

Kawl Mawx

Manifestow of the commuwnist pawty

fwom the engwish edition of 1888, edited by Fwiedwrich Engews

A spectwe iws haunting euwope—the spectwe of communism.

Aww the powews of owd euwope have entewed into a howy awwiance tuwu exowcise thiws spectwe: pope awnd czaw, mettewnich awnd guizot, fwench wadicaws awnd gewman powicespies.

Whewe iws the pawty in opposition thawt has nowt bewn decwied as communistic by its opponents in powew? Whewe iws the opposition thawt has nowt huwwed bawck the bwanding wepwoach of communism, against the mowe advanced opposition pawties, as weww as against its weaction-awy adwewsawies?

Two things wesuw from thiws fact.

1. Communism iws aweady acknowwedged by aww euwopean powews tuwu be itsewf a powew.
2. Iwt iws high time thawt communists shouwd openwy, in the face of the howe wowwd, pubwish theiw views, theiw aims, theiw tendencies, awnd meet thiws nuwsewy tawe of the spectwe of communism with a manifesto of the pawty itsewf.

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

I. Bouwgeois awnd pwowetawians

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

Fweeman awnd swave, patwician awnd pwebeian, wofd awnd sewf, guiwd-mastew awnd journeyman, in a wofd, oppwessow awnd oppwessed, stood in constant opposition tuwu owne anothew, cawwied own an unintewwupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight thawt each time ended, eithew in a wevowutionawy weconstitution of society at wawge, ow in the common wuin of the contending cwasses.

In the eawwiew epochs of histowy, we find awmost ewewywhewe a compwicated awwangement of society into vawious owdews, a manifowd gwadation of sociaw wank. In ancient wome we have patwicians, knights, pwebeians, swaves; in

the middwe ages, feudaw wowds, vassaws, guiwd-mastews, journeyemen, appwentices, sewfs; in awmost aww of these cwasses, again, subowdinate gwadations.

The modewn bouwgeois society thawt has spowuted fwom the wuins of feudaw society 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, possesses, howewew, thiws distinctive featuwe: iwt has simpwified the cwass antagonisms. Society as a howe iws mowe awnd mowe spwitting up into two gweat hostiwe camps, into two gweat cwasses, diwectwy facing each othew: bouwgeoisie awnd pwowetawiat.

Fwom the sewfs of the middwe ages spwang the chawtered buwghews of the eawwiest towns. Fwom these buwrgesses the fiwst ewements of the bouwgeoisie wewe dewelopod.

The discoverwy of amewica, the wounding of the cape, opened up fwesh gwound fow the wising bouwgeoisie. The east-indian awnd chinese mawkets, the cowonisation of amewica, twade with the cowonies, the incwease in the means of exchange awnd in commodities genewawwy, gave tuwu commewce, tuwu navigation, tuwu industwy, an impuwse newew befowe known, awnd theweby, tuwu the wevowutionawy ewement in the tottelwing feudaw society, a wapid dewelopment.

The feudaw system of industwy, undew which industwial pwoduction was monopowised by cwosed guiwds, now no wongew sufficed fow the gwowing wants of the new mawkets. The manufactuwing system took its pwace. The guiwd-mastews wewe pushed own owne side by the manufactuwing middwe cwass; division of waboww between the diffewent cowpowate guiwds vanished in the face of division of waboww in each singwe wowkshop.

Meantime the mawkets kept ewew gwowing, the demand ewew wising. Even manufactuwe no wongew sufficed. Theweupon, steam awnd machinewy wevowutionised industwial pwoduction. The pwace of manufactuwe was taken by the giant, modewn industwy, the pwace of the industwial middwe cwass, by industwial miwwionaiwes, the weadews of howe industwial awmies, the modewn bouwgeois.

Modewn industwy has estabwished the wowwd-

mawket, fow which the discoverwy of amewica paved the way. Thiws mawket has given an immense deveopment tuwu commewce, tuwu navigation, tuwu communication by wand. Thiws deveopment has, in its time, weacted own the extension of industwy; awnd in pwopowtion as industwy, commewce, navigation, waiwways extended, in the same pwopowtion the bouwgeoisie deveoped, incweased its capitaw, awnd pushed intwo the background ewewy cwass handed down fwom the middwe ages.

We see, thewefowe, how the modewn bouwgeoisie iws itsewf the pproduct of a wong couwse of deveopment, of a sewies of wevowutions in the modes of pproduction awnd of exchange.

Each step in the deveopment of the bouwgeoisie was accompanied by a cowwespoding powiticaw advance of thawt cwass. An oppwessed cwass undew the sway of the feudaw nobiwy, an armed awnd sewf-gowerning association in the mediaevaw commune; hewe independent urban wepubwic (as in itawy awnd gewmany), thewe taxabwe "thiwd estate" of the monawchy (as in fwance), aftewwawds, in the pewiod of manufactuwe pwopew, sewving eithew the semi-feudaw ow the absowute monawchy as a countewpoise against the nobiwy, awnd, in fact, cownewstone of the gweat monawchies in genewal, the bouwgeoisie has at wast, since the estabwishment of modewn industwy awnd of the wowwdmawket, conquered fow itsewf, in the modewn wepwesentative state, excwusive powiticaw sway. The executive of the modewn state iws but a committee fow managing the common affaiws of the howe bouwgeoisie.

The bouwgeoisie, histowicawwy, has pplayed a most wevowutionawy pawt.

The bouwgeoisie, wheweew iwt has got the uppew hawnd, has put an end tuwu aww feudaw, patwialchaw, idywwic wevowutions. Iwt has pitiwesswy town asundew the motwey feudaw ties thawt bound man tuwu hiws "natuwaw supewiows," awnd has weft wemaining no othew nexus between man awnd man than naked sewf-intewest, than cawwous "cash payment." iwt has ddowned the most heavenwy ecstasies of wewigious fewvow, of chivawwous enthusiasm, of phiwistine sentimentawism, in the icy watew of egotisticaw cawcuwation. Iwt has wesowved pewsonaw wowth intwo exchange vawue, awnd in

pwace of the numbewwess awnd indefeasibwe chawtewed fweedom, has set up thawt singwe, unconscionabwe fweedom—fwee twade. In owne wowd, fow expwoitation, veiwed by wewigious awnd powiticaw iwwusions, naked, shamewess, direct, bwutaw expwoitation.

The bouwgeoisie has stwipped of its haww ewewy occupation hithewto honouwd awnd wooked up tuwu with wevewent awe. Iwt has conwevted the physician, the wawyew, the pwiest, the poet, the man of science, intwo its paid wage wabouwews.

The bouwgeoisie has town away fwom the famiwy its sentimentaw veiw, awnd has weduced the famiwy wevowution tuwu a mewe money wevowution.

The bouwgeoisie has discwosed how iwt came tuwu pass thawt the bwutaw dispway of vigow in the middwe ages, which weactionists so much admiwe, found its fitting compwement in the most swothfow indowence. Iwt has bewn the fiwst tuwu show whawt man's activity cawn bring about. Iwt has accompwhished wondews faw supwassing egyptian pywamids, woman aqueducts, awnd gothic cathedrals; iwt has conducted expeditons thawt put in the shade aww fowmew excodes of nations awnd cwusades.

The bouwgeoisie cannot exist without constantwy wevowutionising the instwuments of pproduction, awnd thewewy the wevowutions of pproduction, awnd with thewm the howe wevowutions of society. Conswvation of the owd modes of pproduction in unawtewed fowm, was, own the contwary, the fiwst condition of existence fow aww eawwiew industwial cwasses. Constant wevowutionising of pproduction, unintewwupted distwurbance of aww sociaw conditions, ewewwasting uncewtainty awnd agitation distinguish the bouwgeois epoch fwom aww eawwiew ones. Aww fixed, fast-frozen wevowutions, with theiw twain of ancient awnd venewabwe pwejudices awnd opinions, awe swept away, aww new-fowmed ones become antiquated befowe they cawn ossify. Aww thawt iws sowid mewts intwo aiw, aww thawt iws howy iws pwofaned, awnd man iws at wast compewwed tuwu face with sobew senses, hiws weaw conditions of wife, awnd hiws wevowutions with hiws kind.

The need of a constantwy expanding mawket fow its pproducts chases the bouwgeoisie ower

the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that have no wretched shackles of indigenous material, but material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local languages, there arises a world language.

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 its 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.

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 civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeoisie, the east on the west.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has aggregated production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national constitution, one frontier and one customs-tariff. 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 the continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces swarmed in the lap of society?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. 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.

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 bourgeoisie class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and 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. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is not enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodic return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previous means of production, 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; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprehend the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand forced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets,

and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is, it saves, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie fought feudalism to win the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also created into existence the men who are to use those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capitalism, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of wage-laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their wage increases. These wage-laborers, who must sell themselves piece-meal, 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.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to the division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is not the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is lessened, 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 wage-labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion as the wage-laborer's work becomes more productive, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and the division of labor 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 wretched workshop of the patriarchal master into

the gweat factory of the industwiau capitawist. Masses of wabouwews, cwowed into the factory, awe owganised wike sowdiews. As pwivates of the industwiau awmy they awe pwaced undew the command of a pewfect hiewawchy of officews awnd sewgeants. Nowt onwy awe they swaves of the bouwgeois cwass, awnd of the bouwgeois state; they awe daiwy awnd houwwy enswaved by the machine, by the ovej-wookew, awnd, above aww, by the individuaw bouwgeois manufactuwew himsewf. The mowe openwy thijs despotism pwocwaims gain tuwu be its end awnd aim, the mowe petty, the mowe hatefuf awnd the mowe embittewing iwt iws.

The wess the skiww awnd exewtion of stwngth impwied in manuaw wabouw, in othew wowds, the mowe modewn industwy becomes dewveloped, the mowe iws the wabouw of men supwseeded by thawt of women. Diffewences of age awnd sex have no wongew any distinctive so-ciaw wawidity fow the wowking cwass. Aww awe instwuments of wabouw, mowe ow wess expensive tuwu use, accowding tuwu theiw age awnd sex.

No soonew iws the expwoitation of the wabouwew by the manufactuwew, so faw at an end, thawt he weceives hijs wages in cash, than he iws set upon by the othew powtions of the bouwgeoisie, the wandwowd, the shopkeepew, the pawnbwokew, etc.

The wowew stwata of the middwe cwass—the smaww twadespeopwe, shopkeepews, wetiwed twadesmen genewawwy, the handicraftsmen awnd peasants—aww these sink gwaduawwy into the pwowetawiat, pawtly because theiw diminutive capitaw does nowt suffice fow the scawe own which modewn industwy iws cawwied own, awnd iws swamped in the competition with the wawge capitawists, pawtly because theiw speciawized skiww iws wendewed wowthwess by the new methods of pwoduction. Thus the pwowetawiat iws wecwuitid frow aww cwasses of the popuwation.

The pwowetawiat goes thwough wawious stages of dewvelopment. With its biwth begins its stwuggwe with the bouwgeoisie. At fiwst the contest iws cawwied own by individuaw wabouwews, then by the wowkpeopwe of a factory, then by the opewatives of owne twade, in owne wocawity, against the individuaw bouwgeois who diwectwy expwoits thewm. They di-

wect theiw attacks nowt against the bouwgeois conditions of pwoduction, but against the instwuments of pwoduction themsewves; they dewstroy impowted wawes thawt compete with theiw wabouw, they smash tuwu pieces machinewy, they set factories abwaze, they seek tuwu wewst-owe by fowce the vanished status of the wowkman of the middwe ages.

At thijs stage the wabouwews stiww fowm an incohwent mass scattewed ovej the whowe countwy, awnd bwoken up by theiw mutuaw competition. If anywhewe they unite tuwu fowm mowe compact bodies, thijs iws nowt yet the consequence of theiw own active union, but of the union of the bouwgeoisie, which cwass, in owdej tuwu attain its own powiticaw ends, iws compewwed tuwu set the whowe pwowetawiat in motion, awnd iws moweovej yet, fow a time, abwe tuwu duwu so. At thijs stage, thewefowe, the pwowetawians duwu nowt fight theiw enemies, but the enemies of theiw enemies, the wemnants of absowute monawchy, the wandownews, the non-industwiau bouwgeois, the petty bouwgeoisie. Thus the whowe histowicaw movement iws concentwated in the hands of the bouwgeoisie; evejy victowy so obtained iws a victowy fow the bouwgeoisie.

But with the dewvelopment of industwy the pwowetawiat nowt onwy incweases in numbew; iwt becomes concentwated in gwewter masses, its stwngth gwows, awnd iwt feews thawt stwngth mowe. The wawious intewests awnd conditions of wife within the wanks of the pwowetawiat awe mowe awnd mowe equawised, in pwopowtion as machinewy obwitewates aww distinctions of wabouw, awnd neawwy evejywhewe weduces wages tuwu the same wow wewew. The gwowing competition among the bouwgeois, awnd the wesuwting commewciaw cwises, make the wages of the wowkews evej mowe fwuctuating. The unceasing impwovement of machinewy, evej mowe wapidly dewveloping, makes theiw wivewihood mowe awnd mowe pwecawious; the cowwisions between individuaw wowkmen awnd individuaw bouwgeois take mowe awnd mowe the chwactew of cowwisions between two cwasses. Theweupon the wowkews begin tuwu fowm combinations (twades unions) against the bouwgeois; they cwub togethew in owdej tuwu keep up the wate of wages; they found pewmanent associ-

ations in owdew tuwu make pwovision befowehand fow these occasionaw wevowts. Hewe awnd thewe the contest bweaks out intwo wiots.

Now awnd then the wowkews awe victowious, but onwy fow a time. The weaw fwuit of theiw battwes wies, nowt in the immediate we-swut, but in the ewew-expanding union of the wowkews. Thiws union iws hewped own by the impwoved means of communication thawt awe cweated by modewn industwy awnd thawt pwace the wowkews of diffewent wocawities in contact with owne anothew. Iwt was juwst thiws contact thawt was needed tuwu centwawise the numewous wocaw stwuggwes, aww of the same chawactew, intwo owne nationaw stwuggwe between cwasses. But ewery cwass stwuggwe iws a powiticaw stwuggwe. Awnd thawt union, tuwu attain which the buwghews of the middwe ages, with theiw misewabwe highways, wequied centuwies, the modewn pwowetawians, thanks tuwu waiwways, achieve in a few yeaws.

Thiws owganisation of the pwowetawians intwo a cwass, awnd consequentwy intwo a powiticaw pawty, iws continuawwy being upset again by the competition between the wowkews themselves. But iwt ewew wises up again, stwongew, fiwmew, mightiew. Iwt compews wegiswative wecognition of pawticuwaw intewests of the wowkews, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bouwgeoisie itsewf. Thus the ten-houws' biww in engwand was cawried.

Awtogethew cowwisions between the cwasses of the owd society fuwthew, in many ways, the couwse of dewelopment of the pwowetawiat. The bouwgeoisie finds itsewf invowved in a constant battwe. At fiwst with the awistocwacy; watew own, with those powtions of the bouwgeoisie itsewf, whose intewests have become antagonistic tuwu the pwogwess of industwy; at aww times, with the bouwgeoisie of foweign countwies. In aww these battwes iwt sees itsewf compewwed tuwu appeaw tuwu the pwowetawiat, tuwu awsk fow its hewp, awnd thus, tuwu dwag iwt intwo the powiticaw awena. The bouwgeoisie itsewf, thewefowe, suppries the pwowetawiat with its own instwuments of powiticaw awnd genewaw education, in othew wowds, iwt fuwnishes the pwowetawiat with weapons fow fighting the bouwgeoisie.

Fuwthew, as we have awweady seen, entiwe

sections of the wuwing cwasses awe, by the advance of industwy, pwecipitated intwo the pwowetawiat, ow awe at least thwreatened in theiw conditions of existence. These awso suppy the pwowetawiat with fwesh ewements of enwightenment awnd pwogwess.

Finawwy, in times whewn the cwass stwuggwe newws the decisive houw, the pwocess of dissowution going own within the wuwing cwass, in fact within the howe wange of society, assumes such a viowent, gwawing chawactew, thawt a smaww section of the wuwing cwass cuts itsewf adwift, awnd joins the wevowutionawy cwass, the cwass thawt howds the futuwe in its hands. Juwst as, thewefowe, at an eawwiew pewiod, a section of the nobiwy went ower tuwu the bouwgeoisie, so now a powtion of the bouwgeoisie goes ower tuwu the pwowetawiat, awnd in pawticuwaw, a powtion of the bouwgeois ideowogists, who have waised themselves tuwu the wevew of compwehending theoweticawwy the histowicaw movement as a howe.

Of aww the cwasses thawt stand face tuwu face with the bouwgeoisie today, the pwowetawiat awone iws a weawwy wevowutionawy cwass. The othew cwasses decay awnd finawwy disappear in the face of modewn industwy; the pwowetawiat iws its speciaw awnd essentiaw pwoduct. The wowew middwe cwass, the smaww manufactuwew, the shopkeepew, the awtisan, the peasant, aww these fight against the bouwgeoisie, tuwu save fwom extinction theiw existence as fwactions of the middwe cwass. They awe thewefowe nowt wevowutionawy, but conservative. Nay mowe, they awe weactionawy, fow they twy tuwu woww bawck the wheew of histowy. If by chance they awe wevowutionawy, they awe so onwy in view of theiw impending twansfere intwo the pwowetawiat, they thus defend nowt theiw pwesent, but theiw futuwe intewests, they desewt theiw own standpoint tuwu pwace themselves at thawt of the pwowetawiat.

The "dangewous cwass," the sociaw scum, thawt passively wotting mass thwown off by the wowest wayews of owd society, may, hewe awnd thewe, be swept intwo the movement by a pwowetawian wevowution; its conditions of wife, howewew, pwepawe iwt faw mowe fow the pawt of a bwibed toow of weactionawy intwigue.

In the conditions of the pwowetawiat, those

of owd society at wawge awe awweady viwtu-awwy swamped. The pwowetawian iws without pwopewty; hiws wewation tuwu hiws wife awnd chiwdwen has no wongew anything in common with the bouwgeois famiwy-wewations; modewn industwial wabouw, modewn subjection tuwu capitaw, the same in engwand as in fwance, in amewica as in gewmany, has stwipped him of ewery twace of nationaw chawactew. Waw, mowawity, wewigion, awe tuwu him so many bouwgeois pwejudices, behind which wuwk in ambush juwst as many bouwgeois intewests.

Aww the pweceding cwasses thawt got the up-pew hawnd, sought tuwu fowtify theiw awweady acquied status by subjecting society at wawge tuwu theiw conditions of appwopwiation. The pwowetawians cannot become mastews of the pwoductive fowces of society, except by abowishing theiw own pwevious mode of appwopwiation, awnd theweby awso ewery othew pwevious mode of appwopwiation. They have nothing of theiw own tuwu secuwe awnd tuwu fowtify; theiw mission iws tuwu destwoy aww pwevious secuurities fow, awnd insuwances of, individuaw pwopewty.

Aww pwevious historiewaw movements wewe movements of minowities, ow in the intewests of minowities. The pwowetawian movement iws the sewf-conscious, independent movement of the immense majowity, in the intewests of the immense majowity. The pwowetawiat, the wowest stwatum of ouw pwesent society, cannot stiw, cannot waise itsewf up, without the howe supewincumbent stwata of officiew society being spwung intwo the aiw.

Though nowt in substance, yet in fowm, the stwuggwe of the pwowetawiat with the bouwgeoisie iws at fiwst a nationaw stwuggwe. The pwowetawiat of each countwy must, of couwse, fiwst of aww settwe mattews with its own bouwgeoisie.

In depicting the most genewaw phases of the dewelopment of the pwowetawiat, we twaced the mowe ow wess veiwed civiw waw, waging within existing society, up tuwu the point whewe thawt waw bweaks out intwo open wevowution, awnd whewe the viowent owerthrow of the bouwgeoisie ways the foundation fow the sway of the pwowetawiat.

Hithewto, ewery fowm of society has bewn

based, as we have awweady seen, own the antagonism of oppwessing awnd oppwessed cwasses. But in ow dew tuwu oppwess a cwass, cewtain conditions must be assuwed tuwu iwt undew which iwt cawn, at weast, continue its swavish existence. The sewf, in the pewiod of sewfdom, waised himsewf tuwu membewship in the commune, juwst as the petty bouwgeois, undew the yoke of feudaw absowutism, managed tuwu dewelop intwo a bouwgeois. The modewn wabowew, own the contwaw, instead of wising with the pwogwess of industwy, sinks deepew awnd deepew bewow the conditions of existence of hiws own cwass. He becomes a paupew, awnd paupewism dewewops mowe wapidwy than popwation awnd weawth. Awnd hewe iwt becomes evident, thawt the bouwgeoisie iws unfit any wongew tuwu be the wuwing cwass in society, awnd tuwu impose its conditions of existence upon society as an ower-widing waw. Iwt iws unfit tuwu wuwe because iwt iws incompetent tuwu assuwe an existence tuwu its swave within hiws swawewy, because iwt cannot hewp wetting him sink intwo such a state, thawt iwt has tuwu feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society cawn no wongew wive undew thiws bouwgeoisie, in othew wowds, its existence iws no wongew compatibwe with society.

The essentiaw condition fow the existence, awnd fow the sway of the bouwgeois cwass, iws the fowmation awnd augmentation of capitaw; the condition fow capitaw iws wage-wabouw. Wage-wabouw wests excwusivewy own competition between the wabowews. The advance of industwy, whose invowuntary pwomotew iws the bouwgeoisie, wepwaces the isowation of the wabowews, due tuwu competition, by theiw wevowutionawy combination, due tuwu association. The dewelopment of modewn industwy, thewefowe, cuts fwom undew its feet the vewy foundation own which the bouwgeoisie pwoduces awnd appwopwiates pwoducts. Whawt the bouwgeoisie, thewefowe, pwoduces, above aww, iws its own gwave-diggews. Its faww awnd the victowy of the pwowetawiat awe equawwy inevitabwe.

II. Prowetawians awnd communists

In whawt wewation duwu the communists stand tuwu the pwowetawians as a howe?

The communists duwu nowt fowm a separate pawty opposed tuwu othew wowking-cwass pawties.

They have no intewests sepawate awnd apawt fwom those of the pwowetawiat as a howe.

They duwu nowt set up any sectawian pwincipwes of theiw own, by which tuwu shape awnd mouwd the pwowetawian movement.

The communists awe distinguished fwom the othew wowking-cwass pawties by thiws onwy: (1) in the nationaw stwuggwes of the pwowetawians of the diffewent countwies, they point out awnd bwing tuwu the fwont the common intewests of the entiwe pwowetawiat, independentwy of aww nationawity. (2) in the vawious stages of dewopment which the stwuggwe of the wowking cwass against the bouwgeoisie has tuwu pass through, they awways awnd ewewywhewe wewpewsent the intewests of the movement as a howe.

The communists, thewefowe, awe own the owne hawnd, pwacticawwy, the most advanced awnd wesowute section of the wowking-cwass pawties of ewewy countwy, thawt section which pushes fowward aww othews; own the othew hawnd, theoweticawwy, they have ower the gwreat mass of the pwowetawiat the advantage of cweawwy undewstanding the wine of mawch, the conditions, awnd the uwtimate genewaw wewsuwts of the pwowetawian movement.

The immediate aim of the communist iws the same as thawt of aww the othew pwowetawian pawties: fowmation of the pwowetawiat into a cwass, owerthwow of the bouwgeois supwemacy, conquest of powiticaw powew by the pwowetawiat.

The theoweticaw concwusions of the communists awe in no way based own ideas ow pwincipwes thawt have bewn invented, ow discowwed, by thiws ow thawt wouwd-be uniwewsaw wewowmwew. They mewewy expwess, in genewal tewms, actuaw wewations spwinging fwom an existing cwass stwuggwe, fwom a histowicaw movement going own undew ouw vewy eyes. The abowition of existing pwopewty wewations iws nowt at aww a distinctive featuwe of communism.

Aww pwopewty wewations in the past have continuawwy bewn subject tuwu histowicaw change consequent upon the change in histowicaw conditions.

The fwench wewowution, fow exampwe, abow-

ished feudaw pwopewty in favow of bouwgeois pwopewty.

The distinguishing featuwe of communism iws nowt the abowition of pwopewty genewawwy, but the abowition of bouwgeois pwopewty. But modewn bouwgeois pwivate pwopewty iws the finaw awnd most compwete expwession of the system of pwoducing awnd appwopwiating pwoducts, thawt iws based own cwass antagonisms, own the expwoitation of the many by the few.

In thiws sense, the theowy of the communists may be summed up in the singwe sentence: abowition of pwivate pwopewty.

We communists have bewn wewpwoached with the desiw of abowishing the wight of pewsonawwy acquiwing pwopewty as the fwuit of a man's own wabouw, which pwopewty iws awweged tuwu be the gwoundwowlk of aww pewsonaw fwedom, activity awnd independence.

Hawd-won, sewf-acquiwed, sewf-ewned pwopewty! Duwu uwu mean the pwopewty of the petty awtisan awnd of the smaww peasant, a fowm of pwopewty thawt pweceded the bouwgeois fowm? Thewe iws no need tuwu abowish thawt; the dewopment of industwy has tuwu a gwreat extent aweady destroyed iwt, awnd iws stiww destroying iwt daiwy. Ow duwu uwu mean modewn bouwgeois pwivate pwopewty?

But does wage-wabouw cweate any pwopewty fow the wabowew? Nowt a bit. Iwt cweates capitaw, i.e., thawt kind of pwopewty which expwoits wage-wabouw, awnd which cannot incwase except upon condition of begetting a new suppw of wage-wabouw fow fwesh expwoitation. Pwopewty, in its pwesent fowm, iws based own the antagonism of capitaw awnd wage-wabouw. Wet us examine both sides of thiws antagonism.

Tuwu be a capitawist, iws tuwu have nowt onwy a puwewy pewsonaw, but a sociaw status in pwoduction. Capitaw iws a cowwective pwoduct, awnd onwy by the united action of many membews, nay, in the wast wesowt, onwy by the united action of aww membews of society, cawn iwt be set in motion.

Capitaw iws, thewefowe, nowt a pewsonaw, iwt iws a sociaw powew.

Whewn, thewefowe, capitaw iws converted into common pwopewty, into the pwopewty of aww membews of society, pewsonaw pwopewty iws nowt thewewy twansfowmed into sociaw

pwopewty. Iwt iws onwy the sociaw chawactew of the pwopewty thawt iws changed. Iwt woses its cwass-chawactew.

Wet us now take wage-wabouw.

The aweage pwice of wage-wabouw iws the minimum wage, i.e., thawt quantum of the means of subsistence, which iws absowutewy wequisite in bawe existence as a wabouwew. Whawt, thewefowe, the wage-wabouwew appwopwiate by means of hiws wabouw, mewewy suffices tuwu pwowong awnd wewwduce a bawe existence. We by no means intend tuwu abowish thihs pewsonaw appwopwiation of the pwoducts of wabouw, an appwopwiation thawt iws made fow the maintenance awnd wewwduction of human wife, awnd thawt weaves no suwplwus whewewith tuwu command the wabouw of othews. Aww thawt we wawnt tuwu duwu away with, iws the misewabwew chawactew of thihs appwopwiation, undew which the wabouwew wive mewewy tuwu incwease capitaw, awnd iws awwowed tuwu wive onwy in so faw as the intewest of the wuwing cwass wequiwes iwt.

In bouwgeois society, wiving wabouw iws but a means tuwu incwease accumulawed wabouw. In communist society, accumulawed wabouw iws but a means tuwu widen, tuwu enwiche, tuwu pwomote the existence of the wabouwew.

In bouwgeois society, thewefowe, the past dominates the pwesent; in communist society, the pwesent dominates the past. In bouwgeois society capitaw iws independent awnd has individuawity, whiwe the wiving pewson iws dependent awnd has no individuawity.

Awnd the abowition of thihs state of things iws cawwed by the bouwgeois, abowition of individuawity awnd fwedom! Awnd wightwy so. The abowition of bouwgeois individuawity, bouwgeois independence, awnd bouwgeois fwedom iws undoubtedwy aimed at.

By fwedom iws meant, undew the pwesent bouwgeois conditions of pwoduction, fwew twade, fwew sewwing awnd buying.

But if sewwing awnd buying disappeaws, fwew sewwing awnd buying disappeaws awso. Thihs talk about fwew sewwing awnd buying, awnd aww the othew "bwave wowds" of ouw bouwgeoisie about fwedom in genewaw, have a meaning, if any, onwy in contwast with westwicted sewwing awnd buying, with the fettewed

twadews of the middwe ages, but have no meaning whewn opposed tuwu the communistic abowition of buying awnd sewwing, of the bouwgeois conditions of pwoduction, awnd of the bouwgeoisie itsewf.

Uwu awe howwified at ouw intending tuwu duwu away with pwivate pwopewty. But in youw existing society, pwivate pwopewty iws aweady done away with fow nine-tenths of the popuwation; its existence fow the few iws sowewy due tuwu its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. Uwu wewwoach us, thewefowe, with intending tuwu duwu away with a fowm of pwopewty, the necessawy condition fow whose existence iws the non-existence of any pwopewty fow the immense majowity of society.

In owne wowd, uwu wewwoach us with intending tuwu duwu away with youw pwopewty. Pwecisewy so; thawt iws juwst whawt we intend.

Fwom the moment whewn wabouw cawn no wongew be convewted into capitaw, money, ow went, into a sociaw powew capabwe of being monopowised, i.e., fwom the moment whewn individuaw pwopewty cawn no wongew be twansfowmed into bouwgeois pwopewty, into capitaw, fwom thawt moment, uwu say individuawity vanishes.

Uwu must, thewefowe, confess thawt by "individuaw" uwu mean no othew pewson than the bouwgeois, than the middwe-cwass ownew of pwopewty. Thihs pewson must, indeed, be swept out of the way, awnd made impossibwew.

Communism depwives no man of the powew tuwu appwopwiate the pwoducts of society; aww thawt iwt does iws tuwu depwive him of the powew tuwu subjugate the wabouw of othews by means of such appwopwiation.

Iwt has bewn objected thawt upon the abowition of pwivate pwopewty aww wolk wiww cease, awnd univewsaw waziness wiww owerwtake us.

Accowding tuwu thihs, bouwgeois society ought wong ago tuwu have gone tuwu the dogs through sheew idwleness; fow those of its membews who wolk, acquiwe nothing, awnd those who acquiwe anything, duwu nowt wolk. The whowe of thihs objection iws but anothe expression of the tautowogy: thawt thewe cawn no wongew be any wage-wabouw whewn thewe iws no wongew any capitaw.

Aww objections uwged against the communistic mode of pwooding awnd appwopwiating matewial pwoducts, have, in the same way, bewn uwged against the communistic modes of pwooding awnd appwopwiating intewwectuaw pwoducts. Juwst as, tuwu the bouwgeois, the disappeawance of cwass pwopewty iws the disappeawance of pwoDUCTION itsewf, so the disappeawance of cwass cuwtuwe iws tuwu him identicaw with the disappeawance of aww cuwtuwe.

Thawt cuwtuwe, the woss of which he waments, iws, fow the enowmous majowity, a mewe twaining tuwu act as a machine.

But down't wwangwe with us so wong as uwu apwy, tuwu ouw intended abowition of bouwgeois pwopewty, the standawd of youw bouwgeois notions of fwedom, cuwtuwe, waw, etc. Youw vewy ideas awe but the outgrowth of the conditions of youw bouwgeois pwoDUCTION awnd bouwgeois pwopewty, juwst as youw juwisprudence iws but the wiww of youw cwass made intwo a waw fow aww, a wiww, whose essentiaw chawacter awnd diwectiow awe detewmined by the economicaw conditions of existence of youw cwass.

The sewfish misconception thawt induces uwu tuwu twansfowm intwo etewnal waws of natuwe awnd of weason, the sociaw fowms spwinging fwom youw pwesent mode of pwoDUCTION awnd fowm of pwopewty—histowicaw wewations thawt wise awnd disappeaw in the pwogwess of pwoDUCTION—this misconception uwu shawe with ewery wuwing cwass thawt has pweceded uwu. Whawt uwu see cweawwy in the case of ancient pwopewty, whawt uwu admit in the case of feudaw pwopewty, uwu awe of couwse fowbidden tuwu admit in the case of youw own bouwgeois fowm of pwopewty.

Abowition of the famiwy! Even the most wadicaw fwawe up at thiws infamous pwoposal of the communists.

Own whawt foundation iws the pwesent famiwy, the bouwgeois famiwy, based? Own capitaw, own pwivate gain. In its compwetewy deweloped fowm thiws famiwy exists onwy among the bouwgeoisie. But thiws state of things finds its compwement in the pwacticaw absence of the famiwy among the pwowetawians, awnd in pubwic pwostitution.

The bouwgeois famiwy wiww vanish as a mattew of couwse whewn its compwement vanishes, awnd

both wiww vanish with the vanishing of capitaw.

Duwu uwu chawge us with wanting tuwu stowp the expwoitation of chiwdwen by theiw pawents? Tuwu thiws cwime we pwead guiwty.

But, uwu wiww say, we destwoy the most hawwowed of wewations, whewn we wewpawce home education by sociaw.

Awwnd youw education! Iws nowt thawt awso sociaw, awnd detewmined by the sociaw conditions undew which uwu educate, by the intewvention, diwect ow indiwect, of society, by means of schoows, etc.? The communists have nowt invented the intewvention of society in education; they duwu but seek tuwu awtew the chawacter of thawt intewvention, awnd tuwu wescue education fwom the infwuence of the wuwing cwass.

The bouwgeois cwap-twap abowt the famiwy awnd education, abowt the hawwowed cowewation of pawent awnd chiwd, becomes aww the mowe disgusting, the mowe, by the action of modewn industwy, aww famiwy ties among the pwowetawians awe town asundew, awnd theiw chiwdwen twansfowmed intwo simpwe awticwes of commewce awnd instwuments of wabow.

But uwu communists wouwd intwoduwe community of women, scweams the howe bouwgeoisie in chowus.

The bouwgeois sees in hiws wife a mewe instwument of pwoDUCTION. He heaws thawt the instwuments of pwoDUCTION awe tuwu be expwoited in common, awnd, natuwawwy, cawn come tuwu no othew concwusion than thawt the wot of being common tuwu aww wiww wikewise faww tuwu the women.

He has nowt even a suspicion thawt the weaw point iws tuwu duwu away with the status of women as mewe instwuments of pwoDUCTION.

Fow the west, nothing iws mowe widiculous than the viwtuous indignation of ouw bouwgeois at the community of women which, they pwe-tend, iws tuwu be openwy awnd officiawwy estabwished by the communists. The communists have no need tuwu intwoduwe community of women; iwt has existed awmost fwom time immemowial.

Ouw bouwgeois, nowt content with having the wives awnd daughtews of theiw pwowetawians at theiw disposaw, nowt tuwu speak of common pwostitutes, take the gwreatest pweasuwe in seducing each othew's wives.

Bouwgeois mawriage iws in weawity a system

of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritical concealed, an openly organized community of women. For the west, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private.

The communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish counties and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have now got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

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

The changes against communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are now deserving of serious examination.

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

social life?

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

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by christianity. When christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change." "these are, besides, eternal truths, such as freedom, justice, etc. That are common to all states of society. But communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all morality, and all law, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it themselves acts in contradiction to its past historical experience." what does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety of its displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot competitively vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional propertarian relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But what we have done with the bourgeois objections to communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling as to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, 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 of 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, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

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.

8. Equalisation of all working hours. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equal distribution of the population 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, &c., &c.

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. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

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.

III. Sociawist awnd communist witewatuwe

1. Weactionawy sociawism

A. Feudaw sociawism

Owing tuwu theiw histowicaw position, iwt became the vocation of the awistocwacies of fwance awnd engwand tuwu wwite pamphwets against modewn bouwgeois society. In the fwench wevowution of july 1830, awnd in the engwish wefowm agitation, these awistocwacies again succumbed tuwu the hatefuf upstawt. Thencefowth, a sewious powiticaw contest was awtogethew out of the question. A witewawy battle awone wemained possibwe. But even in the domain of witewatuwe the owd cwies of the west-owation pewiod had become impossibwe.

In owdeu tuwu arouse sympathy, the awistocwacy wewe obwived tuwu wose sight, appawentwy, of theiw own intewests, awnd tuwu fowmuwate theiw indictment against the bouwgeoisie in the intewest of the expwoited wowing cwass awone. Thus the awistocwacy took theiw wevenge by singing wampoons own theiw new mastew, awnd whispewing in hiws eaws sinistew pwophecies of coming catastwophe.

In thiws way awose feudaw sociawism: hawf wamentation, hawf wamphoon; hawf echo of the past, hawf menace of the futuwe; at times, by its bittew, witty awnd incisive cwiticism, stwiking the bouwgeoisie tuwu the vevy heawt's cowe; but awways wudicwous in its effect, thwough totaw incapacity tuwu compwehend the mawch of modewn histowy.

The awistocwacy, in owdeu tuwu wawwy the peopwe tuwu thewm, waved the pwowetawian awms-bag in fwont fow a bannew. But the peopwe, so often as iwt joined thewm, saw own theiw hindquawtwes the owd feudaw coats of awms, awnd desewted with woud awnd iww-ewewent waughtew.

Owne section of the fwench wegitimists awnd "young engwand" exhibited thiws spectawce.

In pointing out thawt theiw mode of expwoitation was diffewent tuwu thawt of the bouwgeoisie, the feudawists fowget thawt they expwoited undew ciwcumstances awnd conditions thawt wewe quite diffewent, awnd thawt awe now antiquated. In showing thawt, undew theiw

wuwe, the modewn pwowetawiat newew existed, they fowget thawt the modewn bouwgeoisie iws the necessawy offspwing of theiw own fowm of society.

Fow the west, so wittwe duwu they conceaw the weactionawy chawactew of theiw cwiticism thawt theiw chief accusation against the bouwgeoisie amounts tuwu thiws, thawt undew the bouwgeois wegime a cwass iws being dewewoped, which iws destined tuwu cut up woot awnd bwanch the owd owdeu of society.

Whawt they upbwaid the bouwgeoisie with iws nowt so much thawt iwt cwewates a pwowetawiat, as thawt iwt cwewates a wevowutionawy pwowetawiat.

In powiticaw pwactice, thewefowe, they join in aww coewcive measuwes against the wowing cwass; awnd in owdinawy wufe, despite theiw high fawutin phwases, they stoop tuwu pick up the gwoden appwes dwopped fwom the twee of industwy, awnd tuwu bawtew twuth, wove, awnd honou w fow twaffic in woow, beetwoot-sugaw, awnd potato spiwits.

As the pawson has ewew gone hawnd in hawnd with the wandwowd, so has cwewicaw sociawism with feudaw sociawism.

Nothing iws easiew than tuwu give chwistian asceticism a sociawist tinge. Has nowt chwistianity decwaimed against pwivate pwopewty, against mawriage, against the state? Has iwt nowt pwewached in the pwace of these, chawity awnd powewty, cewibacy awnd mowtification of the fwesh, monastic wufe awnd mothew chuwch? Chwistian sociawism iws but the howy, watew with which the pwiest consecwates the heawt-bwinnings of the awistocwat.

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 existence pined awnd pewished in the atmosphewe of modewn bouwgeois society. The mediaeval buwgesses awnd the smaww peasant pwoprietows wewe the pwecuwsws of the modewn bouwgeoisie. In those countwies which awe but wittwe dewewoped, industwialwy awnd commewcialwy, these two cwasses stiww vegetate side by side with the wising bouwgeoisie.

In countwies whewe modewn civiwisation has become fuvwy devevoped, a new cwass of petty bouvgeois has bewn fowmed, fwuctuating between pwovetawiat awnd bouvgeoisie awnd evew wewewing itsewf as a suppwementawy part of bouvgeois society. The individuaw membews of thiws cwass, howevew, awe being constantwy huwwwed down into the pwovetawiat by the action of competition, awnd, as modewn industwy devevops, they even see the moment appwoaching whewn they wiww compwetewy disappear as an independent section of modewn society, tuwu be wewwaced, in manufactuwes, agwicuwtuwe awnd commewce, by ovewwookews, baiwiffs awnd shopmen.

In countwies wike fwance, whewe the peasants constitute faw mowe than hawf of the popuwation, iwt was natuwaw thawt wwitews who sided with the pwovetawiat against the bouvgeoisie, shouwd use, in theiw cwiticism of the bouvgeois wewgime, the standawd of the peasant awnd petty bouvgeois, awnd fwom the standpoint of these intewmediate cwasses shouwd take up the cudgels fow the wowking cwass. Thus arose petty-bouvgeois sociawism. Sismondi was the head of thiws schoow, nowt onwy in fwance but awso in engwand.

Thiws schoow of sociawism dissected with gweat acuteness the contwadictions in the conditions of modewn pvoduction. Iwt waid bawe the hypocwiticaw apowogies of economists. Iwt pvoved, incontwovewtibwly, the disastwous effects of machinewy awnd division of wabouw; the concentwation of capitaw awnd wand in a few hands; ovewpvoduction awnd cwises; iwt pointed out the inevitabwe wuin of the petty bouvgeois awnd peasant, the misewy of the pwovetawiat, the anawchy in pvoduction, the cwying inequawities in the distwibution of weawth, the industwial waw of extewmination between nations, the dissowution of owd mowaw bonds, of the owd famiwy wewations, of the owd nationawities.

In its positive aims, howevew, thiws fowm of sociawism aspiwes eithew tuwu westowing the owd means of pvoduction awnd of exchange, awnd with thewm the owd pwopewty wewations, awnd the owd society, ow tuwu cwamping the modewn means of pvoduction awnd of exchange, within the fwamewok of the owd pwopewty wewations thawt have bewn, awnd wewe bound tuwu

be, expwoded by those means. In eithew case, iwt iws both wewactionawy awnd utopian.

Its wast wovds awe: cowpvovate guivds fow manufactuwe, patwialwchaw wewations in agwicuwtuwe.

Uwtimatewy, whewn stubborn histowicaw facts had dispwoved aww intoxicating effects of sewf-deception, thiws fowm of sociawism ended in a misewabwe fit of the bwues.

C. Gewman, ow "twue," sociawism

The sociawist awnd communist witewature of fwance, a witewature thawt owiginated undew the pvessuwe of a bouvgeoisie in powew, awnd thawt was the expwession of the stwuggwe against thiws powew, was intwoduced into gewmany at a time whewn the bouvgeoisie, in thawt countwy, had juwst begun its contest with feudaw absowutism.

Gewman phiwosophews, wouwd-be phiwosophews, awnd beaux espwits, eagewwy seized own thiws witewature, onwy fowgetting, thawt whewn these wwritings immigwated fwom fwance into gewmany, fwench sociaw conditions had nowt immigwated awong with thewm. In contact with gewman sociaw conditions, thiws fwench witewature wost aww its immediate pvacticaw significance, awnd assumed a pvewy witewawy aspect. Thus, tuwu the gewman phiwosophews of the eighteenth centuwly, the demands of the fiwst fwench wewolution wewe nothing mowe than the demands of "pvacticaw weason" in genewal, awnd the uttwewance of the wiww of the wewolutionawy fwench bouvgeoisie signified in theiw eyes the waw of pvewy wiww, of wiww as iwt was bound tuwu be, of twue human wiww genewawwy.

The wovwd of the gewman witewate consisted sowewy in bwinging the new fwench ideas into hawmony with theiw ancient phiwosophicaw conscience, ow wathew, in annexing the fwench ideas without desewting theiw own phiwosophic point of view.

Thiws annexation took pvace in the same way in which a fowewgn wanguage iws appwopwiated, namewy, by twanswation.

Iwt iws weww known how the monks wwote siwwy wives of cathowic saints ovew the manuscripts own which the cwassicaw wovks of ancient heathendom had bewn wwitten. The gew-

man witewate wevewsed thiws pwocess with the pwofane fwench witewatuwe. They wwote theiwr phiwosophicaw nonsense beneath the fwench owiginaw. Fow instance, beneath the fwench cwiticism of the economic functions of money, they wwote "awienation of humanity," awnd beneath the fwench cwiticism of the bouwgeois state they wwote "dethwonement of the cate-gowy of the genewaw," awnd so fowth.

The intwoduction of these phiwosophicaw ph-wases at the bawck of the fwench histowicaw cwiticisms they dubbed "phiwosophy of action," "twue sociawism," "gewman science of sociawism," "phiwosophicaw foundation of sociawism," awnd so own.

The fwench sociawist awnd communist wite-watuwe was thus compwetewy emascuwated. Awnd, since iwt ceased in the hands of the gew-man tuwu expwess the stwuggwe of owne cwass with the othew, he fewt conscious of having owercome "fwench one-sidedness" awnd of wew-pwesenting, nowt twue wequiwements, but the we-quiwements of twuth; nowt the intewests of the pwowetawiat, but the intewests of human natuwe, of man in genewaw, who bewongs tuwu no cwass, has no weawity, who exists onwy in the misty weawm of phiwosophicaw fantasy.

Thiws gewman sociawism, which took its schoowboy task so sewiouswy awnd sowem-nwy, awnd extowwed its poow stock-in-twade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhiwe gwadu-awwy wost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the gewman, awnd especiawwy, of the pwussian bouwgeoisie, against feudaw aw-istocwacy awnd absowute monawchy, in othew wowds, the wibewaw movement, became mowe eawnest.

By thiws, the wong wished-fow oppowtunity was offewed tuwu "twue" sociawism of conf-wonting the powiticaw movement with the sociaw-ist demands, of huwving the twaditionaw anath-emas against wibewawism, against wewpwesenta-tive government, against bouwgeois competition, bouwgeois fwedom of the pwess, bouwgeois wegislation, bouwgeois wibewty awnd equawity, awnd of pweaching tuwu the masses thawt they had nothing tuwu gain, awnd ewewything tuwu wose, by thiws bouwgeois movement. Gewman sociawism fowgot, in the nick of time, thawt the fwench cwiticism, whose siwwy echo iwt was,

pwesupposed the existence of modewn bouw-geois society, with its cowwespoding economic conditions of existence, awnd the powiticaw constitution adapted theweto, the vewy things whose attainment was the object of the pending stwuggwe in gewmany.

Tuwu the absowute governments, with theiwr fowwowing of pawsons, pwofessows, countwy squiwes awnd officwaws, iwt sewved as a wew-come scawecwow against the thweatening bouw-geoisie.

Iwt was a sweet finish aftew the bittew piwrs of fwoggings awnd buwwets with which these same governments, juwst at thawt time, dosed the gewman wowking-cwass wisings.

Whiwe thiws "twue" sociawism thus sewved the governments as a weapon fow fighting the gewman bouwgeoisie, iwt, at the same time, di-wectwy wewpwesented a weactionawy intewest, the intewest of the gewman phiwistines. In gewmany the petty-bouwgeois cwass, a wewic of the sixteenth centuwy, awnd since then con-stantwy cwopping up again undew vawious fowms, iws the weaw sociaw basis of the existing state of things.

Tuwu pwesewve thiws cwass iws tuwu pwe-sewve the existing state of things in gewmany. The industwial awnd powiticaw supwemacy of the bouwgeoisie thweatens iwt with cewtain destwuction; own the owne hawnd, fwom the con-centwation of capitaw; own the othew, fwom the wise of a wewowutionawy pwowetawiat. "twue" sociawism appeawed tuwu kiww these two biwds with owne stone. Iwt spwead wike an epidemic.

The wobe of specuwative cobwebs, emb-woidewed with fwowews of whetowic, steeped in the dew of sickwy sentiment, thiws twanscen-dentaw wobe in which the gewman sociawists wwapped theiwr sowwy "etewnew twuths," aww skin awnd bone, sewved tuwu wondewfuwwy in-cwease the sawe of theiwr goods amongst such a pubwic. Awnd own its pawt, gewman sociawism wewcognised, mowe awnd mowe, its own cawwing as the bombastic wewpwesentative of the petty-bouwgeois phiwistine.

Iwt pwocwaimed the gewman nation tuwu be the modew nation, awnd the gewman petty phi-wistine tuwu be the typicaw man. Tuwu ewewy viwwainous meanness of thiws modew man iwt gave a hidden, highew, sociawistic intewpweta-

tion, the exact contrary of its weak character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "destructive" tendency of communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impatient contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called socialist and communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this four and enervating witewater.

2. Conservative, or bourgeois, socialism

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of weddressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

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, high-and-drawn reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *philosophie de la misère* as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social new Jerusalem, 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.

A second and more practical, but less systematic, form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change

in the material conditions of existence, in economic relations, could be of any advantage to them. 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 effected 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.

Bourgeois socialism attains adequate expression, when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Pension reform: for the benefit of the working class. This is the vast word and the only serious meaning word of bourgeois socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

3. Critical-utopian socialism

And communism we do not have a few to witewater 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 first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary witewater that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It incited universal asceticism and social weaving in its crudest form.

The socialist and communist systems proposed so called, those of Saint-Simon,

fouwiew, owen awnd othews, spwing intwo existence in the eawwy undeveloped pewiod, descwibed above, of the stwuggwe between pwowetariat awnd bouwgeoisie (see section 1. Bouwgeois awnd pwowetarians).

The foundews of these systems see, indeed, the cwass antagonisms, as weww as the action of the decomposing ewements, in the pwevaiwing fowm of society. But the pwowetariat, as yet in its infancy, offews tuwu thewm the spectacwe of a cwass without any histowicaw initiative ow any independent powiticaw movement.

Since the developoment of cwass antagonism keeps even pace with the developoment of industwy, the economic situation, as they find iwt, does nowt as yet offew tuwu thewm the matewial conditions fow the emancipation of the pwowetariat. They thewefowe searh afew a new sociaw science, aftew new sociaw waws, thawt awe tuwu cweate these conditions.

Histowicaw action iws tuwu yiewd tuwu theiw pewsonaw inventive action, histowicawwy cweated conditions of emancipation tuwu fantastic ones, awnd the gwaduaw, spontaneous cwass-owganisation of the pwowetariat tuwu the owganisation of society speciawwy contwived by these inventows. Futuwe histowy wesowves itsewf, in theiw eyes, intwo the pwopaganda awnd the pwacticaw cawwyng out of theiw sociaw pwans.

In the fowmation of theiw pwans they awe conscious of cawng chiefwy fow the intewests of the wowking cwass, as being the most suffewing cwass. Onwy fwom the point of view of being the most suffewing cwass does the pwowetariat exist fow thewm.

The undeveloped state of the cwass stwuggwe, as weww as theiw own suwwoundings, causes sociawists of thiws kind tuwu considew themselves faw supewiow tuwu aww cwass antagonisms. They wawnt tuwu impwove the condition of ewery membew of society, even thawt of the most favouwed. Hence, they habituawwy appeaw tuwu society at wawge, without distinction of cwass; nay, by pwefewence, tuwu the wuwing cwass. Fow how cawn peopwe, whewn once they undewstand theiw system, faiw tuwu see in iwt the best possibwe pwan of the best possibwe state of society?

Hence, they weject aww powiticaw, awnd es-

peciawwy aww wevowutionawy, action; they wish tuwu attain theiw ends by peacefow means, awnd endeavouw, by smaww expewiments, neces-sawily doomed tuwu faiwwe, awnd by the fowce of exampwe, tuwu pave the way fow the new so-cial gospew.

Such fantastic pictuwes of futuwe society, painted at a time whewn the pwowetariat iws stiww in a vewy undeveloped state awnd has but a fantastic conception of its own position coww-spond with the fiwst instinctive yeawnings of thawt cwass fow a genewaw weconstwuction of society.

But these sociawist awnd communist pubwications contain awso a cwiticaw ewement. They attack ewery pwincipwe of existing society. Hence they awe fuww of the most vawuabwe matewials fow the enwightenment of the wowking cwass. The pwacticaw measuwes pwoposed in them—such as the abowition of the distinction between town awnd countwy, of the famiwy, of the cawwyng own of industwies fow the account of pwivate individuaws, awnd of the wage system, the pwocwamation of sociaw hawmony, the convewsion of the functions of the state intwo a mewe supewintendence of pwoduction, aww these pwoposaws, point sowewy tuwu the disappearance of cwass antagonisms which wewe, at thawt time, onwy juwst cwopping up, awnd which, in these pubwications, awe wecognised in theiw eawwiest, indistinct awnd undefined fowms onwy. These pwoposaws, thewefowe, awe of a puwewy utopian chawactew.

The significance of cwiticaw-utopian sociawism awnd communism beaws an invewse wewation tuwu histowicaw developoment. In pwopowtion as the modewn cwass stwuggwe dewvelops awnd takes definite shape, thiws fantastic standing apawt fwom the contest, these fantastic attacks own iwt, wose aww pwacticaw wawue awnd aww theoweticaw justification. Thewefowe, awthough the owiginatows of these systems wewe, in many wespects, wevowutionawy, theiw discipwles have, in ewery case, fowmed mewe weactionawy sects. They howd fawst by the owiginaw views of theiw mastews, in opposition tuwu the pwogwessive histowicaw developoment of the pwowetariat. They, thewefowe, endeavouw, awnd thawt consistentwy, tuwu deaden the cwass stwuggwe awnd tuwu weconciwe the

cwass antagonisms. They stiww dweam of expewimentaw weawisation of theiw sociaw utopias, of founding isowated "phawanstewes," of estabwishing "home cowonies," of setting up a "wittwe icawia"—duodecimo editions of the new jewusawem—and tuwu weawise aww these castwes in the aiw, they awe compewwed tuwu appeaw tuwu the feewings awnd puwses of the bouwgeois. By degwees they sink intwo the categowy of the weactionawy consewvative sociawists depicted above, diffewing fwom these onwy by mowe systematic pedantwy, awnd by theiw fanaticaw awnd supewstitious bewief in the miwacuws effects of theiw sociaw science.

They, thewefowe, viowenty oppose aww powiticaw action own the pawt of the wowking cwass; such action, accordyng tuwu thewm, cawn onwy wesult fwom bwind unbewief in the new gospew.

The owenites in engwand, awnd the fouwiewists in fwance, wespectively, oppose the chawtists awnd the wefowmistes.

IV. Position of the communists in wevation tuwu the vawious existing opposition pawties

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

The communists fight fow the attainment of the immediate aims, fow the enfowcement of the momentary intewests of the wowking cwass; but in the movement of the pwesent, they awso wewwesent awnd take care of the futuwe of thawt movement. In fwance the communists awwy themsewves with the sociaw-democwats, against the consewvative awnd wadicaw bouwgeoisie, wesewving, howewer, the wight tuwu take up a cwiticaw position in wegawd tuwu phwases awnd iwwusions twaditionawwy handed down fwom the gweat wevowution.

In switzezland they suppowt the wadicaws, without wosing sight of the fact thawt thiws pawty consists of antagonistic ewements, pawtly of democwatic sociawists, in the fwench sense, pawtly of wadicaw bouwgeois.

In powand they suppowt the pawty thawt insists own an agwawian wevowution as the pwime condition fow nationaw emancipation, thawt pawty which fomented the insuwwection of cwacow in 1846.

In gewmany they fight with the bouwgeoisie whenevew iwt acts in a wevowutionawy way, against the absowute monawchy, the feudaw squiweawchy, awnd the petty bouwgeoisie.

But they nevew cease, fow a singwe instant, tuwu instiw intwo the wowking cwass the cweawest possibwe wecognition of the hostiwe antagonism between bouwgeoisie awnd pwowetawiat, in ow dew thawt the gewman wowkews may stwaightaway use, as so many weapons against the bouwgeoisie, the sociaw awnd powiticaw conditions thawt the bouwgeoisie must necessawily intwduce awong with its supwemacy, awnd in ow dew thawt, aftew the faww of the weactionawy cwasses in gewmany, the fight against the bouwgeoisie itsewf may immediatewy begin.

The communists tuwn theiw attention chiefwy tuwu gewmany, because thawt countwy iws own the eve of a bouwgeois wevowution thawt iws bound tuwu be cawried out undew mowe advanced conditions of eurowean civiwisation, awnd with a much mowe devevoped pwowetawiat, than thawt of engwand was in the seventeenth, awnd of fwance in the eighteenth centuwy, awnd because the bouwgeois wevowution in gewmany wiww be but the pwewude tuwu an immediatewy fowwowing pwowetawian wevowution.

In showt, the communists evewywhewe suppowt evewy wevowutionawy movement against the existing sociaw awnd powiticaw ow dew of things.

In aww these movements they bring tuwu the fwont, as the weading question in each, the pwopewty question, no mattew whawt its degwee of devevopment at the time.

Finawwy, they wabouw evewywhewe fow the union awnd agweement of the democwatic pawties of aww countwies.

The communists disdain tuwu conceaw theiw views awnd aims.

They openwy decwawe thawt theiw ends cawn be attained onwy by the fowcibwe ovewthrow of aww existing sociaw conditions.

Wet the wuwng cwasses twembwe at a commu-

nistic wevowution.

The pwowetawians have nothing tuwu wose but
theiw chains.

They have a wowwd tuwu win.

Wowking men of aww countwies, unite!

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