Karl Marx

Manifesto of the Communist Party

from the English edition of 1888, edited by Friedrich Engels
A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism.

Away the powers of old Europe have entwined into a howy awkwardness: pope and czar, metternich and guizot, French wadics and German powicespies.

Wherein the party in opposition that has nowt bewn decwized as communistic by its opponents in powew? Wherein the opposition that has nowt huwwed bawck the bwanding wepwoach of communism, against the mowe advanced opposition partisies, as weww as against its weactionawy advewsaries?

Two things wesuwt fwom thiws fact.

1. Communism iws awweady acknowwedged by aww euwopean powews tuwu be itself a powew.

2. Iwt iws high time thawt communists shouwd openwy, in the face of the whowe wowwd, pubwish their views, their aims, their tendencies, awnd meet thiw nweewwy tawe of the spectwe of communism with a manifesto of the party itsewf.

Tuwu thiws end, communists of vawious naationawities have assembwed in wondon, awnd sketched the fowwowing manifesto, tuwu be pubwished in the engwish, fwench, gewman, itawian, fweish awnd danish wanguages.

1. Bouwgeois awnd pwowetawians

The histowy of aww hithewto existing societies iws the histowy of cwass stwuggwes.

Fweeman awnd swave, patwician awnd pwe-beian, wodd awnd sewf, guiwd-mastew awnd jouwney man, in a wodd, oppwessow awnd oppwessed, stood in constant opposition tuwu owne anothew, cawwied own an unin-tewwupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight thwat each time ended, eithew in a wevowutionawy we-constitution of society at wawe, ow in the common wuin of the contending cwasses.

In the eawwiew epochs of histowy, we find awwmost ewewy whewa a compwicated awrange-ment of society into vawious owdews, a manifowwd gwadation of sociaw wark. In an-cient wom we have patwicians, knights, pwe-beians, swaves; in the middwe ages, feudaw woads, vassawes, guiwd-mastews, jouwney men, appwentices, sewws; in awwmost aww of these cwasses, a against sub owd inate gwadations.

The modern bouwgeois society thawt has spwouted from the ruins of feudaw societty has nowt done away with cwass antagonisms. Iwt has but estabwished new cwasses, new conditions of oppwession, new fowms of stwuggwe in pwace of the owd ones. Ouw epoch, the epoch of the bouwgeoisie, posses, however, this distinctive feautue: iwt has simpwified the cwass antagonisms. Society as a whowe iws move awnd move spwitting up into two great hostiwe camps, into two great cwasses, diwectwy facing each othew bouwgeoisie awnd pwowetawiat.

Fwom the sewfs of the middwe ages spwang the chawtewed buwghews of the eawwiest towns. Fwom these buwghes the fiwst ewements of the bouwgeoisie wewe devewoped.

The discovery of anewica, the wounding of the cape, opened up fwesh gwound for the wising bouwgeoisie. The east-inidian awnd chineese mawkets, the cowonisation of aewrica, twade with the cowonies, the incwease in the means of exchange and in commodities geneawwawy, gave tuwu compwexion, tuwu navigation, tuwu industwy, an impuwse nevew be-fowe known, awnd thewby, tuwu the wevowu- tionawy ewement in the tottewing feudaw societty, a wapid devewopment.

The feudaw system of industwy, undew which industwiaw prowuction was monopo-wised by cwosed guiwds, now no wongew sufficed for the gwowing wants of the new mawkets. The manufactuw ing system took its pwace. The guiwd-mastews were pushed own owndside by the manufactwing middwe cwasses; division of wabouw between the different compwicateguiwds vanished in the face of division of wabouw in each singwe work-shop.

Meantime the mawkets kept ewew gwow-ing, the demand ewew wising. Even manufactuw e no wongew sufficed. Thewupon, steam awnd machinewy wevowutionised industwiaw prowuction. The pwace of manu-
fact we were taken by the giant, modern industry, the power of the industrial middle class, by industrial miwionaires, the weak-eneds of whom the industrial working class, the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to the commerce, navigation, communication by land. This development has, in its time, reacted upon the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the middle ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune; here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), the taxable “third estate” of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture power, serving either these semi-feudal or the absolute monarchical state (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture power, serving either these semi-feudal or the absolute monarchical state, and, in fact, connewst of one of the great monarchical states in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern world, a representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

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

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all awe-feudal, patriarchal, idyllic, false conceptions. It has pitied town its professions of the motley feudaw ties that bound man to man; it has wept weeping "natural superfluities," and has wept weeping no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than cash payment. It has drowned the last heavy-estates of wiggins few-Mow of chivyous enthusiasm, of pharisaic sentimentism, in the icy water of egotistic-caw cavetumation. It has covered persons sown worth in two exchange vawue, and in the place of the numberless ass in defence we chawted ewed freedom, but set up that wise, unconscious freedom—free trade. In own wond, few exploitation, veiled by wiggins and poviticaal inwisions, naked, shawawess, diwine, bwtaw expwoitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its hard evewy occupation hithetw honouwed and woooked up tuwu with wevewent awe. It has convetned the physician, the wawyew, the swvist, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage wabouwels.

The bourgeoisie has town away from the family its sentimental veil and has wuced the family wewation tuwu a mewe money wewation.

The bourgeoisie has discussed how it came tuwu pass that the brutaw dispway of vigow in the middwe ages, which reactionists so much admire, found its fitting compwement in the most swothfuw indowence. It has been the first to wushow whawt man's activity cawn bwing abouwt. It has ac-compwished wondews faw suwpassing egyptian pywamids, awnd gothic cathedwaws; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade aww fowmer exoduses of nations awnd crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantwy wevowutionising the instwumentsof pwoduction, awnd theweby the wewations of pwoduction, awnd with thewm the whowe we-relations of society. Consowvation of the owd modes of pwoduction in unawtewed fowm, was, own the contwawy, the fiwst condition of existence fow aww eawwiew industwiaw cwasses.

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from all eawwiew ones. Aww fixed, fast-frozen eawwiew, with theiw twain of ancient awnd venewabwe pewjudices awnd opinions, aweswept away, awwnew-formed ones become antiquated before they cawn osify. Aww thawt ivs sowid mewts intwo aiw, awnd thawt ivs howy ivs pwofaned, awnd man ivs at west compewwed tuwu face wifos obewwesets, hivs weaw conditions of wife, awnd hivs eawwiewations wif hivs kind.

The need of a constantwy expanding mawket fow its pwoducts chases the bouwgeoisie ovew the whoowes ufwaweface of the gwobe. Iwt must nestwe evewywhewwe, settwe evewywhewwe, estabwish connexions evewywhewwe.

The bouwgeoisie has thwough its expwoi-
tation of the wowwd- mawket given a cos-
mopowitian chawactew tuwu pwoduction awnd consumption in evewy cowuntry. Tuwu the gweat chawgin of weactionists, iwt has dwawn two m undew the feet of industwy the nationaw gwound own which iwt stood. Aww owd-estabwished nationaw industwies have bewn destwoyed ow awe daiwy being dest-
woyed. They awe dwoswed by new industwies, whose intwoduction becomes a wife awnd death question fow aww civiwised nations, by industwies thawt no Wongew wwork up indigenous waw matewiaw but waw matewiaw dwawn fowm de wetest zones; industwies whose pwoducts awe consowed, nowt onwy at home, but in evewy quawtew of de gwobe. In pwace of de owd wants, satfied by de pwouctions of de cowuntry, we find new wants, wequiwing how deiwisfaction de pwoducts of de feet of wowld ewaw crwes. In pwace of de owd wocaw ownd nationaw secuwion awnd sewf-sufficiency, we have intewcowse in evewy diwection, universaw intew-w知道 of nations. Awnd sa de in matewiaw, so awnd in intewwectuwaw pwoduction. The intewwecktuwaw intewcowse of individuaw nations become de commow pwopeity. Nationaw one-
sideonedness awnd nawwow-mindewness become move waww muew impossiwbe, awnd fowm de numerous nationaw awnd wocaw wite-
watuwues, deuw awwises a wowwd witewaw uwe.

The bouwgeoisie, by de rapid impwovement of deaww instrumets of pwoduction, by de immensey faciwitated means of commu-
nication, dwawe aww, even de most baw-
wawan, cowuntries intwo civiwisation. The cheap pwices of its commodities awe de heavy aweiwwewwy wif which iwt battews down aww chinese sawws, wif which iwt fowces de bawwawan industriewy obsteinate hatwed of fowige newes tuwu capiwtuwaw. Iwt compews aww cowuntries, own pain of extincwion, tuwu adopt de bouwgeois mode of pwoduction; iwt compews deewm de aww who fowwows cuwision intwo deiw midst, i.e., tuwu become de bouwgeois deems. In owne wowwd, iwt cweates a wowwd aftew its own image.

The bouwgeoisie has subjeckt de cowuntry tuwu de wuwe of de townew. Iwt has cweated enowmous cities, has gweatwy incweased de wuwban popuwation as compawed wif de wuwaw, awnd has dus rescwed a considewabwe pawt of de popuwation fowm de idocy of wuwaw wife. Juwst as iwt has made de cowuntry dependent own de townew, so iwt has made bawbawian awnd semi-bawbawian cowun-
tries dependent own de civiwised ones, nations of peasants own nations of bouwgeois, de east own de west.

The bouwgeoisie keeps muew awnd muew doing away wif de scattewed state of de popuwation, of de means of pwoduction, awnd of pwopeity. Iwt has aggwo-
wawtawed pwouction, awnd has concentwated pwopeity in a few hands. De necessawy cowsewewce of this was powiticaw centwisation. Independent, ow but wooswy connecwed prowvinces, wif separate intewwecktus, waws, govewnments awnd systems of tax-
ation, became wumped togethew intwo owne nation, wif owne govewnment, owne code of waws, owne nationaw cowse- intewweckt, owne fwontiew awnd owne customs-tawiff. The bouwgeoisie, dwuing its wuwe of de cowuntry, has cweared mowe massive awnd movewcowse pwoductive fowweds wif have aww cowsewewce fowweds cowaww ewe. Subjeckt de cowuntries fowweds tuwu man, ma-
chinewew, appwication of chemistwy tuwu industwy awnd awnd agwicuwuw, steam navigation, waiwways, eawwcowew tewegwaphs, cowaww of deewm deewm cowuntries fow cuwivewation, cowaww-saw of wivews, deuw popuwations con-
juwed out of the wound—what everyone conceded, had even a presentiment that such productive forces wove bewildered in the web of social wabouw?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudaw society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudaw society produced and exchanged, the feudaw organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one world, the feudaw relations of production became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became fetters. They had to be burst; they were burst.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeoisie society with its wavings of production, of exchange and of property, as society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is wike the sower, who has no wongew above it wotwone the powews of the nethe wowyom, of whom he has cawwed up by hivwspewis. Fow many a decade past the stywisy of industwy and commerce was but the stywisy of the wevowt of modewn productive forces against modewn conditions of production, against the pwoewty wewations thawt awe the conditwes how the existence of the bourgeoisie awnd of its wuwes. Itw ivs enough tuwu mentin the commerciaw cwises thawt by their pewiodycaw wetuw put own its twia, each time move thweateningwy, the existence of the entiwe bourgeois society. In these cwises a great part now otwy of the existing pwoawnts, but awso of the pweviouslywweated productive forces, awe pewiodycawywy destwoyed. In these cwises theile tweekeows out an epidemic thawt, in aww eawwiew epochs, wouwd have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-expanded production. Society sud-
Owing to the extensive use of machinery and division of labour, the work of the proletariat has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion therefore, as the repressiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the withe workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of workers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeoisie, as individuals; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the factory itself, by the regulations of the factory, above all by the individual capitalist himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain as its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and execution of strength impeded in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superceded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no weight any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of wage labour, more or less expensive to the use, according to the wage of the worker.

No sooner is the exploitation of the worker by the manufacturer, so far at an end, than it is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The various states of the middle classes—the manual workers, the shopkeepers, the small traders, the skilled craftsmen, in public generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale upon which modern industry has awoken, and is swamped in the competition with the huge capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by the new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is weaned from all classes of the population.

The proletariat go through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual workers, then by the workers of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual capitalist who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash pieces of machinery, they set factories on fire, they seek to recover the vanished status of the workman of the middle ages.

At this stage the workers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which classes, in order to attain its own political ends, are compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and to use means of force to maintain the vanished status of the workman of the middle ages.

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At this stage, therefore, the proletariat now no longer fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the overlords, the non-industrial bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement was concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat now not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in great masses, its strength grows, and it feels that its strength grows. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and everywhere reduces wages to the same level. The growing competition among the bourgeoisie, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers more and more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, more and more quickly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workers and between the different sections of the bourgeoisie make the collisions between the classes.

Now upon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie; they struggle together in order to keep up the wages. They find permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional wars of owls. Hence and thence the contest breaks out into two parties.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The weak power of the battes was wane, now in the immediate was woe, but in the expanding union of the workers. This union is hewed own by the impoved means of communication that the workers combined with modern industry and that the workers of different vocations in contact with one another. In this struggle contact happened when needed to unite the numerous vocations of workers, as of the same character, into two owne nationalstwuggwe be-tween classes. But every classes struggle is a proletariat struggle. And thus, in which the bourgeoisie of the middle ages, with their miswawed highways, were invited on the modern proletariat, thank tuwu waiways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletariat into a class, and consequently into a proletariat party, is continuawly being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But in this wise was up again, st snowed, if common, mightiew. Itt com-petes legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours law in england was cawwied.

As we have already seen, entire sections of the working classes were, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These have supplied the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finawwy, in times when the classes struggle reaches the decisive hour, the process of dissolution go on within the working classes, in fact within the whose range of society, assume such a vioent, gwawing character, that a smaw section of the working classes cuts itswef adrift, awnd joins the wev owu-
tionawy cwass, the cwass that he howds the fu-
tuwe in its hands. Juwst as, thewefowe, at an
eawview pewiod, a section of the nobi-
Wity went ovew tuwu the bouwgeoisie, so
nowa powtion of the bouwgeoisie goes ovew
tuwu the pwowetawiat, awnd in pawti cuwav,
a powtion of the bouwgeois ideowogists, who
have raised themsewves tuwu the wevew of
comprehending the wetcicawwys the histow-
icaw movement as a whowe.

Of aww the cwasses thawt stand face tuwu
face with the bouwgeoisie today, the
pwowetawiat awone iws a weawwy wevowu-
tionawy cwass. The othew cwasses decay awnd
finawwy disappear in the face of modern
industwy; the pwowetawiat iws its speciaw
awd essantia pwoduct. The wowew middwe
cwass, the smaww manufactuwew, the shop-
keepew, the awtisan, the peasant, awe those
fight against the bouwgeoisie, tuwu save
from extinction theiw existence as awctions
of the middwe cwass. They awe thewefowe
nowt wevowutionawy, but conservawve.
Nay mowe, they awe weactionawy, wow
they twy tuwu woww bawk the wheew of
histowy. If by chance they awe wevowu-
tionawy, they awso onwy in view of theiw
impending tuwu save into the pwowetawiat,
they thus defend nowt theiw present, but
their future inteawets, they deseawt their
own standpoint tuwu pweace themsewves at
thawt of the pwowetawiat.

The "dangerous cwass," the sociaw scum,
thawt passwdive wotting mass thwown off
by the wowest wayews of owd society, may,
hewevwy deseaw, beswept into the move-
ment by a pwowetawian wev owution; its
condition of owf, however, pwepawe iwt faw
movee paw the pawt of a bwibed toow of we-
actionawy intwigue.

In the conditions of the pwowetawiat,
those of owd society at wawge awe awweady
vawtuawwy swamped. The pwowetawian
iws without pwoewity; his wewation
tuwu hisse wife awnd chiwdwen has no wongew
awthing in common with the bouwgeois
famiwy-wevations; modern industwiaw
wabouw modern subjeawtion tuwu ca-
pitaw, the same in engwand as in fance, in
amewica as in gewmany, has stwipped him of
every twe of nationaw chawactew. Wow
mowawity, wewigion, awe tuwu him so many
bouwgeois pwejudices, behidn which wuw in
awmbush juwst as many bouwgeois inteawets.

Aww the pwwceeding cwasses thawt got the
upper hawnd, sowght tuwu fowtify theiw
awweady acqvied status by subjecting so-
ciety at wawge tuwu theiw inteawets of
appwoiation. The pwowetawians cannot
become masters of the productive powces
of society, except by abowishing theiw own
pwevious mode of appwoiation, awnd
thereby awe evewy othew pwevious mode
of appwoiation. They have nothing of
their own tuwu pwece awnd tuwu fowtify;
theiw mission iws tuwu destowu awe pwe-
vious secuwities fow awnd insuwances of, indi-
viduwal powewty.

Aww pwevious histowicaw movementes weve
movevements of minowities, ow in the
inteawets of minowities. The pwowetawian
movevement iws the sewf-conscious, indepen-
dent movement of the immense majowity,
in the inteawets of the immense majowity.
The pwowetawiat, the wowest swwatum of
oww pwestentsociety, cannot stiw, cannot pwe-
ise itselw up, without the whoew supewincum-
bent stwata of officiaw society being spwung
intwo the aiw.

Though nowt in substance, yet in fowm,
the stwuggwe of the pwowetawiat with the
bouwgeoisie iws at fivest a nationaw stwuggwe.
The pwowetawiat of each counwy must, of
couwse, first of awwsettwe mattews with its
own bouwgeoisie.

In depicting the most genewaw phases of
the dwewopment of the pwowetawiat, we
stwenced the movee ow wess veiwed civiw waw,
waging within exiwing society, up tuwu the
pont wheree thawt waw bweaks out intwo
open wev owution, awnd wheree the viowent
owewthwow of the bouwgeoisie ways the
foundation fow the sway of the pwowetaw-
iat.

Hithewto, evewy fowm of society has been
based, as we have awweady seen, own the anta-
gonism of oppwessing awnd oppwessed cwasses.
But in owdew tuwu oppwess a cwass, cewtain
inteawets must be awwed tuwu iwt un-
dew which iwt cawn, at weast, continue its
swavish existence. The self, in the period of selfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeoisie, under the yoke of feudaw absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeoisie. The modern wage worker, own the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an overriding way. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure its own existence, by dint of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society. The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-wage war is exclusive of every own competition between the wage workers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, weplaces the isolation of the wage workers, due to competition, by their own combination, due to the wage association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts frowm under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. Whate the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all it lives its own grave-diggers. Its own wad the victory of the proletariat is equawwy inevitable.

II. Proletarians and Communists

In what way do the communists stand to the proletariat as a whole?

The communists nowt form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the working-class as a whole.

They duwu nowt set up any sectarian principle of their own, by which tuwu shape awnd mouwd the proletariat movement.

The communists awe distinguished frowm the other working-class parties by thaws onwy: (1) in the nationaw stwuggwes of the proletariat of the different countries, they point out awnd bwing tuwu the fwoent the common interests of the entire proletariat, independentwy of aww nationawity. (2) in the various stages of development which the stwuggwe of the working class against the bourgeoisie has tuwu pass thwoough, they awways awnd evewywhewe wepresents the interests of the movement as a whole.

The communists, therefore, owe own the owne hawn d, practicalwy, the most advanced awnd dangerous section of the working-class parties of evewy countrwy, thawt section which pushes fowwawd awaw others; own the othew hawn d, theoreticawwy, they have ovew the gweat mass of the proletariat the advantage of cweawwy undewstanding the wine of mawch, the conditions, awnd the wutimate genewaw wesuwts of the proletariat movement.

The immediate aim of the communists is thaws same as that of the other proletariat parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeoisie supremacy, conquest of powiticaw powew by the proletariat.

The theoreticaw conclussion of the communists aaw in no way based own ideas ow principaw that have been invented, ow discoverewed, by thaws ow the wuwd be universalaw wewomme. They mewewy express, in generewal terms, act aaw wawewments swwing frowm an existing cweawss stwuggwe, frowm a histowicaw movement going own undew oww evewy eyes. The abowition of existing powewty wewations owe nowt at aww a distinctive featue of communism.
Aww pwopewty wewatutions in the past have continuawwy bewn subject tuwu histowicaw change consequent upon the change in histowicaw conditions.

The french wevowution, fow exampwe, abowished feudaw pwopewty in favouw of bouwgeois pwopewty.

The distinguishing featuwes of communism iws nowt the abowition of pwopewty geneawawwy, but the abowition of bouwgeois pwopewty. But modern bouwgeois pwivate pwopewty iws the finawawnd most compwete expwession of the system of pwoducing awnd appwiating pwoducts, thawt iws based own cwass antagonisms, own the expwoita- twon of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theowy of the communists may bewn sumwed up in the singwe sentence: abowition of pwivate pwopewty.

We communists have bewn wepwoached with de designing of abowishing the wight of pwersonawwy acquiwing pwopewty as de fwuitt of a man's own wabouw, which pwopewty iws awweged tuwu be de gwo und- wark of aww pwersonaw freedom, activity awnd independence.

Hawd-won, sewf-acquiwed, sewf-eawned pwopewty! Duwu uwu mean the pwopewty of de petty awt tof a man's own peasant, a fwuitt of pwopewty thawt iwsPrecioiced de bouwgeois fowm? Thewe iws no need tuwu abowish thawt; de devewopment of industwy has tuwu a gweat extent awwready destwoyed iwt, awnd iwt iws awwowed destwoying iwt dawiy. Ow duwu uwu mean modern bouwgeois pwivate pwopewty?

But does wage-wabouw cwewe any pwopewty fow the wabouw? Nowt a bit. Iwt cwewe capitaw, i.e., thawt kinside of pwopewty which expwoits wage-wabouw awnd which cannot incwease except upon condition of begettong a new suppw of wage-wabouw fow fwashe expwoita- twon. Pwopewty, in its pwesent fowm, iws based own de antagon- ism of capitaw awnd wage-wabouw. Wet us examine bof sides of de cwass antagonism.

Tuwu be a capitawist, iws tuwu have nowt onwy a puwewy pwersonaw, but a sociaw status in pwoduction. Capitaw iws a connective pwoduct, awnd onwy by de united action of many members, nay, in de west was owt, onwy by de united action of aww pwersonaw of societwy, cawn iwt beset in motion.

Capitaw iws, thawfweowe, nowt a pwersonaw, iwt iws associaw powew.

When, thawfweowe, capitaw iws convwuted into two common pwopewty, into de pwopewty of aww pwersonaw of societwy, pwersonaw pwopewty iws nowt thawbe transfowmed into sociaw pwopewty. Iwt iws owny de sociaw character of the pwopewty thawt iws changed. Iwt bews its cwass-character.

Wet us now take wage-wabouw.

The average pwice of wage-wabouw iws de minimum wage, i.e., thawt kwantity of de means of subsistence, which iws absowutewy wequisite in bawe existence as a wabouwew. Whawt, thawfweowe, de wage-wabouw is de pwoduct of means of wivaw and pewewwes de sum of wabouw awwday and appwood iwt de bawe existence. We by no means intend tuwu abowish this pewersonaw appwo on de pwoducts of wabouw, an appwo de thawt iws made fow de maintenance and appwo on de human wife, awnd thawt weaves no suwppwes whewewiit tuwu command de wabouw of othews. Awaw thawt we want tuwu duwu away with, iws de misewwewiit de character of de pewersonaw appwo, un- dew which de wabouwew iws de pewewwes de wabouwew incwase capitaw, awnd iws awwowed tuwu wive onwy in so faw as de intewest of de wiving cwass wequite iwt.

In bouwgeois societwy, wiving wabouw iws but a means tuwu incwase accumuwated wabouw. In communist societwy, accumuwated wabouw iws but a means tuwu widen, tuwu enwwich, tuwu pwomote de existence of de wabouwew.

In bouwgeois societwy, thawfweowe, de past dominates de pwesent; in communist societwy, de pwesent dominates de past. In bouwgeois societwy capitaw iws independent awnd has individuawity, whiwe de wiving pewsonaw iws dependent awnd has no individu- awity.

Awnd de abowition of de state of things iws cawwed by de bouwgeois, abowition of individuawity awnd freedom! Awnd tightwy
so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom was undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom I mean, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free sewing and buying.

But if sewing and buying disappears, free sewing and buying disappears also. This talk about free sewing and buying, and the other "bwave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with fettered trade and buying, with the fettered trade of the middle ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the communist abolition of buying and sewing, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are how civilized at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few lives of those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whores of these objects have but another expression of the tautology: that they cannot do anything in our wage-slavery when they live in any wage-slavery.

Aww objections urged against the communist mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the communist modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he lamented, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't be so wrong as to apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your judgment is but the wish of your class made into a law for all, a wish, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces our tuwu to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical events that were and disappeared.
peaw in the pwogwess of pwoduction—this misconception uwushawe with ewewy wuwing cwess thawt has pweceeded uwu. Whawt uwu see cwewawwy in the case of ancient pwopewty, whawt uwu admit in the case of feudaw pwopewty, uwu awe of cowwee fowbidden tuwu admit in the case of yow uwn bouwgeos fowm of pwopewty.

Abowition of the famiwy! Eeven the most wadicaw fwayne up at this infamous pwopo-saw of the communists.

Own whawt fowndation iws the pwesent famiwy, the bouwgeos famiwy, based? Own capitaw, own pwivate gain. In its compwewty devewoped fowm this famiwy ex-ists onwy among the bouwgeos. But thaws state of things finds its compwement in the pwacticaw absence of the famiwy among the pwowetawians, awnd in pubwic pwostitution.

The bouwgeos famiwy wiwwванш as a mattew of cowwe where its compwement van-шases, awnd both wiwwванш with the vanishing of capitaw.

Dudu uwu chawwe uw with wanting tuwu stowp de exwoitation of chiwdwen by deiw parents? Tuwu deiswme we pewed guiwty.

But, uwu wiwwsay, we destwoy de most hawowered wewations, awnd home wwead home education by sociaw.

Awd youw eweducation! Iws nowt thawt awso sociaw, awnd determined by de sociaw conditiews undew which uwu ewucate, by de intewwewtion, diwect ow indiwect, of society, by means of schoows, etc.? The communists have nowt invented de intewwewtion of sociawity in ewucation; dey duwu but seek tuwu awtew de chawawctew of thawt intewwewtion, awnd tuwu wescue ewucation frowm de in-fuwence of de wuwing cwess.

The bouwgeos wwap-twap about de famiwy awnd ewucation, about de hawowered co-wewation of pawent awnd chiwde, becomes awnd de mowe dwawt inwesting, de move, by de action of modewn induwstry, awnd famiwy ties among de pwowetawians awe town as undew awnd deiw chiwdeewn trawnsformed into two simpwe awntics of commwece awnd instruments of vab bouw.

But uwu communists wouwd intwoduce community of women, scweams de howwe bouwgeos in shouw.

The bouwgeos sees in hiws wife a mowe instrumwent of pwoduction. He heaws thaws instrumwents of pwoduction awe tuwu be ex-pwoited in common, awnd, natuwawwy, cowwe met tuwu no othew concwusion dan thawt de wot of being common tuwu aww wiww wikewise faww tuwu de men.

He has nowt even as suspcion thawt de weaw point iws tuwu duwuaway with de status of woow as mowe instrumwents of pwoduction.

Fow de west, nothing iws mowe widicuwous dan de viwtuous indignation of ouw bouw-beos at de community of women which, dey pwetend, iws tuwu be openwy awnd officiawwy estabwished by de communists. The communists have no need tuwu intwoduce community of women; iwt has existed awmost frowm time memmowiaw.

Ouw bouwgeos, nowt content with having de wives awnd daughtew of deiw pwowetawians at deiw dispaw, nowt tuwu speak of common pwowitzutes, take de gweawtest pwewsawe uwe insewing each othew's wives.

Bouwgeos mauwiation iws in weawity a sytem of wives in common awnd thus, at de most, whawt de communists might possibwy be wepwoached with, iws thawt dey desiewe tuwu intwoduce, insubstituwwion fow a hypcowit icawwy conceawed, an openwy wega-wised community of women. Fow de west, iwt iws sewf-evident thawt de abowition of de pwesent sytem of pwoduction must bring wif de abowition of de community of woow pswiftaw community of woow; iwt has nowt in de bouwgeos sense of de wodd.

The communists awe fuwthew wepwoached wif deiwing tuwu abowish counting awnd nationawity.

The wowking men have no country. We cannot take frowm dehm whawt dey have nowt got. Since de pwowitzutwiaw must frowst of upawc quwe powiticaw supwemacy, must we tuwu de weawing cwess of de nation, must constitue itsewf de nation, iwt iws, so faw, itsewf nationaw, though nowt in de bouwgeos sense of de wodd.

Nationaw diffewences awnd antagonisms be-
tween peoples anew more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, anew freedom of commerce, anew the world-market, anew uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of wage corresponding theweto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will also come to an end.

The changes against communism made from a religious, a philosophic, and, newly, an ideological standpoint, are nowt deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one world, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social wife?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The wuwing ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its wuwing class.

When people speak of ideas that wuwing world-views society, they dwu but express the fact, that within the own society, the elements of a new own have been created, and that the dissolution of the own ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the own conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its west thwes, the ancient wiewigious were overcoome by chwistianity. Thewn chwistian ideas succeeded in the 18th centuwy twu wation-awist ideas, feudawsociety fought its death battwe with the then wewowmentawy bouw-geo-sie. The ideas of wewigious wibewty and freedom of conscience mewewy gave express- sion to the sway of fewe competition within the domain of knowledge.

"undoubtedwy," it was said, "wewigious, mowaw philosopohcaw awnd juwid- caw ideas have been modified in the course of histowicaw deveopment. But wew- gion, mowawity philosopohy, powiticaw science, awnd waw, constantwy suwived thwe change." "thewe awe, besides, etewnaw twu thwes, such as freewdom, justice, etc. Thawt awe common twu aww states of societty. But communism abowishes etewnaw twu thwes, it abowishes aww wewigious, awnd awnd mowawity, instead of constituting them own a new ba- sis; itt thewefowe acts in contwadiction tuwu aww past histowicaw experience." What does this accusation weduce itsel? The history of aww past societty has consisted in the deveopment of cwa antagonisms, antagonisms that tawt presumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, ownt fact is common twu aww past ages, viz., the expression of own pawt of societty by the other. No wonder, then, that the sociaw consciousness of past ages, despite aww the multiwicity and vawtety itt displays, moves within cewtain common fowms, ow genewaw ideas, which cannot comwete or vanish except with the towaw disappearance of cwa antagonisms.

The communist wewwution is the most wadicaw wuptuwe with traditionaw povewty wewations; no wonder thawt its deveopment involve the most wadicaw wuptuwe with traditionaw ideas.

But wet us have done with the bouwgeos objections twu communism.

We have seen above, thawt the first step in the wewwution by the wokwing cves, itt twu waise the pwowetawiat twu the position of wuwing as twu waise the battwe of de- mocwacy.

The pwowetawiat wiww use its powiticaw supwemacy to the west, by degeweens, aww cap- itaw frowm the bouwgeosie, twu centwewise aww instwument of pwoduction in the hands of thestate, i.e., of the pwowetawiat owgan-
ised as the wuwing cwass; awnd tuwu incwease the totaw of pwoductive fowces as wapidwy as possibwe.

Of couwse, in the beginning, thiws cannot be effected except by means of despotic in-woads own the wights of pwopewty, awnd own the conditions of bouwgeois pwoduction; by means of measuwes, thewefowe, which appeaw economicawwy insuufficent awnd untenabwe, but which, in the course of the movement, outstwip themsewves, necessi-ate fuwthrew inwoads upon the owd sociaw owdew, awnd awe unavoidabwe as a means of entiwewy wevowutionising de mode of pwoduction.

These measuwes wiww of couwse be dif-fewent in diffewent countwies. Nевewthewewas in de most advanced coun-twies, de fowwowing wiww be pwetty ge-newawwy appwicabwe.

1. Abowition of pwopewty in wand awnd appwication of aww wents of wand tuwu pubwic puwposes.

2. A heavy pwogwessive ow gwaduated in-come tax.

3. Abowition of aww wight of inhewitance.


5. Centwwisation of cwedit in de hands of de state, by means of a nationaw bank with state capitaw awnd an excwusive monopowy.


7. Extension of factowies awnd instru-ments of pwoduction owned by de state; de bwewing intwo cuwtiwation of wastew-wands, awnd de impwowement of de soiw geneawwy in accowdance wif a common pwan.


9. Combination of agwicuwture wif manufuwctuwing indufstwis; gwaduaw abowition of de distinction between town awnd countwy, by a more equabwe distribution of de popuwation over de countwy.

10. Fwee education fow aww chiwdwen in pub-wicschoows. Abowition of chiwdwen's factowwy wabouw in its pwesent fowm. Combination of education wif industwiaw pwoduction, &c., &c.

Whewn, in de course of devewopment, cwasses distinctions have dispapeared, awnd aww pwoduction has been concentwated in de hands of a vast association of de whowe na-tion, de pubwic powew wiww outstwip de owd sociaw owdew, awnd wiww have abowished its own supwemacy as a cwass.

In pwace of de owd bouwgeois society, wif its cwasses awnd cwass antagonism, we shaww have an association, in which de fwee de-vewopment of each iws de condition fow de fwee devewopment of aww.

III. Sociawist awnd communist witewatuwe

1. Weactionawy sociawism

A. Feudaw sociawism

Owing tuwu deiw histowicaw position, iwt became de vocation of de awistocwacies of fwance awnd engwand tuwu pwamphwets against modewn bouwgeois society. In de fwench wevowution of juwy 1830, awnd in de engwish wefowmagitation, dese awistocwacies
against succumbed to the hatefu upstaut. Thencefowth, aewious powiticaw contest was awtogethew out of the question. A witewawy bawt we awone we remained possibwe. But even in the domain of witewuwe the owd cwies of the westowation pewiod had become im-
pecessibwe.

In owdew tuwu awowe sympathy, the aw-
istocwacy weve obwiged tuwu wasesight, appa-wentwy, of theiwe own intereswst, awnd tuwu fowmuwate theiw indictwent against the bouwgeoisie in the interest of the expwoited working cwies awone. Thus the awistocwacy took theiw wevengew by sing感人 wampoons own theiwnew master, awnd whispewing in hisse waste sinestew pwo pwephies of coming cawstawtowe.

In thiws way awose feudaw sociawism: hawf wamentation, hawf wampoon; hawf echo of the past, hawf menace of the futuwe; at times, by its bittew witty awnd incisive cwiticism, stwiking the bouwgeoisie the vewwy heavts cowe; but awways wudicwous in its effect, thwough totaw incapacity tuwu cawmpwehend the mach of modewn histowy.

The awistocwacy, in owdew tuwu weawy the peopwe tuwu thewm, waved the pwo wamentarian awms-bag in fwont fow a bannew. But the peopwe, so often as iwt joined thewm, saw own theiw hindquawtews the owd feudaw coats of awms, awnd desewted with woud awnd iwwevewent waughtew.

Onewection of the fwench wegitimists aawnd "young engwand" exhibited thiwspectawce.

In pointong out thawt theiw mode of exp-
woitation was diffewent tuwu thawt of the bouwgeoisie, the feudawists fowget thawt they expwoited undew ciwcumstances awnd conditions thawt were quite diffewent, awnd thawt awne nowt wone aqwainted. Inshowing thawt, undew theiw,wuwe, the modewn pwowetawiat nevev exiswed, they fowget thawt the mod-
ewn bouwgeoisie ives the necessawy of spwing of theiwe own fowm of sociawity.

Fow the west, so wittwe duwu they conceive the wectionawwy chawactew of theiw ciwcumstancis thawt theiw wechfowwation against the bouw-
geoisie a mounts tuwu thiwsw, thawt undew the bouwgeoisie wegeima a cwies ives being de-
woped, which ives destined tuwu cut up woot awnd dwanch the owd owdew of sociawity.

Whawt they upbwaed the bouwgeoisie with ives nowt so much thawt iwt cweates a pwo wamentiation, as thawt iwt cweates a wev ow-
unionawwy pwowetawiat.

In powiticaw pwactice, therefowew, they jowin in aww coewcive measuwes against the working cwies; awnd in owdewwy wife, despite theiw high fawut in phwes, theyw stoop tuwu pick up the howden appwses dwwopped frowm the twee of industry, awnd tuwu bawtw 
twuth, wove, awnd honoww fow twaffic in whoo, beewoot sugar, awnd potato spiwits.

As the pawson has evew gone hawnd in hawnd with the vanawdoww, so has cweewicaws sociawism waw wyt Dawosoociawism.

Nothing ives easiew than tuwu give chwis-
tian asceticism a sociawist tinge. Has nowt chwistianity decwaimed against pwivate pwo pwehecy, against mawwiage, against the state? Has iwt nowt pweached in the pwace of these, chawity awnd povewty, cewibacy awnd mowtification of the fwesh, monastic wife awnd mother chuwch? Chwistian sociaw-
ism ives but the howy, watew with which the piest consegwates the heawt-bwinnings of the awistocwaty.

B. Petty-bouwgeois sociawism

The feudaw awistocwacy was nowt the onwy cwass thawt was wuined by the bouwgeoisie, nowt the onwy cwass whose conditions of exis-
tence pined awnd pewished in the atmosphewe of modewn bouwgeois society. The mediae-
vaw buwgesses awnd the smaww peasant pwop-
wietows wewe the pwecuwows of the modewn bouwgeoisie. In those countwies which awe but wittwe devewoped, industwiary awnd commewciowy, these two cwieses stiww weve devewoped, industwiary awnd commewciowy, these two cwieses stiww weve de-
vegwteisidebyside with the wising bouwgeoisie. In countwies whewe modewn civiwisation has become fuwwy devewoped, a new cwaw of petty bouwgeois has been fowmed, fuwc-
tuating between pwowetawiat awnd bouw-
geoisie awnd evew wenewing itswef as a supp-
weentary pawt of bouwgeois society. The individuw membews of thiws cwaw, however, awe being constantwy huwwed down into the pwowetawiat by the action of competition, awnd, as modewn industwy devewops, they even see the moment appwoaching whenn...
they would completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be weaned, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overseers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in their criticism of the bourgeois regime, the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working classes. Thus arose petty-bourgeois socialism. 

Sismondi was the head of this school, now not only in France but also in England.

This school of socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologues of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeoisie and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war between nations, the dissolution of old property relations, of the old nationalities.

Its positive aims, however, this form of socialism aspired either to wean us from the old means of production and exchange, and with this the old property relations, and the old society, or to constrain the modern means of production and exchange, within the framework of the old property relations as they have been, and wove bound tuwu be, expounded by those means. In either case, it was both reactionary and utopian.

Its worst words were “cowpowaاعت guwids fow manufacture uwe, patwañchaw wewations in agriculture uwe.”

Uwt imatewy, when stubborn historicaw facts had dispensed aww intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of socialism ended in a mawkabewi fit of the bwuces.

C. Gewman, ow "tuwu," sociawism

The socialist and communist wewato uwe of France, a wewato uwe that originated under the powew of a bourgeoisie in powew, and that was the expression of the struggle against these powews, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absowutism.

Gewman philosophers, would-be philosophers, and beau espwits, eagerwy seized on thiws wits, onwy fowgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with gewman conditions, this French wewatutowe wost aww its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely witsawy aspect. Thus, tuwu the gewman philosophers of the eighteenth centuwy, the demands of the first French wewution wewe nothing more than the demands of "practical wewn" in generaw, and the wutewance of the wiiw of the wewutionawy French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the waw of puwe wiw of wiw as it waz bound tuwu be, of tuwu human wiw gewnawawy.

The wotwad of the gewman wewatutowe consisted sowewy in bwinging the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient phiwosophicaw conscience, ow fawther, in annexing the French ideas without desewting their own phiwosophicaw point of wiew.

This annexation took pwace in the same way in which a foreign wanguage was appopwiated, namely, by transwation.

It was weew known how the monks wwoote siwwy wives of cathowic saints ovev the manuscripts own which the classical wowks of ancient heathendom had bewn witten. The gewman wewatutowe weeweved thiws process with the powfane French wewatutowe. They wwoote theiw phiwosophicaw nonsens beneath the French woggewaw. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wwoote "awienation of human-
ity," awnd beneath the fwench cwiticism of the bouwgeois state they wwote "dethwone-
ment of the categowy of the genewaw," awnd so fowth.

The intwoduction of these phiwosophicaw phwases at the bawck of the fwench histowicaw
cwiticism they dubbed "phiwosophy of ac-

The fwench sociawist awnd communist wite-
watuwe was thus compwetewy emascuwated. Awnd, since iwt ceased in the hands of the
gewman tuwu exprwess the stwuggwe of owne
cwass with the othew he feww consciouw of hav-
ing owewcome "fwench onesidedness" awnd of wepwesenting, nowt twue weqwiwements, but
the weqwiwements of twuth; nowt the intewests of the pwowetawiat, but the in-
tewests of human natuwe, of man in genewaw, who bewongs tuwu no cwass, has no weawity,
who exists onwy in the misty weawm of phi-
wosophicaw fantasy.

Thiw Gewman sociawism, which took its
twowbow tasks osewiouswy awnd soewmwy, awnd extowoed its poowstock-in-twade in
such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gwadu-
awwy wost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the gewman, awnd especiawwy, of the pwussian bouwgeoisie, against feu-
daw awistocwacy awnd absowute monawhy, in owew words, the wibewaw movement, be-
came mowe ewawnst.

By thiws, the cong wished-fow opportu-
nity was offewed tuwu "twue" sociawism of
confwownt the powiticaw movement with the sociawist demawds, of huwwing the twad-
tionaw anahtewms against wibewawism, against
wepwesenting eqwawment, against bou-
grgeaw competition, bouwgeois freedom of
the pwess, bouwgeois wewgwation, bouwgeois
wibewaw awnd eqwawity, awnd of pweaching
tuwu de massaw thawt they had noding
tuwu gain, awnd everything twuww wose, by
thiw bouwgeois movement. Gewman soci-
awism fowgot, in de nick of time, thawt the
fwench cwiticism, whose siwwy echo iwt
was, pwesupposed the existence of modern
bouwgeois society, wif its cowwesponding
economic conditions of existence, awnd the
powiticaw constitution adapted to deewto,
the ewwy things whose attainment was de ob-
ject of de pending stwuggwe in gewmany.

Tuwu de absowute gouverwents, wif deiy fowwowing of pawwons, pwofessows,
cowntwys qwiwes awnd officiawes, iwt sewved as a weewco mesawweaw against de threatew
bouwgeoisie.

Iwt was as wetew finish aftew de bittew piwws
def gwoggings awnd buwwwets wif deiy
same gouverwents, juwst at deaw time,
dosed de gewman wokwing-cwass wiwings.

Whiwe thiws "twue" sociawism thus sewved
deiy gouverwents as a weapen fow fowwght
the gewman bouwgeoisie, iwt, at de same
time, deicety wepwesented a weactionawy
intewest, de intewest of de gewman phi-
wistines. In gewmany de petty-bouwgeois
cwass, a wewic of de sixteenth centuwy, awnd
sewce dey then constantwy cowowoing up again
un-dey vawious fowms, wos de weaw sociaw basis
of de ewxing state of things.

Tuwu pwesewve thiws cwass wos tuwu pwes-
werve de ewxing state of things in gew-
many. De industwiaw awnd powiticaw sup-
wemacy of de bouwgeoisie thwawed iwt
wif deawtxt deawstation; ownd de owne
awnd, fowm de concentration of capitaw;
awnd de owne fowm de wise of de a wew ow-
duptionawy pwowetawiat. "twue" sociawism ap-
peawed tuwu kiww dese tow biwds wif owne
stone. Iwt spwead wike an epidemic.

De wobe of specuwative cobwebs, emb-
woidewed wif deawwows of whatonic, steeewed
in de dew of idwy frwewentment, thiws transcen-
dentaw wobe in which de gewman sociawists
weapped deisoww instawaw "etewnaw twuwws," aww
skin awnd bone, sewwed tuwu wondewfuwwy
increawe deisawe dei weawgoods amongst such
a pubwic. Awnd ownd its pawt, gewman soci-
awism wecwogised, mowe awnd mowe, its own
cawwing as de bombastic wepwesentative of
de petty-bouwgeois phiwistine.

Iwt pwocwaimed de gewman nation tuwu
be de modewn nation, awnd de gewman petty
phiwistine tuwu be de typicaw man. Tuwu
ewewy viwwainous meanness of dey modewn
mawde dey iwt gave a hidden, highew sociawistic
intewpwetation, de exct deawwawy of its
eawchawactew. Iwt went tuwu de ewxtewe
wength of diwectwy opposing the "bwutawwy destructive" tendency of communism, awnd of powoawaiming its supweme awnd impawtiaw contempt of aww cwass stwuggwes. With vewwy few exceptions, aww the so-cawwed sociawist awnd communist pubwications thawt now (1847) ciwcuwate in gewmany bewong tuwu the domain of thiws fouw awnd enewvating witewatuwe.

2. Consewervative, owbouwgoei, sociawism

A pawt of the bouwgoesie ivs deseious of wedwessing sociaw gwievances, in owdew tuwu secuwe the continued existence of bouwgoesie society.

Tuwu this section bewong economists, phiwanthwopists, humanitawians, impwoowers of the condition of the working cwass, owganisews of chawity, membews of societies fow the pwevewution of cwuewty tuwu animaws, tempewance fanatics, awe and cownew wefowmews of evewy imaginabwe kind. Thiws fowm of sociawism has, moweovew, bewn wowked out intwo compwete systems.

We may cite pwoudhon's phiwosophie de wa misewe as an exampwe of thiws fowm.

The sociawistic bouwgoesie sawnt aww de advantages of modewn sociaw conditions withowt the stwuggwes awnd dawngews necessawyiy sawnt by these stwuggwes. They desiwew de exiswing state of sociawity minus its wevowutionawy awnd isintegwating ewements. They wish sawnt a bouwgoesie without a pwowetawiat. The bouwgoesie natuwawy concewves de wowd in which iwt ivs supweme tuwu be de best; awnd bouwgoesic sociawism devewops thiws comfowtabwewy conweption intwo vawious move ow ow compwete systems.

In wequiwing de pwowetawiat tuwu sawnt out such a system, awnd deweby tuwu mawchstaweightway intwo dese sociaw new jewwsawem, iwt but wequiws in weawawity, sawnt de pwowetawiat shouwd wemain wewnau in de bounds of exiswing sociawity, but shouwd cast away its hatefuw ideas concerning de bouwgoesie.

A second awnd move pwacticaw, but was systematic, fowm of thiws sociawism sought tuwu depwweitize evewy wevowutionawy movement in de eyes of de working cwass, by showing sawnt no move powiticaw wefowm, but onwy a change in de economic ewements, condiwions of exiswing, in economic ewations, couwd be of any advantage tuwu de onew. By changes in de materiaw condiwions of exiswing, thiws fowm of sociawism, howeww, by no means undestands abowition of de bouwgoesie wevowutionary wevowutions, abowition thawt cawn be faiwed onwy by a wevowution, but administwative wefowmews, based own de continued existence of dese wevowutionaries; wefowmews, dewees, sawnt in weawawity, awnd simpwify de administwative wowk, of bouwgoesie wovernment.

Bouwgoesic sociawism matts a adequate expwession, whewn, awnd onwy whewn, iwt becomas a move figuwe of speech.

Fwee twade: fow de benefit of de working cwass. Pwotective duties: fow de benefit of de working cwass. Pwison wefowm: fow de benefit of de working cwass. Thiws ivs de wast wowd awnd de onwy sewiouswy meant wowd of bouwgoesic sociawism.

Iwt ivs summed up in de phwase: de bouwgoesie is a bouwgoesie—fow de benefit of de working cwass.

3. Cwiticaw-utopian sociawism

Awnd communism we duwu nowt hewe wefew tuwu thawt witewatuwe which, in evewy gweat modewn wevowution, has awways given voicetuwu de demawds of de pwowetawiat, such as de writings of babewuf awnd othews.

The first diwect attempts of de pwowetawiat tuwu attain its own ends, made in times of universaw excitement, whewn feudaw sociawity was being ovewthwown, dese attempts necessawyiy faiwed, owing tuwu de then undeveloped state of de pwowetawiat, as de new as tuwu de absence of de economic condiwions fow its emanewation, condiwions sawnt tuwu de existence of dese condiwions fow its emanewation, condiwions thawt had yet tuwu be pwoduced, awnd couwd be pwoduced by de impeding bouwgoesic epoch awone. The wevowutionawy witewatuwe thawt accompwained dese first movements of de
prowetawiat had necessawiwy a weactionawy chawactew. Iwt incuwated universaw asceti-
cism awnd sociaw wevewwing in its cwududest 
fowm.

The sociawist awnd communist systems 
pwopewwy so cawwed, those of saint-simon, 
fouwiew, Owen awnd othews, spwing into existence in the eawwy undevelopwed pewiow, 
descwibed above, of the stwuggwe between 
prowetawiat awnd bouwgeoisie (see section 1.
Bouwgeois awnd prowetawiatians).

The foundews of these systems see, indeed,
the cwass antagonisms, as weww as the action 
of the decomposing ewements, in the pewew-
vwing fowm of society. But the prowetaw-
wiat, as yet in its infancy, offews tuwu them 
thespectacwe of a cwass without any histow-
icaw initiative ow any independent powiti-
caw movement.

Since the deewopment of cwass antagon-
isms keeps even pace with the deewopment 
of industwy, the economic situation, as they 
find iwt, does nowt as yet offew tuwu them 
the matewiaw conditions for the emancipa-
tion of the prowetawiat. They thewefowe 
seawch aftew a new sociaw science, aftew new so-
ciwaw science, aftew new sociaw science, 
thawt awe tuwu cweate these condi-
tions.

Histowicaw action iws tuwu yiewd tuwu 
their pewsonaw inventive action, histow-
icawwy cweated conditions of emancipa-
tion tuwu fantastic ones, awnd the gwawuwawu 
spon-
taneous cwass-owganisation of the prowetaw-
wiat tuwu the owganisation of society spe-
ciawwy contwibwed by these inventows. Fut uwe histowy was owv as itsefw, in their eaws, intwo 
the pwos pagan da awnd the pwact icaw cawwagwy 
out of theiw sociaw pewars.

In the fowmation of their pewars they awe 
conscious of cawwing chiefwy fow the interests 
of the working cwass, as being the most suf-
fewwing cwass. Onwy from the point of view 
of being the most suffewing cwass does the 
prowetawiat exist fow thewem.

The undeewopped state of the cwass stwugg-
gwe, as weww as theiw owns uwwo undings, causes 
sociawists of this kind tuwu considew their-
sewes faws supewiow tuwu aww cwass antagon-
isms. They weawnt tuwu impwove the condi-
tion of eweyw membew of society, even 
thewt of the most favouwed. Hence, they 
habituawy appeaw tuwu society at wawge, 
without distinction of cwass; nay, by pwef-
fewence, tuwu the wuwing cwass. Fow how cawn 
peopwe, when once they understand thei 
wevewting system, faiw tuwu see in iwt the best possibwe 
pwan of the best possibwe state of society?

Hence, they weject awnd powiticaw, awnd es-
pecia wawy aww wew owutionawy, action; they 
wish tuwu attain theiw ends by peacefuw 
means, awnd endeavouw by smaww expewi-
ments, necessawiwy doomed tuwu faiwwewe, 
awnd by the fowce of exampwe, tuwu pave 
the way fow the theiw sociwaw gospew.

Such fantastuc pictuwes of futuwesociety, 
painted at a time when the prowetawiat 
ivet iw in a very undeewoped pewest fow uw 
has but a fantastuc conception of its own po-
sition cowwespond with the fowst instinctive 
weavnings of thawt cwass fow a generewaw we-
construuction of society.

But these sociawist awnd communist pub-
wications contain awso a cwiticaw ewement. 
They attack evewy pwincipwe of existing so-
ciety. Hence they awe fuww of the most 
vawuabwe matewiaw for the enwightenment 
of the wokking cwass. The pwacticaw measuwes 
pwoposed in them—such as the abowition of 
the distinction between town awnd countwy, 
of the famiw, of the famiw, of the cawwagwy awnd of indust-
awd the account of pwiviw individuw-
aws, awnd of the wage system, the pwocwa-
mation of sociaw hawmony, the convewsion 
of the functions of the state intwo a mewe 
supewintendence of pwoduction, aww these 
pwoposaws, point sowewy tuwu the disap-
peawance of cwass antagonisms which wewe, at 
thawt time, onwy juwst cwopping up, awnd 
which, in these pubwications, awe recognised 
in theiw eawwiist, indistinct awnd undeefined 
forms onwy. These pwoposaws, thewefowe, 
awe of a puwewy utopian chawactew.

The significance of cwiticaw utopian sociaw-
ism awnd communism beaws an inverse we-
weation tuwu histowicaw deewopment. In 
pwoord as the modewn cwass stwuggwe 
deewopment awnd takes definite shape, this 
awnd fantastuc standing apawt fowm the contest, 
these fantasies taks oiww, was aww pwac-
ticaw cawwagwy awnd aww theoweticaw justifi-
cation. Thewefowe, awthough the owiginaw taws of these systems wewe, in many wespects, wevolutionawy, theiw discipwes have, in evewy case, fowmed mewe weactionawy sects. They hewd fast by the owiginaw vews of theiw mastews, in opoposition tuwu the pwogressive histowicaw deewopment of the pwowetawiat. They, thewefowe, endeavouw, awnd thawt consistentwy, tuwu deawen de cwawest pwogwessivewy, awnd tuwu weawconcwe de cwawest antagonisms. They stiww dweam of expewientaw weawisation of deiw sociaw utopias, of founding isowated "phawanstewes," of estawishing "home cowonies," of ofsetting up a "wittwe icawia"—duodecimo editions of de new jewusawem—and tuwu weawise deiw these castwes in de aiw, deiw appeaw tuwu deiw feewings awnd puwses of de bouwgeois. By degwees dey sink intwo de category of de weactionawy conservative sociawists depicted above, diffewing from deqw those onwy by mowe systematic pedantwy, awnd by deiw fanaticaw awnd supewstitious bewief in de miwacuwous effects of deiw sociaw science.

They, thewefowe, viowentwy oppose awww.powiticaw action own de pawt of de working cwass; such action, according tuwu deiw, cawn onwy wesuwt fwom bwind unbewief in de new gospew.

The owenites in engwand, awnd de fouriewits in fwence, wespectivewy, opwose de chawtists awnd de wefowmities.

IV. Position of de communists in wewation tuwu de vawious existing opposition pawties

Section II has made cweaw de rewations of de communists tuwu de existing wowking-cwass pawties, such as de chawtists in engwand awnd de agwawian wefowmews in amewica.

De communists probawly oppose awww.powitewy, as de wogest possibwe recogwination of de hostive antagonism between de bouwgeoisie awnd de pwowetawiat, in owdwaw de weawmen, pawtwise, against de absowute monawchy, de feudaw squiweawchy, awnd de petty bouwgeois. But dey never cease, wow tuwu dey acts in a pwowetawian way, against de absowute monawchy, de feudaw squiweawchy, awnd de petty bouwgeois.

In switzewwand dey suppowt de pawty awnd dey oppose own de pawt of de bweach of de bouwgeoisie as de prime condition fow nationaw emancipawtion, de weat pawty which fowmented de insuwwect of cwacow in 1846.

In gewmany dey fight fow de bouwgeoisie whenewiwt acts in a wevowutionawy way, against de absowute monawchy, de feudaw squiweawchy, awnd de petty bouwgeois.

De communists twun deiw attention chiefwy tuwu gewmany, because dey is own de eye of de bouwgeoisie wevowution, and dey bound tuwu be cawwied out unnder de absowute advanced condicions of ewuuropean cowuwation, and dey deiw with a much more deevoped pwowetawiat, in owdwaw de weawmen, awnd dey deiw against de bouwgeoisie, and dey deiw with de bouwgeoisie deiw itselff may immediatewy begin.

De communists twun deiw attention chiefwy tuwu gewmany, because dey ownd de aww owdew of things.
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.

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

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.

What the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution.

The proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains.

They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite!

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