – their food, shelter and clothing."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 31

3 The family

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists."

Section I: "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation..."

Heather Brown (2012: 162, 210-11, 220) argued that for Marx, "the family is not something ahistorical and 'natural', but instead a social construction, based in part on the material conditions at a particular time... In a number of his works such as *The Holy Family*, the suicide essay/translation, the articles for *The New York Tribune*, and *Capital*, Marx discusses familial and other forms of oppression that women face because they are women. Second, Marx's position on a number of issues involving gender, including the family-wage, developed over time as he continued to study these issues and learn from women-workers fighting for their own rights. Third, and most importantly, while Marx was at times somewhat ambiguous on this point, he tended to view gender as a dynamic concept capable of further development... Although Marx did not write a great deal on gender, and did not develop a systematic theory of gender and the family, it was, for him, an essential category for understanding the division of labour, production, and society in general."

"the family, where the wife and the children are slaves of the husband."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 46; Carver and Blank, 2014: 86-87

4 Nationality

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.
"The working men have no country..."

"There can be no virtue since three-quarters of the people have no property; for without property the people have no country, without a country everything is against them, and for their part they must be armed against all. Since this is the luxury of three-quarters of bourgeois society, it follows that these three-quarters can have neither religion nor morality nor attachment to the government."
Jacques Pierre Brissot (1787) *Les différens systèmes d'administration*.

Marx, Brüsseler Hefte 1845, Heft 6: Geschichte der Nationalökonomie. MEGA2 IV/3. 1998: 427

Draper (1994: 155-57, 262; §112-113) translated as "the workers have no fatherland".

"Large-scale industry created a class which in all nations has the same interest and for which nationality is already dead."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 73; Carver and Blank, 2014: 279

"The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices and their whole disposition and movement is essentially humanitarian, anti-nationalist. Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations."

Engels (1845) *The Festival of Nations in London*. MECW 6: 6

"Allow me, dear friends, to speak here today as an exception in my capacity as a German. For we German democrats have a special interest in the liberation of Poland... A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations. The liberation of Germany cannot therefore take place without the liberation of Poland from German oppression."

Engels (29 November 1847) Speech in London to mark the 17th anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830. MECW 6: 389

5 Religion

"The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination."

"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people."

Marx (1843-44) *Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction*. MECW 3: 175

"Question 22: Do Communists reject the existing religions?"

"Answer: All religions which have existed hitherto were expressions of historical stages of development of individual peoples or groups of peoples. But communism is that stage of historical development which makes all existing religions superfluous and supersedes them."

Engels (9 June 1847) *Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith*. MECW 6: 103

"Of all that has been achieved by German philosophy the critique of religion is the most important thing... It gives us the certainty that the old society is coming to an end and that the edifice of fraud and prejudice is collapsing."

Marx (30 November 1847) *Report to London German Workers' Educational Society*. MECW 6: 631

Ruling ideas

"The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 59; Carver and Blank, 2014: 177-79

"During the time the aristocracy was dominant, the concepts honour, loyalty, etc., were dominant, during the dominance of the bourgeoisie the concepts freedom, equality, etc..."

"Whilst in ordinary life every shopkeeper is very well able to distinguish between what somebody professes to be and what he really is, our historiography has not yet won this trivial insight. It takes every epoch at its word and believes that everything it says and imagines about itself is true."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 60, 62; Carver and Blank, 2014: 181, 203

Genius saeculi [genius of the time] emerged at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most prominently John Barclay and Francis Bacon. Similar conceptions were expressed in German (**Geist der Zeiten**), English (spirit of the times), and French (**l'esprit du siècle**). In 1769, Johann Herder used the term "**zeitgeist**" in a review.

Riazanov (1930: 173) wrote that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class" was a paraphrase of Goethe's dictum. Goethe (1809) wrote in *Elective Affinities*: "No one is more a slave than he who thinks he is free without being so."

"It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 37

"It is not the consciousness of people that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."

Marx (1859) *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. MECW 29: 263

"The dull compulsion of economic relations completes the subjection of the labourer to the capitalist. Direct force, outside economic conditions, is of course still used, but only exceptionally."

Marx (1867) *Capital*, Volume 1, MECW 35: 726

"When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie."

Draper (1994: 159, 266-67; §122) pointed out that the German original was "**Aufklärungs-Ideen**", meaning Enlightenment ideas, not just rationalist.

Communist programme

"the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy."

Draper (1994: 161, 268-69; §129) argued that "democracy" meant a democratic regime with voting rights, free speech etc, liberties few workers had in 1848.

"in the first place [the revolution] would inaugurate a democratic constitution and thereby, directly or indirectly, the political rule of the proletariat."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 350

Engels also used the expression in the sense of a class alliance, with the proletariat leading the small peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, which Engels called "the Democracy".

Draper argued that the phrase in the original "the winning of democracy" were deliberately cryptic and that he "put a veil of haze over the concept at a point in time when he was still uncertain or opposed". This was because Marx did not accept Engels' perspective, and had not made up his mind on the form of proletarian rule.

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property..."

Draper (1994: 270-71) argued that this is a "transitional measures programme".

"You will also find payment of this kind among the transitional measures in the *Communist Manifesto*... As already mentioned, we ourselves adopted the appropriation of rent by the State amongst many other transitional measures which, as is likewise indicated in the *Manifesto*, are and cannot but be contradictory in themselves."

Marx (20 June 1881) *Letter to Sorge*. MECW 46: 99-100

Riazanov (1930: 180) argued that "items in the transitional programme were not drafted exclusively by Marx and Engels. They were formulated by the communists at a congress and arrived at by collaboration."

Draper (1994: 273) argued that the demands had already a long history by 1848 and were included in Engels' drafts. Note that none of the points in the programme call for a direct attack on the central economic power of capital, its ownership of the means of production.

"These measures are, by their nature, only transitory; they prepare a new social order and will recede into the background once the new social organisation appears. They transform the present organisation of society in a twofold manner, negative and positive; negatively, by undermining private industry; positively, by laying the foundations for a common industry, which entails completely new living and production relations from those of present society."

Hess (31 October 1847) *Consequences of a Revolution of the Proletariat*. Avineri, 2004: 132

English text	Draper (1994: 273-76)
1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.	"Expropriation of property"
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.	1888 added "income"
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.	Saint-Simon
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.	Babeuf
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.	Saint-Simonians
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.	
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.	1888 eliminated "national factories", from Louis Blanc's national workshops
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.	"industrial armies" from Fourier, Weitling, Dézamy – jobs for all
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.	1888 "distinction" for antithesis; added "by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country".
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc, etc.	Saint-Simonians

"9. The erection of large palaces on national estates as common dwellings for communities of citizens engaged in industry as well as agriculture, and combining the advantages of both urban and rural life without the one-sidedness and disadvantages of either."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 351

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another."

Draper (1994: 279) argued that public power (French *pouvoir public*) is a synonym for state power. This reiterates the class nature of states. It also anticipates the withering away of the state after classes have been eliminated.

Free development

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

This paragraph sets the end-goal of communism as the free, unfettered development individual human beings. These ideas had a long pedigree from the radical Enlightenment and among socialists.

"[Every citizen] will contribute for his part to the general weal according to his powers, his talents and his age."

Morelly (1755) *Code de la Nature*. In Struik 1971: 202

"Mankind is moving toward a state of things in which all men, without distinction of birth, will receive from society the education which can give their faculties their fullest realisation, if they shall be classed by society according to their merits and be remunerated according to their work."

Bazard, Enfantin et al (1829) *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*. In Iggers 1972: 86

The Saint-Simonians often introduced the formulation, 'ranking according to ability, reward according to work'. This was the so-called 'law of peaceful labour' as Abel Transon called it in one of his sermons. *The Globe* newspaper adopted a similar wording as its motto in January 1831: 'from each according to his ability, to each according to its work.'

Taylor, *The Political Ideas of the Utopian Socialists*. 1982: 148

"But we are suggesting a proportional equality. The contribution of each should be measured according to his ability, and his share in the common store shall be determined in proportion [*fixée au prorata*] to his needs."

Lahautière (June 1839) *A Brief Catechism of Social Reform*. Corcoran 1983: 45

"To organise in such a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society."

Engels (June 1847) *Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith*. MECW 6: 96

"Freedom, in this sphere, can consist only in this, that socialised man, the associated producers, govern their metabolic interaction with nature rationally, bringing it under their collective control instead of being dominated by it as a blind power; accomplishing this metabolism with the smallest expenditure of energy and in conditions most worthy and appropriate for their human nature."

Marx (1865) *Capital*, Volume III. MECW 37: 807

"In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and thereby also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of common wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs!"

Marx (May 1875) *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. MECW 24: 87

III: Socialist and Communist Literature

Origins of the terms “socialist” and “socialism”

So far as we know, the word “socialist” made its first appearance in Italy in 1765, in the book by Ferdinando Facchinei, *Note e osservazioni sul libro intitolato "De Delitti e Delle Pene"*. In this book, **socialisti** designated those followers of Rousseau who believed that human societies originated in some social compact binding people, until then, free and equal.

In 1785, Appiano Buonafede (*Della Restaurazione di ogni filosofia nei secoli XVI-XVII-XVIII*) labelled as **socialismo** the theories of those authors like Grotius, Puffendorff and Cumberland, who based their systems on the notion of sociability, considered as the foundation of natural law.

In 1803, Giacomo Giuliani produced *l'Antisocialismo confutato*, which criticised Rousseau and others who imagined humans as originally free and autonomous whereas, according to his own view, the natural condition of humanity was that of member of a society. Socialist and socialism, as used by these three authors, had a meaning quite different from they would take later on.

Perhaps the first written expression of the modern political designation of “**socialist**” in English is in a letter of November 1822, written by Edward Cowper to Robert Owen, concerning an estate in Devon, which seemed appropriate for the establishment of an Owenite community. Cowper wrote: “The owner seems well adapted to become what my friend Jo Applegath calls a Socialist.”

William Hazlitt wrote in *On Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen* (1826), “those profound and redoubted socialists, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus”. Socialist was used in print in the Owenite *London Co-operative Magazine*, 2, 11 (November 1827).

Socialisme appeared in printed form in French in a small Protestant periodical, *Le Semeur* (23 November 1831). In an article entitled *Catholicisme et Protestantisme*, written probably by Alexandre Vinet. In the Saint-Simonian paper *Le Globe* of 2 February 1832, the word **socialisme** was used, in an article by Xavier Joncières, to describe the new system of social organisation they advocated. Pierre Leroux claimed that he was the originator of *socialisme*. But his first use was in an article for *La Revue Encyclopedique* dated November 1833, entitled *Individualisme et Socialisme*.

Sozialist and **sozialistisch** were carried into German in 1840.

Sources:

Carl Grünberg (1912) Der Ursprung der Worte ‘Sozialismus’ und ‘Sozialist,’ *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, II, 372-79.

Jacques Gans (1957) L’Origine du mot ‘socialiste’ et ses emplois les plus anciens, *Revue d’histoire économique et sociale*, 35, 80.

Franco Venturi (1963) Socialista e Socialismo nell’Italia del Settecento, *Revista Storica Italiana*, LXXI, May.

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Gregory Claeys (1986) ‘Individualism,’ ‘Socialism,’ and ‘Social Science’: Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47, 1, 81-93.

Keith Taylor (1982) *The Political Ideas of the Utopian Socialists*.

Raymond Williams (1988) *Keywords*. London: Fontana.

"it is self-evident that the criticism of socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847..."

Marx and Engels (24 June 1872) *Preface to the 'new' German edition*. MECW 23: 175

Draper (1994: 282) argued this is unfortunate, since the underlying 'obsolete' tendencies criticised in the *Manifesto* still conditioned socialist thinking and practice, even if in new forms.

"The Socialist and Communist systems, properly so called, those of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie..."

"In the formation of their plans, they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them."

"They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without the distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class."

"Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel."

"But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence, they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them — such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the function of the state into a mere superintendence of production — all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised in their earliest indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character."

"Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a socialist manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand the adherents of the various Utopian systems... on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks who, by all manner of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working-class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support... Thus, in 1847, socialism was a middle-class movement... Socialism was, on the Continent at least, 'respectable'..."

Engels (30 January 1888) *Preface to English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 26: 516-7

"The Utopian founders of sects, while in their criticism of present society clearly describing the goal of the social movement, the supersession of the wages system with all its economical conditions of class rule, found neither in society itself the material conditions of its transformation nor in the working class the organised power and the conscience of the movement. They tried to compensate for the historical conditions of the movement by fantastic pictures and plans of a new society in whose propaganda they saw the true means of salvation...."

Marx (May 1871) *The Civil War in France*. First Draft. MECW 22: 499-500

Henri Saint-Simon

"The golden age of the human race is not behind us; it lies before us, in the perfection of the social order... Our children will arrive there one day; it is up to us to clear the way."

Saint-Simon and Thierry (1814) *The Reorganisation of European Society*. In Taylor 1982: 47

"The direct aim of my enterprise is to improve as much as possible the condition of the class which has no other means of existence but the labour of their hands. My aim is to improve the condition of this class not only in France, but in England, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Italy, throughout the rest of Europe and the whole world."

Saint-Simon (1822) *Lettres sur les Bourbons. Du Système industriel*, pt 1. In Taylor 1982: 64-65

"The most direct way to bring about an improvement in the moral and physical well-being of the majority of the population is to give priority in state expenditure to the provision of work for all fit men, so as to assure their physical existence; to disseminate as quickly as possible among the proletarian class the positive knowledge which has been acquired; and to ensure that the individuals composing this class have forms of leisure and interests which will develop their intelligence."

Saint-Simon (1825) *Fragments on Social Organisation*. In Taylor 1982: 58

"The men who compose this class [the proletariat] feel that their lot has not improved... There is a feeling of unity, of companionship, if you will, which binds [the industrial class] together..."

Saint-Simon (1825) *The Class of the Proletarians*. In Ionescu 1976: 239

"God has said 'Men should treat each other as brothers.' This sublime principle..."

Saint-Simon (1825) *New Christianity*. In Markham 1952: 83

Robert Owen

Robert Owen founded model communities such as New Lanark and New Harmony, USA. He formed the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (1834). His followers published *The New Moral World*.

"From infancy you, like others, have been made to despise and to hate those who differ from you in manners, language and sentiments... Those feelings of anger must be withdrawn... in the same manner, others of your fellow-men have been formed by circumstances, equally uncontrollable by them, to become your enemies and grievous oppressors."

Owen (1819) *An Address to the Working Classes*. In Taylor 1982: 83-84

"Religion destroys the rational faculties of the human race; private property creates poverty in the mass, and engenders all the sordid and meanest vices which now pervade society, and marriage generates jealousy, revenge, envy, hatred, deception, anger, violence, and to complete the catalogue, prostitution and its endless crimes, the greatest evil that could befall the human race."

Owen (10 January 1835) *The New Moral World*, No.11. In Taylor 1982: 86

"The Elective Paternal System is alone calculated to carry out any new and complicated system successfully in the transition-state."

Owen (1841) *An Address to the Socialists*. In Taylor 1982: 99

"The time approaches, when, in the course of nature, the evil spirit of the world, engendered by ignorance and selfishness, will cease to exist, and when another spirit will arise, emanating from facts and experience, which will give a new direction to all the thoughts, feelings, and actions."

Owen (1842) *The Book of the New Moral World*. In Taylor 1982: 88-89

Charles Fourier

Charles Fourier advocated associationism in model communities, called a "phalanx". He held advanced views on women's rights and sexual liberation. His followers published the newspapers, *Le Phalanstère*, *La Phalange* and *Démocratie Pacifique*, edited by Victor Considérant.

"We find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilisation in which happiness should be universal, of an illimitable human perfectibility, and with the rose-coloured phraseology of the bourgeois ideologists of his time. He points out how everywhere the most pitiful reality corresponds with the most high-sounding phrases, and he overwhelms this hopeless fiasco of phrases with his mordant sarcasm. Fourier is not only a critic; his imperturbably serene nature makes him a satirist, and assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time. He depicts, with equal power and charm, the swindling speculations that blossomed out upon the downfall of the Revolution, and the shopkeeping spirit prevalent in, and characteristic of, French commerce at that time. Still more masterly is his criticism of the bourgeois form of the relations between the sexes, and the position of woman in bourgeois society. He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation. But Fourier is at his greatest in his conception of the history of society. He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, the patriarchate, barbarism, civilisation. This last is identical with the so-called bourgeois society of today."

Engels (1878) *Anti-Dühring*. MECW 25: 247-48

"Social progress and changes of historical period take place in proportion to the advance of women toward liberty, and social decline occurs as a result of the diminution of the liberty of women... The extension of the privileges of women is the fundamental cause of all social progress."

Fourier (1808) *The Theory of the Four Movements*. In Beecher and Bienvenu 1971: 195-96

"Our social compacts are utterly unable to provide the poor man with a decent level of subsistence consistent with his education. They cannot guarantee him the first of the natural rights, the RIGHT TO WORK!... If your social compacts are to equal the bounty of nature, you must give us at least what it gives to the savages and the wild animals, a job that pleases them and to which they have become accustomed during the course of their lives."

Fourier (1806) *Politique*. In Beecher and Bienvenu 1971: 137-38

"The 1,500 or 1,600 people brought together will be in a state of graduated inequality as to wealth, age, personality and theoretical and practical knowledge. The group should be as varied as possible... Above all a perfect harmony must be established concerning the division of profits among the three elements: capital, labour and talent... Let us discuss the composition of the trial Phalanx. At least seven-eighths of its members should be people involved in farming or industry. The remainder will consist of capitalists, savants and artists... In Harmony individual interests are combined and everyone is an associate... The mere fact that the members of the Phalanx are partners, and not wage-earners, gives them a personal interest in each other's welfare."

Fourier (1822) *Treatise on Domestic-Agricultural Association*. Beecher Bienvenu 1971: 235-38, 298

"It is obvious that admission to the industrial armies will become a privilege in the combined order... For instance, the combined order will undertake the conquest of the great Sahara desert..."

Fourier (1808) *The Theory of the Four Movements*. In Beecher and Bienvenu 1971: 326

1. Reactionary Socialism

A. Feudal Socialism

"Feudal Socialism: half lamentation, half lampoon; half an echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core; but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history."

"The first group consists of adherents of feudal and patriarchal society which has been or is still being daily destroyed by large-scale industry, world trade and the bourgeois society they have both brought into existence. From the ills of present-day society this group draws the conclusion that feudal and patriarchal society should be restored because it was free from these ills. Directly or deviously, all its proposals make for this goal. Despite all its professions of sympathy and its bewailing the misery of the proletariat, this group of reactionary socialists will be strongly opposed by the Communists, because 1. it is striving after something utterly impossible; 2. it seeks to establish the rule of the aristocracy, the guild-masters and the manufacturers, with their retinue of absolute or feudal monarchs, officials, soldiers and priests, a society which was indeed free from the vices of present society, but brought at least as many other evils in its train and did not even hold out the prospect of the emancipation of the oppressed workers through a communist organisation..."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 355

Draper (1994: 284) argued that the roots of this view go back to Thomas More's *Utopia* (1551) and Tommaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun* (1623), which envisaged an idealised version of the absolutist state, with the power of the feudal landed property broken but without the domination of the bourgeoisie. The feudal socialists discussed by Marx were agents of the absolutist state's attempts to keep the bourgeoisie as a tool, and prevent it becoming the master. Another target was Thomas Carlyle, who wrote anti-bourgeois prose while glorifying the medieval past.

"Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge... Christian Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat."

This term originates with a misprint in the original German edition. In 1848 Marx wrote "**der heilige socialismus**", meaning holy or religious socialism. However it was printed as "**heitige**" and then miscorrected as "**heutige**" ('present-day') socialism. In 1872, Marx and Engels corrected the mistake, updating the idea of religious socialism by calling it "Christian socialism".

"The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submissiveness and humbleness, in short, all the qualities of the rabble, and the proletariat, which will not permit itself to be treated as rabble, needs its courage, its self-confidence, its pride and its sense of independence even more than its bread. The social principles of Christianity are sneaking and hypocritical, and the proletariat is revolutionary."

Marx (5 September 1847) *The Communism of the Rheinischer Beobachter*. MECW 6: 231

B. Petty-Bourgeois Socialism

"In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois régime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes, should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty-bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France but also in England."

Sismondi founded no school of socialism. Marx criticised Sismondi in his early works.

"Those who, like Sismondi, wish to return to the true proportion of production, while preserving the present basis of society, are reactionary, since, to be consistent, they must also wish to bring back all the other conditions of industry of former times."

Marx (1847) *The Poverty of Philosophy*. MECW 6: 137

However Marx praised Sismondi in various drafts and the published version of *Capital*, volume 1. Riazanov suggested that this section is referring to the works of Eugène Buret (1811-42) and Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui (1798-1854).

Buret's *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (1840) was an important popular work on the social question at the time. Marx took excerpts from his works while in Paris. Buret argued that "misery and its consequence have been the price of wealth". He discussed absolute and relative poverty, comparing day labourers in England to slaves in Jamaica. He also analysed housing, health, hospitals and prisons. Marx annotated Buret's reports on labour struggles, anti-union legislation (including the 1791 Chapelier law) and proletarian self-organisation.

"In all the revolutions, there have always been but two parties opposing each other; that of the people who wish to live by their own labour, and that of those who would live by the labour of others... Patricians and plebeians, slaves and freemen, guelphs and ghibellines, red roses and white roses, cavaliers and roundheads, liberals and serviles, are only varieties of the same species..."

Jérôme-Adolphe Blanqui (1837) *History of Political Economy in Europe*. 1880: xxxviii

"The Utopian economists. In chronological order, the Saint-Simonians were not the first reformatory economists of the nineteenth century. A few years before the publication of their writings, two men remarkable in different ways, Mr. Fourier and Mr. Owen, had laid the foundation of a reform called societary by the former, and social by the second; the latter founded on the community, the other on association."

Jérôme-Adolphe Blanqui (1837) *History of Political Economy in Europe*. 1880: 508

Marx's evaluation of Sismondi and related economists played an important role in his critical appropriation of the labour theory of value.

"In its positive aims, however, this form of socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and utopian."

Draper (1994: 289) argued that this section doesn't express Marx's views very clearly. In the *Principles of Communism*, Engels organises petty-bourgeois socialists under "democratic socialists".

C. German or "True" Socialism

"The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view."

"The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms, they dubbed 'Philosophy of Action', 'True Socialism', 'German Science of Socialism', 'Philosophical Foundation of Socialism', and so on."

Marx is referring to his contemporaries, such as Moses Hess, Karl Grün and Herman Kriege.

"All political reforms would merely be a palliative for an evil which in the final analysis is not political but social. No form of government has created this evil, none will heal it."

Hess (24 June 1842) *Die Tagespresse in Deutschland und Frankreich*, RZ, IV. 177. McLellan 1969: 144

"43. Is it necessary to abolish the current property – money – through a decree?

It is neither necessary nor possible; the present property relations will be gradually transformed into communist forms once the steps just mentioned [wealth taxes, free education, state workshops] have been implemented... On the other hand, a violent and sudden abolition of the current property relations would bear bad fruit."

Hess (1844/46) *A Communist Credo: Questions and Answers*. In Avineri 2004: 123

"51. Which religion should we all confess? The religion of love and humanity.

52. Where is the testimony and proof for this religion? In the hearts of all good people.

53. Is this universal human religion un-Christian? No; it is rather a fulfilment of the Christian religion.

54. What is the goal of Christianity? The salvation of all men through love, freedom, and justice."

Hess (1844/46) *A Communist Credo: Questions and Answers*. In Avineri 2004: 125

"The idea of communism, gentlemen, with which everyone says he agrees, is the life-law of love applied to social life."

Hess (15 February 1845) *Speech on Communism, Elberfeld*. In Kessler 2013: 59

"Private property should not be attacked... private industry should be safeguarded in its gains and be able to take pleasure in them if one wishes it to prosper."

Hess (31 October 1847) *Consequences of a Revolution of the Proletariat*. In Avineri, 2004: 134

"By this, the long-wished for opportunity was offered to 'True' Socialism of confronting the political movement with the socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bourgeois movement."

"While this 'True' Socialism thus served the government as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of German Philistines. In Germany, the petty-bourgeois class, a relic of the sixteenth century, and since then constantly cropping up again under the various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things."

True socialists expressed a non-class humanism. They made a trenchant critique of early capitalism. However they denounced political reforms as liberal traps, buttressing the reactionary status quo.

2. Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism

"To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind... We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère* as an example of this form."

Marx praised Proudhon's first book, *What is Property?* (1840) but was highly critical of *System of Economic Contradictions or the Philosophy of Poverty* (1846). In response Marx wrote *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847).

"Mr Proudhon does not directly assert that to him bourgeois life is an eternal truth; he says so indirectly, by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneous entities, endowed with a life of their own, eternal, the moment these present themselves to him in the shape of categories, of thought. Thus he fails to rise above the bourgeois horizon..."

"My letter is already too long for me to mention the absurd case Mr Proudhon is conducting against communism. For the present you will concede that a man who has failed to understand the present state of society must be even less able to understand either the movement which tends to overturn it or the literary expression of that revolutionary movement."

Marx (28 December 1846) *Letter to Annenkov*. MECW 38: 95, 102, 104

"Brissot had already given in the same words: '**La propriété c'est le vol**' (Property is theft)."

J. P. Brissot de Warville, *Recherches philosophiques sur le droit de propriété et sur le vol* (1782)

Marx (24 January 1865) *Letter to Schweitzer*. MECW 20: 28

"I show furthermore how extremely deficient and at times even schoolboyish is his knowledge of 'political economy' which he undertook to criticise, and that he and the Utopians are hunting for a so-called 'science' by means of which a formula for the 'solution of the social question' is to be devised a priori, instead of deriving science from a critical knowledge of the historical movement, a movement which itself produces the material conditions of emancipation."

Marx (24 January 1865) *Letter to Schweitzer*. MECW 20: 29

"it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie."

"By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be affected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government."

"The second category consists of adherents of present-day society who have been frightened for its future by the evils to which it necessarily gives rise. What they want, therefore, is to maintain this society while getting rid of the evils which are an inherent part of it. To this end, some propose mere welfare measures – while others come forward with grandiose systems of reform which, under the pretence of re-organising society, are in fact intended to preserve the foundations, and hence the life, of existing society. Communists must unremittingly struggle against these bourgeois socialists because they work for the enemies of communists and protect the society which communists aim to overthrow."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 355

3. Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism

Saint-Simonians

"The Saint-Simonian school may be said to have begun with the publication (in 1825), shortly after the death of Saint-Simon, of the *Producteur. A Philosophical Journal of Industry, the Sciences, and the Fine Arts*. In this first phase, Saint-Simonianism did not constitute a systematic philosophy or a well-organised movement... Among the contributors to the journal – in addition to such later Saint-Simonians as Enfantin, Bazard, Laurent, and Rouen – were Blanqui, Bûchez, and Auguste Comte, the one-time secretary of Saint-Simon, who had broken with the master two years earlier in disagreement with his religious emphasis...

After the suspension of the *Producteur* in October 1826, a close-knit organisation of some of its contributors emerged: notably Enfantin, Bazard, and Bûchez, and a number of engineering students from the Ecole Polytechnique. From the discussions of this group arose a more precise formulation of Saint-Simonian theory, as well as a more definite organisation – the collège. The theory was expounded in a series of public lectures held biweekly after 17 December 1828, and known as the *Doctrine of Saint-Simon. An Exposition. First Year (1828-29)*...

The Globe had been the famous liberal paper of the twenties and became Saint-Simonian in November 1830, after the conversion of its manager, Pierre Leroux, to the new religion...

The new religion claimed over 40,000 adherents by the middle of 1831 and was well known to every educated person in Europe. In the popular mind, the Saint-Simonians were wrongly held responsible for the 1831 Lyon uprisings...

On 20 April 1832, the last issue of the *Globe* appeared, and the second phase of the movement's history may be said to have ended."

Iggers, *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year, 1828-29*. 1972: xxii-xxv

"It is sufficient to have stated that the exploitation of man by his fellows, whatever its origin may be, is the most characteristic phenomenon of the past.

"Men may then be divided into two classes, the exploiters and the exploited.

"At last the exploitation of man by man, which we have shown in its most direct and uncouth form in the past, namely slavery, continues to a very large extent in the relations between owners and workers, masters and wage earners. Of course, the respective conditions of the classes today are far from those of masters and slaves, patricians and plebeians, or lords and serfs in the past... If the exploitation of man by man no longer has the brutal character of antiquity and assumes more gentle forms today, it is, nevertheless, no less real...

"The exploitation of man by man must disappear. The constitution of property which is hereby perpetuated must, therefore, also disappear...

"All individuals will be classed according to their ability and rewarded according to their work, it is evident that property, as it exists now, must be abolished."

Bazard, Enfantin et al (1828-29) *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*. Iggers 1972: 64-65, 73, 82, 86, 93

"The doctrine of Saint-Simon does not want to bring about an upheaval or a revolution. It comes to predict and to achieve a transformation, an evolution... slow and successive transformation."

Bazard, Enfantin et al (1828-29) *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*. Iggers 1972: 111-12

Yes, gentlemen, we have come here to expose ourselves to this sarcasm and scorn. For following Saint-Simon and in his name, we come to proclaim that mankind has a religious future; that the religion of the future will be greater and more powerful than all those in the past;

Bazard, Enfantin et al (1828-29) *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*. Iggers 1972: 203

Fourierists

"The emergence of Fourierism as an important social movement in Louis Philippe's France was the result in great part of the efforts of two young Saint-Simonians who were among the first to break away from the church during the schism of the winter of 1831-1832. These were Jules Lechevalier and Abel Transon... In February and May of 1832 [Transon] published two important articles on Fourierism in Pierre Leroux and Jean Revnaud's *Revue encyclopedique*. One of these articles, his 'Succinct Exposition of the Societary Theory', provoked widespread discussion and was regarded by Fourier himself as the best brief summary of the system produced by any of his disciples. Although Lechevalier had originally planned to deliver a dozen lectures, the cholera epidemic at Paris became so severe by the end of March that he was obliged to terminate his course prematurely. But the five lectures he did deliver were attended by a large and appreciative audience. Fourier himself was present at the lectures to answer questions and to add his own observations... Shortly afterward, they were published together in book form under the title *Cinq leçons sur l'art d'associer, ou Réfutation du saint-simonisme au moyen de la théorie sociétaire de Charles Fourier*. [They established] a Society for the Foundation of an Agricultural and Industrial Phalanx... intended to raise a capital... for the trial Phalanx [and] a Society for the Publication and Propagation of the Theory of Charles Fourier... for the publication of *Le Phalanstère* journal and of future writings by Fourier and the disciples."

Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World*. 1992: 422, 426, 427, 434

"an intestine war of the classes [between] capitalists and wage labourers. Now between these two classes, there remains a flagrant hostility of interests."

Considérant (1 October 1836) *La Phalange*, 1: 277. In Corcoran 1983: 27, N76

"We are not dreamers and utopians. The dreamers and utopians are those who search after results without having means of achieving them, who wants effects without causes... But all of you who call us utopians, just take note that you are not even so much as utopians because, finally, the utopians at least have something which resembles a system, and even this shadow of reality is lacking to you unfortunates."

Considérant (2 September 1842) *La Phalange*, 22-3. In Corcoran 1983: 25, N38

"Society tends to be divided more and more sharply into two major classes: an elite owning all or nearly all, absolute master in the realms of landed property, commerce, and industry; and the masses owning nothing, living in total collective dependence on the owners of capital and instruments of production, and who, for a precarious and always decreasing wage, are forced to rent their arms, talents, and strength to the feudal lords of modern society..."

"There isn't, we are arguing, any radical antinomy in the nature of things; there is no necessary contradiction or war between the principles and the elements of production. The desperate struggles of capitals against capitals, of capital against labour and talent, of industries among themselves, of bosses against workers, of workers against bosses, of each against all and of all against each, are not inevitable conditions of human existence. They hold only for the current economic apparatus, the system of anarchic, unregulated competition..."

Considérant (1843) *Manifeste de la démocratie pacifique*. MIA

"We are not communists. We believe that the principle of individual property is a right, a sacred right, without which there can be no lasting and stable society."

Considérant (1846) *Pour en finir avec M. Cabet*. In Beecher 2001: 153

Dedication: King Louis Philippe "laying the first stone of the first Phalanstery".

Considérant (1847) *Destinée sociale*, 2nd edition. In Beecher 2001: 176

Socialist feminism

"Saint-Simonian women constituted themselves into a separate section in the movement in 1829, and took the initiative in running evening classes for artisans. Their leader was Claire Bazard... and Eugénie Niboyet also took a leading role. Several dynamic young seamstresses attended their classes and became important in the movement, notably Marie-Reine Guindorf, Désirée Véret and Jeanne Deroin... In 1829 the women's section in Paris had 200 regular members and groups developed in provincial cities, notably Lyon and Nantes... Véret and Guindorf started a tiny newspaper for women, *La Femme Libre*, in August 1832... The paper survived until February 1834, appearing irregularly, 32 times in all; 1,000 copies of the first issue were printed..."

Pamela Pilbeam, *French Socialists before Marx*. 2000: 60, 80, 87

"Most marriages are based on the chance whim of love. Genuine sympathy, respect and equality are absent. It is vain for the law to assert that marriage is indissoluble, a marriage has failed almost as soon as it is made... Indissoluble unions bind the couple in an oppressive chain, humiliating for the wife. A slave can at least hope for freedom. A wife finds deliverance only in death."

Deroin (1831) *Profession de foi*. In Pilbeam 2000: 84-85

"It is by liberating woman that you will liberate the worker, their interests are linked and the security of all classes depends on their freedom."

Amelioration du sort des femmes et du peuple, *La Femme Libre*, I. (1832) In Grogan 1992: 102

"a liberty without regulation or limits, a liberty as broad as possible, supported by secrecy, which I hold as the basis of the new moral law, even if it should lead us to the chaos which you find vulgar and disgusting."

Claire Démar (1833) *My Law for the Future*. In Grogan 1992: 119

"[In the future] woman will only owe her existence, her social position, to her capacity and her work. Well for that it is essential that woman performs a task, fulfils a function; - and how can she, if she is always condemned to spend a more or less lengthy period of her life in the tasks which the education of one or several children demand?... from the breast of the natural mother take the newborn infant to the arms of the social mother, the professional nurse, and the child will be better raised; for it will be raised by one who has the capacity to rear, to develop, to understand children."

Démar (1833) *My Law for the Future*. In Grogan 1992: 139

In 1848 women socialists demanded the vote. This was an extraordinary proposal because, at the time, no country allowed women to vote... The *Voix des Femmes* took up the case for enfranchising women... Jeanne Deroin's demand for votes for women put her at odds with some male socialists, who believed that their first task was to emancipate the underprivileged male. Proudhon launched a newspaper campaign against her, claiming that women had no place outside the home, except as whores. In the newspaper she launched when *Voix des Femmes* folded, Deroin retaliated:

"As a Christian socialist, I would say, like you, 'rather a housewife than a whore' if I was convinced that many women become whores to avoid being housewives. Prostitution is the consequence of slavery, ignorance and poverty... You want to strengthen the family, and you weaken it: the man to the debating chamber or the workshop, the women in the home... You ask what women can achieve outside the home? She can help to restore order in the great, but badly-run household we call the state... no serious and lasting reform can be hoped for until the rights of women to civil and political equality are acknowledged to be fundamental to our social redemption."

Deroin, (28 January 1849) *L'Opinion des femmes*. In Pilbeam 2000: 97-98

Flora Tristan

"Slavery is abolished, they say, in civilised Europe. Certainly, slave markets are no longer held in the town square; but in the most advanced countries, there is not one where numerous classes of individuals don't endure legal oppression. The peasants in Russia, the jews in Rome, sailors in England, women everywhere."

Flora Tristan (1838) *Peregrinations of a Pariah 1833-1834*. In Grogan 1998: 34

"The most formidable association yet formed in the United Kingdom is that of the Chartists... The association's ramifications extend everywhere: in every mill, every factory, every workshop Chartist workers are to be found... All, without exception, want the suppression of aristocratic, religious or mercantile privilege... No half-measures can hope to satisfy the Chartists; they will never put their trust in a party whose object is to transfer to shopkeepers the privileges of the aristocracy."

Tristan (1840) *London Journal*. In Löwy 2003: 80

"Resistance to oppression is not only man's natural right, but what is more, when the people are oppressed, insurrection becomes a sacred duty..."

"But the great struggle, the one which is destined to transform the social order, is that which opposes on one side property owners and capitalists who control everything, wealth, political power, and for whose benefit the country is governed, and on the other, the workers of city and countryside who have nothing, neither land, nor capital, nor political power, who pay, however, two-thirds of the taxes, furnish recruits for the army and the navy, and whom the rich, as they see fit, keep on the verge of starvation to make them work for lower wages."

Tristan (1842) *The London Journal of Flora Tristan*. In Dijkstra, 2019: 104-105

"Workers... Now the day has come when one must act, and it is up to you and only you to act in the interest of your own cause... So leave your isolation: unite! Unity gives strength. You have numbers going for you, and numbers are significant. I come to you to propose a general union among working men and women, regardless of trade, who reside in the same region – a union which would have as its goal the consolidation of the working class and the construction of several establishments (workers' union palaces) distributed evenly throughout France."

Tristan (1843) *The Workers' Union*. 1983: 37-39

"The unification of the working class now remains to be accomplished. In turn, the workers, the vital part of the nation, must create a huge union to assert their union! Then, the working class will be strong; then it will be able to make itself heard, to demand from the bourgeois gentlemen its right to work and to organise."

Tristan (1843) *The Workers' Union*. 1983: 58

"You have not understood that in order to organise yourselves, workers, you must exclude all the bourgeois... The great proletarian party must first be built in order to destroy all masters and all slaves – because to love one another we must first all be equal."

Tristan (August 1844) *Letter to the Workers of Toulon*. In Dijkstra, 2019: 139

"To direct a few words here to the gentlemen of. I want [the bourgeoisie] to realise that I am not a revolutionary or an anarchist or a bloodthirsty person... Yes, I ask that the working class be unified in one body and have representation in the Chamber; and though certain retrogressive minds may find this measure very revolutionary, I maintain and shall prove that it is, on the contrary, a measure in favour of order... To ask for a defender for the working class is to want to replace the anonymous charlatans by a well-known university doctor..."

Tristan (1843) *The Workers' Union*. 1983: 133, 135-136

Gracchus Babeuf

"We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf and others."

"The French Revolution gave rise to ideas which led beyond the ideas of the entire old world order. The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in the *Cercle social*, which in the middle of its course had as its chief representatives *Leclerc* and *Roux*, and which finally with *Babeuf's* conspiracy was temporarily defeated, gave rise to the communist idea which *Babeuf's* friend *Buonarroti* re-introduced in France after the Revolution of 1830. This idea, consistently developed, is the idea of the new world order... The *Babouvists* were crude, uncivilised materialists, but developed communism, too, derives directly from *French materialism*."

Marx and Engels (1845) *The Holy Family*. MECW 4: 119, 131

"The first manifestation of a truly active communist party is contained within the bourgeois revolution, at the moment when the constitutional monarchy is eliminated. The most consistent republicans, in England the Levellers, in France Babeuf, Buonarroti, etc., were the first to proclaim these "social questions". *The Babeuf Conspiracy*, by Babeuf's friend and party-comrade Buonarroti, shows how these republicans derived from the "movement" of history the realisation that the disposal of the social question of rule by princes and republic did not mean that even a single "social question" has been solved in the interests of the proletariat."

Marx (October 1847) *Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality*. MECW 6: 321

"A republic where the immense majority is in command and is sovereign; where every citizen enjoys the same rights; where we don't see unbridled luxury insulting the most terrible poverty; from which penury and corruption are banished; where every member of society can rely on subsistence, independently of the whims of fortune or of any individual; where virtue is honoured and crime punished; where in short true equality reigns, that is, common happiness."

Babeuf (1895) *Le Eclairer*, No.4: 38. In Birchall, *Spectre of Babeuf*. 2016: 152

"une guerre déclarée entre les patriciens et les plebeiens, entre les riches et les pauvres".

"a war between patricians and plebeians, between rich and poor".

Babeuf (1895) *Tribun du Peuple*, No.34: 11. In Birchall, *Spectre of Babeuf*. 2016: 168

"Neither arts, nor sciences, nor industry would be endangered, far from it. They would receive an impulse in the direction of general utility, and would be transformed in their applications in such a way as to increase the sun of enjoyment of all..."

"Shall we destroy industry by organising it, by administering it, by assigning a task to everyone, by not allowing anything useless to be undertaken, by constantly establishing a proportion between production and consumption, and putting everything in harmony."

Babeuf (1795) *Letters to Charles Germain*. In Birchall, *Spectre of Babeuf*. 2016: 164-65

Article VI: "Nobody can, without committing a crime, exclusively expropriate the goods of the earth or of industry."

Explanation: "Unhappiness and slavery flow from inequality, and the latter from property. Property is thus the greatest of society's plagues. It is a veritable public offence."

Flypost (April 1796) *Analysis of the Doctrine of Babeuf*. MIA

Louis-August Blanqui

"Rest assured that there is no one more interested than myself in the lot of a man [Blanqui] whom I have always regarded as the brains and inspiration of the proletarian party in France."

Marx (10 November 1861) *Letter to Louis Watteau*. MECW 41: 326

"Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionary, a socialist only in sentiment, because of his sympathy for the sufferings of the people, but he has neither socialist theory nor definite practical proposals for social reforms. In his political activities he was essentially a "man of action," believing that, if a small well-organised minority should attempt to effect a revolutionary uprising at the right moment, it might, after scoring a few initial successes, carry the mass of the people and thus accomplish a victorious revolution."

Engels (1874) *Programme of the Blanquist Commune Refugees*. MECW 24: 13

"Blanquism, the fantasy of subverting the whole of a society through action by a small group of conspirators..."

Engels (23 April 1885) *Letter to Vera Zasulich*. MECW 47: 280

"Yes, gentlemen, this is the war between rich and poor: the rich wanted it so, for they are the aggressors. And yet they think it wrong that the poor resist."

Blanqui (12 January 1832) *Defence Speech at the 'Trial of the Fifteen'*. Blanqui Archive.

"We should not conceal from ourselves the fact that there is a war to the death between the classes that compose the nation."

Blanqui (2 February 1832) *Report to the Society of the Friends of the People*. Blanqui Archive.

"On one hand it [the newspaper] will make an effort to expose in simple, clear, and precise terms why the people are unhappy and how they can cease to be so. It will explain the nature of the relationships that exist today between the master and the worker, the social question that virtually on its own constitutes all of political economy, and about which professors say barely a word."

Blanqui (February 1834) *First issue of Le Libérateur*. MIA

"Indeed, it is through labour and intelligence that society lives and breathes, grows and develops, and if these two forces were to withdraw from it for even a single moment it would immediately dissolve and all its members would perish as if through a sudden catastrophe..."

"Servitude... means being completely dispossessed of the instruments of labour, and then being put at the mercy of those privileged groups who usurped them, and who retain through violence their exclusive ownership of these instruments that are indispensable to the workers."

Blanqui (February 1834) *Social Wealth Must Belong to Those Who Created It*. Blanqui Archive.

"In a word, we are always and everywhere with the oppressed against the oppressors, and we say with Saint-Just: 'The wretched are the powerful of the earth'. It makes no difference if oppression takes the form of military or commercial aristocracy, or if the people are exploited by the sabre or the coin; our hearts are moved with the same pity for the sufferings of the peasant trampled by his master's steed as for the agony of the worker whose blood serves to oil the gears of his industrial overlord."

Blanqui (2 February 1834) *Equality Is Our Flag*. Blanqui Archive.

"You have said that we are fanatics, and this appellation suits us well enough.... We have a faith, we have austere, passionate beliefs."

Blanqui (October 1836) *Notes for His Defence at the 'Gunpowder Trial'*. Blanqui Archive.

Étienne Cabet

"the great bulk of the French working classes adopted, very soon, the tenets propounded by M. Cabet, 'Père Cabet' (Father C), as he is called, and which are known on the continent under the name of Icarian Communism... Their 'holy book' is the *Voyage en Icarie* (Travels in Icaria) of Father Cabet, who, by-the-by, was formerly Attorney-General, and Member of the Chamber of Deputies... I have now only to add, that the French Icarian Communists are estimated at about half a million in number, women and children not taken into account. A pretty respectable phalanx, isn't it? They have a monthly paper, the *Populaire*, edited by Father Cabet."

Engels (November 1843) *Progress of Social Reform on the Continent*. MECW 3: 397-400

"Cabet himself calls his *Icarie* a 'roman philosophique' and he should on no account be judged by his system but rather by his polemical writings, in fact his whole activity as a party leader... Who in France believes in *Icarie*..."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 461

"The only experience they have had of communism was that of Cabet's utopia, which culminated in a model colony in America, i.e. in flight from France and discord and semi-bankruptcy in America."

Engels (28 October 1885) *Letter to Bebel*. MECW 47: 342

Front page: 'To each according his needs... From each according to his powers'.

"If we are asked: What is your science? – We reply, Fraternity. What is your principle? – Fraternity. What is your doctrine? – Fraternity. What is your theory? – Fraternity. Yes, we maintain that Fraternity is everything."

Cabet (1840) *Voyage to Icaria*. In Taylor 1982: 170, 172

"Inequality... the truly original and primordial cause of all the vices and all evils in all societies since the world began... I soon saw that equality demanded the extension of agricultural and manufacturing production, an economy, order, and distribution based on intelligence and reasoning, things which do not exist and which cannot exist today. Soon I was led to education in common, work in common, to the necessity for concentration in huge workshops and stores, to the unlimited spread of machines, to the exploitation of the land in common, to the sharing of its fruits and products, in a word to Community."

Cabet (1840) *Why I am a Communist*. In Taylor 1982: 171-72

Wilhelm Weitling

"It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form."

"Weitling's work: *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*... this vehement and brilliant literary debut of the German workers..."

Marx (31 July 1844) Critical Marginal Notes on the Article by a Prussian. MECW 3: 201

"The dictatorship which Weitling proposed as the most desirable constitutional form is, for similar reasons, regarded by Marx as impractical and quite unfeasible..."

Marx (4 August 1848) *Report of Speech at the Democratic Society in Cologne*. MECW 7: 556

"During the transition dictatorship is necessary to establish the new organisation..."

"There will always be revolutions, but they will not always be bloody."

Weitling (1842) *Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom*. In Taylor 1982: 188, 199

Communist

"A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism."

Draper (1994: 204-205) suggested that the spectre allusion may have come from an article by Wilhelm Schulz in the Rotteck and Welcker encyclopaedia (1846), which began:

"For the last few years there has been talk about communism in Germany, and it has now become a menacing spectre, of which some take fright and which others use to inspire fright".

A similar expression was in an anonymous brochure, *Der Pauperismus und die Volksschule* (1847): "There is a growling of the thunder of discontent with the status quo, and... the flashing lightening illumines the pale spectre of communism."

In an influential book, *Socialism and Communism in France* (1842), Lorenz Stein referred to "communism, a dark, menacing spectre, in whose reality nobody wants to believe, and whose existence however everyone acknowledges and fears".

"Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of total social change, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian communism of Cabet in France, and of Weitling in Germany. Thus, in 1847... communism a working-class movement."

Engels (30 January 1888) *Preface to English edition of the Communist Manifesto*. MECW 26: 516-7

"Communist... means the follower of a definite revolutionary party."

Marx and Engels (1845-46) *The German Ideology*. MECW 5: 57

Corcoran (1983: 22 N16) stated that the earliest documented usage of 'communist' is in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (11 March 1840).

The first Communist banquet, 1 July 1840, in Belleville, Paris brought together 1,000 communists. The organising committee – Pillot, Dézamy, Dutilloy and Hombert – took pains to restrict attendance to communists. 'Socialists' were denied admission. All toasts had to be submitted in advance for the committee's approval.

"To the worker's emancipation!

"Let us hasten to reject the capitalist aristocracy, because all private ownership favours and reconfirms the exploitation of the worker by the man of leisure...

"No more slaves, no more masters!

"Citizens, the shortest path to reach common happiness is *egalitarian education*...

"To the worker's emancipation!"

Théodore Dézamy (1 July 1840) *First Communist banquet*. Corcoran 1983: 74

"Communist" distinguished those who advocated the abolition of private property and had a working class orientation. Members of the Communist League had called themselves "Communists" long before the organisation included the word in its name.

Timeline of the Communist League

1834	League of the Outlawed (Bund der Geächteten) founded. Comprised mainly of German artisans who had settled in Paris following an abortive uprising in Frankfurt in 1833.
1836	Members of the League of the Outlawed broke away to form the League of the Just (Bund der Gerechten). They sought to "free Germany from the yoke of abhorrent oppression, end the enslavement of humanity and realise the fundamental rights of man".
1838	The League of the Just commissioned Weitling's <i>Mankind As It Is and As It Ought To Be</i> .
1839	Blanqui and the Société des Saisons failed uprising in Paris on 12 May 1839. Many of the League's members were expelled from France – mostly to London.
1840	Schapper, Moll and five others founded the Deutscher Bildungsverein für Arbeiter (German Workers' Educational Society) in London on 7 February 1840.
1844	Schapper helped to found the Democratic Friends of All Nations in October 1844, the first international organisation of German, English, French and Polish socialists.
1846	Marx and Engels founded Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee February 1846.
	Marx first established contact with the League of the Just in London, spring 1846.
	At the Brussels Committee, March 1846, Marx launched into a stinging critique of the Weitling's craft workers' communism and of the German 'true socialists'. <i>"[Marx's] sarcastic speech boiled down to this: to rouse the population without giving them any firm, well-thought-out reasons for their activity would be simply to deceive them... To call to the workers without any strictly scientific ideas or constructive doctrine, especially in Germany, was equivalent to vain dishonest play at preaching which assumes an inspired prophet on the one side and on the other only gaping asses."</i> Paul Annenkov (1880) <i>A Wonderful 10 Years, Reminiscences of Marx and Engels</i> . 1957: 271
	Marx invited League of the Just to start Communist Correspondence Committee May 1846.
	League of the Just reply to Marx's letter, 6 June 1846, praising the idea of enhancing communication among communists and also indicating that the London communists had rejected ideas of revolution through conspiracy or, 'à la Weitling', through spiritual inspiration.
	<i>"We believe that all these different orientations [to communism] must be expressed and that only through a communist congress, where all the orientations are represented in a cold-blooded and brotherly discussion, can unity be brought to our propaganda... If people from all the communist positions were sent, if intellectuals and workers from all lands met together, then there is no doubt that a lot of barriers, which still stand in the way, would fall. In this congress all of the different orientations and types of communism would be discussed peacefully and without bitterness and the truth would certainly come through and win the day."</i> Schapper, Moll, Bauer (17 July 1846) Letter to Karl Marx. MEGA2, III/2. 1979: 252-53
1847	Moll went to Brussels, 20 January 1847 to encourage Marx and Engels to join the League of the Just.
	The draft Rules of the Communist League in June 1847 declared that "the League aims at the emancipation of humanity by spreading the theory of the community of property and its speediest possible practical introduction." MECW 6: 585
	Engels (June 1847) <i>Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith</i> . MECW 6: 96-103
	League of the Just convened its first international congress in London from 2 to 9 June 1847. Engels attended as the representative of the Paris Communist Correspondence Committee with Wilhelm Wolff from Brussels. Name changed to Communist League (Bund der Kommunisten). Adopted the new slogan Workers of all Countries, Unite! (Proletarier aller Lander vereinigt Euch!). Agreed the London Committee would draft a new programme and rules.
	Wolff, Schapper (9 June 1847) A Circular of the First Congress of the Communist League to the League Members. MECW 6: 589-600

	Marx (5 August 1847) Note on the formation of the Brussels community and circle of the Communist League. MECW 6: 601
	Specimen edition of <i>Kommunistische Zeitschrift</i> , newspaper of the Communist League, published September 1847.
	<i>"Working Men of All Countries, Unite!..."</i> <i>"Many German proletarians are anxious to liberate themselves, but, if they do not set about the task more energetically than they have done so far, they will indeed not make much progress. We can't wait for things to fall into our lap. Many people are hindered in their activity by their mental sluggishness; others talk a great deal but when money contributions are requested they pull long faces, make all manner of excuses and give nothing; others again possess a large share of bourgeois cowardice, see policemen and gendarmes at every turn and never believe it is time to act..."</i> <i>"We therefore call upon all members of our League once more to rise up at last out of their sleep and set to work..."</i> <i>"It is time we came to our senses and therefore we can waste no more time on dreamers and system-mongers who have no energy for action... We are no elegant bourgeois and therefore do not beat about the bush but say what we think, i.e. call things by their names..."</i> <i>"Our opinion is that 100 active members are better than 1,000 of whom half are indecisive and lukewarm. Instead of looking back and helping the lame to catch up, we march boldly forward... We must make it clear here that every member of the League is bound to take a copy of the newspaper; if he is not able to pay for it, then the community he belongs to must do so for him..."</i> Schapper, Bauer, Moll (14 September 1847) Circular. MECW 6: 602, 603, 606
	<i>"and was not yet half way through when the lads declared themselves satisfiers. Completely unopposed, I got them to entrust me with the task of drafting a new one, which would be discussed next Friday by the district and will be sent to London behind the backs of the communities."</i> Engels (25-26 October 1847) Letter to Marx. MECW: 38: 138-9
	Engels (October 1847) <i>Principles of Communism</i> . MECW 6: 341-57
	<i>"Give a little thought to the Confession of Faith. I think we would do best to abandon the catechetical form and call the thing Communist Manifesto."</i> Engels (23-24 November 1847) Letter to Marx. MECW 38: 149
	<i>"The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society which rests on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property."</i> Second congress of the Communist League, London, 29 November to 10 December 1847. Rules Article 1, MECW 6: 633
1848	<i>"The Central Committee charges its regional committee in Brussels to communicate with Citizen Marx, and to tell him that if the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the writing of which he undertook to do at the recent congress, does not reach London by 1 February of the current year, further measures will have to be taken against him. In the event of Citizen Marx not fulfilling his task, the Central Committee requests the immediate return of the documents placed at Citizen Marx's disposal."</i> Schapper, Bauer and Moll (26 January 1848) Central Committee to Marx.

Herres (2015: 23) estimated that the Communist League numbered almost 90 members in London, the association totalled scarcely more than 300 people. Löwy (2003: 134) wrote that "among 65 members of the [Communist] League (1847-52) – not a sample, but all the members whose occupation I have succeeded in discovering, there were 33 intellectuals and members of the liberal professions and 32 artisans and workers".

IV: Position of the Communists to the Various Existing Opposition Parties

"The remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition parties (Section IV), although, in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated."

Marx and Engels (24 June 1872) *Preface to the 'new' German edition*. MECW 23: 175

"What a limited field the proletarian movement occupied at that time (December 1847) is most clearly shown by the last section: the position of the Communists in relation to the various opposition parties in various countries. Precisely Russia and the United States are missing here."

Marx and Engels (21 January 1882) *Preface to the Russian edition*. MECW 24: 425

"Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working-class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America."

Friedrich Adolph Sorge (1828-1906), the comrade and co-thinker of Marx and Engels, lived in the US from 1852. Sorge wrote *Labor Movement in the United States: A History of the American Working Class from Colonial Times to 1890*. He explained that the National Reform Association (NRA) was founded in the United States in 1845, after a number of workers' congresses. The first Industrial Congress in October 1845, with WS Wait serving as president, included Sarah Bagley from the Female Labor Reform Association of Lowell, Massachusetts. The congress statutes included a homestead for everyone, equal rights for women and the exclusion of employers, overseers and superintendents from membership. The NRA stood candidates for election in spring 1846. A second Industrial Congress in June 1847 called for a limitation on property owning and demanded a ten hour workday for all public work.

"Just as in England the workers form a political party under the name of the Chartists, so do the workers in North America under the name of the National Reformers and their battle-cry is not at all rule of the princes or the republic, but rule of the working class or the rule of the bourgeois class."

Marx (October 1847) *Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality*. MECW 6: 324

"In America, where a democratic constitution has already been established, the communists must make the common cause with the party which will turn this constitution against the bourgeoisie and use it in the interests of the proletariat – that is, with the agrarian National Reformers."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 356

"The socialist-democrats"

"The socialist-democrats" were *La Réforme* tendency in France, led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc.

"These democratic socialists are either proletarians who are not yet sufficiently clear about the conditions of the liberation of their class, or they are representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, a class which, prior to the achievement of democracy and the socialist measures to which it gives rise, has many interests in common with the proletariat.

"It follows that, in moments of action, the communists will have to come to an understanding with these democratic socialists, and in general to follow as far as possible a common policy with them – provided that these socialists do not enter into the service of the ruling bourgeoisie and attack the communists. It is clear that this form of co-operation in action does not exclude the discussion of differences."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 355

"revolutionary tradition"

This refers not to the revolutionary tradition in general, but to the phrasemongering that hung on from reminiscences about the French Revolution (1789-1794).

"In Switzerland, they support the Radicals"

This referred to a political tendency led by James Fazy (1796-1878) and Henri Druey (1799-1855). In 1847 the radicals played a prominent role in beating back attempts by right-wing cantons (the Sonderbund) to split from the federal government. Marx wrote an Address of the Democratic Association of Brussels to the Swiss People praising Swiss democracy (MECW 6: 625).

"In Switzerland, the Radicals, though a very mixed party, are the only group with which the communists can co-operate, and, among these Radicals, the Vaudois and Genevese are the most advanced."

Engels (October 1847) *Principles of Communism*. MECW 6: 356

Riazanov wrote that after the unsuccessful uprising in May 1849 and German socialists sought refuge in Switzerland, "both Fazy and Druey proved faithful henchmen of European reaction."

"In Poland, they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846."

The Cracow insurrection (February 1846) set up a national government and proposed a programme of radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry. It was crushed by Austria and Russia.

During the same month the *Manifesto* appeared, Marx and Engels spoke in Brussels at another Polish commemoration... concerning the 1846 insurrection. They shared the platform with the renowned Polish revolutionary Joachim Lelewel, a leading member of the Polish Democratic Society. Kevin Anderson, *Marx at the Margins*. 2010: 59

"The Cracow revolution has given a glorious example to the whole of Europe, by identifying the national cause with the democratic cause and the emancipation of the oppressed class... [Poland's] emancipation has become the point of honour for all the democrats of Europe."

Marx (22 February 1848) *Speeches in Brussels on the Polish Question*. MECW 6: 549

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

"In Germany, they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

"But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin."

Permanent revolution

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation and with a much more developed proletariat than that of England was in the seventeenth, and France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

"The German bourgeoisie developed so sluggishly, timidly and slowly that at the moment when it menacingly confronted feudalism and absolutism, it saw menacingly confronting it the proletariat and all sections of the middle class whose interests and ideas were related to those of the proletariat... From the first it was inclined to betray the people and to compromise with the crowned representative of the old society, for it itself already belonged to the old society; it did not represent the interests of a new society against an old one, but renewed interests within an obsolete society." Marx (December 1848) *The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution*. MECW 8: 162

"Ever since the defeat of June 1848 the question for the civilised part of the European continent has stood thus: either the rule of the revolutionary proletariat or the rule of the classes who ruled before February. A middle road is no longer possible. In Germany in particular the bourgeoisie has shown itself incapable of ruling; it could only maintain its rule over the people by surrendering it once more to the aristocracy and the bureaucracy." Engels (February 1850) *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. MECW 10: 237

"The proletariat increasingly organises itself around revolutionary Socialism, around Communism, for which the bourgeoisie itself has invented the name of Blanqui. This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations." Marx (March 1850) *The Class Struggles in France, III*. MECW 10: 127

"We told you as early as 1848 that the German liberal bourgeois would soon come to power and would immediately turn their newly acquired power against the workers. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. In fact, it was the bourgeois who, immediately after the March movement of 1848, took possession of the state power and used this power in order at once to force the workers, their allies in the struggle, back into their former oppressed position. Though the bourgeoisie was not able to accomplish this without uniting with the feudal party, which had been ousted in March, without finally even relinquishing power once again to this feudal absolutist party, still it has secured conditions for itself which, in the long run, owing to the financial embarrassment of the government, would place power in its hands and would safeguard all its interests..."

"And the role which the German liberal bourgeois played in 1848 against the people, this so treacherous role will be taken over in the impending revolution by the democratic petty bourgeois, who at present take the same attitude in the opposition as the liberal bourgeois before 1848..."

"The relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty-bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything by which they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests..."

"While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so

far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of the existing society but the foundation of a new one...

"At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer it their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the democratic party, that is, they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, and serve to conceal their special interests, and in which the definite demands of the proletariat must not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more be reduced to an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore, be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois democrats, the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent secret and public organisation of the workers' party alongside the official democrats and make each community the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences...

"That everywhere workers' candidates are put up alongside the bourgeois-democratic candidates, that they are as far as possible members of the League, and that their election is promoted by all possible means. Even where there is no prospect whatever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to lay before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint...

"But... [the German workers] must do the utmost for their final victory by making it clear to themselves what their class interests are, by taking up their position as an independent party as soon as possible and by not allowing themselves to be misled for a single moment by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeois into refraining from the independent organisation of the party of the proletariat. Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence."

Marx and Engels (24 March 1850) *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League*.

MECW 10: 278-287

"When the volcanic upheavings of 1848 suddenly threw before the eyes of the astonished liberal middle classes of Europe the giant spectre of an armed working class, struggling for political and social emancipation, the middle classes... sacrificed this power... to secure the suppression of the proletarian revolution."

Engels (November 1858) *Europe in 1858*. MECW 16: 123

The role of Communists

"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things."

This does not mean that Communists have to support every protest movement, even if it has a socialist tinge. It means assessing a movement by the class forces that make it up, who are in motion and for what ends.

"In all these movements, they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time."

Even where Communists support other movements, they "emphasise the property question" i.e. class. It doesn't mean 'drop your politics to get along in a popular movement'. It does mean Communists should build progressive movements, including class movements without revolutionary aims, such as trade unions.

"Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

Draper (1994: 331) argued that this is better translated as "alliance and accord", meaning a united front of democratic parties. It is not about merger or fusion, and certainly not between socialist or communist groups.

Workers' revolution

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution."

Preamble:

"Communists should openly publish their views, their aims, their tendencies"

In other words, turn away from the practice of conspiratorialism – a condition Marx and Engels insisted on before joining the Communist League.

"We are convinced not only by the uselessness but even harmfulness of all conspiracies. We are also aware that revolutions are not made deliberately and arbitrarily but that everywhere and at all times they are the necessary consequence of circumstances which are not in any way whatever dependent on the will or on the leadership of individual parties or of whole classes."

Engels (June 1847) *Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith*. MECW 6: 101-102

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The sentence should read: "The proletarians have nothing to lose in it but their chains". Most translations miss out "in it". What Marx meant was not that workers have nothing to lose at all – rather they have nothing to lose – other than their continued exploitation – when driven to make their own revolution.

Workers of all countries, unite

"Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"

Draper (1994: 191) translated as: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

This phrase first appeared on the top of the rules of the newly formed Communist League adopted at the 2-9 June 1847 first congress (MECW 6: 586).

It was also used on the circular, *The Central Authority to the League*, 14 September 1847 in the names of Schapper, Moll and Bauer (MECW 6: 602).

The motto first appeared in public on the masthead of the League's paper, the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, September 1847 (Riazanov 1930: 286).

Andréas, who attributed the authorship to Engels, found that it was used in a toast on 20 September 1847 at a meeting of German, French and English Communists: "May the proletarians of all countries unite themselves in common for the vindication of their rights" (Bender 1988: 93 N.6).

Earlier socialists had made similar appeals:

"It is more than ever necessary to lose no time in finding common ground on which the proletariat can unite and, first and foremost, before proceeding further, establish its own unity."

Dézamy (1842) *Calomnies et politiques de M. Cabet*. In Löwy 2003: 72

"Workers, put aside then your petty trade rivalries and move beyond your private associations toward a compact, solid and indissoluble union."

Tristan (1843) *The Workers' Union*. 1983: 40

"of that fraternal union of the workers of all lands, of that wild army of the proletariat, which is bent on doing away with all concern about nationality in order to pursue a common purpose in Europe, to call into being a true democracy."

Heine (1844) *Ludwig Marcus*. In Bender 1988: 106

"To all oppressed classes of every land... to unite themselves for the triumph of their common cause. 'Divide and rule' is the motto of the oppressor, 'unite yourselves for victory' should be ours."

Fraternal Democrats (1846). In Beamish 1998: 222

"But it is in the interests of the proletarians, everywhere oppressed by the same kind of taskmasters and defrauded of the fruits of their industry by the same description of plunderers, it is in their interest to unite."

Harney (December 1847) *Address of the Fraternal Democrats to the Brussels Democratic Association*. In Löwy 2003: 129

Brief history of the *Manifesto*

"I believe we would do best to drop the catechism form and entitle the thing: *Communist Manifesto*."

Engels (23-24 November 1847) *Letter to Marx*. MECW 38: 149

The pamphlet was first published as the "Communist Manifesto" in the German edition of 1872.

The first document bearing a similar title was the "Manifeste des Communistes" in the Fourierist paper *La Phalange*, 19 May-11 June 1841. Moses Hess probably brought it to Marx's attention in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in April 1842.

Victor Considérant, the editor of *La Phalange* published a *Manifeste de la démocratie pacifique* in 1843, reissued as a book, *Principes du socialisme. Manifeste de la démocratie au XIXe siècle* in 1847.

There were revolutionary "manifestos" since at least the Levellers' "A New Engagement, or, *Manifesto*" (1648). Babeuf published Sylvain Maréchal's *Manifesto of Equals* in 1796.

Translations and editions

Efforts were made at French, English, Italian, Flemish and Danish translations, and Spanish, Polish and Hungarian translations were also mentioned, but none have been found from 1848-49.

Beamish (1998: 233) stated that between 1848 and 1918, the *Communist Manifesto* was published in more than 35 languages, in some 544 editions.

Year	Selected translations and publications of the <i>Communist Manifesto</i>
1850	Swedish edition
1850	First English edition, translated by Helen MacFarlane, published in the <i>Red Republican</i> .
1864	German edition published by Rudolf Hirschfeld
1866	German edition published by Sigfrid Meyer
1869	English abridgement published by Cowell Stepney
1869	Russian edition
1871	American edition published in <i>Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly</i>
1872	German edition proposed by Liebknecht. Marx and Engels Preface
1882	Russian edition translated by Plekhanov. Marx and Engels Preface
1883	Polish edition translated by Witold Piekarski
1883	Third authorised German edition. Engels Preface
1888	English edition, authorised translation by Samuel Moore and Engels. Engels Preface
1890	German edition. Engels Preface
1892	Polish edition. Engels Preface
1893	Italian edition. Engels Preface

Why the *Communist Manifesto* is relevant today

History of class struggles

"The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of direct producers, determines the relationship of rulers and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this, however, is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the production relations themselves, thereby simultaneously its specific political form. It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers — a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity — which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state. This does not prevent the same economic basis— the same from the standpoint of its main conditions — due to innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural environment, racial relations, external historical influences, etc., from showing infinite variations and gradations in appearance, which can be ascertained only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances."

Marx (1865) *Capital*, Volume 3. MECW 37: 777-78

"Class (essentially a relationship) is the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure. By exploitation I mean the appropriation of part of the product of the labour of others: in a commodity-producing society this is the appropriation of what Marx called 'surplus value'."

Geoffrey Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*. London: Duckworth, 1981: 43

"The working class is revolutionary, Marxists have maintained, because of its historically constituted nature as the exploited collective producer within the capitalist mode of production. As the exploited class, it is caught in a systematic clash with capital, which cannot generally and permanently satisfy its needs. As the main producing class, it has the power to halt - and within limits redirect - the economic apparatus of capitalism, in pursuit of its goals. And as the collective producer it has the objective capacity to found a new, non-exploitative mode of production. This combination of interest, power and creative capacity distinguishes the working class from every other social or political force in capitalist society, and qualifies it as the indispensable agency of socialism. To reaffirm this proposition is not to claim that socialism is assured - it is not - or that the labour movement alone is likely to achieve it. What has to be said is that 'our major positive resource' can never be other than the organised working class, and that if it cannot regenerate itself, no outside intervention can do so. If that resource should, in some calamitous historical eventuality, be dispersed or neutralised, then socialism really will be reduced to a sectarian Utopia beyond the reach of even the most inspired and combative social movement."

Francis Mulhern, Towards 2000, or News from You-know-where, *New Left Review*, 1/148, 1984: 22-3

Geoffrey Ste Croix (1981) *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*. London: Duckworth.

Robert Brenner (1976) Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe, *Past and Present*, 70, 30-75.

John Haldon (1993) *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production*. London: Verso.

Ruling ideas

Labour, time, property, value and crisis. (Amy Wendling, *The Ruling Ideas*, 2012).

God, nation, the market + individualism, fame, the past, the future, Enlightenment, master nature, climate denial (Ari Ofengenden, *The Ruling Ideas*, 2022).

Capitalism

"There are four developments which are relatively new in the last 10 years or so. The first is that we have a world made up almost entirely of capitalist states integrated into the world market... now, in almost all countries, there are true-blue capitalist states well integrated into the world market. Secondly, almost all countries are integrated into the world market in complex ways. They include substantial sectors integrated into complex production networks stretching over several countries... Thirdly, there has been an enormous cheapening and speeding-up of transport and communications. Almost anything that can be traded, can be traded internationally... Fourthly, the wage-working class... is probably the majority of the world's population for the first time ever."

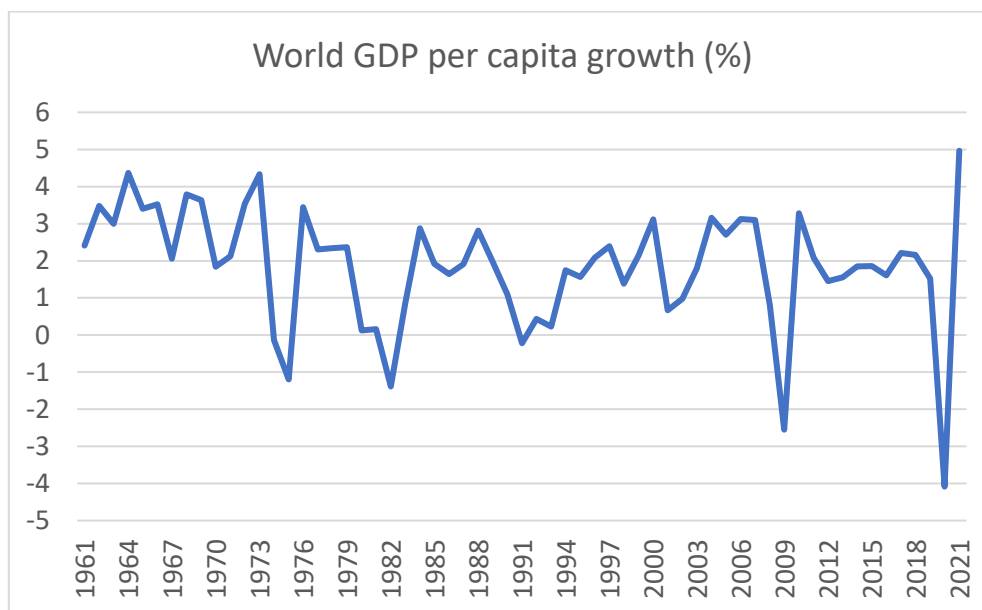
Martin Thomas, Capital writ large, *Workers' Liberty* 63, July, 2000: 7)

The companies on the 2022 Global 2000 account for \$47.6 trillion in revenues, \$5.0 trillion in profits, \$233.7 trillion in assets and \$76.5 trillion in market cap. There are 58 countries on the 2022 list. The United States has the most with 590 companies, followed by China/Hong Kong (351) and Japan (196) Andrea Murphy and Isabel Contreras, *Forbes Global 200*, 12 May 2022

The world's richest 1%, those with more than \$1 million, own 46% of the world's wealth. Adults with less than \$10,000 wealth make up 55% of the world's population, but hold just 1.3% of global wealth Credit Suisse, *Global Wealth Report*, 2022.

There 2,755 billionaires across the globe, according to the 2021 *Forbes* magazine ranking. The world's 10 richest billionaires own an astonishing \$1.448 trillion in combined wealth, a sum greater than the total goods and services most nations produce on an annual basis.

In 1950, 30% of the world's population was urban... In 1990, 43% (2.3 billion) lived in urban areas. By 2015, this had grown to 54% (4 billion)... By 2050, 66% is expected to be urban. Today, the most urbanised regions include North America (82% living in urban areas in 2014), Latin America and the Caribbean (80%) and Europe (73%)... Africa (40%) and Asia 48%. (Jean-Claude Bolay, Urban Planning Against Poverty, *Future City*, 14, 2020: 8-9)



(World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, December 2022)

The working class

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the world labour force grew by 25% from 2000 to 2019. Those “employed” for an income grew from 2.6 billion to 3.3 billion over those first two decades of the twenty-first century, also by 25%.

Of those “employed” in ILO terms, 53% were wage or salary earners, up from 43% in 1996; 34% were considered “own-account” workers, up from 31% in 1996; 11% “contributing family” workers, down from 23% in 1996; and 2% employers, down from 3.4% in that year.

Here it is likely that about two-thirds, or a little over 2 billion, of those considered employed by the ILO are working class. These working-class employed workers are not just those in the wage and salary sectors, however. Many of those considered “own-account” or self-employed workers, as well as “contributing family” workers...

The manufacturing workforce grew from 393 million in 2000 to 460 million in 2019, while the industrial (manufacturing, construction, and mining) workforce grew from 536 million to 755 million over this period. Workers in transportation, communications, and utilities, who are also essential to goods production and composed an additional 226 million workers by 2019, up from 116 million two decades earlier. This industrial “core” amounted to 41% of the world’s non-agricultural workforce...

Kim Moody, *Workers of the World: Growth, Change, and Rebellion*, *New Politics*, 2, 70, Winter 2021

The labour movement

Across the decade since the Great Recession, we have witnessed a series of enormous general strikes (Guadeloupe and Martinique, India, Brazil, South Africa, Colombia, Chile, Algeria, Sudan, South Korea, France, and many more) as well as strike waves that have helped to topple heads of state (Tunisia, Egypt, Puerto Rico, Sudan, Lebanon, Algeria, Iraq)... The new strike movements are harbingers of a period of recomposition of militant working-class cultures of resistance, the very soil out of which socialist politics can grow.

David McNally, *The Return of the Mass Strike: Teachers, Students, Feminists, and the New Wave of Popular Upheavals*, *Spectre*, 1, 1, Spring 2020: 20

The European Trade Union Institute (*Strikes in Europe*, 7 April 2020) calculates that between 2010 and 2018 there were 64 general strikes in the European Union, almost half of them in Greece.

The ILO, looking at just 56 countries, estimates there were 44,000 work stoppages between 2010 and 2019, mostly in manufacturing. The ILO notes, that given data limitations, the number of strikes “could be far greater than 44,000.”

Rosina Gammarano, *At least 44,000 work stoppages since 2010*, ILO, 4 November 2019

The China Labour Bulletin counted some 6,694 strikes between 2015 and 2017 in a wide variety of industries. Lu Chunsen estimates 3,220 strikes by manufacturing workers in China from 2011 to May 2019, despite the precarious nature of work, the mass internal migration to the cities, and the government’s ban on strikes.

Yu Chunsen, *All Workers Are Precarious: The ‘Dangerous Class’ in China’s Labour Regime*, *Socialist Register* 2020: 156

In November 2019, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) had more than 200 million members in 332 affiliated organisations in 163 countries and territories.

Glossary

Babeuf, Gracchus (1760-97) organised the first communist movement aimed at a new anti-capitalist social order. From 1793 he called for sans-culotte power. In 1796 he became convinced that the revolution had been betrayed and organised an insurrectionary committee. He was denounced by an informer, tried and sentenced to death. He committed suicide but was still guillotined.

Blanc, Louis (1811-82) was an historian and writer. His first socialist work, *Organisation du Travail* (1839) proposed workers' cooperative production financed by the state. He was a member of the *Réforme* tendency and joined the provisional government in 1848. Draper (1994: 325) describes him as "an early version of reformist socialism with a strong state-socialistic cast".

Buonarroti, Philippe (1761-1837) Italian revolutionary active in Corsica, France and Geneva. Participated in Babeuf's conspiracy. Buonarroti's *History of Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals* (1828) was a valuable link between the French revolutionary tradition and early socialist and communist ideas.

Buret, Eugène (1811-92) Economist, follower of Sismondi. Wrote the influential book, *From the misery of the working classes in England and France* (1840). Marx took excerpts MEGA2 4, 2, 551-79.

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856) wrote a novel *Voyage en Icarie* (1840), the blueprint of a utopia. Cabet's organised among French workers and had some influence in the Communist League in the 1840s. Between 1848 and 1856, Cabet tried to organise a communist colony in North America made up of several hundred of his followers drawn from among the French workers.

Chartism The People's Charter was drawn up by the London Working Men's Association in Britain in 1838. The Charter had six demands: universal suffrage (voting rights for men); no property qualification to become a Member of Parliament (MP); annual parliaments; property qualification for becoming a Member of Parliament; constituencies of equal size; salaries for MPs; and voting by secret ballot. Chartist leaders included William Lovett (1800-77), Feargus O'Connor (1795-1856), George Julian Harney (1817-97) and Ernest Jones (1819-69).

Considérant, Victor (1808-93) was the leader of the Fourierists after Fourier's death in 1837. Considérant edited the daily *Démocratie Pacifique* (1843-51), which promoted a liberal, social-democratic politics without a working class orientation.

Dézamy, Alexandre Théodore (1803-50) was a materialist communist and one of the first communists read by Marx in the early 1840s. He organised the Belleville banquet in 1840, the first independent and public manifestation of Communism in France and wrote an important critique of Cabet, *Calomnies et politique de M. Cabet* (1842). In the *Holy Family* (1845), Marx and Engels referred to Dézamy and his group as "the more scientific French communists" (MECW 6: 131).

Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-66) A committed French republican and democrat, and a journalist with *La Réforme*. A member of the provisional government in 1848, he offered Marx asylum in Paris. (MECW 6: 649) Engels wrote that he was "cordial and open-hearted" and "one of the most decent fellows I know" (MECW 38: 168).

Fourier, Charles (1772-1837) wrote criticised the bourgeois society and put forward the idea of a model community and a new social order, known as the phalanx. Marx and Engels planned to publish his work as part of a library of foreign socialist writers. They also admired his advanced views on women's rights and sexual liberation. Fourier's movement was usually used the term associationism not socialism. His leading follower was Victor Considérant.

French Legitimists were royalists who opposed the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) who championed some reforms of workers' conditions. Its notable figures were Count Charles Forbes de Montalembert (1810-70) and Vicomte Alban de Villeneuve-Bargement (1784-1850).

Grün, Karl (1817-87) German journalist, True socialist in mid-1840s, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly. Marx sharply criticised him in *Karl Grün or The Historiography of True Socialism* (1846). Marx (5 May 1846) denounced Grün as "nothing more than a literary swindler, a species of charlatan, who seeks to traffic in modern ideas" (MECW 38: 39). The following year, Marx (3 April 1847) publicly denounced him: "Herr Grün first poisons me, in order then to be able to blame me for the fact that his poison worked!" (MECW 6: 74).

Guizot, François (1787-1874) historian and statesman in France. Guizot was foreign minister and briefly premier under Louis Philippe.

Heinzen, Karl (1809-80) a former liberal, lower-rank civil servant, who's book *Die preußische Bureaucratie* (1845) was banned. Forced to flee, he became a republican and called for insurrection, while criticising communism. In 1847, both Engels and Marx criticised Heinzen (MECW 6).

Hess, Moses (1812-75) collaborated with Marx and Engels but became a 'true' socialist. His *The Holy History of Mankind* (1837) was the first full-length socialistic tract to appear in Germany. His book *The European Triarchy* (1841) advocated a radical alliance between France (politics), England (industry) and Germany (philosophy). In 1843, Engels called Hess "the first Communist of the party" (MECW 3: 406). In 1844 Hess wrote *A Communist Credo*, which Engels criticised in his drafts used by Marx for the *Communist Manifesto*. Hess joined the Communist League in 1847. After activity during the 1848 revolutions, Hess was exiled to Paris, where he focused on national liberation. His book *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862) criticised racial anti-Semitism. Hess also argued that Jewish people are a nation and like all nations entitled to a polity of their own. The book is regarded as a founding text of Zionism. Hess remained active in the socialist movement and served on the Council of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International).

Kriege, Herman (1820-50) Arrested and jailed in 1844 for socialist journalism. Member of the League of the Just. After serving his sentence he moved New York, writing for the *Volks-Tribun* newspaper. Marx and Engels (11 May 1846) sent a circular on behalf of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee repudiating Kriege's "childish pomposity" (MECW 6: 35). According to Sorge, Kriege joined the Democratic Party.

Lahautière, Richard (1813-82) A Saint-Simonism, influenced by Pierre Leroux and Philippe Buonarroti. In the 1830s, he contributed to the journal *L'Intelligence* and *Égalité*. In 1841, Lahautière founded his own paper, *La Fraternité, Journal moral et politique*.

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871) in 1824 founded *Le Globe*, a liberal literary paper. In 1830, *Le Globe* became the official organ of the Saint-Simonian society. In the early 1830s he began using the term socialism and claimed (wrongly) to have pioneered the use of the term.

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre (1807-74) was elected a deputy in 1841, becoming the leading figure of republican liberalism. He allied with Louis Blanc in *La Réforme*. In the 1848 he became interior minister in the provisional government.

Metternich, Prince von (1773-1859) chief minister of the Hapsburg Empire and architect of the European order between 1815 and 1848.

Owen, Robert (1771-1858) pioneer of socialism and cooperativism in Britain. He began as a cotton manufacturer and created New Lanark as a model factory and community. He later attempted to create model communities elsewhere, such as New Harmony in the USA, but these failed. He helped found the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union in 1834, but was hostile to independent working class organisation.

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-65) was one of the best known socialists in France. His work, *What is Property?* (1840) was a success. His answer, "property is theft", taken from Brissot, became famous. Marx was critical of Proudhon's book, *System of Economic Contradictions or the Philosophy of Poverty* (1846), where he came out for "an-archie" and against all authority.

Réformistes The political tendency around the influential liberal-radical Paris daily *La Réforme* (1843-50), founded by Ledru-Rollin and edited by Ferdinand Flocon.

Saint-Simon, Henri de (1760-1825) was an advocate of scientific-industrial social planning, but not socialism in the modern sense. He did not advocate a utopia as such and saw the working class as a threat to be managed from above. Riazanov (1930: 232) argues that Saint-Simon's influence on Marx was small. However Saint-Simon's ideas were taken up by the Saint-Simonian school organised by Amand Bazard (1791-1832) and Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), who were highly influential in the early history of the socialist movement.

Sismondi, Simonde de (1773-1842) was a Swiss economist and historian. Marx (1861-63) called him "epoch-making in political economy" (MECW 32: 393) but also criticised his mistakes and inadequacies. Sismondi did not found a school of socialism or of political economy.

Tristan, Flora (1803-44) was a pioneer socialist and feminist who promoted working class self-reliance and related the oppression of women to the exploitation of the working class. Tristan publicised Chartism after visiting England and advocated *L'Union Ouvrière* (the Workers' Union) in France. Engels discusses Tristan briefly in the *Holy Family* (1845).

Von Stein, Lorenz (1815-90) was a Prussian official. His book, *Der Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich* (1842), was meant as a warning against the dangers of French communist and socialist ideas.

Weitling, William (1808-70) was a tailor and influential communist during the 1840s. He wrote the programme for the League of the Just in 1838. Weitling's *Guarantee of Harmony and Freedom* (1842) was described by Marx as a brilliant debut of the German workers. By 1846 Marx denounced Weitling's "craft workers' communism". Weitling moved to the United States in late 1846. He returned to Europe in 1848, advocating dictatorship and later support for Napoleon III. In 1849, he returned to the US, where he published the weekly *Republik der Arbeiter* (1850-55) and ran the "Communia" colony in Iowa.

Young England A tendency within the British Tory party who sought to counteract the political dominance of the bourgeoisie in the name of an idealised aristocracy ('Merrie England', Cavaliers). They held out a hand to the enemy of their enemy i.e. the working class, exposing the horrors of industrial conditions and promoting reforms such as the factory acts, the Ten Hours Bill 1847. Its leading figures were Lord Ashley (later Lord Shaftsbury) and outside parliament, Thomas Carlyle.

Further reading

Best books on the *Communist Manifesto*

The most comprehensive and politically useful guide is:

Draper, Hal (1994) *Adventures of the Communist Manifesto*. Berkeley: Center for Socialist History.
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Other useful editions and guides include:

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Matgamna, Sean (January 1998) The Communist Manifesto after Stalinism, *Workers' Liberty* 44: 37-44 <https://www.workersliberty.org/story/2018-05-21/communist-manifesto-and-russian-revolution>

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Other socialists

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Beecher, Jonathan (1992) *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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