Marx/Engels Letters

Collections of Correspondence

Engels to Marx
1844-82
Marx to Engels
1859-77
Engels to August Bebel
1873-91
Marx to Ruge
1843
Heinrich Marx to son Karl Marx
1836-38
Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl Marx
1839-43
Engels to Nikolai-on Danielson
1879-93
Marx to Dr. Kugelmann
1868-71
Marx or Engels to Sorge
1870-94
Miscellaneous Documents
1818-41

Individual Correspondence

1830s

Marx to father in Trier

November 10, 1837

1840s

Marx to Carl Friedrich Bachman
April 6, 1841
Marx to Oscar Ludwig Bernhard Wolf
April 7, 1841
Marx to Dagobert Oppenheim
August 25, 1841
Marx To Ludwig Feuerbach
Oct 3, 1843
Marx To Julius Fröbel
Nov 21, 1843
Marx and Arnold Ruge to the editor of the *Démocratie Pacifique*
Dec 12, 1843
Marx to the editor of the *Allegemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg)
Apr 14, 1844
Marx to Heinrich Bornstein
Dec 30, 1844
Marx to Heinrich Heine
Feb 02, 1845
Engels to the communist correspondence committee in Brussels
Sep 19, 1846
Engels to the communist correspondence committee in Brussels
Oct 23, 1846
Marx to Pavel Annenkov
Dec 28, 1846

1850s

Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York (Abstract)
March 5, 1852

1860s

Marx to Lasalle
January 16, 1861
Marx to S. Meyer
April 30, 1867
Marx to Schweitzer On Lassalleanism
October 13, 1868

1870s

Marx to Beesly On Lyons
October 19, 1870
Marx to Leo Frankel and Louis Varlin On the Paris Commune
May 13, 1871
Marx to Beesly On the Commune
June 12, 1871
Marx to Bolte On struggles witht sects in The International
November 23, 1871
Engels to Theodore Cuno On Bakunin and The International
January 24, 1872
Marx to Bracke On the Critique to the Gotha Programme written by Marx and Engels
May 5, 1875
Engels to P. L. Lavrov in London
Nov. 12-17, 1875
Marx to Editor of the *Otyecestvenniye Zapisky* On capitalist development of capitalism in Russia
end of 1877
Marx to W. Liebknecht
February 11, 1878

1880s

Engels to J.P. Becker
April 1, 1880
Marx to Domela Nieuwenhuis
February 22, 1881
Marx to daughter Jenny
April 11, 1881

Engels to George Shipton
Aug 10, 1881
Engels to George Shipton
Aug 15, 1881
Engels to Johann Philipp Becker
Feb 10, 1882
Engels to Kautsky
September 12, 1882
Engels to Bernstein
March 1, 1883
Engels to Van Patten
April 18, 1883
Engels to J.P. Becker
May 22, 1883
Engels to J.P. Becker
February 14, 1884
Engels to Kautsky
July 19, 1884
Engels to Zasulich
April 23, 1885
Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky
January 7, 1886
Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky
June 3, 1886
Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky
December 28, 1886
Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky
January 27, 1887
Engels to Victor Adler
December 4, 1889

1890s

Engels to H Schülter
January 11, 1890
Engels to C. Schmidt in Berlin (Abstract)
August 5, 1890
Engels to Otto Von Boenigk in Breslau (Abstract)
August 21, 1890
Engels to Conrad Schmidt
September 9, 1890

Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg (Abstract)
September 21-22, 1890
Engels to Conrad Schmidt
October 27, 1890
Engels to Kautsky
June 29, 1891
Engels to Conrad Schmidt
July 1, 1891
Engels to Conrad Schmidt
November 1, 1891
Engels to H Schülter
March 30, 1892
Engels to Mehring
July 14, 1893
Engels to Starkenburg
January 25, 1894
Engels to Turati
January 26, 1894
Engels to Conrad Schmidt
March 12, 1895
Engels to Adler
March 16, 1895
Engels to Kautsky
May 21, 1895

Engels to Marx Correspondence

Engels to Marx in Paris
Oct 1844
Engels to Marx in Paris
Nov 19, 1844
Engels to Marx in Brussels
Mar 07, 1845
Engels to Marx in Brussels
Nov 23, 1847
Engels to Marx
Sep 24, 1852
Engels to Marx on breach with Ernest Jones
Jan 14, 1858
Engels to Marx on Lasalle and Shulze-Dielitzsh
April 21, 1863
Engels to Marx on proposition from Bismarck to Marx
April 27, 1867
Engels to Marx on Dietzgen's manuscript
November 6, 1868
Engels to Marx on elections in England
November 18, 1868
Engels to Marx Brief comments on young Germans knowledge of 1848
December 18, 1868
Engels to Marx Brief comments on W. Liebknecht
July 6, 1869
Engels to Marx Brief comments on Ireland
October 24, 1869
Engels to Marx Brief comments on Carey and land rent
November 9, 1869
Engels to Marx more on Carey
November 19, 1869
Engels to Marx events in England
November 29, 1869
Engels to Marx Brief comments on Ireland
December 09, 1869
Engels to Marx Brief comments on Noir's funeral in France
February 1, 1870
Engels to Marx W. Liebknecht is mistaken in making ant-Bismarckism his main principle--German unification
August 15, 1870

Engels to Marx comments on the Franco-Prussian War
September 4, 1870
Engels to Marx more comments on the war
September 12, 1870
Engels to Marx comments on science
May 30, 1873
Engels to Marx
May 28, 1876
Engels to Marx in Argenteuil
Aug 11, 1881
Engels to Marx Brief comments referring to Engels article *The Mark*
December 8, 1882
Engels to Marx more comments referring to Engels article, *The Mark*
December 15, 1882
Engels to Marx more comments referring to Engels article, *The Mark*
December 16, 1882
Engels to Marx more comments referring to Engels article, *The Mark*
December 19, 1882
Engels to Marx more comments referring to Engels article, *The Mark*
December 22, 1882

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Marx

in Paris

Written: [Barmen, beginning of October 1844]
First Published: abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No.44, Stuttgart, 1900-01 and in full in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
Transcribed: Ken Campbell
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Marx,

No doubt you are surprised, and justifiably so, not to have heard from me sooner; however I still cannot tell you even now anything about my return. I've been stuck here in Barmen for the past three weeks, amusing myself as best I can with few friends and many relations amongst whom, fortunately, there are half a dozen amiable women. Work is out of the question here, more especially since my sister [Marie] has become engaged to the London communist, Emil Blank, an acquaintance of Ewerbeck's and, of course, the house is now in a hellish state of turmoil. Moreover, it's clear to me that considerable obstacles will continue to be placed in the way of my return to Paris, and that I may well have to spend six months or a whole year hanging about in Germany; I shall, of course, do everything I can to avoid this, but you have no idea what petty considerations and superstitious fears I have to contend with.

I spent three days in Cologne and marvelled at the tremendous propaganda we had put out there. Our people are very active, but the lack of adequate backing is greatly felt. Failing a few publications in which the principles are logically and historically developed out of past ways of thinking and past history, and as their necessary continuation, the whole thing will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark. Later I was in Duesseldorf, where we also have some able fellows. The ones I like best, by the way, are my Elberfelders, in whom a humane way of thinking has truly become second nature; these fellows have really begun to revolutionise their family lives and lecture their elders whenever these try to come the aristocrat over the servants or workmen -- and that's saying a great deal in patriarchal Elberfeld. But besides this particular group there's another in Elberfeld which is also very good, though somewhat more muddled. In Barmen the police inspector is a communist. The day before yesterday I was called on by a former schoolfellow, a grammar school teacher [1] , who's been thoroughly bitten although he's had no contact whatever with communists. If we could bring direct influence to bear on the people, we'd soon get the upper hand, but such a thing is virtually impossible, especially since we writers have to keep quiet if we're not to be nabbed. Otherwise it's safe enough here, no one bothers much about us so long as we keep quiet, and it seems to me that Hess' fears are little more than phantoms. I've not been molested at all here so far, although the public prosecutor once insistently questioned one of our people about me, but up till now I haven't had wind of anything else.

According to the paper here, Bernays [2] has been charged by the government here and taken to court in Paris. Let me know whether this is true, and also how the pamphlet [3] is getting on; presumably it's finished by now. Nothing has been heard of the Bauers here, nobody knows anything about them. On the other hand, every one is still scrambling to get hold of the *Jahrbücher*. [4] My article on Carlyle [5] has, absurdly enough, earned me a tremendous reputation among the 'mass', whereas only very few have read the one on Economy. [6] That's natural enough.

In Elberfeld, too, the clerical gentry have been preaching against us, at least Krummacher has; for the present they confine themselves to the atheism of the young, but I hope this will soon be followed by a philippic against communism. Last summer the whole of Elberfeld talked of nothing but these godless fellows. By and large, the movement here is remarkable. Since I was here last [7] , the Wupper valley has made greater progress in every respect than in the preceding fifty years. Social manners have become more civilised, participation in politics, in the opposition is widespread, industry has made enormous progress, new districts have been added to the towns, entire woods have been grubbed up, and the level of civilisation throughout the region is indeed above rather than below that in Germany as a whole, whereas only four years ago it was far lower. In other words this promises to be first-rate soil for our principle, and if only we can get our wild, hot-blooded dyers and bleachers on the move, the Wupper valley will surprise you yet. As it is, the workers had already reached the final stage of the old civilisation a few years ago, and the rapid increase in crime, robbery and murder is their way of protesting against the old social organisation. At night the streets are very unsafe, the bourgeoisie is beaten, stabbed and robbed; and, if the proletarians here develop according to the same laws as in England, they will soon realise that this way of protesting as *individuals* and with violence against the social order is useless, and they will protest, through communism, in their general capacity as *human beings*. If only one could show these fellows the way! But that's impossible.

My brother [Hermann] is at present a soldier in Cologne and, so long as he remains above suspicion, will provide a good address to which letters for Hess, etc., may be sent. At the moment I myself am not sure of his exact address and cannot therefore let you have it.

Since writing the above I have been in Elberfeld, where I once again came across several communists I had never heard of before. Turn where you will, go where you may, you'll stumble on a communist. A very impassioned communist, a cartoonist and aspiring historical painter by the name of Seel will be going to Paris in two months' time. I'll direct him to you; the fellow's enthusiasm and his painting and love of music will appeal to you, and he may very well come in useful as a cartoonist. It's possible, but not very probable, that I may be there myself by then.

A few copies of *Vorwarts!* [8] arrive here and I have seen to it that others place orders as well; ask the dispatch department to send specimen copies to the following in Elberfeld: Richard Roth, Captain Wilhelm Blank *junior*, F. W. Strijeker, Meyer, a Bavarian publican in the Funkenstrasse (a communist beerhouse), all to be sent through Baedeker, the communist bookseller, and under sealed cover. Once the fellows see that copies are coming in, they, too, will place orders. Also to W. Mueller, M.D., in Duesseldorf; and, if you like, to d'Ester, M.D., Loellchen, [9] the publican, your brother-in-law [10] , etc., in Cologne. All of them, of course, through the booksellers and under sealed cover.

See to it that the material you've collected is soon launched into the world.[11] It's high time, heaven knows! I too shall settle down to work and make a start this very day. The Teutons are all still very

muddled about the practicability of communism; to dispose of this absurdity I intend to write a short pamphlet showing that communism has already been put into practice and describing in popular terms how this is at present being done in England and America. [12] The thing will take me three days or so, and should prove very enlightening for these fellows. I've already observed this when talking to people here.

Down to work, then, and quickly into print! Convey my greetings to Ewerbeck, Bakunin, Guerrier and the rest, not forgetting your wife, and write very soon to tell me all the news. If this letter reaches you safely and unopened, send your reply under sealed cover to F. W. Struecker and Co., Elberfeld, with the address written in as commercial a hand as possible; otherwise, to any of the other addresses I gave Ewerbeck. I shall be curious to know whether the postal sleuth-hounds are deceived by the ladylike appearance of this letter.

Goodbye for the present, dear Karl, and write very soon. I have not been able to recapture the mood of cheerfulness and goodwill I experienced during the ten days I spent with you. I have not as yet had any real opportunity of doing anything about the establishment we are to establish. [13]

NOTES
From MECW

BACKGROUND: This is the earliest extant letter of Engels to Marx, written soon after Engels' return to Germany from England. On his way back to Germany, at the end of August 1844, he stopped in Paris, where he met Marx. During the days they spent together they discovered that their theoretical views coincided, and they immediately began their first joint work, directed against the Young Hegelians. Engels finished his part before leaving Paris, while Marx continued to write his. At first, they intended to call the book *A Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* But while it was being printed, Marx added *The Holy Family* to the title.

This meeting of Marx and Engels in Paris marked the beginning of their friendship, joint scientific work and revolutionary struggle.

The extant original of this letter bears no date. The approximate time of its writing was determined on the basis of Engels' letter to Marx of November 19 1844,

This letter was printed in English in full for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondences*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.

[1] Gustav Wurm.

[2] Karl Bernays, one of the editors of the German newspaper *Vorwarts!*, published in Paris, was sued by the French authorities in September 1844 at the request of the Prussian Government for not having paid the caution-money required for the publication of a political newspaper. The real reason, however, was the article "Attentat auf den Koenig von

[3] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism.*

[4] *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*

[5] F. Engels, 'The Condition of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle."

[6] F. Engels, 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'.

[7] Engels left Germany in November 1842 and lived for nearly two years in England, working in the office of a Manchester cotton-mill of which the father was co-proprietor.

[8] In July 1844, Marx began to contribute to the newspaper *Vorwarts!*, which prior to that -- from early 1844 to the summer of the same year -- reflected the moderate liberalism of its publisher, the German businessman H. Boernstein, and its editor A. Bornstedt. However, when Karl Bernays, a friend of Marx, became its editor in the summer of 1844, the newspaper assumed a democratic character. By contributing to the newspaper, Marx began to influence its policy and in September became on if its editors. Other contributors were Engels, Heine, Herwegh, Ewerbeck and Bakunin. Under Marx's influence, the newspaper came to express communist views and attacked Prussian absolutism and moderate German liberalism. At the behest of the Prussian Government, the Guizot ministry took repressive measures against its editors and contributors in January 1845, when publication ceased.

[9] J. A. Loellgen

[10] Edgar von Westphalen.

[11] Engels is referring to *Kritik der Politik und National-ökonomie*, a work which Marx planned to write. Marx began to study political economy at the end of 1843 and by spring 1844 he set himself the task of writing a criticism of bourgeois political economy from the standpoint of materialism and communism. The draft "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", written at that time, have reached us incomplete. Work on *The Holy Family* forced Marx to temporarily interrupt his study of political economy until December 1844. In February 1845, just before his expulsion from Paris, he signed a contract for his *Kritik der Politik und National-ökonomie* with the publisher Leske. In Brussels, Marx continued to study the works of English, French, German, Italian and other economist and added several more notebooks of excerpts to those compiled in Paris, although his original plan for the book was not carried out.

[12] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence' was published in the *Deutsches Burgerbuch fur 1845* and not in pamphlet form.

[13] This seems to refer to some literary plan.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Paris

Written: Barmen, 19 November 1844[1]
First Published: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953
and *Letters of the Young Engels, 1838-1845*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.
Transcribed: Ken Campbell
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

No. 2

Barmen, 19 November 1844

Dear M.,

About a fortnight ago I received a few lines from you and Buergers dated 8 October and postmarked Brussels, 27 October. [1] At about the same time you wrote your note I sent off a letter to you, addressed to your wife, and trust that you received it. In order to make sure in future that our letters are not tampered with, I suggest we number them, thus my present one is No 2 and, when you write, let me know up to what number you have received and whether one is missing from the series

A couple of days ago I was in Cologne and Bonn. All goes well in Cologne. Grun will have told you about our people's activities. Hess is thinking of joining you in Paris, too, in a fortnight or three weeks time, provided he can get hold of sufficient money. You now have Buergers there as well and hence enough for a council. You will have all the less need of me and there is all the more need for me here. Obviously I can't come now since it would mean falling out with my entire family. Besides I have a love affair to clear up first And after all, one of us ought to be here because all our people need prodding if they are to maintain a sufficient degree of activity and not fall into all manner of shuffling and shifting Jung, for instance as well as many others, cannot be convinced that the difference between us and Ruge is one of principle, [2] and still persists in believing that it is merely a personal squabble. When told that Ruge is no communist, they don't quite believe it and assert that in any case it would be a pity if such a 'literary authority' as Ruge were to be thoughtlessly discarded. What is one to say to that? One must wait until Ruge once again delivers himself of some monumental stupidity, so that the fact can be demonstrated *ad oculos* [3] to these people. I don't know, but there's something not quite right about Jung; the fellow hasn't enough determination.

We are at present holding public meetings all over the place to set up societies for the advancement of the workers [4] ; this causes a fine stir among the Teutons and draws the philistines' attention to social

problems. These meetings are arranged on the spur of the moment and without asking the police. We have seen to it that half the rules-drafting committee in Cologne consists of our own people; in Elberfeld, at least one of them was on it and, with the help of the rationalists, [5] we succeeded at two meetings in thoroughly trouncing the pious; by a huge majority, everything Christian was banned from the rules. [6] It amused me to see what a ridiculous figure these rationalists cut with their theoretical Christianity and practical atheism. In principle they entirely agreed with the Christian opposition, although in practice, Christianity, which according to their own assertions forms the basis of the society, must nowhere be mentioned in the rules. The rules were to cover everything save the vital principle of the society! So rigidly did the fellows cling to this absurd position that, even without my putting in a single word, we acquired a set of rules which, as things are now, leaves nothing to be desired. There is to be another meeting next Sunday, but I shan't be able to attend because I am leaving for Westphalia tomorrow.

I am up to my eyebrows in English newspapers and books upon which I am drawing for my book on the condition of the English proletarians. [7] I expect to finish it by the middle or the end of January, having got through the arrangement of the material, the most arduous part of the work, about a week or a fortnight ago. I shall be presenting the English with a fine bill of indictment; I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and other crimes on a massive scale, and I am writing an English preface [8] which I shall have printed separately and sent to English party leaders, men of letters and members of Parliament. That'll give those fellows something to remember me by. It need hardly be said that my blows, though aimed at the panniers, are meant for the donkey, namely the German bourgeoisie, to whom I make it plain enough that they are as bad as their English counterparts, except that their sweat-shop methods are not as bold, thorough and ingenious.- As soon as I've finished this, I shall make a start on the history of the social development of the English, [9] which will be still less laborious, since I already have the material for it and have sorted it out in my head, and also because I'm perfectly clear about the matter. Meanwhile I shall probably write a few pamphlets, notably against *List [10] as soon as I have the time.*

You will have heard of Stirner's book, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* [11] , if it hasn't reached you yet. Wigand sent me the specimen sheets, which I took with me to Cologne and left with Hess. The noble Stirner -- you'll recall Schmidt of Berlin, who wrote about the *Mysteres* in Buhl's magazine [12] -- takes for his principle Bentham's egoism, except that in one respect it is carried through more logically and in the other less so. More logically in the sense that Stirner as an atheist sets the ego above God, or rather depicts him as the be-all and end-all, whereas Bentham still allows God to remain remote and nebulous above him; that Stirner, in short, is riding on German idealism, an idealist who has turned to materialism and empiricism, whereas Bentham is simply an empiricist. Stirner is less logical in the sense that he would like to avoid the reconstruction effected by Bentham of a society reduced to atoms, but cannot do so. This egoism is simply the essence of present society and present man brought to consciousness, the ultimate that can be said against us by present society, the culmination of all the theory intrinsic to the prevailing stupidity. But that's precisely what makes the thing important, more important than Hess, for one, holds it to be. We must not simply cast it aside, but rather use it as the perfect expression of present-day folly and, *while inverting it*, continue to build on it. This egoism is taken to such a pitch, it is so absurd and at the same time so self-aware, that it cannot maintain itself even for an instant in its one-sidedness, but must immediately change into communism. In the first place it's a simple matter to prove to Stirner that his egoistic man is bound to become communist out of sheer egoism. That's the way to answer the fellow. In the second place he must be told that in its egoism the human heart is of itself,

from the very outset, unselfish and self-sacrificing, so that he finally ends up with what he is combating. These few platitudes will suffice to refute the *one-sidedness*. But we must also adopt such truth as there is in the principle. And it is certainly true that we must first make a cause our own, egoistic cause, before we can do anything to further it -- and hence that in this sense, irrespective of any eventual material aspirations, we are communists out of egoism also, and it is out of egoism that we wish to be *human beings*, not mere individuals. Or to put it another way. Stirner is right in rejecting Feuerbach's 'man', or at least the 'man' of *Das Wesen des Christentums*. [13] Feuerbach deduces his 'man' from God, it is from God that he arrives at 'man', and hence 'man is crowned with a theological halo of abstraction. The true way to arrive at 'man' is the other way about. We must take our departure from the Ego, the empirical, flesh-and-blood individual, if we are not, like Stirner, to remain stuck at this point but rather proceed to raise ourselves to 'man'. 'Man' will always remain a wraith so long as his basis is not empirical man. In short we must take our departure from empiricism and materialism if our concepts, and notably our 'man', are to be something real; we must deduce the general from the particular, not from itself or, *a la* Hegel, from thin air. All these are platitudes needing no explanation; they have already been spelled out by Feuerbach and I wouldn't have reiterated them had not Hess-presumably because of his earlier idealistic leanings -- so dreadfully traduced empiricism, more especially Feuerbach and now Stirner. Much of what Hess says about Feuerbach is right; on the other hand he still seems to suffer from a number of idealistic aberrations -- whenever he begins to talk about theoretical matters he always proceeds by categories and therefore cannot write in a popular fashion because he is much too abstract. Hence he also hates any and every kind of egoism, and preaches the love of humanity, etc., which again boils down to Christian self-sacrifice. If, however, the flesh-and-blood individual is the true basis, the true point of departure, for our 'man', it follows that egoism-not of course Stirner's intellectual egoism *alone*, but also the *egoism of the heart* -- is the point of departure for our love of humanity, which otherwise is left hanging in the air. Since Hess will soon be with you, you'll be able to discuss this with him yourself. Incidentally, I find all this theoretical twaddle daily more tedious and am irritated by every word that has to be expended on the subject of 'man', by every line that has to be read or written against theology and abstraction no less than against crude materialism. But it's quite another matter when, instead of concerning oneself with all these phantasms -- for such even unrealised man remains until the moment of his realisation -- one turns to real, live things, to historical developments and consequences. That, at least, is the best we can hope for so long as we're confined exclusively to wielding a pen and cannot realise our thoughts directly with our hands or, if need be, with our fists.

But Stirner's book demonstrates yet again how deeply abstraction is rooted in the Berliners' nature. Clearly Stirner is the most talented, independent and hard-working of the 'Free', [14] but for all that he tumbles out of idealistic into materialistic abstraction and ends up in limbo. From all over Germany comes news of the progress made by socialism, but from Berlin not a whisper. When property has been abolished throughout Germany these clever-clever Berliners will set up a *democratie pacifique* [15] on the Hasenheide -- but the fellows will certainly get no further. Watch out! A new Messiah will presently arise in the Uckermark, a Messiah who will tailor Fourier to accord with Hegel; erect a phalanstery upon the eternal categories and lay it down as an eternal law of the self-developing idea that capital, talent and labour all have a definite share in the product. This will be the New Testament of Hegelianism, old Hegel will be the Old Testament, the 'state', the law, will be a 'taskmaster over Christ', [16] and the phalanstery, in which the privies are located in accordance with logical necessity, will be the 'new Heaven' and the 'new Earth', the new Jerusalem descending from heaven decked out like a bride, [17] all of which the reader will be able to find expounded at greater length in the new Revelation. And when all this has been

completed, Critical Criticism will supervene, declare that it is all in all, that it combines in its head capital, talent and labour, that everything that is produced is produced by *it*, and not by the powerless masses -- and sequestrate everything for itself. That will be the end of Berlin's Hegelian [peace]ful democracy.

If *Critical Criticism* [18] is finished, send me a few copies under sealed cover through the booksellers -- they might be confiscated. In case you [didn't re]ceive my last letter, I repeat that you can write to me either [...] F. E. *junior, Barmen*, or under sealed cover to F. W. Struecker and Co., Elberfeld. This letter is being sent to you by a roundabout route.

Write soon -- it's more than two months since I last heard from you -- how goes it with *Vorwarts?* My greetings to all.

Your

[signature illegible]

[Address on envelope]
a Monsieur Charles Marx
Rue Vanneau N 38
Faubg. St. Germain, Paris

NOTES
From MECW

[1] The letter written by Marx and Buergers to Engels on 8 October 1844 has not been found.

[2] The disagreement between Marx and Engels on the one hand and Arnold Ruge on the other dated back to the time of the publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, under the editorship of Marx and Ruge. These disagreements were due to Ruge's negative attitude towards communism and the revolutionary proletarian movement, the fundamental difference between Marx's view and those of the Young Hegelian Ruge, who was an adherent of philosophical idealism. The final break between Marx and Ruge occurred in March 1844. Ruge's condemnation of the Silesian weavers' rising in June 1844 impelled Marx to criticize his views in the article "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian.'"

[3] "visibly"

[4] A reference to the Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes formed in a number of Prussian towns in 1844 and 1845 on the initiatives of the German liberal bourgeoisie, who were alarmed at the rising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, and hoped that the associations would help to divert the German workers from militant struggle. Despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the government authorities to give these associations a harmless philanthropic appearance, they gave a fresh impulse to the growing political activity of the urban masses and drew the attention of broad sections of German society to social questions. The movement to establish such associations was particularly widespread in the towns of the industrial Rhine Province.

Seeing the associations had taken such an unexpected direction, the Prussian Government hastily cut short their activity in the spring of 1845 by refusing to approve their statutes and forbidding them to continue their work.

[5] *Rationalists* -- Representatives of a Protestant trend which tried to combine theology with philosophy and to prove that "divine truths" can be explained by reason. Rationalism opposed pietism, an extremely mystical trend in Lutheranism.

[6] At the meeting held in Cologne on 10 November 1844 and attended by former shareholders of and contributors to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, liberals Ludolf Camphausen, Gustav Mevissen, radicals Georg Jung, Karl d'Ester, Franz Raveaux and others among them, a General Association for Relief and Education was set up with the aim of improving the workers' condition (the measures to be taken included raising funds for mutual assistance and relief to the sick, etc.). Despite the opposition of the liberals, the meeting adopted democratic rules which provided for the workers' active participation in the work of the Association. Subsequently a definitive split took place between the radical-democratic elements and the liberals. The latter headed by Camphausen withdrew from the Association, which was soon prohibited by the Authorities.

In November 1844, an Educational Society was set up in Elberfeld. Its founders had from the very start to fight against the local clergy, who attempted to bring the Society under the influence and give its activity a religious colouring. Engels and his friends wished to use the Society's meetings and its committee to spread communist views. As Engels had expected, the statute of the Society was not approved by the authorities, and the Society itself ceased to exist in the spring of 1845.

[7] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

[8] F. Engels, "To the Working-Classes of Great Britain".

[9] Originally Engels planned to write a book on the social history of England and to devote one of its chapters to the condition of the working class in England. But, realizing the special role played by the proletariat in bourgeois society, he decided to deal with this problem in a separate book, which he wrote on his return to Germany, between September 1844 and March 1845. Excerpts in Engels' notebooks made in July and August 1845, and the letters of the publisher Leske to Marx of 14 May and 7 June 1845 show that in the spring and summer of 1845 Engels continued to work on the social history of England. Though he did not abandon his plan up to the end of 1847, as is seen from an item in the *Deutsche-Brusseler-Zeitung*, No. 91 or 14 November 1847, he failed to put it into effect.

[10] Engels did not write a pamphlet on Friedrich List's book *Das nationale System der politischen ökonomie* (Stuttgart und Tuebingen, 1841) though later he continued to discuss this idea with Marx, who in his turn intended to publish a critical analysis of List's reviews. Engels criticized the German advocates of protectionism, and List above all, in one of his "Speeches in Elberfeld."

[11] The book came out at the end of October 1844, though imprinted as 1845

[12] Review of *Les Mysteres de Paris* by Eugene Sue published in *Berliner Monatsschrift.*

[13] *The Essence of Christianity*

[14] *"The Free"* -- A Berlin group of Young Hegelians formed early in 1842. Among its prominent members were Edgar Bauer, Eduard Meven, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar

Schmidt). Their criticism of the prevailing conditions was abstract, devoid of real revolutionary content and ultra-radical in form. The fact that "The Free" lacked any positive programme and ignored the realities of political struggle soon led to differences between them and the representatives of the revolutionary-democratic wing of the German opposition movement. A sharp conflict arose between "The Free" and Marx in the autumn of 1842, when Marx had become editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

During the last two years which had elapsed since Marx's clash with "The Free" (1843-44), Marx and Engels' disagreement with the Young Hegelians on questions of theory and politics had deepened still more. This was accounted for not only by Marx's and Engels' transition to materialism and communism, but also by the evolution in the ideas of the Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers. In the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Bauer and his group renounced the "radicalism of 1842" and, besides professing subjective idealist views and counterprosing chosen personalities, the bearers of "pure Criticism", to the allegedly sluggish and inert masses, they began spreading the ideas of moderate liberal philanthropy.

It was to the exposure of the Young Hegelians' view in the form which they had acquired in 1844 and to the defence of their own new materialistic and communistic outlook that Marx and Engels decided to devote their first joint work *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*

[15] An ironical allusion to the Fourierist newspaper *La Democratie pacifique* known for its sectarian and dogmatic leanings.

[16] Cf. Galatians 3:24

[17] Cf. Revelation 21:1 and 2.

[18] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family.*

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Brussels

Written: Barmen, 22 February-7 March 1845 [1]
First Published: abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No.44, Stuttgart, 1900-01 and in full in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
Transcribed: Ken Campbell
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Marx,

After much writing here and there I have at last received your address from Cologne and at once sit down to write to you. The moment I heard of your expulsion [2] I thought it necessary to open a subscription list, so that the extra expense you have incurred thereby should be shared out communist-fashion between us all. The thing has made good progress and three weeks ago I sent fifty odd talers to Jung; I also approached the Duesseldorfers, who have collected the same amount, and in Westphalia, too, I have instigated through Hess the agitation necessary to that end. Meanwhile the subscription list here has not yet been closed. Koettgen, the painter, has been dragging his feet and thus I am not yet in possession of all the money we can expect. However, I hope everything will have come in within a few days, and then I will send you a bill on Brussels. Since I don't, by the way, know whether this will be enough to enable you to set up house in Brussels, I shall, needless to say, have the greatest pleasure in placing at your disposal my fee for my first English piece, [3] some of which at least I hope will soon be paid me, and which I can dispense with for the time being as my old man [4] is obliged to keep me primed. At least the curs shan't have the satisfaction of seeing their infamy cause you pecuniary embarrassment. The fact that you should have been compelled to pay your rent in advance is the height of turpitude. But I fear that in the end you'll be molested in Belgium too, [5] so that you'll be left with no alternative but England.

However, not a word more of the vile business. Kriege will already be with you by the time this arrives. The fellow's a capital agitator. He will tell you a great deal about Feuerbach. The day after he left here I received a letter from Feuerbach -- we had, after all, written to the fellow. [6] Feuerbach maintains that until he has thoroughly demolished the religious piffle, he cannot concern himself with communism to the extent of supporting it in print, and also that, in Bavaria, he is too much cut off from the mainstream of life to be able to do so. However, he says he's a communist and that his only problem is how to practise communism. There's a possibility of his visiting the Rhineland this summer, in which case he must come to Brussels and we'll soon show him how.

Here in Elberfeld wondrous things are afoot. Yesterday we held our third communist meeting in the town's largest hall and leading inn. [7] The first meeting was forty strong, the second 130 and the third at

least 200. All Elberfeld and Barmen, from the financial aristocracy to *epicerie* [8] , was represented, only the proletariat being excluded. Hess gave a lecture. Poems by Mueller and Puettmann and excerpts from Shelley were read, also an article from the *Burgerbuch* on existing communist colonies.[9] The ensuing discussion lasted until one o'clock. The subject is a tremendous draw. All the talk is of communism and every day brings us new supporters. The Wuppertal communism is *une verite*, [10] indeed, already almost a force. You have no idea how favourable the soil is here. The most stupid, indolent, philistine people, hitherto without any interest in anything in the world, are beginning almost to rave about communism. How long it will still be tolerated I do not know, but the police at any rate are completely at a loss, themselves not knowing where they stand, and just at a time when the chief swine, the District President, is in Berlin. But should they impose a ban, we'll find some way round it and if we can't, we'll at least have stirred things up so mightily that every publication representing our interest will be voraciously read here. As I shall be leaving at Easter, it is all to the good that Hess should settle here and at the same time publish a monthly [11] at Baedeker's in Elberfeld; Kriege, I believe, has a prospectus of this. [12] In any case, as I have probably told you already, I shall be going to Bonn. [13] My projected journey to Paris has now fallen through, there no longer being any reason for me to go there, but anyhow I shall be coming to Brussels instead, the more so since my mother and two sisters [14] will be visiting Ostend in the summer. I must also pay another visit to Bielefeld and the communists there [15] and, if Feuerbach doesn't come, I shall go to him and then, provided I have the time and the money, visit England once again. As you see, I have a good deal ahead of me. Bergenroth told me that he, too, would probably be going to Brussels in a few weeks or so. Together with some Duesseldorfers, he attended our second meeting, at which he spoke. Incidentally, standing up in front of real, live people and holding forth to them directly and straightforwardly, so that they see and hear you is something quite different from engaging in this devilishly abstract quillpushing with an abstract audience in one's 'mind's eye'.

I am to request you once more on Hess' behalf -- and do so on my own as well -- to send Puettmann something for his quarterly. [16] It's essential that we all appear in the very first issue, so that the thing acquires some character. In any case, without us it will never so much as materialise.

25 February

Yesterday evening we got news that our next meeting was to be broken up by gendarmes and the speakers arrested.

26 February

Yesterday morning the chief burgomaster [17] forbade Mrs. Obermeyer to permit such meetings on her premises, and I received a tip to the effect that if the meeting was held notwithstanding, arrest and prosecution would follow. We have now of course given it up and can only wait and see whether we shall be prosecuted, though this seems hardly likely as we were wily enough not to provide a pretext, and the whole dirty business could only lead to the government's being made a terrible fool of. In any case the public prosecutors and the entire district court were present and the chief prosecutor himself took part in the discussion.

7 March

Since writing the above I have spent a week in Bonn and Cologne. The people in Cologne are now permitted to hold their meeting in connection with the Association. [18] As regards matters here, [16] a

rescript has come in from the Duesseldorf government whereby further meetings are forbidden. Hess and Koettgen have protested. Won't do any good, of course, but these people will see from the tone of the protest that they can't get the better of us. Hess is once more tremendously sanguine because in all other respects everything is going so famously and we have made really tremendous progress. The good fellow is always full of dreams.

Our *Gesellschaftsspiegel* will be splendid, the first sheet has already been censored and everything passed. A mass of contributions. Hess is living in *Barmen*, in the *Stadt London*. It seems unlikely that Bergenroth will come to Brussels in the immediate future, though someone else will, whose name I won't mention as this letter will probably be opened. If it can somehow be managed, I too shall come to see you again in April. At the moment my chief problem is money, since the meeting caused some family ructions, after which my old man made up his mind to support me only as regards my *'studia'* but not as regards communist aims of any description.

There's a whole lot more I should tell you if I knew of a safe address in Brussels, which in any case you must send me. Much of what has happened here could be harmful to a great many people if perused in a *cabinet noir*. [19] I shall stay here, then, another four weeks and leave for Bonn at the beginning of April. Anyhow, write to me again before then, so that I know how things are with you. Most of the money has been collected, though I don't yet know what it amounts to; it will be sent off directly. My manuscript [20] will be leaving any day now.

The *Critical Criticism* has *still not arrived!* [21] Its new title, *The Holy Family*, will probably get me into hot water with my pious and already highly incensed parent, though you, of course, could not have known that. I see from the announcement that you have put my name first. Why? I contributed practically nothing to it and anyone can identify your [22] style.

Let me know by return whether you are still in need of money. Wigand is due to send me some in about a fortnight's time and then all you have to do is dispose of it. I fear that the outstanding subscriptions will not amount to more than 120 or 150 francs.

Apropos, we here are planning to translate Fourier and, if at all possible, to produce a 'library of the best foreign socialist writers'. [23] Fourier would seem to be the best to start off with. We've found people to do the translation. Hess has just told me about a Fourier glossary brought out in France by some Fourierist or other. You will know of it. Could you send me particulars at once and, if possible, post me a copy. At the same time recommend what French writings you think suitable for translation for our 'library'. But look sharp; the matter is urgent, as we are already negotiating with a publisher. [24] How far have you got with your book? I must now get down to my manuscript, so goodbye for the present and write directly about the points I have mentioned.

Your

F. E.

Greetings to Kriege and Buergers.
Is Bernays there?

[On the fourth page of the letter]

A Madame Marx. Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule, Chez Monsieur J. B. Lannoy, Bruxelles

NOTES
From MECW

[1] In the original the first date is written at the beginning of the letter and the second at the end of it.

[2] Marx, Ruge and Bernays were expelled from France for contributing to the newspaper *Vorwarts!* Expulsion decree issued 11 January 1845. Soon after his arrival in Brussels from Paris, Marx was followed by his wife Jenny Marx and daughter Jenny (born on 1 May 1844). It was with great difficulty that Jenny Marx had managed to get the money for the journey.

[3] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

[4] Friedrich Engels senior, Engels' father.

[5] Engels' apprehension proved to be well-founded. When Marx arrived in Brussels, the Belgian authorities demanded that Marx should undertake not to publish anything concerning politics in Belgium. Marx was compelled to undertake such an obligation on 22 March 1845. The Prussian Government, too, did not leave Marx in peace and pressed for his expulsion from Belgium. To deprive the Prussian authorities of the pretext for interfering in his life, Marx, officially renounced his Prussian citizenship in December 1845.

[6] Feuerbach's letter to Engels and that of Marx and Engels to Feuerbach have not been found.

[7] The meetings in Elberfeld on 8, 15 and 22 February 1845 were described by Engels in the third article of the series "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany" published in *The New Moral World* in May 1845. Engels' speeches at the first two meetings were published in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*. Further meetings were banned by the police.

[8] "grocers"

[9] F. Engels, 'Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence'.

[10] "a reality"

[11] This refers to the *Geseltschaftsspiegel*.

[12] Engels took part in preparing *Geseltschaftsspiegel*. It reflected his intention it expose the evils of the capitalist system and defend the interests of the workers by criticizing half-measures and advocating a radical transformation of the social system.

[13] In his letter to Marx of 20 January 1945.

[14] Apparently, Elise and Hedwig.

[15] The socialist circle in Westphalia and the Rhine Province, with which Engels maintained close contacts and whose members were Otto Luening and Julius Meyer, was mentioned in the report of the Prussian police superintendent Duncker to the Minister of the Interior Bodelschwingh of 18 October 1845. This report contains the following remark concerning Engels: "Friedrich Engels of Barmen is a quite reliable man, but he was a son who is a rabid communist and wanders about as a man of letters; it is possible that his name is Frederick."

[16] *Rheinische Jahrbücher*.

[17] Johann Adolph Carnap.

[18] This refers to the General Association for Relief and Education founded in Cologne in November 1844.

[19] *Cabinets noirs* (secret officers or black officers) were established under the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and a number of other countries to deal with the inspection of correspondence. They have been in existence since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe.

[20] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England.*

[21] *The Holy Family* by Marx and Engels was published about 24 February 1845.

[22] The manuscript is damaged here, but the text is decipherable.

[23] The projected publication in Germany of the "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers" was also discussed by Marx and Engels in their subsequent letters. Engels mentioned it in the third article of his series "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany" published in May 1845 in *The New Moral World*. In early March 1845, Marx drew up a list of authors to be included in the "Library". This list shows that "Library" was intended to be an extensive publication in German of works by French and English utopian socialists. The project was not realized because of publishing difficulties. The only work completed was "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade" compiled by Engels and published with his introduction and conclusion in the *Deutsches Burgerbuch fur 1846.*

[24] Julius Theodor Baedeker

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Brussels

Written: [Paris, 23-24 November 1847]
First Published: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels and K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: Ken Campbell
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

[Paris, 23-24 November 1847]

Dear Marx,

Not until this evening was it decided that I should be coming. Saturday evening, [1] then, in Ostend, Hotel de la Couronne, just opposite the railway station beside the harbour, and Sunday morning across the water. If you take the train that leaves between 4 and 5, you'll arrive at about the same time as I do.

If, contrary to expectations, there is no packet-boat to Dover on Sundays, write and tell me by return. I.e., since you will receive this letter on Thursday morning, you must make inquiries at once and, should a letter be necessary, it must be posted the same evening -- before five o'clock, I think -- at the main post office. So if you want to make any changes as regards the meeting place there is still time. If I haven't heard by Friday morning I shall count on meeting you and Tedesco on Saturday evening at the Couronne. We shall then have time enough to talk things over; this congress must be a decisive one, *as this time we shall have it all our own way.*

For a long time now I have been completely at a loss to understand why you have not put a stop to Moses' gossip. [2] It's been giving rise to the most devilish confusion for me here and the most tedious contradictory speeches to the workers. Entire district sittings have been wasted over it, nor is there any possibility of effectively combating this 'vapid' nonsense in the communities; particularly before the elections there could be no question of it.

I expect to see L. Blanc again tomorrow. If not, I shall in any case see him the day after tomorrow. If I have nothing to add at the end of this letter, you will hear the sequel on Saturday.

By the way, Reinhardt talked nonsense to me about the number of copies sold [3] -- not 37, but 96 had been sold a week ago today. That same day I myself took your book to L. Blanc. All the copies had been despatched save to Lamartine (not here), L. Blanc and Vidal, whose address cannot be found. I have had it taken to the *Presse.*

By the way, Frank's despatch arrangements have been truly appalling.

At least see that Moses doesn't get up to any nonsense during our absence! *Au revoir*, then!

Your

E.

Tuesday evening

Verte [4]

Give a little thought to the Confession of Faith. I think we would do best to abandon the catachetical form and call the thing *Communist Manifesto*.[5] Since a certain amount of history has to be narrated in it, the form hitherto adopted is quite unsuitable. I shall be bringing with me the one from here, which I did [6]; it is in simple narrative form, but wretchedly worded, in a tearing hurry. I start off by asking: What is communism? and then straight on to the proletariat -- the history of its origins, how it differs from earlier workers, development of the antithesis between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between, all kinds of secondary matter and, finally, the communists' party policy, in so far as it should be made public. The one here has not yet been submitted in its entirety for endorsement but, save for a few quite minor points, I think I can get it through in such a form that at least there is nothing in it which conflicts with our views.

Wednesday morning

Have just received your letter [7] to which the above is an answer. I went to see L. Blanc. I'm remarkably unlucky with him -- *il est en voyage, ii reviendra peut-?tre aujourd'hui*. [8] I shall go there again tomorrow and, if necessary, the day after.

I can't be in Ostend by Friday evening because the money won't have been got together until Friday.

This morning your cousin Philips came to see me.

Born should make quite a good speech if you drum something into him. It's good that the Germans are represented by a working man. [9] But Lupus must be purged of all trace of his excessive modesty. The good fellow is one of those rare people who have to be *thrust* into the foreground. Not Weerth, for heaven's sake, as representative! A man who was always too lazy, until pitchforked by his *succes d'un jour* [10] at the Congress. [11] And who, to boot, wishes to be an independent member. *II faut le retenir dans sa sphere*. [12]

NOTES
From MECW

BACKGROUND: Engels sent this letter to Marx on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist League for which they both made thorough preparations and expected to reach a final agreement concerning their stand during their meeting on the way to London. What Engels writes here on certain points, e.g. a Communist League programme not in the form of a catechism or confession of faith but of a manifesto, found expression in the congress decisions.

The Second Congress of the Communist League was held in London from 29 November to 8 December

1847. It was attended by delegates from Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland and Denmark. Marx represented the League's Brussels communities, Engels the Paris communities and Victor Tedesco the Liege communities. During many days of discussion Marx and Engels defended the principles of scientific communism on which the congress based its decisions. It was resolved that in all its external relations the League would come out openly as a communist party. The congress adopted the previously drawn up Rules in an improved form, a clause clearly defining the League's communist aim being included. On the instruction of the Second Congress Marx and Engels wrote as the League's programme the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which was published in February 1848.

[1] 27 November 1847

[2] Probably a series of articles by Moses Hess.

[3] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

[4] PTO

[5] Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.

[6] F. Engels, 'Principles of Communism'.

[7] The working man referred to was Stephan Born, who was to speak at the meeting of the Democratic Association in Brussels held to mark the seventeenth anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830 instead of Marx who at that time was to take part in the Second Congress of the Communist League in London. Below Engels mentions Wilhelm Wolff (Lupus) and Georg Weerth as possible representatives, with Born, of the German Workers' Society at the Brussels meeting. It was held on 29 November 1847, and Born spoke on behalf of the German workers.

A report on the meeting was published in the *Deutsche-Brusseler-Zeitung* No. 96, 2 December 1847.

[8] "he's travelling and will *perhaps* be back today."

[9] Marx's letter to Engels written about 22 November 1847 has not been found.

[10] "fleeting success"

[11] Engels refers to the Congress of Economists in Brussels where Georg Weerth made a speech on 18 September.

[12] "He must be kept to his own sphere."

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Engels to Marx

Written: [Manchester], 24 September, 1852
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The crapauds* are doing well. With the temporary prosperity, and prospects of the glory of an empire, the workers seem to have become completely bourgeois after all. It will take a severe chastisement by crises if they are to become good for anything again soon. If the next crisis is a mild one Bonaparte may be able to steer through it. But it looks as if it was going to be damned serious. No crisis is worse than one in which over-speculation in production is slowly developing, for it requires as many years to develop its results as a crisis in the trade in products and stocks an shares requires months. And with old Wellington has been buried not only the common sense of old England but old England itself, in the person of its sole surviving representative. What remains are inconsequent sporting characters like Derby and Jewish swindlers like Disraeli--who are as much caricatures of the old Tories as Monsieur Bonaparte is of his uncle.

* Literally toads, but used as a slang nickname by Marx and Engels for the French bourgeois.

Engels-Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Marx

Written: [London], 14 January, 1858
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

...I am getting some nice developments. For instance, I have thrown over the whole doctrine of profit as it has existed up to now. In the method of treatment of treatment the fact by mere accident I have again glanced through Hegel's *Logic* has been of great service to me--Freiligrath found some volumes of Hegel which originally belonged to Bakunin and sent them to me as a present. If there should ever be time for such work again, I should greatly like to make accessible to the ordinary human intelligence, in two or three printer's sheets, what is rational in the method which Hegel discovered but at the same time enveloped in mysticism.... What do you say to friend Jones? That the fellow has sold himself I am not yet willing to believe. His experience in 1848 may lie heavy on his stomach. With his great belief in himself he may think himself capable of exploiting the middle class or may imagine that if only Ernest Jones were got into Parliament, one way or another, the history of the world would be bound to take a new turn. The best of it is that Reynolds* has now come out in his paper as a furious opponent of the middle class and of all compromise-of course out of spite against Jones. Mr. B. O'Brien, likewise, has now become an irrepressible Chartist at any price. The only excuse for Jones is the inertia which at present pervades the working class in England. However this may be, he is at present on the way to becoming a dupe of the middle class or a renegade. The fact that he, who used anxiously to consult me about every hit of rubbish, is now equally anxious to avoid me, shows anything but a good conscience. ...

*Reynolds, George William (1814-79) Chartist. Editor of *Reynolds Weekly Newspaper*.

Engels-Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Marx

Written: Manchester, 21 April, 1863
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

What is to be done with Lassalle it is hard to say; after all, I should assume that it would be beneath the dignity of the great Itzig [Lassalle] to bring out the heavy artillery of a formal denial against such petty gossip as that of Meyen. Let the fellow get out of his own dirty mess himself; if he can do anything he will not need any testimonial from you, and why should you compromise yourself after once having told him that he cannot go with us all the same, or we with him. What stupidity, to start with, to mix himself up in the Schulze-Delitzsch *Knoten* business and to attempt to form a party there, of all places, on the basis of our former work. We can only welcome the fact that Schulze-Delitzsch and other rabble are trying during this bourgeois period to raise the *Knoten* to the heights of the bourgeois point of view, for otherwise we should have had this business to wade through during the revolution, and in Germany, where everything is so much complicated by the mentality of the petty state, this small beer might have been held up to us as something new and practical. That is finished with now; we have got out opponents in the right position and the *Knote* has become conscious and so transferred himself to the ranks of the petty-bourgeois democracy. But to regard these chaps as representatives of the proletariat! It takes Itzig to do that.

Engels to Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Marx

Written: Manchester, 27 April, 1867
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I expected Bismarck to knock at your door, though scarcely with such rapidity. It is typical of the fellow's horizon and way of thinking that he judges everyone by himself. Well may the bourgeoisie admire the great men of to-day--it sees its own reflection in them. All the qualities by which Bonaparte and Bismarck achieved success are the qualities of the merchant: the pursuit of a definite end by waiting and experimenting until the right moment is hit upon, the diplomacy of the ever-open loophole of escape, the compromising and haggling, the swallowing of insults if interest demands it, the "do not let us be thieves"--in short, everywhere the merchant. Gottfried Ermen is just as great a statesman as Bismarck in his way, and if one follows all the tricks of these great men one always finds oneself back again on the Manchester Exchange. Bismarck thinks to himself: if I go on knocking at Marx's door I shall, after all, be sure to hit on the right moment in the end and then we will do a little business together. Gottfried Ermen all over.

Engels to Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

Written: November 6, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It is difficult to come to an absolutely definite judgment about the thing [Dietzgen's manuscript]. As a philosopher the man is no child of nature, and added to that is only half self-taught. Some of his sources (e.g., Feuerbach, your book, and various rubbishy popular works on natural science) can be immediately recognised from his terminology, but one cannot tell what else he has read. His terminology is of course still very confused--hence there is a lack of sharpness and frequent repetition in new terms. There is also some dialectic in it, but appearing more in flashes than as a connected whole. The account of the thing-in-itself as *Gedankending* [thing made of thought] would be very nice and even brilliant if one could be sure that he had discovered it *for himself*. There is a lot of wit and, despite the lack of grammar, a marked talent for style. On the whole, a remarkable instinct for arguing out so much correctly with such deficient preliminary training.

As I said, the repetitions are the result partly of the deficient terminology and partly of unfamiliarity with the discipline of logic. It will be very hard to get them all out. If the man absolutely insists on having his things printed I am not sure that to limit him to two printer's sheets would be the best for him--in any case it would give him the devil's own job as he is not conscious of his repetitions, and then I am not sure either whether two sheets would get any attention paid them at all. More likely six to eight. And he will never get it into a periodical.

Engels to Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

Written: November 18, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

What do you say to the elections in the factory districts? Once again the proletariat has discredited itself terribly. Manchester and Salford return three Tories to two Liberals, including moreover the milk-and-water Bayley. Bolton, Preston, Blackburn, etc., practically nothing but Tories. In Ashton it looks as if M[ilner] Gibson would go to the wall. Ernest Jones nowhere, despite the cheering.

Everywhere the proletariat are the tag, rag and bobtail of the official parties, and if any party has gained additional strength from the new voters, it is the Tories. The small towns, the half rotten boroughs are the salvation of bourgeois liberalism and the roles will be reversed: the Tories will now be in favour of more members for the big towns and the Liberals for unequal representation.

Here the electors have increased from 24,000 to not quite 48,000, while the Tories have increased their voters from 6,000 to 14,000--15,000. The Liberals threw away a lot and Mr. Henry did a lot of harm, but it cannot be denied that the increase of working-class voters has brought the Tories more than their mere additional percentage and has improved their relative position. On the whole this is to the good. It looks at present as if Gladstone will get a *narrow* majority and so be compelled to keep the ball rolling and reform the Reform Act; with a big majority he would have left it all to God as usual.

But it remains a hopeless certificate of destitution for the English proletariat, all the same. The *parson* has shown unexpected power and so has the cringing to respectability. Not a single working-class candidate had a ghost of a chance, but my Lord Tomnoddy or any *parvenu* snob could have the workers' votes with pleasure.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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Many thanks for Ténot and the Baudin trial. As soon as I have read the latter I will send them both back. You can keep the *Provinces* for I have ordered both volumes for myself from the bookseller, as one must possess a copy of a thing of this kind. It is a necessary result of every victorious reaction that the causation of the revolution and especially of the counter-revolution should pass into utter oblivion; the younger generation in Germany knows absolutely nothing about 1848 except the groans of the *Kreuzzeitung*, which were echoed by all the other papers from 1849-52 ; history suddenly comes to an end there in 1847·

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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Nothing can in any case be done with Wilhelm [Liebknecht] until he has quite definitely separated his organisation from the People's Party and placed himself at most in a loose cartel relation with them. Very nice too his intending to put the International in the title of his little paper, which would then be the organ of the International Workingmen's Association and of the People's Party *at the same time!* The organ *both* of the German petty bourgeoisie and of the European workers!

Another fine idea of Wilhelm's, that one must neither accept nor even *force* concessions to the workers from the "present state." This will get him the hell of a long way with the workers....

[In Tridon's pamphlet--*Gironde et Girondins* (1869)--there is] the comic idea that the dictatorship of Paris over France, which was the reason why the first revolution went to pieces, could be carried out in just the same sort of way to-day but with a successful result.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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Irish history shows one how disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale. I have still to work through the Cromwellian period, but this much seems certain to me, that things would have taken another turn in England but for the necessity for military rule in Ireland and the creation of a new aristocracy there.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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I never thought that Mr. Carey would be such amusing reading.... The fellow imagines that the reason why rent is so high in South Lancashire and, among other places, in the Forest of Rossendale (a thickly-populated industrial centre) is because the land here is exceptionally good corn-producing land! I am making a heap of marginal notes for you and as soon as I have read his theory of rent will write you my opinion and send the book back. Of course he explains the origin of rent by just as wild and senseless a story as Ricardo, and his idea too of *how it took place* is as absurd as the way in which all economists represent this sort of thing to themselves. But that has nothing to do with the theory of rent itself. What Carey calls the "best land" you can see from the fact that, according to his own statement, it is exceptional now for the so-called best land, even in the Northern States, to *yield a profit* when taken into cultivation.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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...And now for Carey.

The whole question at issue does not seem to me to have any direct connection with economics proper. Ricardo says, rent is the surplus yield of the more fertile pieces of land over that of the less fertile. Carey says just the same. ... They are therefore agreed on what rent is. The dispute is only about how rent arises. Now Ricardo's description of the process by which rent originates (Carey, p. 104) is just as unhistorical as all the similar detailed stories of the economists and as Carey's own great Robinson-Crusoeade about Adam and Eve (p. 96 seq.). In the older economists, including Ricardo, this is still excusable to a certain extent; they do not want any historical knowledge, they are just as unhistorical in their whole conception as the other apostles of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, with whom such alleged historical digressions are nothing more than a manner of speech enabling them to represent the origin of this, that or the other to themselves in a rational way, and in which primitive man always thinks and behaves exactly as if he were an apostle of eighteenth-century Enlightenment. But when Carey, who wants to develop his own historical theory, proceeds to introduce Adam and Eve to us as Yankee backwoodsmen, he cannot expect us to believe him, he has not the same excuse.

There would be no dispute at all if Ricardo had not been naive enough to call the more productive land simply "fertile." The most *fertile* and *most favourably situated* land "is, according to Ricardo, the first cultivated. Just the way a thoughtful bourgeois in a land that has been cultivated for centuries would be bound to represent the thing to himself. Now Carey fastens on to the "fertile," foists on to Ricardo the assertion that the lands most capable of productivity in *themselves* are those taken into cultivation, and says: No, on the contrary, the most *naturally* fertile lands (the valley of the Amazon, the Ganges delta, tropical Africa, Borneo and New Guinea, etc.) are not cultivated even yet; the first settlers, because they cannot help themselves, start cultivation on land *which drains itself*, namely, strips lying on hills and slopes, but these are by nature *poorer* land. And when Ricardo says: *fertile and the most favourably situated,* he is saying the same thing, without noticing that he is expressing himself loosely and that a contradiction can be introduced between these two qualifications connected by *"and."* But when Carey inserts a sketch on page 138 and declares that Ricardo puts his first settlers in the valley while Carey puts

them on the hills (on bare crags and impracticable declivities of 45 degrees, in the sketch) he is simply lying about Ricardo.

Carey's historical illustrations, in so far as they refer *to America,* are the only useful thing in the book. As a Yankee he was able to live through the process of settlement himself and could follow it from the beginning: here, therefore, he knows all about it. Nevertheless there is no doubt a lot of uncritical stuff here as well, which would have first to be sifted out. But when he gets to Europe he begins inventing and making himself ridiculous. And that he is not unprejudiced even in America is indicated by the eagerness with which he attempts to prove the worthlessness, indeed the *negative* quality, of the value of the uncultivated land (that in some respects it is worth minus 10 dollars an acre) and praises the self-sacrifice of the societies which, to their own certain ruin, make waste land serviceable for mankind. Related of the country of colossal land jobbery, this produces a humorous effect. Moreover, he never mentions the *prairie land* here and it is very lightly touched upon elsewhere. The whole story of the negative value of the waste land and all the calculation he gives to prove it are after all best contradicted by America itself. If the story were true, America would not only be the poorest of countries, but would be becoming *relatively* poorer every year, because more and more labour would be thrown away on this worthless land.

Now as to his definition of rent: "The amount received as rent is interest upon the value of labour expended, *minus* the difference between the productive power (the rent-paying land) and that of the newer soils which can be brought into activity by the application of the same labour that has been there given to the work"--pp. 165-6. This may, within certain limits, have a certain amount of truth here and there, especially in America. But rent is in any case such a complicated thing, to which so many other circumstances contribute, that even in those cases, this definition could apply only if other things were equal, only to two pieces of land *lying side by side.* That "interest for the value of labour expended" is also contained in rent, Ricardo knew as well as he. If Carey declares the land as such to be worse than worthless then rent is bound of course to be either "interest upon the value of labour expended," or, as it is called on p. 39, theft. But he has still to show us the transition from theft to interest.

The origin of rent in different countries and even in one and the same country seems to me to be by no means such a simple process as both Ricardo and Carey imagine. In Ricardo, as I said, this is excusable; it is the story of the fishers and hunters in the sphere of agriculture. It is not in fact an economic *dogma,* but Carey wants to make a dogma out of his theory and prove it to the world--for which indeed historical studies of a very different sort from Mr. Carey's are necessary. There 'may even have been places where rent originated in Ricardo's way and others where it originated in Carey's way, and still others where its origin was entirely different. One might also remark to Carey that where fever has to be reckoned with, and above all tropical fever, economics pretty well cease to hold. Unless his theory of population means that with the increase of inhabitants the surplus population is obliged to begin work on the most fertile, i.e., the most unhealthy pieces of land, an attempt in which they either succeed or perish. If so, he has successfully established a harmony between himself and Malthus.

In Northern Europe, rent originated neither in Ricardo's nor in Carey's way, but simply from the feudal burdens which were later reduced to their right economic level by free competition. In Italy different again, see Rome. To calculate how much of the rent in the old civilised countries is really original rent and how much is interest for labour invested is impossible, because every case is different. Moreover it has no importance at all once it has been proved that rent can also increase where no labour is put into the land. The grandfather of Sir Humphrey de Trafford, in Old Trafford near Manchester, was so laden

with debt that he did not know what to do. His grandson, after paying off all the debts, has an income of £40,000 a year. If we subtract about £10,000 of this, which comes from building land, £30,000 remains as the yearly value of the agricultural estate, which eighty years ago brought;n perhaps £2,000. Further, if £3,000 is taken as interest on invested labour and capital, which is a lot, there remains an increase of £25,000, or five times the former value, including the improvements. And all this, not because labour was put into it, but because labour was put into something else near by--because the estate lies close to a city like Manchester, where milk, butter and garden produce get a good price. It is just the same on a larger scale. From the moment England became a corn and cattle importing country, and even earlier, the density of population became a factor in the determination of rent, and particularly of rent-increases, quite independently of the labour invested in the land of England as a whole. Ricardo, with his "most favourably situated lands" includes the consideration of connection *with the market* as well, Carey ignores it. And if he were then to say that land itself only has a negative, but *situation* a positive value, he would have nevertheless admitted, what he denies, that land, just because it can be monopolised, has, or *can* have, a value independent of the labour invested in it. But on this point Carey is as quiet as a mouse.

It is equally indifferent whether the labour invested in the land in civilised countries pays regularly or not. More than 20 years ago I made the assertion that in our present society no instrument of production exists which can last from 60 to 100 years, no factory, no building, etc., which by the end of its existence has covered the cost of its production. I still think that one way and another this is perfectly true. And if Carey and I are both right, that proves nothing about the rate of profit or the origin of rent, it only proves that bourgeois production, even measured by its own standards, is rotten.

With these random comments on Carey you will no doubt have enough. They are very mixed because I made no extracts. As for the historical-materialistic-scientific trimming, its whole value = that of the two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which he has planted in his Paradisical work, not indeed for Adam and Eve, who have to slave in the backwoods, but for their descendants. This wretched ignorant stuff can only be compared with the shamelessness which allows him to unburden himself of such nonsense.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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The election in Tipperary [of O'Donovan Rossa, a Fenian prisoner] is an event. It forces the Fenians out of empty conspiracy and the fabrication of small coups into a path of action which, even if legal in appearance, is still far more revolutionary than what they have been doing since the failure of their insurrection. In fact, they are adopting the methods of the French workers and that is an enormous advance. If only the thing is carried on as intended. The terror which this new turn has produced among the philistines, and which is now being screeched throughout the whole Liberal press, is the best proof that this time the nail has been hit on the head. Typical is the *Solicitors' Journal,* which remarks with horror that the election of a political prisoner is *without precedent* in the realm of Britain! So much the worse--where is there a country *except* England in which such a case is not a common event! The worthy Gladstone must be horribly annoyed.

But you really ought to look at the *Times* now. *Three* leaders in eight days in which either it is demanded of the Government or the Government itself demands that an end be put to the excesses of the Irish Nationalist press.

I am very eager to hear about your debate to-morrow evening and its result, about which there can be no doubt. It would be very fine to get Odger into a hole. I hope Bradlaugh will stand for Southwark as well as he, and it would be much better if Bradlaugh were elected. For the rest, if the English workers cannot take an example from the peasants of Tipperary they are in a bad way....

Last week I waded through the tracts by old Sir John Davies (Attorney-General for Ireland under James). I do not know if you have read them, they are the main source; at any rate you have seen them quoted a hundred times. It is a real shame that one cannot have the original sources for everything; one can see infinitely more from them than from the second-hand versions which reduce everything that is clear and simple in the original to confusion and complexity.

From these tracts it is clear that communal property in land *still existed* in full force in Ireland in the year 1600, and this was brought forward by Mr. Davies in the pleas regarding the confiscation of the alienated

lands in Ulster, as a proof that the land did not belong to the individual owners (peasants) and therefore either belonged to the lord, who had forfeited it, or from the beginning to the Crown. I have never read anything finer than this plea. The division took place afresh every two to three years. In another pamphlet he gives an exact description of the income, etc., of the chief of the clan. These things I have *never* seen quoted and if you can use them I will send them you in detail. At the same time I have nicely caught Monsieur Goldwin smith. This person has never read Davies and so puts up the most absurd assertions in extenuation of the English. But I shall get the fellow.....

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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...Ireland still remains the Holy Isle whose aspirations must on no account be mixed with the profane class-struggles of the rest of the sinful world. This is no doubt partly honest madness on the part of the people, but it is equally certain that it is also partly a calculation on the side of the leaders in order to maintain their domination over the peasant. Added to this, a nation of peasants always has to take its literary representatives from the bourgeoisie of the towns and their intelligentsia, and in this respect Dublin (I mean Catholic Dublin) is to Ireland much what Copenhagen is to Denmark. But to these gentry the whole labour movement is pure heresy and the Irish peasant must not on any account know that the Socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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It is a real mercy that in spite of G. Flourens, there was no outbreak at Noir's funeral. The fury of the *"Pays"* shows the bitter disappointment of the Bonapartists. Indeed what could be wished for better than to catch the whole of the revolutionary masses of Paris in flagrant delinquency in an open space *outside* Paris and even *outside the walls of the fortifications,* which have only a few entrances? Half a dozen cannons at the passages through the walls, a regiment of infantry in skirmishing formation and a brigade of cavalry to charge in and pursue--and in half an hour's time the whole unarmed crowd--the few revolvers that some of them may have in their pockets do not count--will be blown up, cut to pieces or taken prisoners. But as there are 60,000 troops at hand the crowd could even be allowed inside the fortifications, these could then be manned and the whole mass shot or ridden down in the open ground of the Champs Elysees and the Avenue de Neuilly. Mad! Paris, manned by 60,000 soldiers, is to be captured from the open fields by 200,000 unarmed workers!

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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The position seems to me to be this: Germany has been driven by Badinguet [Napoleon III] into a war for her national existence. If Badinguet defeats her, Bonapartism will be strengthened for years to come and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. In that case there can be no more question of an independent German working-class movement either, the struggle to restore the national existence will absorb everything, and at best the German workers will be dragged in the wake of the French. If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be got rid of, the German workers will be able to organise themselves on a national scale quite different from that hitherto, and the French workers, whatever sort of government may succeed this one, are certain to have a freer field than under Bonapartism. The whole mass of the German people of every class have realised that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into It. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total obstruction *a la* Wilhelm [Liebknecht] and place all sorts of secondary considerations before the main consideration, seems to me impossible.

Added to this is the fact that Badinguet would never have been able to conduct this war without the chauvinism of the mass of the French population: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialistic, Haussmannist building workers' proletariat derived from the peasants, which Bonaparte created in the big towns. Until this chauvinism is knocked on the head, and that properly, peace between Germany and France is impossible. One might have expected that a proletarian revolution would have undertaken this work, but since the war is already there, nothing remains for the Germans but to do it themselves and quickly.

Now come the secondary considerations. For the fact that this war was ordered by Lehmann [Wilhelm I] Bismarck & Co., and must minister to their temporary glorification if they conduct it successfully, we have to thank the miserable state of the German bourgeoisie. It is certainly very unpleasant but cannot be altered. But to magnify anti-Bismarckism into the sole guiding principle on this account would be absurd. In the first place, Bismarck, as in 1866, is at present doing a bit of our work for us, in his own

way and without meaning to, but all the same he is doing it. He is clearing the ground for us better than before. And then we are no longer at the year 1815. The South Germans are bound now to enter the Reichstag and this will develop a counterpoise to Prussianism. Then there are the national duties which will fall to Prussia and which, as you wrote, will from the outset forbid the Russian alliance. In general to try d la Liebknecht to set the clock back on all that has happened since 1866 is senseless. But we know our model South' Germans. There is nothing to be done with these fools.

I think our people can:

(I) Join the national movement--you can see from Kugelmann's letter how strong it is--in so far as and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, before peace is arrived at).

(2) At the same time emphasise the difference between German-national and dynastic-Prussian interests.

(3) Work against any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine--Bismarck is now revealing the intention of annexing them to Bavaria and Baden.

(4) As soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it.

(5) Constantly stress the unity of interest between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other.

(6) *Russia*, as in the International Address.

Wilhelm's assertion that because Bismarck is a former accomplice of Badinguet's the correct position is to remain neutral, is amusing. If that were the general opinion in Germany, we should soon have the Confederation of the Rhine again and the noble Wilhelm should just see what sort of a part he would play in that, and what would happen to the workers' movement. A people that gets nothing but kicks and blows is indeed the right one to make a social revolution, and in Wilhelm's beloved X-petty states moreover!...

...The debacle in France seems to be awful. Everything squandered, sold, swindled away. The *chassepots* are badly made and fail when brought into action, there are no more there, the old flintlocks have got to be hunted out again. Nevertheless a revolutionary government, if it comes *soon*, need not despair. But it must leave Paris to its fate and carry on the war from the South. There would then still be a possibility of its holding out until arms have been bought and new armies organised with which the enemy would be gradually forced back again to the frontier. This would really be the true end of the war, both countries reciprocally furnishing proof that they are unconquerable. But if this does not happen quickly the game is up. Moltke's operations are a model--old Wilhelm seems to give him a perfectly free hand--and the four battalions are already joining the main army, while the French ones are not yet in existence.

If Badinguet is not out of Metz yet it may go badly with him. ...

Wilhelm [Liebknecht] has obviously calculated on a victory for Bonaparte simply in order to get his Bismarck defeated. You remember how he was always threatening him with the French. *You*, of course, are on *Wilhelm's* side too!

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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"Was schert mich Weib, was schert mich Kind,
"Ich trage höhres Verlangen;
"Lass sie betteln gehn, wenn sie hungrig sind-
"Mein Kaiser, mein Kaiser gefangen!"

[What care I for wife or child, I have higher yearnings; if they are hungry let them go and beg--my Emperor, my Emperor is a captive!]

World history is surely the greatest of poets, it has even succeeded in parodying Heine. My Emperor, my Emperor a captive! And of the "stinking Prussians," what is more. And poor William stands by and assures everybody for the hundredth time that he is really quite innocent of the whole business and that it is a pure act of God. William appears just like the schoolboy: "Who created the world?" "Please teacher, I did--but indeed I will never do it again And then the miserable Jules Favre comes along an that Palikao, Trochu and a few Arcadians shall form the government. There never was such a lousy crew. But all the same it is to be expected now that when this becomes known in Paris something or other will happen. I cannot believe that this douche of news, which must surely be known to-day or to-morrow, will produce no effect. Perhaps a government of the Left, which after some show of resistance will conclude peace.

The war is at an end. There is no more army in France. As soon as Bazaine has capitulated, which will no doubt happen this week, half the German army will move in front of Paris and the other half across the Loire to sweep the country of all armed detachments....

The Alsace swindle--apart from its purely Teutonic features--is mainly of a strategical nature and aims at getting the line of the Vosges and German Lorraine as border-country. (Language frontier: If you draw a straight line from Donon or Schirmeck in the Vosges to one hour east of Longwy, where the Belgian--Luxemberg and French frontiers meet, it is almost exactly the language frontier ; and from Donon down the Vosges to the Swiss frontier.) Northwards from Donon the Vosges are not so high and steep as in the South. Only the asses of the *Staatsanzeiger* and Brass and Co. could suppose that France will be "throttled" by the snipping off of this narrow strip with its one and a quarter million or so

inhabitants. The screams of the philistines for "guarantees" are altogether absurd, but they tell because they suit the rubbish of the Court people.... In Saarbrücken the French did as much damage as they could. Of course the bombardment only lasted a few hours and not as in Strasbourg day and night for weeks. ...

The defence of Paris, if nothing extraordinary happens in the course of it, will be an entertaining episode. These perpetual little panics of the French--which all arise from fear of the moment when they will really have to learn the truth--give one a much better idea of the Reign of Terror. We think of this as the reign of people who inspire terror; on the contrary, it is the reign of people who are themselves terrified. Terror consists mostly of useless cruelties perpetrated by frightened people in order to reassure themselves. I am convinced that the blame for the Reign of Terror in 1793 lies almost exclusively with the over-nervous bourgeois, demeaning himself as a patriot, the small petty bourgeois beside themselves with fright and the mob of riff-raff who know how to profit from the terror. These are just the classes in the present minor terror too.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Manchester

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If anything at all could be done in Paris, a rising of the workers before peace is concluded should be prevented. Bismarck will soon be in a position to make peace, either by taking Paris or because the European situation obliges him to put an end to the war. However the peace may turn out, it must be concluded before the workers can do anything at all. If they were victorious now--in the service of national defence--they would have to inherit the legacy of Bonaparte and of the present lousy Republic, and would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years. They themselves can lose nothing by waiting. The possible changes of frontier are in any case only provisional and will be reversed again. To fight for the bourgeoisie against the Prussians would be madness. Whatever the government may be which concludes peace, the fact that it has done so will eventually make its existence impossible, and in internal conflicts there will not be much to fear from the army, returned home after imprisonment. After the peace all the chances will be more favourable to the workers than they ever were before. But will they not let themselves be carried away again under the pressure of the external attack, and proclaim the Social Republic on the eve of the storming of Paris? It would be appalling if as their last act of war the German armies had to fight out a battle with the Parisian workers at the barricades. It would throw us back fifty years and delay everything so much that everybody and everything would get into a false position--and the national hatred and the domination by phrases which would *then* arise among the French workers!

It is a damnably bad thing that in the present situation there are so few people in Paris who are ready to dare to see things as they *really are*. Where is one man there who even dares to *think* that France's active power of resistance is broken where this war is concerned, and that with it the prospects of repelling the invasion by a revolution fall to the ground too! Just because people do not *want* to hear the real truth I am afraid that things may still come to this. For the apathy of the workers *before* the fall of the Empire will no doubt have changed by now.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

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In bed this morning the following dialectical ideas on the natural sciences came into my head:

The subject of natural science--moving matter, bodies. Bodies cannot be separated from motion, their forms and kinds can only be known through motion, of bodies apart from motion, apart from any relation to other bodies, nothing can be asserted. Only in motion does a body reveal what it is. Natural science therefore knows bodies by considering them in their relation to one another, in motion. The knowledge of the different forms of motion is the knowledge of bodies. The investigation of these different forms of motion is therefore the chief subject of natural science.

(I) The simplest form of motion is change of *place* (in time--to please old Hegel)--*mechanical* motion.

(a) There is no such thing as the movement of a *single* body, but relatively speaking, *falling* can be treated as such. Motion towards a centre common to many bodies. But as soon as an individual body moves in a direction other than towards the centre, while it is still subject to the laws of falling, these undergo modification.

(b) in the laws of orbits and lead directly to the reciprocal motion of several bodies--planetary etc., motion, astronomy, equilibrium--a modification temporarily or apparently in the motion itself. But the *real* result of this kind of motion is always ultimately--the *contact* of the moving bodies, they fall into one another.

(c) Mechanics of contact--bodies in contact, ordinary mechanics, levers, inclined planes, etc. *But the effects of contact are not exhausted by these.* Contact is directly manifested in two forms: friction and impact. Both have the property that at given degrees of intensity and under certain conditions they produce new, no longer merely mechanical effects: *heat, light, electricity, magnetism.*

(2) *Physics proper,* the science of these forms of movement, after investigation of each individuality, establishes the fact that under certain conditions they *pass into one another,* and ultimately discovers that all of them--at a given degree of intensity which varies according to the different bodies set in

motion--produce effects which transcend physics, changes in the internal structure of bodies -- *chemical* effects.

(3) Chemistry. For the investigation of the previous forms of movement it was more or less indifferent whether this was applied to animate or inanimate bodies. The inanimate bodies even displayed the phenomena in their greatest *purity*. Chemistry, on the other hand, can only distinguish the chemical nature of the most important bodies in substances which have arisen out of the process of life itself; its chief task becomes more and more to prepare these substances artificially. It forms the transition to the organic sciences, but the dialectical transition can only be accomplished when chemistry has either made the real transition or is on the point of doing so.

(4) Organism. Here I will not embark on any dialectic for the time being.

You being seated there at the centre of the natural sciences will be in the best position to judge if there is anything in it.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in Ramsgate

Written: May 28, 1876
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It is all very well for you to talk. You can lie warm in bed and study ground rent in general and Russian agrarian conditions in particular with nothing to disturb you--but I am to sit on the hard bench, swill cold wine, suddenly interrupt everything again and get after the blood of the boring Dühring. However, there is doubtless nothing else for it, even if I involve myself in a controversy of which it is impossible to see the end; after all, I shall have no peace otherwise, and then friend Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Course of Philosophy* has shown me exactly where and how to direct the attack. This book will have to be included because on many decisive points it better exposes the weak sides and weak foundations of the arguments put forward in the *Economy*. I am ordering it at once. There is no actual philosophy in it whatever--formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.--it is supposed rather to represent a general theory of science in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are treated in alleged inner interconnection. So again there is a whole section in which the society of the future, the so-called "free" society, is described in its less economic aspects, and among other things the scheme of education for the primary and secondary schools is already laid down. Here, therefore, one gets the banality in an even simpler form than in the economic book and taking both works together can expose the fellow from this side at the same time. For the noble gentleman's conception of history--that there was nothing but rubbish until Dühring arrived--this book also has the advantage that here one can quote his own crass words. Anyhow, I have him on the hip now. My plan is ready--*J'ai mon plan.* First of all I shall deal with the trash in a purely objective and apparently serious way, and then the treatment will become sharper according to the degree in which the proofs of the nonsense on the one hand and of the platitudes on the other begin to pile up, until at last we get to a regular hailstorm. In this fashion Most and Co. are deprived of their excuse about "unkindness" and Dühring gets his deserts all the same. These gentlemen must be shown that there is more than one way by which one can settle accounts with people of this kind.

I hope Wilhelm [Liebknecht] will publish Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was obviously written. As usual Most cannot copy and so makes Dühring responsible for the most comic imbecilities in the way of natural science, e.g., the breaking off of the rings (according to Kant's theory)--from the *fixed stars!*

With Wilhelm it is not merely the lack of manuscripts-- that could be got over by other articles on questions of the day, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Blos's time. It is his passion for supplementing the deficiencies of our theory, for having an answer to every philistine's objection and a picture of the society of the future because after all the philistine asks questions about it; and, in addition, for being as independent of us theoretically as possible (in which, owing to his total lack of all theory, he has always succeeded far better than he himself knows). But by all this he puts me into a position in which I cannot but say to myself that Dühring is at any rate an educated man compared with the theoretical bunglers of the *Volksstaat*, and his works are at any rate better than those of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen....

My re-reading of ancient history and my studies in natural science have been of great service to me for Dühring and make the thing much easier for me in many ways. Especially with natural science I find that the ground has become considerably more familiar to me and that, though I have to exercise great caution, I can nevertheless move on it with a certain amount of freedom and security. I am also beginning to see the end of this job too. The thing is beginning to take shape in my head, and bummelling here at the seaside where I can let the details go round in my mind has helped this on a good deal. In this enormous field it is absolutely necessary to interrupt one's regular grind from time to time and to digest what one has gulped down.

Herr Helmholz has never stopped chasing round the 'thing-in-itself' since 1853 and has still not got clear about it. The man is not ashamed of calmly allowing the nonsense he had printed *before* Darwin to be still reprinted over again.

Engels to Marx Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Marx

IN ARGENTEUIL

Written: 11 August, 1881[1]
First Published: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels and K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: Ken Campbell
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire
11 August 1881
1 Sea View

Dear Moor,

Your registered letter arrived yesterday evening but it, too, was open, this time *completely*. I enclose the envelope for you to see; it just wasn't stuck down.

I've this moment sent Tussy a cheque for £50, *registered*. If you want all or part of the remaining £20 (over and above the £30 you spoke about) sent to Paris, Tussy can arrange things more quickly than if payment was made by a cheque on London posted straight to you over there. She can easily get hold of a money order on Paris.

As regards the French elections I am entirely of your opinion. This Chamber won't continue sitting much longer anyway; once the *scrutin de liste* has come through, it will soon be dissolved again.

Yesterday morning I informed Mr Shipton that he wouldn't be getting any more leading articles from me. Kautsky had sent me an insipid thing on international factory legislation in a poor translation which I corrected and sent to Shipton. [1] Yesterday the proof and a letter arrived from Shipton who thought 2 of the passages 'too strong', having, what's more, misconstrued one of them; he asked me whether I would be prepared to tone them down. I did so and replied as follows:

What did he mean by submitting me the request for amendments on Tuesday -- i. e. Wednesday up here -- when my reply couldn't have reached London until Thursday, *after* the paper had come out.

If he thought *this* too strong, how much more so my own far stronger articles? Accordingly it would be better for us both if I gave up.

My time no longer permitted me to write a leading article regularly each week and I had already planned to inform him of this *after* the trade union congress (September). [2] Under the circumstances, however, it would no doubt improve his position vis-a-vis that congress were I to give up then and, there.

He damned well ought to have shown me the Max Hirsch article *before* it was printed. [3] I couldn't remain on the staff of a paper which lends itself to writing up these German Trade Unions, comparable only to those very worst English ones which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by the middle class. Apart from that I wished him the best of luck, etc. He will get my letter this morning.

I didn't tell him the most vital reason of all, namely, the total ineffectiveness of my articles so far as the rest of the paper and its readers are concerned. Any effect there may be takes the form of an invisible response on the part of unavowed apostles of free trade. The paper remains the same old omnium-gatherum of probable and improbable crotchets; in matters of politics it is [more or less], but if anything more Gladstonian. The response, which once showed signs of awakening in one or 2 nos., has died away again. The British working man just doesn't want to advance; he has got to be galvanised by events, the loss of industrial monopoly. *En attendant, habeat sibi*. ["In the meantime let him do as he likes."]

We have been here for a fortnight now, weather changeable, mostly cold and often threatening, but not very often actually wet. We shall stay at least another week, perhaps a fortnight, but certainly no longer.

Since I've been here I have been taking *The Daily News* instead of the *Standard*. It is even more stupid, if that's possible. Preaches antivivisectionism! Also as deficient in news as the *Standard*.

Hirsch may suffer for his pleasure jaunt. But he can't help being what he is.

Best wishes to everyone.

Your

F. E.

NOTES
From the MECW

[1] The reference is to Karl Kautsky's article "International Labour Laws" published anonymously in *The Labour Standard*, No. 15, 13 August 1881.

[2] The fourteenth annual British trades union congress took place in London on 12-17 September 1881.

[3] *The Labour Standard*, No. 14, 6 August 1881, anonymously printed the article by Johann Georg Eccarius "A German Opinion of English Trade Unionism." Eccarius regarded highly the German trade unions founded in 1868 by Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker (the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions).

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

Written: December 8, 1882
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

In order finally to get clear about the parallel between the Germans of Tacitus and the American Redskins I have made some gentle extractions from the first volume of your Bancroft. [Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832-1918)--American historian.] The similarity is indeed all the more surprising because the method of production is so fundamentally different--here hunters and fishers without cattle-raising or agriculture, there nomadic cattle-raising passing into agriculture. It just proves how at this stage the type of production is less decisive than the degree in which the old blood bonds and the old mutual community of the sexes within the tribe have been dissolved. Otherwise the Thlinkeets in the former Russian America could not be the exact counterpart of the Germanic tribes--even more so really than your Iroquois. Another riddle solved there is how the fact that the women are burdened with the main mass of the work is quite consistent with great respect for women. Moreover I have found my suspicion confirmed that the Jus Primæ Noctis [right to the first night] originally found in Europe among the Celts and the Slavs, is a remnant of the old sexual community: it subsists in two tribes, widely separated and of different races, for the medicine-man as the representative of the tribe. I have learned a great deal from the book, and with regard to the Germanic tribes enough for the time being. Mexico and Peru I must reserve for later on. I have given back the Bancroft but have taken the rest of Maurer's things, which are therefore now all at my place. I had to look through them on account of my concluding note on the *Mark*, which will be rather long and with which I am still dissatisfied although I have rewritten it two or three times. After all it is no joke to summarise its rise, flourishing and decay in eight or ten pages. If I can possibly get the time I will send it to you in order to hear your opinion. And I myself would like to be quit of the stuff and get back to the natural sciences.

It is funny to see from the so-called primitive peoples how the conception of holiness arose. What is originally holy is what we have taken over from the animal kingdom--the bestial; "human laws" are as much of an abomination in relation to this as they are in the gospel to the divine law.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

Written: December 15, 1882
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Enclosed is the appendix on the *Mark.* Be so kind as to send it back on *Sunday*, so that I can revise it on Monday--I was not able to conclude the final revision to-day.

I consider the view expounded here regarding the conditions of the peasantry in the Middle Ages and the rise of a second serfdom after the middle of the fifteenth century is on the whole incontrovertible. I have been right through Maurer for all the relevant passages and find nearly all my assertions there, *supported, moreover, with evidence*, while alongside of them are exactly the opposite, but either unsupported by evidence or taken from a period which is not that in question at all. This particularly applies to Fronhöfe [lands liable to feudal dues], Volume 4, conclusion. These contradictions arise in Maurer: (I) from his habit of bringing in evidence and examples from all periods side by side and jumbled together; (2) from the remnants of his legalistic bias, which always gets in his way whenever it is a question of understanding a *development;* (3) from his great lack of regard for the part played by force; (4) from his enlightened prejudice that since the dark Middle Ages a steady progress to better things *must* surely have taken place--this prevents him from seeing not only the antagonistic character of real progress, but also the individual retrogressions.

You will find that my thing is by no means all of a piece but a regular patchwork. The first draft was all of one piece but unfortunately wrong. I only mastered the material by degrees and that is why there is so much patching together.

Incidentally the general re-introduction of serfdom was one of the reasons why no industry could develop in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first place there was the *reversed* division of labour among the guilds--the opposite from that in manufacture: the work was divided *among the guilds* instead of inside the workshop. In England at this stage migration to the territory outside the guild took place, but in Germany this was prevented by the transformation of the country people and the inhabitants of the agricultural market towns into serfs. But this also caused the ultimate collapse of the trade guild as soon as the competition of foreign manufacture arose. The other reasons which combined with this in holding back German manufacture I will here omit.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

Written: December 16, 1882
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The point about the almost total disappearance of serfdom--legally or actually--in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the most important to me, because formerly you expressed a divergent opinion on this. In the East Elbe region the colonisation proves that the *German* peasants were free; in Schleswig-Holstein Maurer admits that at that time "all" the peasants had regained their freedom (perhaps rather later than the fourteenth century). He also admits that in South Germany it was just at this period that the bondsmen were best treated. In Lower Saxony more or less the same (e.g., the new *Meier* [tenant farmers] who were in fact copyholders). He is only opposed to Kindlinger's view that serfdom first *arose* in the sixteenth century. But that it was newly reinforced after that, and appeared in a second edition, seems to me indubitable. Meitzen gives the dates at which serfs begin to be mentioned again in East Prussia, Brandenburg, Silesia: the middle of the sixteenth century; Hanssen gives the same for Schleswig-Holstein. When Maurer calls this a *milder* form of serfdom he is right in comparison with the ninth and eleventh centuries, when the old Germanic slavery still continued, and right too with regard to the legal powers which the lord also had then and later--according to the law books of the thirteenth century--over his serfs. But compared with the *actual* position of the peasants in the thirteenth, the fourteenth and, in North Germany, the fifteenth centuries, the new serfdom was anything but an alleviation. Especially after the Thirty Years' War! It is also significant that while in the Middle Ages the degrees of servitude and serfdom are innumerable, so that the *Mirror of Saxony* gives up any attempt to speak of *egen lüde recht* [rights over owned people--i.e., bondsmen] this becomes remarkably simple after the Thirty Years' War.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

Written: December 19, 1882
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

My idea of the Podolinsky business is as follows. His real discovery is that human labour has the power of detaining solar energy on the earth's surface and permitting its activity longer than would be the case without it. All the economic conclusions he draws from this are wrong. I have not got the thing by me but recently read it in Italian in the *Plebe*. The question is: how can a given quantity of energy in a given quantity of food leave behind it a greater quantity of energy than itself? I solve it in this way. Assume that the amount of food daily necessary for one person represents an amount of energy expressed as 10,000 H.U. (heat units). These 10,000 H.U. remain for ever = 10,000 H.U. and in practice, as is well known, lose in the course of their transformation into other forms of energy, through friction, etc., a part of their availability. In the human body this is even considerable. The *physical* work performed in economic labour can never therefore = 10,000 H.U. but is always less.

But this does not mean that physical labour is *economic* labour; far from it. The economic labour performed by the 10,000 H.U. in nowise consists of the *reproduction* of the same 10,000 H.U., wholly or partially, in this or that form. On the contrary, most of these are lost in the increased heat and radiation of the body, etc., and what remains available of them are the fertilising potentialities of the excrements. The economic labour which a man performs by the employment of these 10,000 H.U. consists rather in the fixation for a greater or less time of *new* H.U. radiated to him from the sun, which have only this labour connection with the first 10,000 H.U. Whether, however, the *new* quantity of H.U. fixated by the application of the 10,000 H.U. of daily nourishment reaches 5,000, 10,000, 20,000 or 1,000,000 H.U., depends solely on the degree of development attained by the means of production.

This can only be represented arithmetically in the most primitive branches of production: hunting, fishing, cattle-raising, agriculture. In hunting and fishing new solar energy is not even fixated, only what has already been fixated is turned to use. At the same time it is obvious that, assuming the fisher or hunter to be normally nourished, the amount of albumen or fat he gets by hunting or fishing is independent of the amount of these foodstuffs which he consumes.

In cattle raising, energy is fixated in the sense that vegetable matter, which would otherwise rapidly

wither, decay and decompose, is systematically transformed into animal albumen, fat, skin, bones, etc., and therefore fixated for a longer time. Here the calculation is already complicated.

Still more so in agriculture, where the energy value of the auxiliary materials, manures, etc., also enters into the calculation.

In industry all calculation comes to an end: in most cases the work added to the product can no longer be expressed in H.U. If, for instance, this is still possible with a pound of yarn because its toughness and capacity for resistance can just, with a lot of fuss and trouble, be reduced to a mechanical formula, here already this appears as an utterly useless piece of pedantry, and in the case of a piece of unbleached cloth, still more in the case of bleached, dyed and printed cloth, becomes absurd. The energy value of a hammer, a screw or a needle calculated according to the cost of production is an impossible quantity. In my opinion it is absolutely impossible to try and express economic relations in physical magnitudes.

What Podolinsky has entirely forgotten is that man as a worker is not merely a fixer of *present* solar heat but a still greater squanderer of *past* solar heat. The stores of energy, coal, ores, forests, etc., we succeed in squandering you know better than I. From this point of view even fishing and hunting appear not as the fixation of new sun heat but as the using up and incipient waste of solar energy already accumulated.

Further: what man does deliberately by work, the plant does unconsciously. Plants--and this is an old story already--are the great absorbers and depositors of sun heat in a changed form. By work, therefore, in so far as it fixates sun heat (which in industry and elsewhere is by no means always the case) man succeeds in uniting the natural functions of the energy-consuming animal with those of the energy-collecting plant.

Podolinsky has strayed away from his very valuable discovery into mistaken paths because he was trying to find in natural science a new proof of the truth of socialism, and has therefore confused physics and economics.

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Letter from Engels to Marx

in London

Written: December 22, 1882
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

To return once more to Podolinsky; I must make a correction, namely, that storage of energy through work really only takes place in *agriculture;* in cattle raising the energy accumulated in the plants is simply transferred as a whole to the animals, and one can only speak of storage of energy in the sense that without cattle-raising, nutritious plants wither uselessly, whereas with it they are utilised. In all branches of industry, on the other hand, energy is only *expended.* The most that has to be taken into consideration is the fact that vegetable products, wood, straw, flax, etc., and animal products in which vegetable energy is stored up, are put to use by being worked upon and therefore *preserved longer* than when they are left to decay naturally. So that if one chooses one can translate into the physical world the old economic fact that all industrial producers have to live from the products of agriculture, cattleraising, hunting, and fishing--but there is hardly much to be gained from doing so....

I am glad that on the history of serfdom we "proceed in agreement," as they say in business. It is certain that serfdom and bondage are not a peculiarly medieval-feudal form, we find them everywhere or nearly everywhere where conquerors have the land cultivated for them by the old inhabitants--e.g., very early in Thessaly. This fact has even misled me and many other people about servitude in the Middle Ages; one was much too much inclined to base it simply on conquest, this made everything so neat and easy. See Thierry among others.

The position of the Christians in Turkey during the height of the old Turkish semi-feudal system was something similar.

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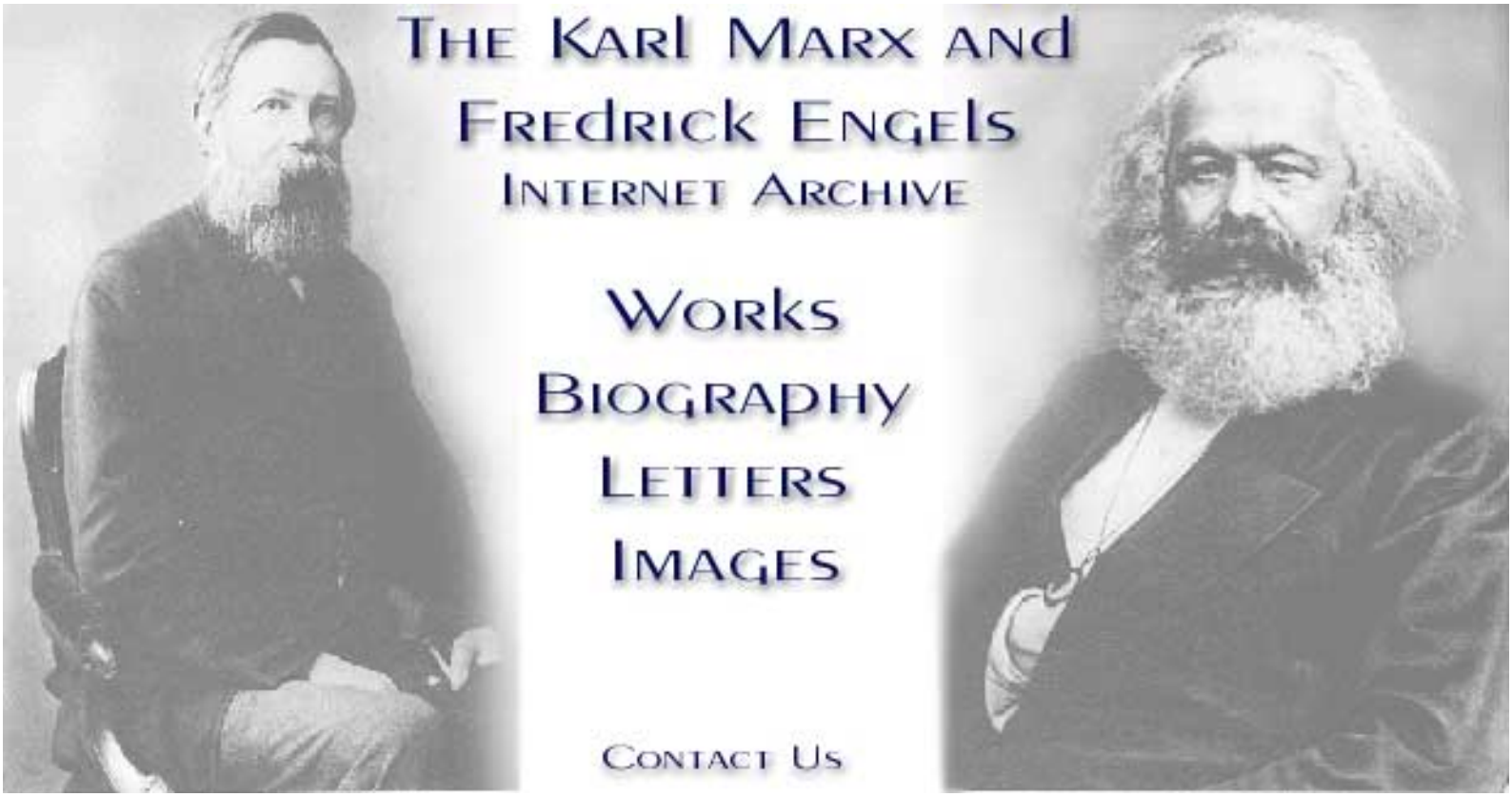

Text Index | MIA Index

Marx to Engels Correspondence

Marx to Engels—briefly on events in Russia
Dec 13, 1859
Marx to Engels—briefly on slavery in US and Russia
Jan 11, 1860
Marx to Engels—casual note on readings of Ancient Rome
Feb 27, 1861
Marx to Engels—on Lasalle's proposal that they co-edit a paper.
May 07, 1861
Marx to Engels—compares his and Lasalle's writings
Aug 15, 1863
Marx to Engels—debate at that evening's International session
May 20, 1865
Marx to Engels—discussion at International Council re the Prussian-Austrian War
June 20, 1866
Marx to Engels—on Ireland
November 2, 1867
Marx to Engels—on Ireland
November 30, 1867
Marx to Engels—on discovering Dühring
Jan 11, 1868
Marx to Engels—with regard to Maurer, Fraas
March 3, 1868
Marx to Engels—on his reply to an invitation from the Congress of the General Assoc. of German Workers
September 26, 1868
Marx to Engels—briefly on the German working class
September 26, 1868
Marx to Engels—briefly on Ireland
October 10, 1868
Marx to Engels—briefly on Russian agriculture
Nov 07, 1868
Marx to Engels—on Ténot's book on Paris
December 14,1868
Marx to Engels—on Ténot's book, *Provinces*
December 19,1868
Marx to Engels—on the Geneva Russian section of the Bakunin "Alliance" wishes to affiliate with the International
March 5, 1869
Marx to Engels—on Diderot's *Rameau*

April 15, 1869
Marx to Engels—on W. Liebnecht's speech in Berlin
August 10, 1869
Marx to Engels—briefly on strike in Poland
August 18, 1869
Marx to Engels—briefly on priests in Europe
September 25, 1869
Marx to Engels—On Ireland
November 18, 1869
Marx to Engels—On Carey and land rent
November 26, 1869
Marx to Engels—On Ireland
December 10, 1869
Marx to Engels—On Ireland
December 12, 1869
Marx to Engels—on Flerovsky's book
Feb 10, 1870
Marx to Engels— more on Flerovsky's book
Feb 12, 1870
Marx to Engels— on becoming a representative in the General Council of the Russian colony
March 24, 1870
Marx to Engels— briefly on workers in France
May 18, 1870
Marx to Engels— on French govt and comments on a criticism of *Capital*
July 20, 1870
Marx to Engels— briefly on Franco-Prussian War
August 8, 1870
Marx to Engels— on W. Liebknecht and German unification
August 17, 1870
Marx to Engels— briefly on socialist journals
July 18, 1877
Marx to Engels— briefly on meeting with Wedde
August 1, 1877

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Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: London, 13 December, 1859
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

In Russia the movement is advancing faster than in all the rest of Europe. The struggle for a constitution for one thing--of the nobles against the tsar and of the peasants against the nobles. Alexander has also at last discovered that the Poles will have nothing to do with assimilation into a Slav-Russian nationality and has made a lot of fuss. All this more than counterbalances the extraordinary successes of Russian diplomacy during the last fifteen years and especially since 1849. When the next revolution comes Russia will be so kind as to revolutionise as well.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London], 11 January, 1860
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the: world to-day are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America, started by the death of John Brown*, and on the other the movement of the serfs in Russia. You will have seen that the Russian aristocracy have thrown themselves directly into agitation for a constitution and that two or three people from the chief families have already found their way to Siberia. At the same time Alexander has spoilt things with the peasants by the latest Manifesto, which declares in so many words that the "communistic principle" must cease with emancipation. Thus the "social" movement has started in the West and in the East. This added to the prospective downbreak in Central Europe will be grandiose....

* BROWN, JOHN (1800-59). American revolutionary, opponent of slavery. Leader of partisan troops in the partisan war against the slave owners in Kansas, 1854-55. He tried to form an army of runaway slaves. On October 16, 1859, he took the arsenal at Harper's Ferry by a daring attack and wanted to arm the slaves in the neighbourhood. On October 18, 1859, government troops recaptured the arsenal from him. He was executed on December 2, 1859.

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Marx to Engels

Written: [London,] 27 February, 1861
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The Cologne people have made a nice mess of my library. The whole Fourier is stolen, ditto Goethe, ditto Herder, ditto Voltaire and, what is the most awful to me, the *Économistes du I8me Siécle* (quite new, cost me about 500 francs) as well as many volumes of the Greek classics, many single volumes of other works. If I come to Cologne I shall have a word to say about this with Mr. National Union Bürgers. Hegel's *Phenomenology and Logic* ditto....

As a relaxation in the evenings I have been reading Appian on the Roman Civil Wars, in the original Greek text. A very valuable book. The chap is an Egyptian by birth. Schlosser says he has "no soul," probably because he goes to the roots of the material basis for these civil wars. Spartacus is revealed as the most splendid fellow in the whole of ancient history. Great general (no Garibaldi), noble character, real representative of the ancient proletariat.

Pompeius, *reiner Scheisskerl* [an utter rotter]; got his undeserved fame by snatching the credit, first for the successes of Lucullus (against Mithridates), then for the successes of Sertorius (Spain), etc., and as Sulla's "young man," etc. As a general he was the Roman Odilon Barrot. As soon as he had to show what he was made of--against Caesar--a lousy good-for-nothing. Caesar made the greatest possible military mistakes --deliberately mad--in order to bewilder the philistine who was opposing him. An ordinary Roman general--say Crassus --would have wiped him out six times over during the struggle in Epirus. But with Pompeius everything was possible. Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour Lost*, seems to have had an inkling of what Pompey really was.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London,] 7 May, 1861
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Lassalle, dazzled by the reputation he has made in certain learned circles by his Heraclitus and in a certain circle of spongers by his good wine and cookery, is naturally unaware that he is discredited among the public at large. Then there is his insistence on being always in the right, his fixed attachment to the "speculative conception" (the lad is even dreaming of writing a new Hegelian philosophy raised to the second power), his infection with old French liberalism, his bombastic writing, his self-assertiveness, tactlessness, etc. Lassalle could be of service as one of the editors, under strict discipline. Otherwise would only bring discredit. But you see the great friendship he showed me made it very embarrassing for me to come out with this in so many words. I therefore remained altogether indefinite, saying that I could decide nothing without previous discussion with you and Lupus [Wilhelm Wolff].

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London] 15, August, 1863
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

My work (the manuscript for the printer) is getting on well in one respect. In the final working out the things are taking on, as it seems to me, a bearably popular form, except for some unavoidable M--C and C--M. On the other hand, although I write the whole day, the thing does not get on in the way my own impatience, after this long trial of patience, desires. Anyhow it will be 100 per cent, easier to understand than No. I [*The Critique of Political Economy, 1859*]. For the rest, when I look at this compilation now and see how I have had to turn everything round and how I had to make even the historical part out of material of which some was quite unknown, then Itzig [Lassalle] really does seem funny to me, with "his" economy already in the making, though all the stuff he has hawked out so far reveals him as a sixth-form schoolboy who with the most revolting and bombastic old wives' chatter trumpets abroad--as his latest discovery--principles which--ten times better--we were already distributing as snail change among our partisans twenty years ago. The same Itzig otherwise also collects in his manure factory the party excrements we dropped twenty years ago, with which world history is to be fertilised.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London], 20 May, 1865
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I am now working like a horse, as I must use the time in which it is possible to work and the carbuncles are still there, though now they only disturb me locally and not in the brainpan.

Between whiles, as one cannot always be writing, I am doing some Differential Calculus dx/dy. I have no patience to read anything else. Any other reading always drives me back to my writing-desk.

This evening a special session of the International. A good old fellow, an old Owenist, Weston (carpenter) has put forward the two following propositions, which he is continually defending in the Beehive: (1) That a general rise in the rate of wages would be of no use to the workers; (2) That therefore, etc., the trade unions have a harmful effect.

If these two propositions, in which he alone in our society believes, were accepted, we should be turned into a joke *(so wären wir Kladderadatsch)* both on account of the trade unions here and of the infection of strikes which now prevails on the Continent.

On this occasion--as non-members may be admitted to this meeting--he will be supported by a born Englishman, who has written a pamphlet to the same effect. I am of course espected to supply the refutation. I ought really therefore to have worked out my reply for this evening, but thought it more important to write on at my bookt and so shall have to depend upon improvisation.

Of course I know beforehand what the two main points are : (1) That the *wages of labour* determine the value of commodities; (2) That if the capitalists pay 5 instead of 4 shillings to-day, they will sell their commodities for 5 instead of 4 shillings to-morrow (being enabled to do so by the increased demand).

Inane though this is, only attaching itself to the most superficial external appearance, it is nevertheless not easy to explain to ignorant people all the economic questions which compete with one another here. *You can't compress a course of political economy into one hour. But we shall do our best.*

[Note: Marx debated against Weston on the night of May 20 and again on the 23rd; on June 24, 1865, he wrote to Engels: "I have read a paper in the Central Council (it would make two printer's sheets, perhaps) on the question brought up by Mr. Weston as to the effect of a general rise of wages, etc. The first part of it was an answer to Weston's nonsense; the second a theoretical explanation, in so far as the occasion was suited to this. Now the people want to have this printed... In the second part the thing contains, in an extremely condensed but relatively popular form, much that is new, taken in advance from my book [*Capital*], while at the same time it has necessarily to slur over all sorts of things." The "paper " referred to is Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*, which he had read on June 20. He did not agree to its publication in 1865, when the fuller exposition in *Capital* had not yet been given to the world and it was then forgotten until after Engels' death in 1895, when it was found by Marx's daughter, Eleanor Marx Aveling, who

edited and published it in its original English form in 1898.]

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London] 20 June, 1866
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Yesterday there was a discussion in the International Council on the present war. [Prussian-Austrian war of 1866] It had been announced beforehand and our room was very full. The Italian gentlemen had also sent us representatives once more. The discussion wound up, as was to be expected, with "the question of nationality" in general and the attitude we should take towards it. This subject was adjourned till next Tuesday.

The French, very numerously represented, gave vent to their cordial dislike for the Italians.

Moreover the representatives of "young France" (non-workers) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were "antiquated prejudices." Proudhonised Stirnerism. Everything to be dissolved into little "groups" or "communes" which will in their turn form an "association" but no state. And indeed this "individualisation" of mankind and the corresponding "mutualism" are to proceed while history comes to a stop in all other countries and the whole world waits until the French are ripe for a social revolution. They will then perform the experiment before our eyes, and the rest of the world, overcome by the force of their example, will do the same. Just what Fourier expected of his model phalanstery. Moreover, everyone who encumbers the "social" question with the "superstitions" of the old world is "reactionary."

The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue, etc., who had done away with nationalities, had spoken "French" to us, i.e., a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption into the model French nation.

For the rest, the line is difficult now because one has equally to oppose the silliness of English pro-Italianism on the one hand and the false polemic of the French on the other, and must specially prevent any demonstration which would involve our Association in a one-sided direction.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx To Engels In Manchester

Source: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1955
Transcribed and HTML markup: Tim Delaney, 1999

(London,) November 2, 1867

... The trial or the Fenians in Manchester is just what one expected it to be. 175. You will have seen what a row "our men" have made in the Reform League. I did everything I could to provoke this demonstration of English workers for Fenianism.

Greetings

Yours,
K. M.

I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come *federation*. The way the English are going on is shown by the agricultural statistics for this year, published a few days ago. In addition the form of the evictions. The Irish Viceroy, Lord Abicorn (this is *roughly* the name) [Marx refers to Lord Abercorn, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. -- *Ed*.] has "cleared" his estate of thousands within recent weeks by compulsory executions. Among the evicted are well-to-do farmers whose improvements and capital investments are confiscated in this fashion! There is no other Enropean country in which foreign rule takes this i direct form of native expropriation. The Russians only confiscate for political reasons; the Prussians in West Prussia buy out.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels in Manchester

Published: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1955
Transcribed and HTML Markup by: Tim Delaney, 1999

London, November 30, I867

...If you have read the journals you will have seen that 1) the Memorial of the International Council for the Fenians was sent to Hardy and that 2) the debate on Fenianism was public (last Tuesday week) and reported in the *Times*. Reporters of the Dublin *Irishman* and *Nation* were also present. I came very late (I ran a temperature for about a fortnight and the fever passed only two days ago) and really did not intend to speak, firstly because of my troublesome physical condition, and secondly because of the ticklish situation. Nevertheless Weston, who was in the chair, tried to force me to, so I moved that the meeting be adjourned. This obliged me to speak last Tuesday. As a matter of fact I had prepared for Tuesday last not a speech but the points of a speech. But the Irish reporters failed to come.... After the opening of the meeting I therefore stated I would yield the floor to Fox on account of the belated hour. Actually, owing to the executions that had taken place in the meantime in Manchester, our subject, Fenianism. was liable to inflame the passions to such heat that I (but not the abstract *Fox*) would have been forced to hurl revolutionary thunderbolts instead of soberly analysing the state of affairs and the movement as I had intended. The Irish reporters therefore, by staying away and delaying the opening of the meeting, did signal service for me. I don't like to get involved with people like Roberts, Stephens, and the rest.

Fox's speech was good, for one thing because it was delivered by an Englishman and for another because it concerned only the political and international aspects. For that very reason however he merely skimmed along the surface of things. The resolution he handed up was absurd and inane. I objected to it and had it referred to the Standing Committee. What the English do not yet know is that since 1846 the economic content and therefore also the political aim of English domination in Ireland have entered into an entirely new phase, and that, precisely because of this, the characteristic features of Fenianism are socialistic tendencies (in a negative sense, directed against the appropriation of the soil) and the fact that it is a movement of the lower orders. What can be more ridiculous than to confuse the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to supplant the Irish by English colonists (in the Roman sense), with the present system, which wants to supplant them by sheep, pigs and oxen! The system of 1801-46 (when evictions were exceptional and occurred mainly in Leinster where the land is especially good for cattle raising) with its rackrents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846. The repeal of the Corn Laws, partly the result of or at any rate hastened by the Irish famine, deprived Ireland of its monopoly of supplying corn to England in normal times. Wool and meat became the slogan, hence conversion of tillage into pasture. Hence from then onwards systematic consolidation of farms. The Encumbered Estates Act, which turned a mass of farmer middlemen who had become rich into landlords, hastened th e process. *Clearing of the Estates of Ireland* is now the only purpose of English rule in Ireland. The *stupid* English Government in London knows nothing of course of this immense change since 1846. But the Irish know it. From

Meagher's Proclamation (1848) down to the *election manifesto of Hennessy* (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866), the Irish have expressed their awareness of this in the clearest and most forcible manner.

The question now is, what advice shall we give to the *English* workers? In my opinion they must make the *repeal of the Union* (in short, the *affair* of 1783, but in a more democratic form and adapted to the conditions of the present time) an article of their *pronunziamento* . This is the only *legal* and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be embodied in the programme of an *English* party. Experience must show later whether the merely personal union can continue to subsist between the two countries. I half think it can if it takes place in time.

What the Irish need is:

1) Self-government and independence from England.

2) An agrarian revolution. With the best intentions in the world the English cannot accomplish this for them, but they can give them the legal means of accomplishing it for themselves.

3) *Protective tariffs against England*. Between 1783 and 1801 all branches of Irish industry flourished. The Union, by abolishing the protective tariffs established by the Irish Parliament, destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The bit of linen industry Is no compensation whatever. The Union of 1801 had just the same effect on Irish industry as the measures for the suppression of the Irish woollen industry, etc., taken by the English Parliament under Anne, George II, and others. Once the Irish are independent, necessity will turn them into protectionists, as it did Canada, Australia, etc. Before I present my views in the Central Council (next Tuesday, this time fortunately without reporters), I should be glad if you gave me your opinion in a few lines.

Greetings.

Yours,

K. M.

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Marx to Engels

Written: [London] 11 January, 1868
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

At the Museum, where I did nothing but glance through catalogues, I also discovered that Dühring is a great philosopher. For he has written a *Natural Dialectic* against Hegel's "unnatural" one. Hence these tears. The gentlemen in Germany (all except the theological reactionaries) think Hegel's dialectic is a "dead horse." Feuerbach has much to answer for in this respect.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Engels

Written: [London,] 25 March, 1868
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

With regard to Maurer. His books are exceptionally important. Not only primitive times but the whole later development of the free imperial cities, of the immunity of landowners, of public authority and of the struggle between free peasantry and serfdom is given an entirely new form.

Human history is like paleontology. Owing to a certain judicial blindness even the best intelligences absolutely fail to see the things which lie in front of their noses. Later, when the moment has arrived, we are surprised to find traces everywhere of what we failed to see. The first reaction against the French Revolution and the period of Enlightenment bound up with it was naturally to see everything as mediaeval and romantic, even people like Grimm are not free from this. The second reaction is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of each nation, and that corresponds to the socialist tendency, although these learned men have no idea that the two have any connection. They are therefore surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest--even equalitarians, to a degree which would have made Proudhon shudder.

To show how much we are ail implicated in this judicial blindness:--right in my own neighbourhood, on the Hunsrücken, the old Germanic system survived up till the last few years, I now remember my father talking to me about it from a lawyer's point of view. Another proof: Just as the geologists, even the best, like Cuvier, have expounded certain facts in a completely distorted way, so philologists of the force of a Grimm mistranslated the simplest Latin sentences because they were under the influence of Möser etc., (who, I remember, was enchanted that "liberty" never existed among the Germans but that *"Luft macht eigen"* [the air makes the serf]) and others. E.g., the well-known passage in Tacitus: " *arva per annos* mutant et *superest ager,"* which means, "they exchange the fields, *arva* (by lot, hence also *sortes* [lot] in all the later law codes of the barbarians) and the common land remains over" (*ager* as public land contrasted with *arva*)--is translated by Grimm, etc. "they cultivate fresh fields every year and still there is always (uncultivated) land over!"

So too the passage: "Colunt *discreti ac diversi"* [their tillage is separate and scattered] is supposed to prove that from time immemorial the Germans carried on cultivation on individual farms like Westphalian junkers. But the same passage continues: *"Vicos locant* non in nostrum morem *connexis et cohaerantibus aedificiis*: suum quisque locum *spatio circumdat;"* [they do not lay out their villages with buildings connected and joined together after our fashion: each surrounds his dwelling with a strip of land]; and primitive Germanic villages still exist here and there in Denmark in the form described. Obviously Scandinavia must become as important for German jurisprudence and economics as for German mythology. And only by starting from there shall we: be able to decipher our past again. For the rest even Grimm, etc., find in Caesar that the Germans always settled as *Geschlechtsgenossenschaften* and not as individuals: *"gentibus* cognationibusque qui uno coiereant" [according to clans and kindreds,

who settled together].

But what would old Hegel say in the next world if he heard that the *general [Allgemeine]* in German and Norse means nothing but the common land *[Gemeinland]*, and the particular, Sundre, Besondere, nothing but the separate property divided off from the common land? Here are the logical categories coming damn well out of "our intercourse" after all.

Climate and the Vegetable World throughout the Ages, a History of Both, by Fraas (1847) is very interesting, especially as proving that climate and flora have changed in historic times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin and makes even the species arise in historic times. But he is also an agricultural expert. He maintains that as a result of cultivation and in proportion to its degree, the "damp" so much beloved by the peasant is lost (hence too plants emigrate from south to north) and eventually the formation of steppes begins. The first effects of cultivation are useful, later devastating owing to deforestation, etc. This man is both a thoroughly learned philologist (he has written books in Greek) and a chemist, agricultural expert, etc. The whole conclusion is that cultivation when it progresses in a primitive way and is not consciously controlled (as a bourgeois of course he does not arrive at this), leaves deserts behind it, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. Here again another unconscious socialist tendency!

This Fraas is also interesting from a German point of view. First Dr. Med., then inspector and teacher of chemistry and technology. Now head of the Bavarian veterinary organisation, university professor, head of government experimental agriculture, etc. In his last things one notices his advanced age, but he is still a gay lad. Has knocked around a lot in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt! His history of agriculture is important too. He calls Fourier "this pious and humanistic socialist." Of the Albanians, etc.: "every kind of abominable lewdness and rape."

It is necessary to look carefully at the new and newest things on agriculture. The physical school is opposed to the chemical school.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: August 26, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The invitation which I received to the Congress of the General Association of German Workers (Hamburg, August 22 to 25) was signed by Schweitzer as President and by more than twenty workers from the various districts of Germany (members of the *Executive).* I had to take this latter fact into consideration in my reply. The reason I gave for not coming was the work of the Central Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and I said I was glad to see that the starting-points of any "serious" working-class movement--agitation for full political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class--were emphasised in their *programme* for the Congress. In other words, that is to say, I congratulated them on having given up *Lassalle's programme.* Whether they will see the joke, remains to be seen. Schweitzer, the only one with a head in the whole Lassalle gang, will certainly be aware of it. But whether he will think it more advisable to show this or to pretend to be dense, we shall see.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: 26 September, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

For the German working class the most necessary thing of all is that it should cease conducting its agitation by kind permission of the higher authorities. A race so schooled in bureaucracy must go through a complete course of "self-help." On the other hand they undoubtedly have the advantage of beginning the movement at a period when conditions are much more advanced than they were for the English and, being Germans, of having heads on their shoulders capable of generalising.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Carl Friedrich Bachman

in Jena

Written: April 6, 1841
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 379.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: the yearly*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1926
Translated: Clemens Dutt

Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Sir,

I send you herewith a dissertation for a doctor's degree on the difference between the natural philosophy of Democritus and the natural philosophy of Epicurus, and enclose the liltcrac pctitoriac,b carrriculum vitcrc, my leaving certificates from the universities of Bonn and Berlin, and, finally, the legal fees of twelve friedrichsdors. At the same time, in the event of my work being found satisfactory by the faculty, I humbly beg you to hasten as much as possible the conferring of the doctor's degree'" since, on the one hand, I can only remain a few weeks longer in Berlin and, on the other hand, external circumstances make it highly desirable for me to obtain the doctor's degree before my departure.

I should Like the leaving certificates to be returned, as they are originals.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,

Your most devoted servant,

Karl Heinrich Marx

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: October 10, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

When you were here last you saw the Blue Book on the land situation in Ireland 1844-45. By accident I have found in a small second-hand shop the *Report and Evidence on Irish Tenant Right*, 1867 (House of Lords). This was a real find. While Messrs. the Economists treat the question whether ground rent is payment for natural differences in the land, or merely interest on the capital invested in the land, as a pure conflict of dogmas, we have here an actual life and death struggle between farmer and landlord on the question of *how far* the rent *should also* include, *in addition* to payment for the difference in the land, interest on the capital invested in it--not by the landlord but by the tenant. It is only by substituting for conflicting dogmas the conflicting facts and real contradictions which form their hidden background that we can transform political economy into a positive science.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: November 7, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Borkheim is translating the chief passages from the Russian book on the disintegration of agriculture for me, and has also given me a French book about it by the Russian, Shedo-Ferroti. The latter makes a great mistake--he is altogether quite a superficial fellow--when he says the Russian communal system first originated from the law prohibiting the peasant from leaving the land. The whole thing, *down to the smallest details,* is absolutely identical with the *primitive Germanic* communal system. What the Russians have added (and this is also found in a section *of the Indian communal system,* not in the Punjab but in the South) is (I) the *non-democratic* but *patriarchal* character of the commune leadership, and (2) the *collective responsibility* for taxes to the state, etc. It follows from the second point that the more industrious a Russian peasant is, the more he is exploited for the purposes of the state, not only for taxes, but for the supply of produce, horses, etc., during the continual passage of bodies of troops, for government couriers etc. The whole foul mess is in process of collapse.

I regard Dietzgen's development, in so far as Feuerbach, etc.--in short, his sources--are not obvious, as entirely his own independent achievement. For the rest, I agree with everything you say. I will say something to him about the repetitions. It is bad luck for him that it is precisely Hegel that he has not studied.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: December 14, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I have found little new in the Ténot (Paris) except a few details--I have not yet read the Provinces. The enormous sensation the book has made in Paris and in France generally proves a very interesting fact, namely that the generation which has grown up under Badinguet knows absolutely nothing of the history of the regime under which it is living. Now the fellows are rubbing their eyes and seem as if they had just dropped from the clouds. If one may compare small things with great, have not we had just the same experience in our way? In Germany it is now spreading as a wonderful novelty that Lassalle was only one of our satellites and did not discover the "class war."

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: December 19, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Ténot's *Province* is much better. It gives us a lot of new details. If the Parisians had held out one or two days longer the empire would have been done for. The (republican) movement among the country people was much bigger than we knew.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: March 5, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The enclosed little document [1] arrived *yesterday* (although dated February 27). You must send it back as soon as you have read it, as I have to lay it before the Council on Tuesday next. The gentlemen of the "Alliance" have taken a long time to achieve this opus [production].

As a matter of fact we would rather they had kept their "innumerable legions" in France, Spain and Italy for themselves.

Bakunin thinks to himself: if we approve his "radical programme" he can make a big noise about this and compromise us *tant soit peu* (just a little bit). If we declare ourselves against it we shall be decried as counter-revolutionaries. Moreover: if we admit them he will see to it that he is supported by some riff-raff at the Congress in Basle. I think the answer should be on the following lines:

According to Paragraph I of the Statutes every workers' association "aiming at the same end, viz, the protection, advancement and *complete emancipation of the working classes"* shall be admitted.

As the stage of development reached by different sections of workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries necessarily varies very much, the actual movement necessarily expresses itself in very various theoretical forms.

The community of action which the International Workingmen's Association called into being, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries, and, finally, the direct discussions at the General Congresses, will by degrees create for the general workers' movement its common theoretical programme also.

With regard to the programme of the "Alliance," therefore, it is not necessary for the General Council to submit it to a critical examination. The Council has not to examine whether it is an adequate, scientific expression of the working-class movement. It has only to ask if the general tendency of the programme is in opposition to the general tendency of the International Workingmen's Association--the complete emancipation of the working classes.

This reproach could only apply to one phrase in the programme, par. 2: "above all things it desires the political, economic and social equalisation of *the classes.*" "The equalisation of the classes," literally interpreted, is nothing but another expression for the "harmony of capital and labour" preached by the bourgeois socialists. Not the logically impossible "equalisation of classes" but the historically necessary "abolition of classes" constitutes the final aim of the International Workingmen's Association. But from the context in which this phrase occurs in the programme it would appear that it is only a slip of the pen. The less, therefore, does the General Council doubt that this phrase, which might lead to serious misunderstanding, will be removed from the programme.

This being assumed, it is in accordance with the principle of the International Workingmen's Association to leave to each section the responsibility for its own programme. There is therefore nothing to prevent the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into Sections of the Workingmen's Association.

As soon as this has taken place, an enumeration of the newly joined sections according to country, locality and number must be sent to the General Council in accordance with the regulations.

This last point--the census of their legions--will especially tickle the gentlemen. Tell me everything you want altered in this draft of the reply when you return the letter.

Footnotes

[1] A notification from the Geneva Russia section of the Bakunin "Alliance" of their desire to affiliate with the International.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: March 15, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

To-day I have discovered by accident that we have two copies of the Neveu de Rameau [1] in our house and am therefore sending you one. This unique masterpiece will give you fresh pleasure again. Old Hegel says about it: " The mocking laughter at existence, at the confusion of the whole and at itself, is the disintegrated consciousness, aware of itself and expressing itself, and is at the same time the last audible echo of all this confusion. ... It is the self-disintegrating nature of all relations and their conscious disintegration.... In this aspect of the return to self the *vanity of all things* is the self's *own vanity*, or the self is itself vanity ... but as the indignant consciousness it is aware of its own disintegration and by that knowledge has immediately transcended it....Every part of this world either gets its mind expressed here or is spoken of intellectually and declared for what it is. The *honest consciousness* (the role which Diderot allots to himself in the dialogue) takes each element for a permanent entity and does not realise in its uneducated thoughtlessness that it is doing just the opposite. But the disintegrated consciousness is the consciousness of reversal and indeed of absolute reversal; its dominating element is the concept, which draws together the thoughts that to the honest consciousness lie so wide apart; hence the brilliance of its language. Thus the contents of the mind's speech about itself consist in the reversal of all conceptions and realities; the universal deception of oneself and others and the shamelessness of declaring this deception is therefore precisely the greatest truth....To the quiet consciousness, which in its honest way goes on singing the melody of the True and the Good in even tones, i.e., on one note, this speech appears as 'a farrago of wisdom and madness'" etc. (a passage from Diderot follows).

More amusing than Hegel's commentary is that of Mr. Jules Janin, [2] from which you will find extracts in the appendix to the little volume. This *cardinal de la mer* [sea-cardinal] feels the lack of a moral in Diderot's *Rameau* and has therefore set the thing right by the discovery that all Rameau's contrariness arises from his vexation at not being a " born gentleman." The Kotzebue-ish rubbish which he has piled up on this cornerstone is being performed as a melodrama in London. From Diderot to Jules Janin is no doubt what the physiologists call regressive metamorphosis. The French intellect as it was *before* the revolution and under *Louis Philippe!*...

Footnotes

[1] Le Neveu de Rameau [Rameau's Nephew], a satirical dialogue by Diderot (1713-1784), one of the leading French materialist philosophers of the 18th century, editor of the Encyclopédie and a brilliant man of letters. The passage from Hegel quoted here by Marx is from the *Phänomonolgie des Geistes (Phenomenology of Mind)*, [Ed. Eng. ed.]

[2] Janin, Jules (1804-74) French bourgeois author and literary critic with a popular reputation in bourgeois circles.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: August 10, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It cannot be denied that the section of the speech made by Wilhelm [Liebknecht] in Berlin, reprinted in the supplement, shows, beneath its stupidity, an undeniable cunning in arranging the affair to suit himself. This, by the way, is very fine! Because the Reichstag must only be used as a means of agitation, one must never agitate there for anything reasonable directly affecting the interests of the workers! The worthy Wilhelm's illusion that because Bismarck "is fond of" using expressions friendly to the workers he would therefore not oppose *real measures on behalf of the workers* is really charming. "As if"--as Bruno Bauer would say--Herr Wagener had not declared in the Reichstag that he was *for* the factory laws in principle but against them in *practice* "because they were useless under Prussian conditions." "As if" Herr Bismarck, if he really wished or was *able* to do anything for the workers, would not *himself* enforce the *carrying out* of the existing laws in *Prussia itself!* The mere fact of this happening in Prussia would be enough to *force* the Liberal "Saxony" to follow suit. What Wilhelm does not grasp is that while the present governments coquette with the workers they are very well aware that their only support lies with the bourgeoisie; they therefore scare the latter by phrases friendly to the workers but *cannot* ever really go against them.

The cow [Liebknecht] believes in the future *"Staat* DER *Demokratie"* [democratic state]. Privately this means at one moment constitutional England, at another the bourgeois United States, and at the next the wretched Switzerland. "It" has not the faintest idea of revolutionary politics. This is what he gives as a proof--according to Schwabenmayer--of democratic energy: the railway to California was built by the bourgeoisie *presenting* themselves, through Congress, with an enormous mass of "national land"; that is to say, therefore, they *expropriated* the workers from it by importing a mob of Chinese to force down wages and finally formed a new branch of themselves, the "financial aristocracy."

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: August 18, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

In Posen, as Zabicki reported, the *Polish* workers (joiners, etc.) have brought a strike to a victorious end by the help of their colleagues in Berlin. This struggle against Monseiur le Capital--even in the suborpinate form of the strike--is a very different way of getting rid of national prejudices from that of the bourgeois gentlemen with their peace declamations.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in Hanover

Written: September 25, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

This tour in Belgium, stay in Aix-la-Chapelle and voyage up the Rhine have convinced me that the priests, especially in the Catholic districts, must be energetically attacked. I shall work on these lines through the International. The curs (e.g., Bishop Ketteler in Mainz, the parsons at the Dusseldorf Congress, etc.) are flirting, where they find it suitable, with the labour question. Indeed it was for them that we worked in 1848, they alone enjoyed the fruits of the revolution during the period of reaction.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: November 18, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Last Tuesday I opened the discussion on Point No. I, *the attitude of the British Ministry* to the Irish Amnesty question. Made a speech of about three-quarters of an hour, much cheered, and then proposed the following resolutions on Point No. I:

Resolved :

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots--a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea, etc., etc.--Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and, the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that *"policy of conquest,"* by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

that the General Council of the "International Workingmen's Association" express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, workingmen's bodies connected with, the *"International Workingmen's Association"* in Europe and America.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: November 26, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

...In my book against Proudhon, [*Poverty of Philosophy*, ch. 2] where I still fully accepted Ricardo's theory of rent, I already showed what was false in it, even from Ricardo's own point of view.

"Ricardo, after having presupposed bourgeois production as necessary for the determination of rent, nevertheless applies it to landed property in every epoch and every country. These are the errors of all the economists, who regard the conditions of bourgeois production as eternal categories." Mr. Proudhon had of course immediately transformed Ricardo's theory into an expression of equalitarian moralty and therefore discovered in Ricardo's determination of rent, "an immense land valuation, carried out by farmers and landlords in opposition to one another...in a higher interest of which the final result must be to equalise the possession of the land between the exploiters of the soil and the industrialists."

Upon this I remark, among other things:

"In order that any valuation whatever, determined by rent, should have a practical value, it is always necessary to remain within the actual conditions of society. Now we have shown that the *rent* paid for his farm by a farmer to his landlord roughly expresses the *rent* only in those countries which are most advanced industrially and commercially. And this farm rent often also includes the *interest* paid to the landlord for the capital invested in the land. The situation of the land, the neighbourhood of towns and many other circumstances have their effect on the farming and modify the rent....On the other hand, rent cannot be *a constant index of the degree of fertility possessed by a piece of land*, since at each instant the modern application of chemistry comes in to change the nature of the soil, and it is precisely in the present day that geological knowledge is beginning to *upset the old estimates of relative fertility* .... fertility is not such a natural quality as might well be believed; it is intimately connected with existing social relations."

With regard to the progress of cultivation in the United States themselves, Mr. Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. The English agricultural chemist, Johnstone, for instance, shows in his Notes on the United States that the settlers who left New England for the State of New York left worse for better land (better not in Carey's sense, that the land has first to be made, but in the chemical and at the same time

economic sense). The settlers from the State of New York who established themselves at first beyond the Great Lakes, say in Michigan, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia exploited the land suited both in *situation* and *fertility* to their chief product, tobacco, so abominably that they had to move on to Ohio, where the land was less good for this product (though not for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants also asserted itself in their settlements. The people from Norway and from our high forest lands sought out the rough northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same province kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the United States and Australia, are, in fact, a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him land which is not absolutely overgrown with forests is infertile by nature-including, therefore, all natural pasture land.

The best of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (relating to the United States) stand in direct contradiction to his dogma. First, owing to the diabolical influence of England, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England, are disseminated over the poorer(!) lands of the West. Progress therefore from better land to worse. (Carey's "dissemination," in opposition to "association," by the by, is all copied out of Wakefield). Second, in the south of the United States there is the unfortunate fact that the slaveowners (whom Mr. Carey, as a harmonist, has hitherto defended in all his previous works) take the better land into cultivation too soon and leave out the worst. In fact just what ought not to be: starting with the better land! If Carey had convinced himself by this instance that the real cultivators, in this case the slaves, were decided in this course neither by economic nor any other reason of their own, but by *external force,* it would have been obvious to him that this condition also exists in other lands.

According to his theory, cultivation in Europe should have started from the mountains of Norway and continued to the Mediterranean countries instead of proceeding in the reverse direction.

Carey tries, by a highly absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure away the awkward economic fact that, unlike all other improved machinery, the earth-machine, which according to him *is always a better* one, *increases*--(periodically at least)--*the cost* of its products instead of *cheapening* them. (This was one of the points which influenced Ricardo; he could see no further than his nose, namely, the history of corn prices in England from about 1780 to 1815).

As a harmonist, Carey first proved that there was no antagonism between capitalist and wage-labourer. The second step was to prove the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this is done by taking landownership where it is *still* in an undeveloped state and representing this as *normal.* The great and decisive difference between the colonies and the old civilised countries, that in the latter the mass of the population is excluded from land and soil--whether fertile or unfertile, cultivated or uncultivated--by the system of *landed property,* while in the colony land can, relatively speaking, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself--this fact must not be mentioned whatever happens. It must have absolutely nothing to do with the rapid development of the colonies. The disagreeable *"question of property"* in its most disagreeable form, would indeed knock harmony off its feet.

As for the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important condition for the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), therefore the converse must also follow that the richest and most developed production will be found in the most naturally fertile lands, so that it must stand higher, e.g., in Mexico than in New England, I have already answered this in *Capital,* p. 502 et seq."

Carey's only merit is that he is just as one-sided in asserting the progress from worse to better lands as Ricardo is in asserting the opposite. In reality, different kinds of land, unequal in their degrees of fertility, are always cultivated simultaneously, and therefore the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts took this into account and made a very careful division of the strips of land of different kinds among the members of the community; it was this which later made the breaking up of the common lands so difficult. As to the progress of cultivation throughout the course of history, however, this, influenced by a mass of circumstances, sometimes takes place in both directions at once, sometimes one tendency prevails for a period and sometimes the other.

Interest on the capital embodied in the land becomes a part of the *differential rent* just because of the fact that the landowner gets this interest from capital which not *he* but the *tenant-farmer* has put into the land. This fact, known throughout Europe, is supposed to have no economic existence because the tenant system is *not yet* developed in the *United States.* But there the thing takes place in another form. The land jobber and not the farmer gets paid in the end, in the *price* of the land, for the capital invested by the latter. Indeed the history of the pioneers and land jobbers in the United States often reminds one of the worst horrors taking place, e.g., in Ireland.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: December 11, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
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HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

As to the Irish question....The way I shall put forward the matter next Tuesday is this: that quite apart from all phrases about "international" and "humane" *justice for Ireland*--which are to be taken for granted in the *International Council--it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working Glass to get rid of their present connection with Ireland.* And this is my most complete conviction, and for reasons which in part I cannot tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the *New York Tribune.* Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of *Davies* in extracts. The book itself I had only glanced through superficially in the Museum. So you would do me a service if you would copy out the passages relating to *common property.* You must get Curran's Speeches edited by Davies, (London, James Duffy, 22 Paternoster Row.) I meant to have given it you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English members of the Central Council and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779-80 (Union) it is of decisive importance, not only because of *Curran's speeches* (especially the *legal* ones; I consider Curran the *only great advocate*--people's advocate--of the eighteenth century and the *noblest nature,* while Grattan was a parliamentary rogue) but because you will find quoted there *all the sources* for the *United Irishmen.* This period is of the highest interest, scientifically and dramatically. Firstly, the foul doings of the English in 1588-89 repeated (and perhaps even intensified) in 1788-89. Secondly, it can be easily proved that there was a class movement in the Irish movement itself. Thirdly, the infamous policy of Pitt. Fourthly, which will annoy the English gentlemen very much, the proof that Ireland came to grief because, in fact, from a revolutionary standpoint, *the Irish were too far advanced for the English Church and King mob,* while on the other hand the English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland. *This period* must be described in at least one chapter. John Bull in the pillory!... As to the present *Irish movement,* there are three important factors: (1) opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and

blarney ; (2) opposition to the dictates of the priests, who (the superior ones) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time, from 1789-1800; (3) the *agricultural labouring* class beginning to come out against the farming class at the last meetings. (A similar phenomenon in 1795-1800.)

The rise of the *Irishman* was only due to the suppression of the *Fenian* press. For a long time it had been in opposition to Fenianism. Luby, etc., of the *Irish People*, etc., were educated men who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government put them in prison and then came the Pigotts and Co. The *Irishman* will only be anything until those people come out of prison again. It is aware of this although it is making *political capital* now by declaiming for the "felon-convicts."

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Marx to Engels

Written: [London] 10 February, 1870
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I have read the first 150 pages of Flerovsky's book (they are taken up by Siberia, North Russia and Astrakhan). This is the first work to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions. The man is a determined enemy of what he calls "Russian optimism." I never held very rosy views of this communistic Eldorado, but Flerovsky surpasses all expectations. In fact it is wonderful and undoubtedly a sign of change that such a thing could be printed in Petersburg at all.

"Our proletariat is small in number but the mass of our working class consists entirely of workers whose lot is worse than the lot of all other proletarians."

The method of presentation is quite original, at times it reminds one most of Monteil*. One can see that the man has travelled around everywhere and seen everything for himself. A glowing hatred of landlords, capitalists and officials. No socialist doctrine, no mysticism about the land (although in favour of the communal form of ownership), no nihilistic extravagance. Here and there a certain amount or well-meaning twaddle, which, however, is suited to the stage of development reached by the people for whom the book is intended. In any case this is the most important book which has appeared since your *Condition of the Working Class*. The family life of the Russian peasants--the awful beating to death of wives, the vodka and the concubines--is also well described. It will therefore come quite opportunely if you would now send me the imaginative lies of Citizen Herzen.

* Monteil, Amans Alexis (1769-1850) French historian who defended the ideas of the great French Revolution. His chief work was his *"Histoire des Francais des divers Etats." [History of the French in their Different Orders.)*

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: February 12, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Your introduction is very good. [Intro to Engels' *Peasant War in Germany*, 1870.] I know of nothing which should be altered or added. With your treatment of 1866 I agree word for word. The double thrust at Wilhelm [Liebknecht] with the People's Party and Schweitzer with his bodyguard of ruffians is very pretty!...

The title of N. Flerovsky's book is *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, Publishers, N. P. Polyakov, St. Petersburg, 1869.

What amuses me very much among other things in Flerovsky is his polemic against the *direct dues* paid by the peasantry. It is a regular reproduction of Marshal Vauban and Boisguillebert. He feels too that the situation of the country people has its analogy in the period of the old French monarchy (after Louis XIV). Like Monteil, he has a great feeling for national characteristics--"the honest Kalmuck," "the Mordwin, poetical despite his dirt" (he compares him to the Irish), the "agile, lively, epicurean Tartar," "the talented Little Russian," etc. Like a good Russian he teaches his fellow countrymen what they should do to turn the *hatred* which all these races have for them into its opposite. As an example of this hatred he instances among other things a genuinely *Russian* colony which has emigrated from Poland to Siberia. These people only know Russian and not a word of Polish, but they regard themselves as Poles and devote a Polish hatred to the Russians, etc.

From his book it follows irrefutably that the present conditions in Russia can no longer be maintained, that the emancipation of the serfs only, of course, hastened the process of disintegration and that a fearful social revolution is approaching. Here too one sees the real basis of the schoolboy nihilism which is at present the fashion among Russian students, etc. In Geneva, by the by, a new colony of exiled Russian students has been formed whose programme proclaims opposition to Pan-Slavism, which is to be replaced by the International.

In a special section Flerovsky shows that the "Russification" of the alien races is a sheer optimistic delusion, *even in the East.*

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: March 24, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I enclose a letter from the *Russian colony* in Geneva. We have admitted them and I have *accepted* their commission to be their representative in the General Council and have also sent them a short reply (official, with a private letter as well) and given them permission to publish it in their paper. A funny position for me to be functioning as the representative of young Russia! A man never knows what he may come to or what strange fellowship he may have to submit to. In the official reply I praise Flerovsky and emphasise the fact that the chief task of the Russian section is to work for Poland (i.e., to free Europe from Russia as a neighbour). I thought it safer to say nothing about Bakunin, either in the public or in the confidential letter. But what I will never forgive these fellows is that they turn me into a "vénérable." They obviously think I am between eighty and a hundred years old.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: May 18, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Our members in France are giving the French government ocular proof of the difference between a secret political society and a genuine workers' organisation. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, etc., committees (some of them fled to Belgium and Switzerland) than *twice the number* of committees announced themselves as their successors with the most daring and provocative declarations in the newspapers (and as an additional precaution added their private addresses as well). At last the French government has done what we have so long wanted it to do and transformed the political question, Empire or Republic, into a question of life or death for the working-class.

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: July 20, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

But the paper [Le Réveil, a democratic French newspaper] is also interesting on account of the leading article by old Delescluze. Despite his opposition to the government, the most complete expression of chauvinism--because France alone is the home of ideas--(of the ideas it has got about itself). The only thing that annoys these republican chauvinists is that the real expression of their idol--L. Bonaparte the long-nosed Stock Exchange shark--does not correspond to their fancy picture. The French need a thrashing. If the Prussians win, the centralisation of the state power will be useful for the centralisation of the German working class. German predominance would also transfer the centre of gravity of the workers' movement in Western Europe from France to Germany, and one has only to compare the movement in the two countries from 1866 till now to see that the German working class is superior to the French both theoretically and organisationally. Their predominance over the French on the world stage would also mean the predominance of our theory over Proudhon's, etc.

Finally, I am also enclosing the criticism of my book [Capital Vol I] in Hildebrand's *Journal of Economy and Statistics*. My physical state scarcely disposes me to merriment, but I have cried with laughter over this essay--bona fide tears of mirth. With the reaction and the downfall of the heroic age of philosophy in Germany the "petty bourgeois", inborn in every German citizen, has again asserted himself--in *philosophic* drivel worthy of Moses Mendelssohn, would-be clever and superior peevish nagging. And so now even *political economy* is to be dissolved into twaddle about *"conceptions of justice!"*

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: August 8, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The Empire is made, i.e., the German Empire. It seems as if all the trickery that has been perpetrated since the Second Empire has finally resulted in carrying out, by hook and crook, though neither by the path intended nor in the way imagined, the "national" aims of 1848--Hungary, Italy, Germany! It seems to me that this sort of movement will only come to an end as soon as the *Prussians and the Russians* come to blows. This is by no means improbable. The press of the Moscovite party (I have seen a lot of it at Borkheim's) has attacked the Russian government just as violently for its friendly attitude to Prussia as the French papers representing Thiers' point of view attacked Boustrapa [Napoleon III] in 1866 for his flirtation with Prussia. Only the tsar, the German-Russian party and the official St. Petersburg Journal sounded a note hostile to France. But the last thing they expected was such a decided Prussian-German success. Like Bonaparte in 1866, they thought that the belligerent powers would weaken each other by a long struggle so that Holy Russia could intervene as supreme arbiter and dictate to them.

But now! If Alexander does not want to be poisoned, something must be done to appease the national party. Russia's prestige will obviously be even more "injured" by a German-Prussian Empire than the prestige of the Second Empire was by the North German Confederation.

Russia therefore--just as Bonaparte did in 1866-70--will intrigue with Prussia in order to get concessions in relation to Turkey, and all this trickery, despite the Russian religion of the Hohenzollerns, will end in war *between the tricksters.* However silly German Michael may be, his newly fortified national sentiment will hardly allow him to be pressed into the service *of Russia* without any remaining reason whatever, or so much as a pretext (especially now when he can no longer be lectured into putting up with everything in order that German unity may first be achieved). *Qui vivra.verra* [who lives longest will see most]. If our Handsome William lives on for a bit we may yet witness his proclamations to the Poles. When God wants to do something especially great, says old Carlyle, he always chooses out the stupidest people for it.

What troubles me at the moment is the state of affairs in France itself. The next great battle can hardly fail to turn against the French. And then? If the defeated army retreats to Paris, under the leadership of

Boustrapa, the result will be a peace of the most humiliating kind, perhaps with the *restoration* of the Orleans. If a revolution breaks out in Paris, the question is whether they have the means and the leadership to offer a serious resistance to the Prussians. One cannot conceal from oneself that twenty years of the Bonapartist farce have produced enormous demoralisation. One is hardly justified in reckoning on revolutionary heroism. What do you think about it?

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Letter from Marx to Engels

in Ramsgate

Written: August 17, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

...In such an important matter--it is not a question of Wilhelm [Liebknecht] but of *instructions as to the line of the German workers*--I did not want to act without first referring to you.

Wilhelm infers his agreement with me:

(I) From the Address of the International, which he has of course first translated into Wilhelm's own language.

(2) From the circumstance that I approved the declaration made by Bebel and himself in the Reichstag. That was a "moment" when *Prinzipienreiterei* [stickling for principle] was an act of courage, but from this it by no means follows that the moment is still continuing, much less that the attitude of the German proletariat to a war which has become national is expressed in Wilhelm's antipathy to Prussia. It would be just as if we, because at a suitable moment we had raised our voices against the "Bonapartist" liberation of Italy, were to wish to redress the relative independence which Italy received as a result of that war.

The lust for Alsace and Lorraine seems to predominate in two circles, the Prussian camarilla and the South German beer-patriots. It would be the greatest misfortune which could befall Europe and above all Germany. You will have seen that most of the Russian newspapers are already talking of the necessity of European diplomatic intervention in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Kugelmann confuses a defensive war with defensive military operations. So if a fellow falls upon me in the street I may only parry his blow]but not knock him down, because then I should turn into an *aggressor!* The want of dialectic comes out in every word these people utter....

With the death knell of the Second Empire, that will end as it began, by a parody, I hit off my Bonaparte after all! Can one imagine a finer parody of Napoleon's 1814 campaign? I believe we two are the only people who grasped the *whole mediocrity* of Boustrapa from the beginning, regarded him as a mere showman and never allowed ourselves to be misled by momentary successes.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: July 18, 1877
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Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It would certainly be very pleasant if a really scientific socialist journal were to be published. It would provide an opportunity for criticisms or counter-criticisms in which we could discuss theoretical points, expose the utter ignorance of professors and lecturers and at the same time enlighten the minds of the general public--working class or bourgeois. But Wiede's periodical cannot possible be anything but sham-scientific; the same half-educated *Knoten* and dilettante literary men who make the *Neue Welt, Vorwärts*, etc., unsafe, necessarily form the majority of his collaborators. Ruthlessness --the first condition of all criticism--is impossible in such company; besides which constant attention has to be paid to making things easily comprehensible, i.e., exposition for the ignorant. Imagine a journal of chemistry where the readers' ignorance of chemistry is constantly assumed as the fundamental presupposition. And apart from all that, the way the people who are necessarily Wiede's collaborators have behaved in the Dühring incident imposes the precaution of keeping oneself as separate from these gentlemen as political party conditions allow. Their motto seems to be: Whoever criticises his opponent by abusing him is a man of feeling, but whoever defames his opponent by genuine criticism is an unworthy character.

Marx to Engels Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Engels

in London

Written: August 1, 1877
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

A few days ago the cheery little hunchback Wedde turned up--only to disappear again to Germany shortly after. He had a pressing commission from Geib to enlist you and me for the *Kukunft.* I made no secret to him whatever of our intentions of abstaining, to his great sorrow, and of our reasons for this, and explained to him at the same time that when our time allows or circumstances demand that we should again come forward as propagandists, we, as internationalists, are in no wise bound or pledged to attach ourselves to Germany, the beloved Fatherland.

In Hamburg he had seen Dr. Höchberg and ditto Wiede; the latter, he said,was rather tinged with Berlin superficiality and arrogance, but he liked Höchberg, who, however, was still suffering badly from "modern mythology." For when the little chap (Wedde) was in London for the first time I used the expression "modern mythology" as a designation for the goddesses of "Justice, Freedom, Equality, etc." who were now all the rage again ; this made a deep impression on him, as he has himself done much in the service of these higher beings. He thought Höchberg rather Dühringised--and Wedde has a sharper nose than Liebknecht.

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Engels to August Bebel Correspondence

Engels to Bebel -party unity and splits
June 20, 1873
Engels to Bebel -On the recent release of the Gotha Programme
Mar 18, 1875
Engels to Bebel -important letter revealing the proletarian line of Marx and Engels
Aug 15, 1879
Engels to Bebel -the French Revolution
Oct 28, 1882
Engels to Bebel -on the Democratic Federation in London
Aug 30, 1883
Engels to Bebel -England and industry
Jan 18, 1884
Engels to Bebel -on the German elections
Nov 11, 1884
Engels to Bebel -industry and workers, politics in Germany
Dec 11, 1884
Engels to Bebel -on Karl Kautsky
July 24, 1885
Engels to Bebel -trade unions in England, upcoming elections
Oct 28, 1885
Engels to Bebel -prospects for a socialist movement
Jan 20, 1886
Engels to Bebel -Hyndman and protest in Tafalgar Square
Feb 15, 1886
Engels to Bebel -Franco-Prussian war danger
Sep 29, 1891
Engels to Bebel -on his article on their position in the event of war
Oct 24, 1891

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 20 June, 1873
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you can of course judge what tactics should be adopted better than we, especially in particular cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter Verein* (General Association of German Workers) it is easy to pay too much attention to one's rival and to get into the habit of always thinking about him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still only form a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda is not to draw away a few individuals and members here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass which still remains apathetic. The primitive force of a single individual whom we have ourselves attracted from the crude mass is worth more than ten Lassallean renegades, who always bring the seeds of their false tendencies into the Party with them. And if one could only get the masses without their local leaders it would still be all right. But one always has to take a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, and they are bound by their previous public utterances, if not by their previous views, and have above all things to prove that they have not deserted their principles but that on the contrary the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches true Lassalleanism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach, not to be avoided at that time, perhaps, but there is no doubt at all that these elements have done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not have been at least as strong to-day without that addition. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were reinforced.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for "unity." Those who have this word most often on their lips are those who sow the most dissension, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, scream for nothing so much as for unity. Those unity fanatics are either the people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything up together into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again in much more acute opposition because they are now all together in one pot (you have a fine example of this in Germany with the people who preach the reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie)--or else they are people who consciously or unconsciously (like Mühlberger*, for instance) want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the greatest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues are at certain moments the loudest shouters for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the unity shouters.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes and this is quite good too. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice momentary success for more important things. Especially a party like ours, whose ultimate success is so absolutely certain, and which has

developed so enormously in our own lifetime and under our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International, for instance. After the Commune it had its colossal success. The bourgeoisie, struck all of a heap, ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the membership believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble must burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it began to flourish, and misused the International in the hope that the most stupid and mean actions would be permitted them. We did not allow that. Well knowing that the bubble must burst some time all the same, our concern was not to delay the catastrophe but to take care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at the Hague, and you know that the majority of Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at the Hague! Now the sectarian quarrel-mongers are preaching conciliation and decrying us as the intolerant and the dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at the Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split--what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have got another year in which to perpetrate, in the name of the International, much greater stupidities and infamies even; the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis anyhow, would have turned into the lowest kind of personal row, because principles had already been sacrificed at the Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces---gone to pieces through "unity"! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves--the members of the Commune who were present at the last decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such a terrible impression upon them as this session of the tribunal which passed judgment on the traitors to the European proletariat--we have left them to expend all their forces in lying, slander and intrigue for ten months--and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress (more details in an article which is being sent off for the *Volksstaat* with this letter). And if we had to do it again we should not, taking it all together, act any differently-tactical mistakes are of course always committed.

In any case I think the efficient elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in course of time and that it would therefore be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity people want.

For the rest, old Hegel has already said: A party proves itself a victorious party by the fact that it splits and can stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage one section of people lags behind and does not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the "solidarity of the proletariat" is everywhere realised in different party groupings which carry on life and death feuds with one another, as the christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

*Mühlberger, Arthur. A physician, follower of Proudhon; anonymous author of a series of articles on the housing question (1872) to which Engels addressed in his book, *The Housing Question.*

Engels to Bebel Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to August Bebel

Written: London, March 18-28, 1875
First Published: A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part 2, Stuttgart, 1911
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: Zodiac
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

London, March 18-28, 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of February 23 and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers -- not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tolckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid, [2] and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869 [3] or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where political guile is concerned; once again the "honest men" [4] have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, e.g. the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion.

If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party, [5] for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not bourgeois-democratic. [6]

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war [7]; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect -- not even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation -- nay, but of a future "international brotherhood of peoples" -- of your Peace League bourgeois "United States of Europe"! [8]

There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the "International", consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean "iron law of wages" which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the workers receive only the minimum wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*, where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's, [9] is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on "Accumulation of Capital". Thus, by adopting the Lassallean "iron law" one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward -- Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez. [10] And this, after Bracke has so ably demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand; after almost all if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle

against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this "state aid"! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

But "state aid" in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as "paving the way for the solution of the social question", as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end! -- then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature -- for instance "legislation by the people" such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people -- that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty -- that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-a-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece and after it the *Communist Manifesto* declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen* ["commonalty"] be universally substituted for *state;* it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French "Commune".

"The elimination of all social and political inequality", rather than "the abolition of all class distinctions", is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality is* a one-sided French concept

deriving from the old "liberty, equality, fraternity", a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development*, but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* recognise a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude -- public as well as private -- we should adopt towards it. [11] Remember that abroad *we* are held responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*, in which we are made to answer for every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt.* People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders -- and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going-back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh. The split will come; but we shall have "made honest men" again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tolcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the "reactionary mass"!

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on April 1, in honour of Bismarck's birthday, [12] not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion. I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly. I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont -- hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really

is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him.*

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.

Ever your friend,

F. E.

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, NW London.

Footnotes

[1] Engels' letter to August Bebel written between March 18 and 28, 1875 is closely connected widh Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and is traditionally published together with the latter work. It conveyed the joint opinion of Marx and Engels concerning the fusion of two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans, scheduled for early 1875. The immediate reason for the letter was the publication of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany *(Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei)* in *Der Volksstaat* (the organ of the Eisenachers) and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (the organ of the Lassalleans) on March 7, 1875. The draft programme was approved widh slight changes by the unity congress at Gotha on May 22-27, 1875, and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

This letter was first published by Bebel, after the lapse of 36 years, in his *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911. In the present edition the letter is printed according to this book.

It was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence, London [1933], pp. 51-62.

[2] A reference to one of Lassalle's programme theses on the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly emphasised chat what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage.

[3] Engels is referring to the *Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei*, adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* on August 14, 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany. By and large the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association.

[4] The *"honest men"* -- nickname of the members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers), as distinct from the members of the General Association of German Workers (the Lassalleans), the "dishonest men".

[5] The *German People's Party*, established in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the

bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states. The party opposed the establishment of Prussian hegemony in Germany and advocated the idea of a federative German state.

[6] A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

"The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

"1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community. 2. Direct legislation by the people widh the right to initiate and to reject bills. 3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people. 4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly. 5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice widhout fees.

"The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

"1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction. 2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience."

[7] The reference is to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

[8] The *League of Peace and Freedom* -- A pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted chat it was possible to prevent wars by creating the "United States of Europe". Its leaders did not disclose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations. At the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress in their personal capacity in order to support revolutionary-democratic decisions (see Marx's letter to Engels of September 4, 1867).

[9] On page 5 of his *Arbeiterlesebuch* Lassalle quotes a passage about the "iron law of wages" from his pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comite zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16.

[10] Philippe Joseph Buchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, advanced a plan for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state.

[11] On October 12, 1875 Engels wrote to Bebel concerning this programme that, since both workers and their political opponents "interpreted it communistically", "*it is this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it".

[12] In March 1872 August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' confinement in a fortress for their athesion to the International Working Men's Association and their socialist views. In April Bebel was sentenced, in addition, to nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his mandate as a Reichstag member for "insulting His Majesty". Liebknecht was released on April 15, 1874, while Bebel was freed on April 1, 1875.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive
Critique of the Gotha Programme

Marx and Engels toBebel, Liebknecht, Bracke and others

Written: Mid September, 1879
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

[Note: Engels wrote this letter in the name of himself and Marx to the members of the leading group of German Social-Democracy. It is among the most important documents in which the revolutionary proletarian line of Marx and Engels is revealed. Here we see that a consistent struggle was conducted by the founders of scientific Communism against opportunism in the German Social-Democratic movement. Marx and Engels had already long been following with growing mistrust the increasing influence of petty-bourgeois elements in the Party leadership and the insufficient fight put up by the Party against them. The open and organised emergence of the group around Höchberg, in connection with the foundation of the ***Sozial-Demokrat*** *in Zürich, caused Marx and Engels to intervene. Especially the publication of the Zürich* ***Yearbook for Socialist Science and Politics*** *with the article "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect" (signed with three asterisks, as the disguise of Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm) induced Marx and Engels to define their fundamental attitude to the opportunist danger in the German Party and to place before the Party leadership with the greatest sharpness the choice between a break with opportunism on their part or a break with the Party on the part of Marx and Engels. In his letter to Marx on September 9, 1879, Engels puts the question of the necessity for intervention: "I shall really have to answer Bebel at last... the* ***Yearbook*** *...fortunately enables us simply to give these people definitely the reasons why it is absolutely impossible for us to co-operate with an organ in which Höchberg has anything whatever to say. ... I think you will also be of the opinion that after this business we should do well to define our standpoint at least to the Leipzigers [the Party Executive]. If the new Party organ sings Höchberg's tune it may become necessary to do this publicly. If you will send me the things ... I will draft a letter to Bebel and send it you." Marx answered on September 10 and insisted that the most decided tone should he taken towards Leipzig. "Liebknecht has no judgment. The letters prove what they should refute, namely, our original view that the thing was given away in Leipzig, while the Zürichers proceeded according to the conditions laid down for them. ... I fully share your opinion that there is no more time to be lost in announcing bluntly and ruthlessly our view of the* ***Yearbook*** *drivel.... If they carry on in the same way with their Party organ we must publicly repudiate them. In these matters there is no longer any question of good nature."]*

(1) *The negotiations with C. Hirsch.*

Liebknecht asks Hirsch if he will take over the editorship of the Party organ which is to be newly established in Zürich. Hirsch wants information as to the finances of the paper: what funds are at its disposal and who provides them. The first, in order to know whether the paper will be bound to fade out after a few months. And then to make sure who holds the purse strings and with them the ultimate control over the line of the paper. Liebknecht's answer to Hirsch : "Everything all right, you will hear the rest from Zürich " (Liebknecht to Hirsch, July 28) does not reach him. But from Zürich comes a letter to

Hirsch from Bernstein (July 24) in which Bernstein announces that "we have been charged with the: launching and supervision" (of the paper). A discussion had taken place "between Viereck and us" in which it had been felt "that your position, owing to the differences which you had with individual comrades when you were a *Laterne [Lantern]* man would be made rather difficult; but I do not attach much weight to this objection." Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch replies by return on July 26, with the question as to the material position of the paper. What comrades have pledged themselves to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long? The question of the editor's salary plays no part at all here, all Hirsch wants to know is if "the means are ensured for guaranteeing the paper for at least a year."

Bernstein answers on July 31: Any deficit will be covered by voluntary contributions, of which some (!) are already subscribed. To Hirsch's remarks about the line he thought of giving to the paper, dealt with below, he replies with disapproving remarks and instructions: " On which the supervisory committee must insist all the more since it is itself in its turn under control, i.e., responsible. On these points you will therefore have to come to an understanding with the supervisory committee." An early and if possible telegraphic reply desired.

Thus instead of an answer to his legitimate questions Hirsch receives the information that he is to edit the paper under a supervisory committee seated in Zürich, whose views differ very essentially from his own and whose members are not even named to him!

Justly indignant at this treatment, Hirsch prefers to come to an understanding with the Leipzig people. His letter of August 2 to Liebknecht must be known to you, as Hirsch expressly required that you and Viereck should be informed. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zürich, up to the point of agreeing that it should have the right to make written observations to the editor and to appeal to the decision of the Leipzig control committee.

In the meantime Liebknecht writes on July 28 to Hirsch:

"Of course, the undertaking is financed, as the whole Party (including) Höchberg stands behind it. But I am not troubling myself about details."

Liebknecht's next letter again contains nothing about the finances, but the assurance instead that the Zürich committee is not an editorial committee at all but is only entrusted with the management and finances. Again on August 14 Liebknecht writes the same to me and demands that we persuade Hirsch to accept. Even on August 20 you yourself are so little informed of the true facts of the case that you write to me: "He (Höchberg) has no more voice in the editing of the paper than any other well-known Party comrade."

At last on August 11 Hirsch gets a letter from Viereck in which it is admitted that "the three residing in Zürich are to take the foundation of the paper in hand as an editorial committee and with the agreement of the three Leipzig members to choose an editor.... So far as I recollect, the decisions communicated to us also stated that the (Zürich) organisation committee mentioned in (2) should take over the political as well as the financial responsibility in relation to the Party ! ...From this position of affairs it seems to me to follow that...there can be no question of taking over the editorship without the co-operation of the three domiciled in Zürich who have been commissioned by the Party to start the paper." Here at last Hirsch had at least something definite, if only regarding the relation of the editor to the Zürich people.

They are an editorial committee; they also have the political responsibility; without their co-operation no one can take over the editorship. In short, an indication is simply given to Hirsch that he should come to an understanding with the three people in Zürich whose names are still not given him.

To complete the confusion, however, Liebknecht writes a postscript to Viereck's letter: "S[inger] from B[erlin] has just been here and reported: the supervisory committee in Zürich is not, as Viereck thinks, an Editorial committee but essentially a management committee financially responsible to the party, i.e., to us, for the paper; naturally it is also the right and the duty of its members to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty which belong, incidentally, to every Party member) : they have not the authority to act as your guardians."

The three Zürich and the one Leipzig committee members--the only one present at the negotiations--insist that Hirsch shall be under the official control of the Zürich people. A second Leipzig member directly denies this. And Hirsch is expected to come to a decision before the gentlemen are agreed among themselves? That Hirsch had the right to be informed of the decisions come to, which contained the conditions he was expected to submit to, was thought of all the less because it never once seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers to get authentic information themselves about these decisions. How else could the above contradiction have been possible?

If the Leipzigers cannot agree as to the powers conferred upon the Zürichers, the Zürichers themselves are perfectly clear about them.

Schramm to Hirsch, August 14: "If you had not written at the time that you would do just the same in a similar case (to the Kayser case) and thus indicated the prospect of a similar style of writing, we should not waste a word over it. But in view of your declaration we must reserve to ourselves the right of having a decisive vote in the acceptance of articles for the new paper."

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch is stated to have said this was dated July 26, that is to say long after the conference in Zürich at which the plenary powers of the three Zürichers were established. But the Zürichers are already revelling so much in the sense of their absolute bureaucratic power that in answer to this later letter of Hirsch they already claim further authority to decide upon the acceptance of articles. The editorial committee is already a censorship committee.

It was not until Höchberg came to Paris that Hirsch learned from him the names of the members of the two committees. If therefore the negotiations with Hirsch fell through, what was the reason?

(a) The obstinate refusal both of the Leipzig and the Zürich people to give him any concrete information as to the financial basis of the paper and therefore as to the possibility of maintaining the paper in existence, if only for a year. He first learnt the amount of the sum subscribed from me here (after your communication to me). It was therefore hardly possible to draw any other conclusion from the information already given (the Party + Höchberg) than that the paper was either already mainly financed by Höchberg or else would soon be completely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter possibility is still far from being excluded. The sum of 800 marks, if I am reading correctly, is exactly the same as the Association here had to contribute to *Freiheit* in the first half year.

(b) The repeated assurances of Liebknecht, since proved totally false, that the Zürichers were to have no official control of the editing at all and the comedy of errors which arose from this.

(c) The certainty finally attained that the Zürichers were not only to control, but themselves to censor the

editing and that the part allotted to Hirsch was that of a dummy.

When he thereupon refused the offer one can only say he was right. The Leipzig committee, as we heard from Höchberg, has been further strengthened by the addition of two members who do not live there ; so it can only intervene rapidly if the three Leipzigers are unanimous. This completely transfers the real centre of gravity to Zürich, and in the long run Hirsch would no more have been able to work with the people there than would any other editor of really proletarian and revolutionary views. On this later.

(2) The proposed line of the paper.

Bernstein has already informed Hirsch on July 24 that the differences he had had as a *Laterne* man with individual comrades would make his position difficult.

Hirsch replies that in his opinion the general line of the paper must be the same as that of the *Laterne*, i.e., one which avoids prosecution in Switzerland and does not cause unnecessary alarm in Germany. He asks who the comrades are and continues: "I only know one, and I can promise you that in a similar case of breach of discipline I should treat him in exactly the same way."

To which Bernstein, conscious of his new official dignity as censor, replies: As to the line of the paper, the view of the supervisory committee is in fact that the *Laterne* should not be its model; in our opinion the paper should not be so much taken up with political radicalism but rather kept socialist in principle. Cases like the attack on Kayser, which was disapproved of by every comrade without exception (!) must be avoided in all circumstances."

And so on and so on. Liebknecht calls the attack on Kayser "a blunder" and Schramm considers it so dangerous that he thereupon puts Hirsch under censorship.

Hirsch again writes to Höchberg, saying that a case like that of Kayser "cannot occur if an official party organ is in existence whose clear statements and well-intentioned indications cannot be so brazenly thrown to the winds by a deputy."

Viereck, too, writes that "a dispassionate attitude, and the ignoring so far as possible of any differences which have occurred... are laid down" for the new paper, it is not to be an "enlarged *Laterne*" and Bernstein "could at most be reproached for a too moderate tendency, if that is a reproach at a time when we cannot after all sail under our full colours."

And what is this Kayser case, this unforgivable crime which Hirsch is supposed to have committed? Kayser is the only one among the Social-Democratic deputies who spoke and voted in the Reichstag for protective tariffs. Hirsch accuses him of having committed a breach of Party discipline because Kayser:

(1) Voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded in the Party programme ;

(2) Voted supplies to Bismarck, thus breaking the first fundamental rule of all our Party tactics: not a farthing to this government.

On both points Hirsch is undeniably right. And after Kayser had trampled underfoot on the one hand the Party programme, to which the deputies are, so to speak, sworn by a Congress decision, and on the other hand the very first and most imperative fundamental rule of Party tactics, and voted money to Bismarck as thanks for the Socialist Law, Hirsch in our opinion was absolutely right to let fly at him as roughly as he did.

We have never been able to understand why this attack on Kayser could have aroused such violent wrath in Germany. Höchberg now informs me that the "fraction" gave Kayser permission to come out as he did and that this permission is considered to exonerate Kayser.

If this is the position of affairs it is really a bit strong. In the first place Hirsch could know no more of this secret decision than the rest of the world. Then the discredit for the Party, which previously could be diverted on to Kayser alone, is made all the greater by this business, as is also the service performed by Hirsch in openly exposing the disgusting phraseology and even more disgusting vote of Kayser to the whole world and thus saving the honour of the Party. Or is German Social-Democracy really infected by the parliamentary disease and does it believe that through election by the people the Holy Ghost is poured out upon the elected, fraction meetings are transformed into infallible Councils and fraction decisions into unassailable dogmas?

It is true that a blunder has been committed, not however by Hirsch, but by the deputies who covered Kayser by their resolution. If those whose special duty it is to pay attention to the maintenance of Party discipline themselves break Party discipline so glaringly by a decision of this kind, so much the worse. Still worse, however, when people advance to the belief that it was not Kayser by his speech and vote or the other deputies by their resolution who violated Party discipline, but Hirsch, because despite the decision, which, moreover, was still unknown to him, he attacked Kayser.

For the rest, it is clear that on the tariff question the Party took up the same confused and indecisive attitude as it had done hitherto on almost all economic questions which have become practical ones, e.g., the imperial railways. This is due to the fact that the Party organs, especially Vorwärts [Forward], instead of thoroughly discussing these questions have preferred to concern themselves with the construction of the future order of society. When, after the Socialist Law, the tariff question suddenly became a practical one, the most varied shades of opinion arose and there was not a single person on the spot who possessed the prerequisite for the formation of a clear and correct judgment: knowledge of the conditions of German industry and its position on the world market. Among the electorate it was inevitable that tendencies in favour of protection should appear here and there and there was a wish to take these into consideration too. The only way of getting out of this confusion; by taking the question in a purely political way (as was done in the *Laterne*) was not decisively adopted; thus it was inevitable that in this debate the Party should have come out for the first time in a hesitating, uncertain and confused manner and finally, with and through Kayser, thoroughly discredited itself.

The attack on Kayser is now made the occasion for preaching to Hirsch in every key that the new paper must on no account copy the "excesses" of the *Laterne* and should not be so much taken up with political radicalism as kept to a dispassionate line, socialist in principle. And this by Viereck as much as by Bernstein, who, just because he is too moderate, seems to the former to he the right man, because one cannot after all sail under one's full colours at present.

But why emigrate at all, if not in order to he able to sail under one's full colours? There is nothing to prevent this abroad. The German Press, Assembly and Penal Laws do not exist in Switzerland. It is therefore not only possible but a duty to say things there which could not be said at home, under the ordinary German laws, even before the Socialist Law. For here we stand not only before Germany but before Europe, and it is a duty, so far as the Swiss laws permit of it, to state to Europe the methods and aims of the German Party without concealment. Anyone who wants to bind himself by German laws in Switzerland would only prove that he was worthy of these German laws and in fact had nothing to say

which was not permissible in Germany before the Exceptional Laws. Nor should any consideration be paid to the possibility that the editors will be temporarily cut off from a return to Germany. He who is not ready to risk this is not fit for such an exposed post of honour.

And further. The Exceptional Laws have banned and outlawed the German Party precisely because it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, the Party shows its gratitude to Bismarck by giving up this role of the only serious opposition par:y, by coming out nice and docile and accepting the kick with a dispassionate attitude, it only proves that it deserved the kick. Of all the German papers produced in emigration abroad since 1830, the *Laterne* is certainly one of the most moderate. But if even the *Laterne* was too bold--then the new organ can only compromise the Party in the eyes of its sympathisers in non-German countries.

(3) The Manifesto of the three Zürichers.

In the meantime Höchberg's *Yearbook* has reached us, containing an article "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect," which, as Höchberg himself tells me, has been written by these same three members of the Zürich Commission. Here we have their authentic criticism of the movement up till now and with it their authentic programme for the line: of the new organ, in so far as this depends on them.

Right at the beginning we read:

"The movement which Lassalle regarded as an eminently political one, to which he summoned not only the workers but all honest democrats, at the head of which were to march the independent representatives of science and all who were imbued with a true love for humanity, was diminished under the presidency of Johann Baptist Schweitzer into a one-sided struggle for the interests of the industrial workers."

I will not examine whether or how far this is historically accurate. The special reproach here brought against Schweitzer is that he diminished Lassalleanism, which is here taken as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a onesided struggle for the interests of the industrial workers, by deepening its character as a class struggle of the industrial workers against the bourgeoisie. He is further reproached with his "rejection of bourgeois democracy." And what has bourgeois democracy to do with the Social-Democratic Party? If it consists of "honest men" it cannot wish for admittance, and if it does nevertheless wish to be admitted this can only be in order to start a row.

The Lassallean party "chose to conduct itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' party." The gentlemen who write that are themselves members of a Party which conducts itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' Party, they are at present invested with offices and dignities in this Party. Here there is an absolute incompatibility. If they mean what they write they must leave the Party, or at least resign their offices and dignities. If they do not do so, they are admitting that they are proposing to utilise their official position in order to combat the proletarian character of the Party. If therefore the Party leaves them their offices and dignities it will be betraying itself.

In the opinion of these gentlemen, then, the Social-Democratic Party should not be a one-sided workers' Party but an all-sided Party of "everyone imbued with a true love of humanity." It must prove this above all by laying aside its crude proletarian passions and placing itself under the guidance of educated, philanthropic bourgeois in order to "cultivate good taste" and learn good form" (page 85). Then even the " disreputable behaviour" of many leaders will give way to a thoroughly respectable "bourgeois behaviour." As if the externally disreputable behaviour of those here referred to were not the least they

can be reproached with !) Then, too, "numerous adherents from the circles of the educated and propertied classes will make their appearance. But these must first be won if the ... agitation conducted is to attain tangible successes."

German Socialism has " attached too much importance to the winning of the masses and in so doing has neglected energetic (!) propaganda among the so-called upper strata of society." And then "the Party still lacks men fitted to represent it in the Reichstag." It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandate to men who have the time and opportunity to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant materials. The simple worker and small self-employed man...has the necessary leisure for this only in rare and exceptional cases." So elect bourgeois!

In short : the working class of itself is incapable of its own emancipation. For this purpose it must place itself under the leadership of "educated and propertied " bourgeois who alone possess the "time and opportunity" to acquaint themselves with what is good for the workers.

And secondly the bourgeoisie is on no account to be fought against but--to be won over by energetic propaganda.

But if one wants to win over the upper strata of society, or only its well-disposed elements, one must not frighten them on any account. And here the three Zürichers think they have made a reassuring discovery:

"Precisely at the present time, under the pressure of the Socialist Law, the Party is showing that it is not inclined to pursue the path of violent bloody revolution but is determined ... to follow the path of legality, i.e., of reform." So if the 500,000 to 600,000 Social-Democratic voters--between a tenth and an eighth of the whole electorate and distributed over the whole width of the land--have the sense not to run their heads against a wall and to attempt a "bloody revolution" of one against ten, this proves that they also forbid themselves to take advantage at any future time of a tremendous external event, a sudden revolutionary upsurge arising from it, or even a victory of the people gained in a conflict resulting from it. If Berlin should ever again be so uneducated to have a March 18, the Social Democrats, instead of taking part in the fight as "riff-raff with a mania for barricades " (page 88), must rather "follow the path of legality," act pacifically, clear away the barricades and if necessary march with the glorious army against the rough uneducated one-sided masses. Or if the gentlemen assert that this is not what they meant, what did they mean then?

But still better follows.

"The more quiet, objective and well-considered the Party is, therefore, in the way it comes out with criticism of existing conditions and proposals for changes in them, the less possible will a repetition become of the present successful strategy (when the Socialist Law was introduced) by which the conscious reaction has intimidated the bourgeoisie by fear of the Red bogey." (Page 88.)

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety it must be clearly and convincingly proved to them that the Red bogey is really only a bogey, and does not exist. But what is the secret of the Red bogey if it is not the bourgeoisie's dread of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between it and the proletariat? Dread of the inevitable decision of the modern class struggle? Do away with the class struggle and the bourgeoisie and "all independent people" will "not be afraid to go hand in hand with the proletariat." And the ones to be cheated will be precisely the proletariat.

Let the Party therefore prove by its humble and repentant attitude that it has once and for all laid aside

the "improprieties and excesses" which provoked the Socialist Law. If it voluntarily promises that it only intends to act within the limits of the Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will surely have the kindness to repeal this then superfluous law!

"Let no one misunderstand us"; we do not want "to give up our Party and our programme, hut think that for years hence we shall have enough to do if we concentrate our whole strength and energy upon the attainment of certain immediate aims which must in any case be achieved before the realisation of the more far-reaching ends can be thought of." Then the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and workers who are "at present frightened away...by the far-reaching demands will join us in masses."

The programme is not to be given up but only postponed--to an indefinite period. One accepts it, though not really for oneself and one's own lifetime but posthumously as an heirloom to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. In the meantime one devotes one's "whole strength and energy" to all sorts of petty rubbish and the patching up of the capitalist order of society, in order at least to produce the appearance of something happening without at the same time scaring the bourgeoisie. There I must really praise the Communist, Miquel, who proved his unshakable belief in the inevitable overthrow of capitalist society in the course of the next few hundred years by heartily carrying on swindles, contributing his honest best to the crash of 1873 and so really doing something to assist the collapse of the existing order.

Another offence against good form was also the "exaggerated attacks on the company promoters," who were after all "only children of their time"; " the abuse of Strousberg and similar people ... would therefore have been better omitted." Unfortunately everyone is only a " child of his time" and if this is a sufficient excuse nobody ought ever to be attacked any more, all controversy, all struggle on our part ceases; we quietly accept all the kicks our adversaries give us because we, who are so wise, know that these adversaries are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise. Instead of repaying their kicks with interest we ought rather to pity these unfortunates.

Then again the Party's support of the Commune had the disadvantage, nevertheless, "that people who were otherwise well disposed to us were alienated and in general the hatred of the bourgeoisie against us was increased." And further, "the Party is not wholly without blame for the introduction of the October Law, for it had increased the hatred of the bourgeoisie In an unnecessary way."

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zürich. In clarity it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all to us, who are very familiar with the whole of this phraseology from the 1848 days. It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who are here presenting themselves, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may "go too far." Instead of decided political opposition, general compromise; instead of the struggle against the government and the bourgeoisie, an attempt to win and to persuade; instead of defiant resistance to ill-treatment from above, a humble submission and a confession that the punishment was deserved. Historically necessary conflicts are all re-interpreted as misunderstandings, and all discussion ends with the assurance that after all we are all agreed on the main point. The people who came out as bourgeois democrats in 1848 could just as well call themselves social-democrats now. To them the democratic republic was unattainably remote, and to these people the overthrow of the capitalist system is equally so, and therefore has absolutely no significance for practical present-day politics; one can mediate, compromise and philanthropise to one's heart's content. It is just the same with the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It is recognised on paper because its existence can no longer be denied, but in practice it is hushed up, diluted, attenuated.

The Social-Democratic Party is not to be a workers' party, is not to burden itself with the hatred of the bourgeoisie or of anyone else; should above all conduct energetic propaganda among the bourgeoisie : instead of laying stress on far-reaching aims which frighten the bourgeoisie and are not, after all, attainable in our generation, it should rather devote its whole strength and energy to those small petty-bourgeois patching-up reforms which by providing the old order of society with new props may perhaps transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, so far as is possible, peaceful process of dissolution. These are the same people who under the pretence of indefatigable activity not only do nothing themselves but also try to prevent anything happening at all except chatter; the same people whose fear of every form of action in 1848 and 1849 obstructed the movement at every step arid finally brought about its downfall; the same people who see a reaction and are then quite astonished to find themselves at last in a blind alley where neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow petty-bourgeois horizon and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As to their socialist content this has been adequately criticised already in the *[Communist] Manifesto*, chapter X, " German or True Socialism." When the class struggle is pushed on one side as a disagreeable "crude" phenomenon, nothing remains as a basis for socialism but "true love of humanity" and empty phraseology about "justice."

It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling classes should also join the militant proletariat and contribute cultural elements to it. We clearly stated this in the *[Communist] Manifesto*. But here there are two points to be noted:

First, in order to be of use to the proletarian movement these people must also bring real cultural elements to it. But with the great majority of the German bourgeois converts that is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft [Future]* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft [New Society]* have contributed anything which could advance the movement one step further. Here there is an absolute lack of real cultural material, whether concrete or theoretical. In its place we get attempts to bring superficially adopted socialist ideas into harmony with the most varied theoretical standpoints which these gentlemen have brought with them from the university or elsewhere, and of which, owing to the process of decomposition in which the remnants of German philosophy are at present involved, each is more confused than the last. Instead of thoroughly studying the new science themselves to begin with, each of them preferred to trim it to fit the point of view he had already, made a private science of his own without more ado and at once came forward with the claim that he was ready to teach it. Hence there are about as many points of view among these gentry as there are heads; instead of producing clarity in a single case they have only produced desperate confusion--fortunately almost exclusively among themselves. Cultural elements whose first principle is to teach what they have not learnt can be very well dispensed with by the Party.

Secondly. If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition is that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should whole-heartedly adopt the proletarian point of view. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are stuffed and crammed with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these ideas certainly have their own justification. But only outside the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. if these gentlemen form themselves into a Social-Democratic Petty-Bourgeois Party they have a perfect right to do so; one could then negotiate with them, form a bloc according to circumstances, etc. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment, it is also a duty only to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and

to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. The time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst any longer is to us incomprehensible. But if the leadership of the Party should fall more or less into the hands of such people then the Party will simply be castrated and proletarian energy will be at an end.

As for ourselves, in view of our whole past there is only one path open to us. For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving force of history, and in particular the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is therefore impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry: the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who say that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must first be freed from above by philanthropic bourgeois and petty bourgeois. If the new Party organ adopts a line corresponding to the views of these gentlemen, and is bourgeois and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it and to dissolve the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to that.

Engels to Bebel Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Bebel

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HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I read [Vollmar's] second article rather hurriedly, with two or three people talking the whole time. Otherwise the way he represents the French Revolution to himself would have led me to detect the French influence and with it my Vollmar too, no doubt. You have perceived this side quite correctly. He at last is the dreamed-of realisation of the phrase about the "one reactionary mass." All the official parties united in one lump here, all the Socialists in one column there--great decisive battle. Victory all along the line at one blow. In real life things do not happen so simply. In real life, as you also remark, the revolution begins the other way round by the great majority of the people and also of the official parties massing themselves together against the government, which is thereby isolated, and overthrowing it; and it is only after those of the official parties whose existence is still possible have mutually and successively accomplished one another's destruction that Vollmar's great division takes place and with it the prospect of our rule. If, like Vollmar, we wanted to start straight off with the final act of the revolution we should be in a miserably bad way.

In France the long expected split has taken place. The original conjunction of Guesde and Lafargue with Malon and Brousse was no doubt unavoidable when the party was founded, but Marx and I never had any illusions that it could last. The issue is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted as a class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or is it to be permitted that in good opportunist (or as it is called in the Socialist translation: possibilist) style the class character of the movement, together with the programme, are everywhere to be dropped where there is a chance of winning more votes, more adherents, by this means. Malon and Brousse, by declaring themselves in favour of the latter alternative, have sacrificed the proletarian class character of the movement and made separation inevitable. All the better. The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have got beyond the first phase of the internal struggle, other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand higher than unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged Socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out.

Engels to Bebel

Written: Eastbourne, 30 August, 1883
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The Manifesto of the Democratic Federation* in London has been issued by about twenty to thirty little societies which under different names (always the same people) have for the last twenty years at least been repeatedly trying, and always with the same lack of success, to make themselves important. All that is important is that now at last they are obliged openly to proclaim our theory, which during the period of the International seemed to them to be dictated from outside, as their own, and that a crowd of young bourgeois intelligentsia are emerging who, to the disgrace of the English workers it must be said, understand things better and take them up more passionately than the workers. For even in the Democratic Federation the workers for the most part only accept the new programme unwillingly and as a matter of form. The chief of the Democratic Federation, Hyndman, is an arch-conservative and an extremely chauvinistic but not stupid careerist, who behaved pretty shabbily to Marx (to whom he was introduced by Rudolf Meyer) and for this reason was dropped by us personally.

Do not on any account whatever let yourself be deluded into thinking there is a real proletarian movement going on here. I know Liebknecht tries to delude himself and all the world about this, but it is not the case. The elements at present active may become important since they have accepted our theoretical programme and so acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement breaks out here among the workers and they succeed in getting control of it. Till then they will remain individual minds, with a hotch-potch of confused sects, remnants of the great movement of the 'forties, standing behind them and nothing more. And--apart from the unexpected--a really general workers' movement will only come into existence here when the workers are made to feel the fact that England's world monopoly is broken.

Participation in the domination of the world market was and is the basis of the political nullity of the English workers. The tail of the bourgeoisie in the economic exploitation of this monopoly but nevertheless sharing in its advantages, politically they are naturally the tail of the "great Liberal Party," which for its part pays them small attentions, recognises trade unions and strikes as legitimate factors, has relinquished the fight for an unlimited working day and has given the mass of better placed workers the vote. But once America and the united competition of the other industrial countries have made a decent breach in this monopoly (and in iron this is coming rapidly, in cotton unfortunately not as yet) you will see something here.

*The Manifesto of the Democratic Federation, "Socialism made Plain" (1883). The Democratic Federation (founded in 1881) took the name Social-Democratic Federation in 1881.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 18 January, 1884
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Here too industry has taken on a different character. The ten-year cycle seems to have been broken down now that, since 1870, American and German competition have been putting an end to English monopoly in the world market. In the main branches of industry a depressed state of business has prevailed since 1868, while production has been slowly increasing, and now we seem both here and in America to be standing on the verge of a new crisis which in England has not been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret of the sudden--though it has been slowly preparing for three years--hut the present sudden emergence of a socialist movement here. So far the organised workers--trade unions-remain quite remote from it, the movement is proceeding among "educated" elements sprung from the bourgeoisie, who here and there seek contact with the masses and in places find it. These people are of very varying moral and intellectual value and it will take some time before they sort themselves out and the thing becomes clarified. But that it will all go entirely to sleep again is hardly likely.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 18 November, 1884
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The whole of the Liberal philistines have gained such a respect for us that they are screaming with one accord: Yes, if the Social-Democrats will put themselves on a legal basis and abjure revolution then we are in favour of the immediate repeal of the Socialist Law, There is no doubt, therefore, that this suggestion will at once be made to you in the Reichstag. The answer you give to it is important--not so much for Germany, where our gallant lads have given it in the elections, as for abroad. A tame answer would at once destroy the colossal impression produced by the elections.

In my opinion the case is like this :

Throughout the whole of Europe the existing political situation is the product of revolutions. The legal basis, historic right, legitimacy, have been everywhere riddled through and through a thousand times or entirely overthrown. But it is in the nature of all parties or classes which have come to power through revolution, to demand that the new basis of right created by the revolution should also be unconditionally recognised and regarded as holy. The right to revolution did exist--otherwise the present rulers would not be rightful--but from now onwards it is to exist no more.

In Germany the existing situation rests on the revolution which began in 1848 and ended in 1866. 1866 was a complete revolution. Just as Prussia only became anything by treachery and war against the German Empire, in alliance with foreign powers (1740, 1756, 1785), so it only achieved the German-Prussian Empire by the forcible overthrow of the German Confederation and by civil war. Its assertion that the others broke the Confederation makes no difference. The others say the opposite. There has never been a revolution yet which lacked a legal pretext--as in France in 1830 when both the king and the bourgeoisie asserted they were in the right. Enough, Prussia provoked the civil war and with it the revolution. After its victory it overthrew three thrones "by God's grace" and annexed their territories, together with those of the former free city of Frankfort. If that was not revolutionary I do not know the meaning of the word. And as this was not enough it confiscated the private property of the princes who had been driven out. That this was unlawful, revolutionary therefore, it admitted by getting the action endorsed later by an assembly--the Reichstag--which had as little right to dispose of these funds as the government.

The German-Prussian Empire, as the completion of the North German Confederation which 1866 forcibly created, is a thoroughly revolutionary creation. I make no complaint about that. What I reproach the people who made it with is that they were only poor-spirited revolutionaries who did not go much further and at once annex the whole of Germany to Prussia. But those who operate with blood and iron, swallow up whole states, overthrow thrones and confiscate private property, should not condemn other people as revolutionaries. If the Party only retains the right to be no more and no less revolutionary than

the Imperial Government has been, it has got all it needs.

Recently it was officially stated that the Imperial Constitution was not a contract between the princes and the people but only one between the princes and free cities, which could at any time replace the constitution by another. The government organs which laid this down demanded, therefore, that the governments should have the right to overthrow the Imperial Constitution. No Exceptional Law was enacted against them, they were not persecuted. Very well, in the most extreme case we do not demand more for ourselves than is here demanded for the governments.

The Duke of Cumberland is the legitimate and unquestioned heir to the throne of Brunswick. The right claimed by Cumberland in Brunswick is no other than that by which the King of Prussia is seated in Berlin. Whatever else may he required of Cumberland can only be claimed after he has taken possession of his lawful and legitimate throne.

But the revolutionary German Imperial Government prevents him from doing so by force. A fresh revolutionary action. What is the position of the parties?

In November 1848 the Conservative Party broke through the new legal basis created in March 1848 without a tremor. In any case it only recognises the constitutional position as a provisional one and would hail any feudal-absolutist coup d'etat with delight.

The Liberal Parties of all shades co-operated in the revolution of 1848-1866, nor would they deny themselves the right to-day to counter any forcible overthrow of the constitution by force.

The Centre recognises the church as the highest power, above the state, a power which might in a given case, therefore, make revolution a duty.

And these are the parties which demand from us that we, we alone of them all, should declare that in no circumstances will we resort to force and that we will submit to every oppression, to every act of violence, not only as soon as it is merely formally legal--legal according to the judgment of our adversaries--but also when it is directly illegal.

Indeed no party has renounced the right to armed resistance, in certain circumstances, without lying. None has ever been able to relinquish this ultimate right.

But once it comes to the question of discussing the circumstances for which a party reserves to itself this right, then the game is won. Then one can talk nineteen to the dozen. And especially a party which has been declared to have no rights, a party therefore which has had revolution directly indicated to it from above. Such a declaration of outlawry can be daily repeated in the fashion it has once occurred. To require an unconditional declaration of this kind from such a party is sheer absurdity.

For the rest, the gentlemen can keep calm. With military conditions as they are at present we shall not start our attack so long as there is still an armed force against us. We can wait until the armed force itself ceases to be a force against us. Any earlier revolution, even if victorious, would not bring us to power, but the most radical of the bourgeoisie, and of the petty bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile the elections have shown that we have nothing to expect from yielding, i.e., from concessions to our adversaries. We have only won respect and become a power by defiant resistance. Only power is respected, and only so long as we are a power shall we be respected by the philistine. Anyone who makes him concessions can no longer be a power and is despised by him. The iron hand can make itself felt in a

velvet glove hut it must make itself felt. The German proletariat has become a mighty party; may its representatives be worthy of it.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 11 December, 1884
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
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About our proletarian masses I have never been deceived. This secure progress of their movement, confident of victory and for that very reason cheerful and humorous, is a model which cannot be surpassed. No European proletariat would have stood the test of the Socialist Law so brilliantly and have responded after six years of suppression with such a proof of increased strength and consolidated organisation; no nation would have achieved this organisation in the way it has been achieved without any conspiratorial humbug. And since I have seen the election manifestoes of Darmstadt and Hanover my fear that concessions might have become necessary in the new places (constituencies) has also vanished. If it was possible to speak in such a truly revolutionary and proletarian way in these two towns, then everything is won.

Our great advantage is that with us the industrial revolution is only just in full swing, while in France and England, so far as the main point is concerned, it is closed. There the division into town and country, industrial district and agricultural district is so far concluded that it only changes slowly. The great mass of the people grow up in the conditions in which they have later to live, are accustomed to them; even the fluctuations and crises have become something they take practically for granted. Added to this is the remembrance of the unsuccessful attempts of former movements. With us, on the other hand, everything is in full flow. Remnants of the old peasant industrial production for the satisfaction of personal needs are being supplanted by capitalistic domestic industry, while in other places capitalistic domestic industry is already succumbing in its turn to machinery. And the very nature of our industry, limping behind at the very end, makes the social upheaval all the more fundamental. As the great mass production articles, both mass commodities and articles of luxury, have already been appropriated by the French and English, all that remains for our export industry is chiefly small stuff, which, however, also runs into masses all the same, and is at first produced by domestic industry and only later, when the production is on a mass scale, by machines. Domestic industry (capitalistic) is introduced by this means into much wider regions and clears its way all the more thoroughly. If I except the East Elbe district of Prussia, that is to say East Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and the greater part of Brandenburg, and further Old Bavaria, there are few districts where the peasant has not been swept more and more into domestic industry. The region industrially revolutionised, therefore, becomes larger with us than anywhere else.

Furthermore. Since for the most part the worker in domestic industry carries on his little bit of agriculture, it becomes possible to depress wages in a fashion unequalled elsewhere. What formerly constituted the happiness of the small man, the combination of agriculture and industry, now becomes the most powerful means of capitalist exploitation. The potato patch, the cow, the little bit of agriculture make it possible for the labour power to be sold below its price; they oblige this to be so by tying the worker to his piece of land, which yet only partially supports him. Hence it becomes possible to put our

industry on an export basis owing to the fact that the buyer is generally presented with the whole of the surplus value, while the capitalist's profit consists in a deduction from the normal wage. This is more or less the case with all rural domestic industry, but nowhere so much as with us.

Added to this is the fact that our industrial revolution, which was set in motion by the revolution of 1848 with its bourgeois progress (feeble though this was), was enormously speeded up (1) by getting rid of internal hindrances in 1866 to 1870, and (2) by the French milliards, which were ultimately to be invested capitalistically. So we achieved an industrial revolution which is more deep and thorough and spatially more extended and comprehensive than that of the other countries, and this with a perfectly fresh and intact proletariat, undemoralised by defeats and finally--thanks to Marx--with an insight into the causes of economic and political development and into the conditions of the impending revolution such as none of our predecessors possessed. But for that very reason it is our duty to be victorious.

As to pure democracy and its role in the future I do not share your opinion. Obviously it plays a far more subordinate part in Germany than in countries with an older industrial development. But that does not prevent the possibility, when the moment of revolution comes, of its acquiring a temporary importance as the most radical bourgeois party (it has already played itself off as such in Frankfort) and as the final sheet-anchor of the whole bourgeois and even feudal regime. At such a moment the whole reactionary mass falls in behind it and strengthens it; everything which used to be reactionary behaves as democratic. Thus between March and September 1848 the whole feudal-bureaucratic mass strengthened the liberals in order to hold down the revolutionary masses, and, once this was accomplished, in order, naturally, to kick out the liberals as well. Thus from May 1848 until Bonaparte's election in France in December, the purely republican party of the National, the weakest of all the parties, was in power, simply owing to the whole collective reaction organised behind it. This has happened in every revolution: the tamest party still remaining in any way capable of government comes to power with the others just because it is only in this party that the defeated see their last possibility of salvation. Now it cannot be expected that at the moment of crisis we shall already have the majority of the electorate and therefore of the nation behind us. The whole bourgeois class and the remnants of the feudal landowning class, a large section of the petty bourgeoisie and also of the rural population will then mass themselves around the most radical bourgeois party, which will then make the most extreme revolutionary gestures, and I consider it very possible that it will be represented in the provisional government and even temporarily form its majority. How, as a minority, one should not act in that case, was demonstrated by the social-democratic minority in the Paris revolution of February 1848. However, this is still an academic question at the moment.

Now of course the thing may take a different turn in Germany, and that for military reasons. As things are at present, an impulse from outside can scarcely come from anywhere but Russia. If it does not do so, if the impulse arises from Germany, then the revolution can only start from the army. From the military point of view an unarmed nation against an army of to-day is a purely vanishing quantity. In this case--if our twenty to twenty-five-year-old reserves which have no vote but are trained, came into action--pure democracy might be leapt over. But this question is still equally academic at present, although I, as a representative, so to speak, of the great general staff of the Party, am bound to take it into consideration. In any case our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis will be the whole collective reaction which will group itself around pure democracy, and this, I think, should not be lost sight of.

If you are bringing forward motions in the Reichstag, there is one which should not be forgotten. The state lands are mostly let out to big farmers; the smallest portion of them is sold to peasants, whose

holdings are, however, so small that the new peasants have to resort to working as day labourers on the big farms. The demand should be made that the great demesnes which are not yet broken up should be let out to co-operative societies of agricultural labourers for joint farming. The Imperial Government has no state lands and will therefore no doubt find a pretext for shelving such a proposition put in the form of a motion. But I think this firebrand must be thrown among the agricultural day labourers. Which can indeed be done in one of the many debates on state socialism. This and this alone is the way to get hold of the agricultural workers this is the best method of drawing their attention to the fact that later on it is to he their task to cultivate the great estates of our present gracious gentlemen for the common account. And this will give friend Bismarck, who demands positive proposals from you, enough for some time.

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Engels toBebel

Written: London, 24 July, 1885
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

You have exactly hit off Kautsky's decisive weakness. His youthful inclination towards hasty judgment has been still more intensified by the wretched method of teaching history in the universities--especially the Austrian ones. The students there are systematically taught to do historical work with materials which they know to be inadequate but which they are supposed to treat as adequate, that is, to write things which they themselves must know to be false but which they are supposed to consider correct. That has naturally made Kautsky thoroughly cocky. Then the literary life--writing for pay and writing a lot. So that he has absolutely no idea of what really scientific work means. There he has thoroughly burnt his fingers a few times, with his history of population and later with the articles on marriage in primitive times. In all friendship I rubbed that well into him too and spare him nothing in this respect: on this side I criticise all his things mercilessly. Fortunately, however, I can comfort him with the fact that I did exactly the same in my impudent youth and only first learnt the way one has got to work from Marx. It helps quite considerably, too.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 28 October, 1885
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Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The chronic depression in all the decisive branches of industry also still continues unbroken here, in France and in America. Especially in iron and cotton. It is an unheard-of situation, though entirely the inevitable result of the capitalist system: such colossal over-production that it cannot even bring things to a crisis! The over-production of disposable capital seeking investment is so great that the rate of discount here actually fluctuates between 1 and 1 1/2 percent. per annum, and for money invested in short term credits, which can be called in or paid off from day to day (money on call) one can hardly get 1/2 per cent. per annum. But by choosing to invest his money in this way rather than in new industrial undertakings the money capitalist is admitting how rotten the whole business looks to him. And this fear of new investments and old enterprises, which had already manifested itself in the crisis of 1867, is the main reason why things are not brought to an acute crisis.

But it will have to come in the end, all the same, and then it will make an end of the old trade unions here, let us hope. These unions have peacefully retained the craft character which clung to them from the first and which is becoming more unbearable every day. No doubt you suppose that the engineers, joiners, bricklayers, etc., will admit any worker in their branch of industry without more ado? Not at all. Whoever wants admission must be attached as an apprentice for a period of years (usually seven) to some worker belonging to the union. This was intended to keep the number of workers limited, but had otherwise no point at all except that it brought in money to the apprentice's instructor, for which he did absolutely nothing in return. This was all right up to 1848. But since then the colossal growth of industry has produced a class of workers of whom there are as many or more as there are "skilled" workers in the trade unions and who can do all that the "skilled" workers can or more, but who can never become members. These people have been regularly penalised by the craft rules of the trade unions. But do you suppose the unions ever dreamt of doing away with this silly bunk? Not in the least. I can never remember reading of a single proposal of the kind at a Trade Union Congress. The fools want to reform society to suit themselves and not to reform themselves to suit the development of society. They cling to their traditional superstition, which does them nothing but harm themselves, instead of getting quit of the rubbish and thus doubling their numbers and their power and really becoming again what at present they daily become less--associations of all the workers in a trade against the capitalists. This will I think explain many things in the behaviour of these privileged workers to you.

What is most necessary of all here is that masses of the official labour leaders should get into Parliament. Then things will soon go finely; they will expose themselves quickly enough.

The elections in November will help a lot towards this. Ten or twelve of them are certain to get in, if their Liberal friends do not play them a trick at the last moment. The first elections under a new system are always a sort of lottery and only reveal the smallest part of the revolution they have introduced. But

universal suffrage--and with the absence of a peasant class and the start England had in industrialisation the new franchise here gives the workers as much power as universal suffrage would give them in Germany--universal suffrage is the best lever for a proletarian movement at the present time and will prove to be so here. That is why it is so important to break up the Social Democratic Federation as quickly as possible, its leaders being nothing but careerists, adventurers and literary people. Hyndman, their head, is doing his very best in this way; he cannot wait for the clock to strike twelve, as it says in the folk song, and in his chase after successes discredits himself more every day. He is a wretched caricature of Lassalle.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 10-23 January, 1886
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The disintegration of the German free thinkers in the economic sphere quite corresponds to what is going on among the English Radicals. The people of the old Manchester school a la John Bright are dying out and the younger generation, just like the Berliners, goes in for social patching-up reforms. Only that here the bourgeois does not want to help the industrial worker so much as the agricultural worker, who has just done him excellent service at the elections, and that in English fashion it is not so much the state as the municipality which is to intervene. For the agricultural workers, little gardens and potato plots, for the town workers sanitary improvements and the like--this is their programme. An excellent sign is that the bourgeoisie are already obliged to sacrifice their own classical economic theory, partly from political considerations but partly because they themselves, owing to the practical consequences of this theory, have begun to doubt it.

The same thing is proved by the growth of *Kathedersozialismus* [professorial socialism] which in one form or another is more and more supplanting classical economy in the professorial chairs both here and in France. The actual contradictions engendered by the method of production have become so crass that no theory can indeed conceal them any longer, unless it were this professorial socialist mish-mash, which however is no longer a theory but drivel.

Six weeks ago symptoms of an improvement in trade were said to be showing themselves. Now this has all faded away again, the distress is greater than ever and the lack of prospect too, added to an unusually severe winter. This is now already the eighth year of the pressure of overproduction upon the markets and instead of getting better it is always getting worse. There is no longer any doubt that the situation has essentially changed from what it was formerly; since England has got important rivals on the world market the period of crises, in the sense known hitherto, is closed. If the crises change from acute into chronic ones but at the same time lose nothing in intensity, what will be the end? A period of prosperity, even if a short one, must after all return sometime, when the accumulation of commodities has been exhausted; but how all this will occur I am eager to see. But two things are certain: we have entered upon a period incomparably more dangerous to the existence of the old society than the period of ten-yearly crises; and secondly, when prosperity returns, England will be much less affected by it than formerly, when she alone skimmed the cream off the world market. The day this becomes clear here, and not before, the socialist movement here will seriously begin.

Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 15 February, 1886
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The Social Democratic Federation which, despite all self-advertising reports, is an extremely weak organisation--containing good elements but led by literary and political adventurers--was brought to the verge of dissolution at the November elections by a stroke of genius on the part of these same leaders. Hyndman (pronounced Heindman) the head of the society, had taken money from the Tories (Conservatives) at the time, and with it put up two Social-Democratic candidates in two districts of London. As they had not even got any members in these two constituencies the way they would discredit themselves was to be foreseen (one got 27, the other 32 votes out of 4000--5000 respectively!). Hyndman, however, had no sooner got the Tory money than his head began violently to swell and he immediately set off to Birmingham, to Chamberlain, the present Minister, and offered him his "support" (which does not total 1000 votes in all England) if Chamberlain would guarantee him a seat in Birmingham by the help of the Liberals and would bring in an Eight Hour Bill. Chamberlain is no fool and showed him the door. Despite all attempts to hush it up, a great row about this in the Federation and threatened dissolution. So now something had to happen in order to get the thing going again.

In the meantime unemployment was increasing more and more. The collapse of England's monopoly on the worldmarket has caused the crisis to continue unbroken since 1878 and to get worse rather than better. The distress, especially in the East End of the city, is appalling. The exceptionally hard winter, since January, added to the boundless indifference of the possessing classes, produced a considerable movement among the unemployed masses. As usual, political wirepullers tried to exploit this movement for their own ends. The Conservatives, who had just been superseded in the Government, put the responsibility for unemployment on to foreign competition (rightly) and foreign tariffs (for the most part wrongly) and preached "fair-trade," i.e., retaliatory tariffs. A workers' organisation also exists which believes mainly in retaliatory tariffs. This organisation summoned the meeting in Trafalgar Square on February 8. In the meantime the S.D.F. had not been idle either, had already held some small demonstrations and now wanted to utilise this meeting. Two meetings accordingly took place; the "fair traders" were round the Nelson Column while the S.D.F. people spoke at the north end of the Square, from the street opposite the National Gallery, which is about 25 feet above the square. Kautsky, who was there and went away before the row began, told me that the mass of the real workers had been around the "fair traders," whilst Hyndman and Co. had a mixed audience of people looking for a lark, some of them already merry. If Kautsky, who has hardly been here a year, noticed this, the gentlemen of the Federation must have seen it still more clearly. Nevertheless, when everybody already seemed to be scattering, they proceeded to carry out a favourite old idea of Hyndman's, namely a procession of "unemployed" through Pall Mall, the street of the big political, aristocratic and high-capitalist clubs, the centres of English political intrigue. The employed who followed them in order to hold a fresh meeting in Hyde Park, were mostly the types who do not want work anyhow, hawkers, loafers, police spies, pickpockets. When the

aristocrats at the club windows sneered at them they broke the said windows, ditto the shop windows; they looted the wine dealers' shops and immediately set up a consumers' association for the contents in the street, so that in Hyde Park Hyndman and Co. had hastily to pocket their blood-thirsty phrases and go in for pacification. But the thing had now got going. During the procession, during this second little meeting and afterwards, the masses of the Lumpenproletariat, whom Hyndman had taken for the unemployed, streamed through some fashionable streets near by, looted jewellers' and other shops, used the loaves and legs of mutton which they had looted solely to break windows with, and dispersed without meeting with any resistance. Only a remnant of them were broken up in Oxford Street by four, say four, policemen.

Otherwise the police were nowhere to be seen and their absence was so marked that we were not alone in being compelled to think it intentional. The chiefs of the police seem to be Conservatives who had no objection to seeing a bit of a row in this period of Liberal Government. However the Government at once set up a Commission of Inquiry and it may cost more than one of these gentlemen his job.

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Engels to Bebel

Written: London, 19 September, 1891
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You are right, if it comes to war we must demand the general arming of the people. But in conjunction with the already existing organisation or that specially prepared in case of war. Enlistment, therefore, of the hitherto untrained in supplementary reserves and Landsturm and above all immediate emergency training besides arming and organisation into fixed cadres.

The proclamation to the French will have to come, out rather differently in form. The Russian diplomats are not so stupid as to provoke a war in face of the whole of Europe. On the contrary, things will be so operated that either France appears as the provoking party or--one of the Triple Alliance countries. Russia always has dozens of *casus belli* [occasions for war] of this kind to hand; the special answer to be given depends on the pretext for war put forward. In any case we must declare that since 1871 we have always been ready for a peaceful understanding with France, that as soon as our Party comes to power it will be unable to exercise that power unless Alsace-Lorraine freely determines its own future, but that if war is forced upon us, and moreover a war in alliance with Russia, we must regard this as an attack on our existence and defend ourselves by every method, utilising all positions at our disposal and therefore Metz and Strasbourg also.

As to the conduct of the war itself, two aspects are immediately decisive: Russia is weak in attack but strong in defensive man-power. A stab in the heart is impossible. France is strong in attack but rendered incapable of attack, innocuous, after a few defeats. I do not give much either for Austrians as generals or for Italians as soldiers, so our army will have to lead and sustain the main push. The war will have to begin with the holding back of the Russians but the defeat of the French. When the French offensive has been rendered innocuous things may get as far as the conquest of Poland up to the Dvina and Dnieper, but hardly before. This must be carried out by revolutionary methods and if necessary by giving up a piece of Prussian Poland and the whole of Galicia to the Poland to be established. If this goes well revolution will doubtless follow in France. At the same time we must press for at least Metz and Lorraine to be offered as a peace offering to France.

Probably, however, it will not go so well. The French will not allow themselves to be so easily defeated, their army is very good and better armed than ours, and what we achieve in the way of generalship does not look as if very much would come of it either. That the French have learnt how to mobilise has been shown this summer. And also that they have enough officers for their first field army--which is stronger than ours. Our superiority in officers will only be proved with the troops brought up later into the line. Moreover the direct line between Berlin and Paris is strongly defended by fortifications on both sides. In short, in the most favourable case it will probably turn out a fluctuating war which will be carried on with constant drawing in of fresh reinforcements by both sides until one party is exhausted, or until the active intervention of England, who, by simply blockading corn imports can, under the then existing conditions,

starve out whichever party she decides against, Germany or France, and force it to make peace. In the meantime what happens on the Russian frontier mainly depends on the way the Austrians conduct the war and is therefore incalculable.

So much seems certain to me: if we are beaten, every barrier to chauvinism and a war of revenge in Europe will be thrown down for years hence. If we are victorious our Party will come into power. The victory of Germany is therefore the victory of the revolution, and if it comes to war we must not only desire victory but further it by every means....

What should have been categorically stated [by Bernstein] was that if France formally represents the revolution in relation to Germany, Germany, through its workers' Party, stands materially at the head of the revolution, and this is bound to come to light in the war--in which we, and with us the revolution, will either be crushed or else come to power.

Engels to Bebel Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels toBebel

Written: London, 24 October, 1891
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

As I considered it necessary to tell the French the unvarnished truth about our position if it comes to war--a damned difficult task, certainly--I wrote a French article and sent it to Laura [Lafargue]. She writes to me to-day that both she and Paul [Lafargue] are quite enchanted with the article, that it is just what the French need, etc. If Guesde shares this opinion--he is still in Lille, where he is representing Lafargue with the electors--the article is to be published. It was originally written for the French Socialist *Calendar* but is possibly (I should say probably) too strong for the mishmash people who have to do with that, in which case it will be put in the *Socialiste*, which I hope you see. I say to the people: we have the almost absolute certainty of coming to power within ten years; we could neither seize power nor retain it without making good the crimes committed by our predecessors towards other nationalities and therefore (1) opening the way for the reconstitution of Poland, (2) putting the North Schleswig population and Alsace-Lorraine in a position freely to decide where they shall belong. Between a Socialist France and a ditto Germany an Alsace-Lorraine problem has no existence at all. Hence there is no reason whatever for a war on account of Alsace-Lorraine. If, however, the French bourgeoisie begin such a war nevertheless, and for this purpose place themselves in the service of the Russian tsar, who is also the enemy of the bourgeoisie of the whole of Western Europe, this will be the renunciation of France's revolutionary mission. We German Socialists, on the other hand, who if peace is preserved will come to power in ten years, have the duty of maintaining the position won by us in the van of the workers' movement, not only against the internal but against the external foe. If Russia is victorious we shall be crushed. Therefore if Russia begins war--go for her! go for the Russians and their allies, whoever they may be. Then we have to see to it that the war is conducted by every revolutionary method and that things are made impossible for any government which refuses to adopt such methods; also at a given moment to take the lead ourselves. We have not yet forgotten the glorious example of the French in 1793 and, if we are driven to it, it may come about that we celebrate the centenary of 1793 by showing that the German workers of 1893 are not unworthy of the *Sansculottes* of those days and that if French soldiers cross our frontiers then they will be greeted with the cry:

Quoi ces cohortes étrangères

Feraient le loi dans nos foyers? (Marseillaise)

This is the general sequence of thought. As soon as the text is finally settled (I am of course expecting proposals for small alterations of detail) and the printing taken in hand I will translate the article into German and then we will see what can be done with it. I am not sure if your press conditions will allow of its being printed in Germany; perhaps if you make some reservations it can be all the same--this will be seen. My articles do not in any case tie the Party--very fortunate for us both, although Liebknecht

imagines I regard it as unfortunate for myself, which never occurs to me.

According to the reports, you said that I had prophesied the collapse of bourgeois society in 1898. There is a slight error there somewhere. All I said was that we might possibly come to power by 1898. If this does not happen, the old bourgeois society might still vegetate on for a while, so long as a shove from outside does not bring the whole ramshackle old building crashing down. A rotten old casing like this can survive its inner essential death for a few decades, if the atmosphere is undisturbed. So I should be very cautious about prophesying such a thing. Our arrival at the possibility of power, on the other hand, is a pure calculation of probability according to mathematical laws.

For all that, I hope peace remains unbroken. In our present position we do not need to risk everything---but war would force us to do so. And then in another ten years we shall be quite differently prepared. And for the following reason.

In order to take possession of and set in motion the means of production, we need people with technical training, and masses of them. These we have not got, and up till now we have even been rather glad that we have been largely spared the "educated" people. Now things are different. Now we are strong enough to stand any quantity of educated Quarcks and to digest them, and I foresee that in the next eight or ten years we shall recruit enough young technicians, doctors lawyers and schoolmasters to enable us to have the factories and big estates administered on behalf of the nation by Party comrades. Then, therefore, our entry into power will be quite natural and will be settled up quickly--relatively, if, on the other hand, a war brings us to power prematurely, the technicians will be our chief enemies; they will deceive and betray us wherever they can and we shall have to use terror against them but shall get cheated all the same. It is what always happened, on a small scale, to the French revolutionaries; even in the ordinary administration they had to leave the subordinate posts, where real work is done, in the possession of old reactionaries who obstructed and paralysed everything. Therefore I hope and desire that our splendid and secure development, which is advancing with the calm and inevitability of a process of nature, may remain on its natural lines.

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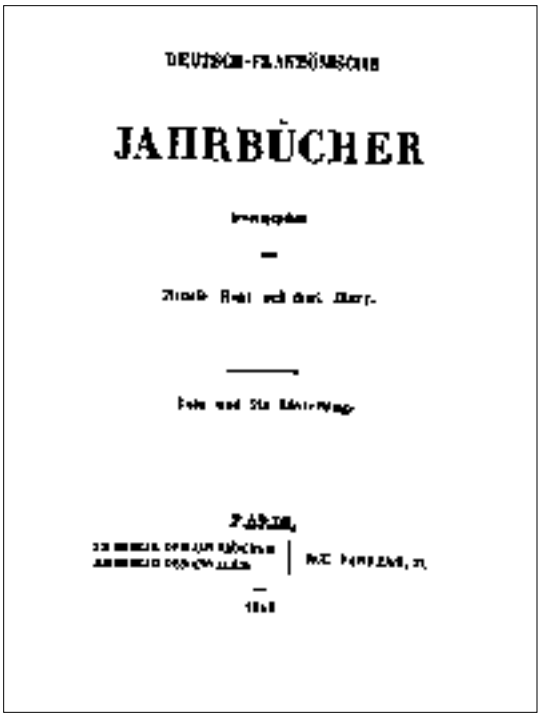
Marx's letters to Arnold Ruge

This series of letters was written by Marx (at age 25) to his friend Arnold Ruge. Marx and Ruge would later include the full eight-letter exchange in their first and only edition of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in February 1844.


DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE

JAHRBÜCHER

Herausgegeben

von

Arnold Ruge und Karl Marx.

Paris und Sie Einsendung

Paris,

bei Herrmann Comptoir für deutsche Literatur | Rue Vaneau, 23.

1844

[Marx to Ruge](#)
February 10,1842
[Marx to Ruge](#)
March 5,1842
[Marx to Ruge](#)
March 20,1842
[Marx to Ruge](#)
April 23,1842
[Marx to Ruge](#)
July 9,1842
[Marx to Ruge](#)
November 11,1842
[Ship of Fools](#)
March, 1843
[Marx to Ruge](#)
March 13,1843
[Drag the world into the light](#)
May, 1843
[Ruthless Criticism](#)
September, 1843

[Marx/Engels Letter Archive](#)
[Marx/Engels Internet Archive](#)

Arnold Ruge

1802 - 1880

Young Hegelian. Editor of *Hallische Jahrbücher*, then published Marx's first really comprehensive political treatise. With Marx, Feuerbach, and Bakunin, founded the newspaper *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Broke with Marx in quarrel over Herwegh.

Biography Index

Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Trier, February 10 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 381-382.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

I take the liberty of sending you a small contribution for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* in the form of the enclosed criticism of the censorship instruction.

If the article is suitable for your journal, I ask you for the time being not to mention *my name to anyone except Wigand*, and also to Send me *by post immediately* the issues of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* containing my article; because *for the time being* here in Trier I am completely excluded from the literary world.

It is obvious that it is in the interest of the cause that the printing should be expedited, if the censorship does not censor my censure.

If you do not know of a critic for Vatke's super-clever book on sin - were it not so devilishly clever, one would be tempted to call it stupid--my critical zeal is at your disposal.

It would perhaps be equally worth while to deal again with Bayer's work on the moral Spirit. Feuerbach's criticism was a friendly service. Honourable as is Bayer's moral frame of mind, his work itself is just as weak and even immoral.

I should be very glad if you would let *Wigand* know that my manuscript will reach you in a few days' time. *Bauer's* letter in which he demands that it should be sent off *at last*, came when I was very ill in bed and therefore was handed to me only a few days ago. Being busy on the enclosed article, I was not able to make the necessary corrections.

As I have now come to the end of some voluminous works, it goes without saying that all my forces are at the disposal of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*.

With sincere respect,

Marx

My address is: Dr. Marx, Trier, to be delivered to Geheimer Regierungsrat von Westphalen.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Trier, March 5 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 382-383.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

I fully agree with the plan for the *Anekdota philosophica* and also think it would be better to include *my name* among the others. A demonstration of this kind, by its very nature, *precludes* all anonymity. Those gentlemen must see that one's conscience is clear.

With the sudden revival of the Saxon censorship it is obvious from the outset that it will be quite impossible to print my "Treatise on *Christian Art*", which should have appeared as the second part of the *Posaune*. But what about including it in a modified version in the *Anekdota*? The mass of material obnoxious to the censorship which now fills people's minds perhaps makes it possible also to publish the *Anekdota*, as material accumulates, in a number of separate intalments! Another article which I also intended for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* is a criticism of Hegelian natural law, insofar as it concerns the *internal political system*. The central point is the struggle against *constitutional monarchy* as a hybrid which from beginning to end contradicts and abolishes itself. *Res publica* is quite untranslatable into German. I would send both these articles immediately for your examination if they did not require the rewriting of a fair copy and, in pan, some corrections. The fact is that my future father-in-law, Herr von Westphalen, lay on his death-bed for three months and died the day before yesterday. During this period, therefore, it was impossible to do anything properly.

Regarding the other things, next time.

With sincerest respect,

Devotedly yours,

Marx Apropos. Through an oversight, the manuscript on the censorship contains the phrase: "the censorship of tendency and the tendency censorship". It should be: "the censorship of tendency and the tendency of censorship".'

Be so kind as to send me the reply directly by post to Trier.

Bauer has been suspended from his post, as he writes in a letter just received, *par lit de justice*.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Trier, March 20 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 383-386.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

Novices are the most pious people, as Saxony proves *ad oculos*. Bauer once had the same sort of scene with Eichhorn in Berlin as you had with the Minister of the Interior. As orators, these gentlemen are as alike as two peas. On the other hand, what is exceptional is that philosophy speaks intelligibly with the state wisdom of these over-assured scoundrels, and even a little fanaticism does no harm. There is nothing more difficult than to make these earthly Providences believe that belief in truth and spiritual convictions exist. They are such sceptical state dandies, such experienced fops, that they no longer believe in true, disinterested love. How, then, is one to get at these *roués* except with the aid of what, in the highest circles, is called fanaticism! A guards lieutenant regards a lover whose intentions are honourable as a fanatic. Should people no longer marry because of that? It is a remarkable thing that the degradation of people to the level of animals has become for the government an article of faith and a principle. But this does not contradict religiosity, for the deification of animals is probably the most consistent form of religion, and perhaps it will soon be necessary to speak of religious zoology instead of religious anthropology.

When I was still young and good, I already knew at least that the eggs laid in Berlin were not the eggs of the swan Leda, but goose eggs. A little later I realised that they were crocodile eggs, like, for example, the very latest egg by which, allegedly, on the proposal of the Rhine Province Assembly, the illegal restrictions of French legislation concerning high treason, etc., and crimes of officials, have been abolished. But this time, because it is a question of objective legal provisions, the hocus-pocus is so stupid that even the stupidest Rhenish lawyers have immediately seen through it. At the same time, Prussia has declared with complete naivety that publicity of court proceedings would jeopardise the prestige and credit of Prussian officials. That is an extremely frank admission. All our Rhenish scribblings about publicity and publicising suffer from a basic defect. Honest folk continually point out that these are by no means political, but merely legal, institutions, that they are a right, and not a wrong. As though that were the question! As though all the evil of these institutions did not consist precisely in the fact that they are a right! I should very much like to prove the opposite, namely, that Prussia cannot

introduce publicity and publicising, for free courts and an unfree state are incompatible. Similarly, Prussia should be highly praised for its piety, for a transcendental state and a positive religion go together, just as a pocket icon does with a Russian swindler.

Bülow-Cummerow, as you will have seen from the Chinese newspapers, makes his pen flirt with his plough. Oh, this rustic coquette, who adorns herself with artificial flowers! I think that writers with this earthly position--for, after all, a position on ploughland is surely earthly--would be desirable, and even more so if in the future the plough were to think and write instead of the pen, while the pen, on the other hand, were to perform serf labour in return. Perhaps, in view of the present uniformity of the German governments, this will come to pass, but the more uniform the governments, the more multiform nowadays are the philosophers, and it is to be hoped that the multiform army will conquer the uniform one.

Ad rem, since among us, loyal, moral Germans, *politica* is included in *formalia*, whence Voltaire deduced that we have the profoundest textbooks on public law.

Therefore, as regards the matter, I found that the article "On Christian Art",which has now been transformed into "On Religion and Art, with Special Reference to Christian Art", must be entirely redone because of the tone of the *Posaune*, which I conscientiously followed:

> "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, And light unto my path." "Thy commandments make me wiser than mine enemies, For they are ever with me," and "The Lord shall roar from Zion"

--this tone of the *Posaune* and the irksome constraint of the Hegelian exposition should now be replaced by a freer, and therefore more thorough exposition. In a few days, I have to go to Cologne, where I set up my new residence, for I find the proximity of the Bonn professors intolerable. Who would want to have to talk always with intellectual skunks, with, people who study only for the purpose of finding new dead ends in every corner of the world!

Owing to these circumstances, therefore, I was not able, of course, to send herewith the criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of law for the next *Anekdota* (as it was also written for the *Posaune*); I promise to send the article on religious art by mid-April, if you are prepared to wait so long. This would be the more preferable for me, since I am examining the subject from a new *point de vue* and am giving also an epilogue *de romanticis* as a supplement. Meanwhile I shall most actively, to use Goethe's language, continue to work on the subject and await your decision. Be so kind as to write to me on this to Cologne, where I shall be by the beginning of next month. As I have not yet any definite domicile there, please send me the letter to Jung's address.

In the article itself I necessarily had to speak about the general essence of religion; in doing so I come into conflict with Feuerbach to a certain extent, a conflict concerning not the principle, but the conception of it. In any case religion does not gain from it.

I have heard nothing about Köppen for a long time. Have you not yet approached Christiansen in Kiel? I know him only from his history of Roman law, which, however, contains also something about religion and philosophy in general. He seems to have an excellent mind, although when he comes to actual philosophising, his writing is horribly incomprehensible and formal. Perhaps, he has now begun to write plain German. Otherwise he seems to be *à la hauteur des principes*.

I shall be very pleased to see you here on the Rhine.

Yours,

Marx

I have just had a letter from Bauer in which he writes that he wants to travel northwards again, owing to the silly idea that there he will be better able to conduct his proceedings against the Prussian Government. Berlin is too close to Spandau. At all events, it is good that Bauer is not allowing the matter to take its own course. As I have learned here from my future brother-in-law, aristocrat *comme il faut*, people in Berlin are particularly vexed at Bauer's *bonne foi*.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Bonn, April 23 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 387-388.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear

You must not become impatient if my contributions are delayed for a few days more--but *only for a few* days. Bauer will probably inform you orally that this month, owing to all kinds of external muddles, it has been almost impossible for me to work.

Nevertheless, I have almost finished. I shall send you four articles: 1) "On Religious Art", 2) "On the Romantics", 3) "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law" 4) "The *Positivist Philosophers*", whom I have teased a little. These articles, in content, are connected.

You will receive the article on religious an as a duodecimo extract, for the work has steadily grown into almost book dimensions, and I have been drawn into all kinds of investigations which will still take a rather long time.

I have abandoned my plan to settle in Cologne, since life there is too noisy for me, and an abundance of good friends does not lead to better philosophy.

I have sent the *Rheinische Zeitung* a long article on our last Rhine Province Assembly with a light introduction about the *Preussische Staats-Zeiutng*. In connection with the debates on the press I have returned again to the question of censorship and freedom of the press, examining it from other viewpoints.

Thus, Bonn remains my residence for the time being; after all, it would be a pity if no one remained here for the holy men to get angry with.

Yesterday *Hasse* came from Greifswald, in regard to whom the only thing I have admired is his enormous top-boots, like those of a village priest. He spoke, too, just like the top-boot of a village priest, he knew nothing about anything, is preparing to publish a book in several volumes about the boring Anselm of Canterbury, on which he has been working for ten years. He thinks that the present critical trend is a moment which must be overcome. He speaks of religiosity as a product of life experience, by

which he probably means his successful rearing of children and his fat belly, for fat bellies undergo all sorts of experiences and, as Kant says: if it goes behind it becomes an F., if it goes upwards it becomes religious inspiration. What a man this pious Hasse is with his religious constipation!

We were very much amused with what you wrote in your letters about Vatke's lack of a "full heart". This super-clever, diplomatic Vatke, who would so much like to be the greatest critic and the greatest believer who always knows everything better than anyone else, this Vatke has for one party no heart, and for the other no head. *Hic jacet* Vatke-a notable example of what the passion for cards and religious music leads to.

Fichte, who has wrapped himself in the mantle of his unpopularity, has spread the half-ambiguous rumour that he has been invited to Tubingen. The faculty is not meeting his wish to be held fast by an increase in salary.

Sack has made a trip to Berlin with the most pious intentions to speculate on the insanity of his brother and to get himself appointed in his place.

Nothing but wars and debauchery, says Thersites, and if the university here cannot be reproached with wars, at least there is no lack of debauchery.

Do you not want to carry out your plan of a trip to the Rhine?

Yours,

Marx

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Trier, July 9 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 398-391.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

If events had not apologised for me, I would have abandoned any attempt at an excuse. It stands to reason that I regard it as an honour to contribute to the *Anekdota* and only unpleasant extraneous circumstances prevented me from sending you my articles.

From April to the present day I have been able to work for a total of perhaps only four weeks at most, and that not without interruption. I had to spend six weeks in Trier in connection with another death. The rest of the time was split up and poisoned by the most unpleasant family controversies. My family laid obstacles in my way, which, despite the prosperity of the family, put me for the moment in very serious straits. I cannot possibly burden you with the story of these private scandals; it is truly fortunate that scandals of a public nature make it impossible for a man of character to be irritated over private ones. During this time I was writing for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, to which I should long ago have sent my articles, etc., etc. I would have informed you long before about these intermezzos, had I not hoped from day to day to be able to complete my work. In a few day's time I am going to Bonn and shall not touch a thing until I have finished the contributions for the *Anekdota*. Of course, in this state of affairs I was not able to elaborate in particular the article "On Art and Religion" as thoroughly as the subject requires.

Incidentally, do not imagine that we on the Rhine live in a political Eldorado. The most unswerving persistence is required to push through a newspaper like the *Rheinische Zeitung*. My second article on the Provincial Assembly, dealing with the question of clerical discords, was deleted by the censor. I showed in this article how the defenders of the state adopted a clerical standpoint, and the defenders of the church a state standpoint. This incident is all the more unpleasant for the *Rheinische Zeitung* because the stupid Cologne Catholics fell into the trap, and defence of the Archbishop would have attracted subscribers. Incidentally, you can hardly`imagine how contemptible are oppressors and at the same time how stupidly they dealt with the orthodox blockhead. But the matter has had a successful ending: before the entire world, Prussia has kissed the Pope's mule, and our government automatons walk the streets without blushing. The *Rheinische Zeitung* has now put in an appeal about the article. In general, the fight for the

Rheinische Zeitung is beginning. In the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the author of the leading articles, Hermes, -ex-editor of the former political *Hannoverzeitung*, has taken the side of Christianity against the philosophical newspapers in Königsberg and Cologne. If the censor does not again play some trick, a reply from me will be published in the next Supplement. The religious party is the most dangerous in the Rhine area. The opposition has of late become too accustomed to opposing within the church.

Do you know any details about the so called "Free"? The article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* was, to say the least, undiplomatic. It is one thing to declare for emancipation--that is honest; it is another thing to start off by shouting it out as propaganda; that sounds like bragging and irritates the philistine. And then, reflect on who are these "Free", a man like Meyen, etc. But, at any rate, if there is a suitable city for such ventures, it is Berlin.

I shall probably be drawn into a prolonged polemic with the Cologne Hermes. No matter how ignorant, shallow and trivial the man is, thanks precisely to these qualities he is the mouthpiece of philistinism and I intend not to let him go on chattering. Mediocrity should no longer enjoy the privilege of immunity. Hermes will also try to saddle me with "The Free", about whom, unfortunately, I do not know the slightest thing for sure. It is fortunate that Bauer is in Berlin. He, at least, will not allow any "stupidities" to be committed, and the only thing that disquiets me in this affair (if it is true and not merely a deliberate newspaper fabrication), is the probability that the insipidity of the Berliners will make their good cause ridiculous and that in a serious matter they will not be able to avoid various "stupidities". Anyone who has spent as much time among these people as I have will find that this anxiety is not without foundation.

How are you getting on with your Jahrbücher?

As you are at the centre of philosophical and theological news, I should like nothing better than to learn something from you about the present situation. True, the movement of the hour-hand is visible here, but not that of the minute-hand.

Old Marheineke seems to have considered it necessary to provide the whole world with documentary proof of the complete impotence of the old Hegelianism. His vote is a disgraceful vote.

Will the Saxons in this Assembly not denounce the censorship? Fine constitutionalism! Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours,

Marx

Rutenberg is a weight on my conscience. I brought him on to the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, but he is absolutely incapable. Sooner or later he will be shown the door.

What do you advise if the article on the Archbishop is not stamped for publication by the high police censorship? It must appear in print because of 1) our Provincial Assembly, 2) the government, 3) the Christian state. Should I, perhaps, send it to Hoffmann and Campe? It does not seem to me suitable for the *Anekdota*.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Cologne, November 30 [1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 393-395.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

My letter today will be confined to the "confusion" with "The Free" .

As you already know, every day the censorship mutilates us mercilessly, so that frequently the newspaper is hardly able to appear. Because of this, a mass of articles by "The Free" have perished. But I have allowed myself to throw out as many articles as the censor, for Meyen and Co. sent us heaps of scribblings, pregnant with revolutionising the world and empty of ideas, written in a slovenly style and seasoned with a little atheism and communism (which these gentlemen have never studied). Because of Rutenberg's complete lack of critical sense, independence and ability, Meyen and Co. had become accustomed to regard the *Rheinische Zeitung as their own*, docile organ, but I believed I could not any longer permit this watery torrent of words in the old manner. This loss of a few worthless creations of "freedom", a freedom which strives primarily "to be free from all thought", was therefore the first reason for a darkening of the Berlin sky.

Rutenberg, who had already been removed from the German department (where his work consisted mainly in inserting punctuation marks) and to whom, *only on my application* the French department was provisionally transferred -- Rutenberg, thanks to the monstrous stupidity of our state providence, has had the luck to be regarded as dangerous, although he was not a danger to anyone but the *Rheinische Zeitung* and himself. A categorical demand was made for the removal of Rutenberg. Prussian providence, this *despotisme prussien, le plus hypocrite, le plus fourbe*, spared the manager an unpleasant step, and the new martyr, who has already learned to display consciousness of martyrdom in facial expression, behaviour and speech with some virtuosity, is exploiting this turn of events. He writes to all the corners of the earth, he writes to Berlin that he is the *banished principle* of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which is adopting a *different position* in relation to the government. It goes without saying that this also evoked demonstrations from the heroes of freedom on the banks of the Spree, "whose muddy water washes souls and dilutes tea".

Finally, on top of this came your and Herwegh's attitude to "The Free" to cause the cup of the angry Olympians to overflow.

A few days ago I received a letter from little Meyen, whose favourite category is, most appropriately, what ought to be. In this letter I am taken to task over my attitude 1) to you and Herwegh, 2) to "The Free", 3) to the new editorial principle and the position in relation to the government. I replied at once and frankly expressed my opinion about the defects of their writings, which find freedom in a licentious, sansculotte-like, and at the same time convenient, form, rather than in a *free*, i.e., independent and profound, content. I demanded of them less vague reasoning, magniloquent phrases and self-satisfied self-adoration, and more definiteness, more attention to the actual state of affairs, more expert knowledge. I stated that I regard it as inappropriate, indeed even immoral, to smuggle communist and socialist doctrines, hence a new world outlook, into incidental theatrical criticisms, etc., and that I demand a quite different and more thorough discussion of communism, if it should be discussed at all. I requested further that religion should be criticised in the framework of criticism of political conditions rather than that political conditions should be criticised in the framework of religion, since this is more in accord with the nature of a newspaper and the educational level of the reading public; for religion in itself is without content, it owes its being not to heaven but to the earth, and with the abolition of distorted reality, of which it is the *theory*, it will collapse of itself. Finally, I desired that, if there is to be talk about philosophy, there should be less trifling with the *label* "atheism" (which reminds one of children, assuring everyone who is ready to listen to them that they are not afraid of the bogy man), and that instead the content of philosophy should be brought to the people. *Voilà tout*.

Yesterday I received an insolent letter from Meyen, who had not yet received this work and who now questions me on every possible thing: 1) I should state on whose side I am in their quarrel with Bauer, about which I know absolutely nothing; 2) why did I not allow this and that to go through; I am threatened with being accused of conservatism; 3) the newspaper should not temporise, it must act in the *most extreme fashion*, i.e., it should calmly yield to the police and the censorship instead of holding on to its positions in a struggle, imperceptible to the public but nevertheless stubborn and in accordance with its duty. Finally, an infamous report is given of Herwegh's betrothal, etc., etc.

All this is evidence of a terrible dose of the vanity which does not understand how, in order to save a political organ, one can sacrifice a few Berlin windbags, and thinks of nothing at all except the affairs of its clique. Moreover, this little man strutted like a peacock, solemnly laid his hand on his breast and on his dagger, let fall something about "his" party, threatened me with his displeasure, declaimed *à la* Marquis Posa, only somewhat worse, etc.

Since we now have to put up from morning to night with the most horrible torments of the censorship, ministerial communications, complaints of the Oberpräsident, accusations in the Provincial Assembly, howls from shareholders, etc., etc., and I remain at my post only because I consider it my duty to prevent, to the best of my ability, those in power from carrying out their plans, you can imagine that I am somewhat irritated and that I replied rather sharply to Meyen. It is possible, therefore, that "The Free" will withdraw for a while. Therefore I earnestly beg that you yourself help us by contributing articles, and also ask your friends to do the same.

Yours,

Marx

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: From a barge on the way to D. March 1843
First Published: *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844
Transcribed: meia@marx.org
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

I am now travelling in Holland. From both the French papers and the local ones I see that Germany has ridden deeply into the mire and will sink into it even further. I assure you that even if one can feel no national pride one does feel national shame, even in Holland. In comparison with the greatest Germans even the least Dutchman is still a citizen. And the opinions of foreigners about the Prussian government! There is a frightening agreement, no one is deceived any longer about the system and its simple nature. So the new school has been of some use after all. The glorious robes of liberalism have fallen away and the most repulsive despotism stands revealed for all the world to see.

This, too, is a revelation, albeit a negative one. It is a truth which at the very least teaches us to see the hollowness of our patriotism, the perverted nature of our state and to hide our faces in shame. I can see you smile and say: what good will that do? Revolutions are not made by shame. And my answer is that shame is a revolution in itself; it really is the victory of the French Revolution over that German patriotism which defeated it in 1813. Shame is a kind of anger turned in on itself. And if a whole nation were to feel ashamed it would be like a lion recoiling in order to spring. I admit that even this shame is not yet to be found in Germany; on the contrary, the wretches are still patriots. But if the ridiculous system of our new knight [Frederick William IV of Prussia came to the throne in 1840] does not disabuse them of their patriotism, then what will? The comedy of despotism in which we are being forced to act is as dangerous for him as tragedy was once for the Stuarts and the Bourbons. And even if the comedy will not be seen in its true light for a long time, yet it will still be a revolution. The state is too serious a business to be subjected to such buffoonery. A Ship of Fools can perhaps be allowed to drift before the wind for a good while; but it will still drift to its doom precisely because the fools refuse to believe it possible. This doom is the approaching revolution.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Cologne, March 13 [1843]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 398-399.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: journal *Documente des Socialismus*, Bd I, 1902
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Friend,

As soon as it is at all possible I shall set my course straight for Leipzig. I have just had a talk with Stucke, who seems to have been greatly impressed by most of the statesmen in Berlin. This Dr. Stucke is an extremely good-natured man.

As for our plan, as a preliminary I will tell you of my own conviction. When Paris was taken, some people proposed Napoleon's son with a regency, others Bernadotte, while yet others suggested that Louis Philippe should rule. But Talleyrand replied: "Louis XVIII or Napoleon. That is a principle, anything else is intrigue."

In the same way I could call almost anything else, other than Strasbourg (or at any rate Switzerland), not a principle, but an intrigue. Books of more than 20 printed sheets are not books for the people. The most that one can venture on there are monthly issues.

Even if the publication of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* were again permitted, at the very best we could achieve a poor copy of the deceased publication, and nowadays that is no longer enough. On the other hand, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*--that would be a principle, an event of consequence, an undertaking over which one can be enthusiastic. It goes without saying that I am only expressing my own unauthoritative opinion, and for the rest submit myself to the eternal powers of fate.

Finally--newspaper affairs compel me to close--let me tell you also about my *personal plans*. As soon as we had concluded the contract, I would travel to Kreuznach, marry and spend a month or more there at the home of my wife's mother, so that before starting work we should have at any rate a few articles ready. The more so since I could, if necessary, spend a few weeks in Dresden, for all the preliminaries, the announcement of the marriage, etc., take considerable time.

I can assure you, without the slightest romanticism, that I am head over heels in love, and indeed in the most serious way. I have been engaged for more than seven years, and for my sake my fiancee has fought

the most violent battles, which almost undermined her health, partly against her pietistic aristocratic relatives, for whom "the Lord in heaven" and the "lord in Berlin" are equally objects of religious cult, and partly against my own family, in which some priests and other enemies of mine have ensconced themselves. For years, therefore, my fiancee and I have been engaged in more unnecessary and exhausting conflicts than many who are three times our age and continually talk of their "life experience" (the favourite phrase of our Juste-Milieu).

Apropos, we have received an anonymous reply to Prutz's report against the new Tübingen *Jahrbücher*. I recognised *Schwegler* by the handwriting. You are described as an over-excited agitator, Feuerbach as a frivolous mocker, and Bauer as a man of wholly uncritical mind! The Swabians! The Swabians! That will be a fine concoction!

On the subject of your very fine, truly popular written complaint, we have inserted a superficial article by Pfützner--half of which, moreover, I have deleted--for lack of a better criticism and of time. P. P. does not go sufficiently deep into the matter and the little capers he cuts tend to turn him into a laughing-stock instead of making his enemy ridiculous.

Yours,

Marx

I have arranged for the books for Fleischer. Your correspondence published at the beginning is interesting. Bauer on Ammon is delightful. The "Sorrows and Joys of the Theological Mind" seems to me a not very successful rendering of the section of the *Phenomenology:* "The Unfortunate Consciousness". Feuerbach's aphorisms seem to me incorrect only in one respect, that he refers too much to nature and too little to politics. That, however, is the only alliance by which present-day philosophy can become truth. But things will probably go as they did in the sixteenth century, when the nature enthusiasts were accompanied by a corresponding number of state enthusiasts. I was most of all pleased by the criticism of the good *Literarische Zeitung.*

You have probably already read Bauer's self-defence. In my opinion, he has never before written so well.

As far as the *Rheinische Zeitung* is concerned I would not remain *under any conditions*; it is impossible for me to write under Prussian censorship or to live in the Prussian atmosphere.

I have just been visited by the chief of the Jewish community here, who has asked me for a petition for the Jews to the Provincial Assembly, and I am willing to do it. However much I dislike the Jewish faith, Bauer's view seems to me too abstract. The thing is to make as many breaches as possible in the Christian state and to smuggle in as much as we can of what is rational. At least, it must be attempted--and the embitterment grows with every petition that is rejected with protestations.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Cologne, May 1843
First Published: *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844
Transcribed: meia@marx.org
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

In this letter, Marx is replying to Ruge's previous letter, in which Ruge expressed a resigned certainty that there can be no popular revolution -- German are too docile, "our nation has no future, so what is the point in our appealing to it?" Classic revolutionary despair...

Your letter, my friend, is a fine elegy, a breath-taking funeral dirge; but it is utterly unpolitical. No people despairs and if stupidity induces it to live on hopes for many years, a sudden burst of cleverness will eventually enable it to fulfill its dearest wishes.

However, you have stimulated me. Your theme is by no means exhausted. I am tempted to add a finale and when all is at an end give me your hand and we can start all over again. Let the dead bury the dead and mourn them. In contrast, it is enviable to be the first to enter upon a new life: this shall be our lot.

It is true that the old world belongs to the philistines. But we must not treat them as bogeymen and shrink from them in terror. On the contrary, we must take a closer look at them. It is rewarding to study these lords of the world.

Of course, they are lords of the world only in the sense that they fill it with their presence, as worms fill a corpse. They require nothing more than a number of slaves to complete their society and slave-owners do not need to be free. If their ownership of land and people entitles them to be called lords and master par excellence this does not make them any less philistine than their servants.

Human beings -- that means men of intellect, free men -- that means republicans. The philistines wish to be neither. What is left for them to be and to wish?

What they wish is to live and to procreate (and Goethe says that no one achieve more). And this they have in common with animals. The only thing a German politician might wish to add is that man knows this is what he wants and that the Germans are determined to want nothing more.

Man's self-esteem, his sense of freedom, must be re-awakened in the breast of these people. This sense vanished from the world with the Greeks, and with Christianity it took up residence in the blue mists of heaven, but only with its aid can society ever again become a community of men that can fulfill their highest needs, a democratic state.

By contrast, men who do not feel themselves to be men accumulate for their masters like a breed of slaves or a stud of horses. The hereditary masters are the aim and goal of the entire society. The world belongs to them. They take possession of it as it is and feels itself to be. They accept themselves as they are and place their feet where they naturally belong -- viz., on the necks of these political animals who have no other vocation that to be their "loyal, attentive subjects".

The philistine world is the *animal kingdom of politics* and if we must needs acknowledge its existence we have no choice but to accept the *status quo*. Centuries of barbarism have produced it and given it shape, and now it stands before us as a complete system based on the principle of the *dehumanized world*. Our Germany, the philistine world at its most perfect, must necessarily lag far behind the French Revolution which restored man to his estate. A German Aristotle who wished to construct his *Politics* on the basis of our society would begin by writing: "Man is a social but wholly unpolitical animal". And as for the state, he would not be able to better the definition provided by Herr Zopfl, the author of *Constitutional Law in Germany*. According to him the state is an "association of families" which, we may continue, is the hereditary property of family higher than all others and called the dynasty. The more fertile the families, the happier the people, the greater the state, the more powerful the dynasty, for which reason a premium of 50 Talers is placed on the seventh-born son in the nominal despotism of Prussia.

The Germans are such prudent realists that not one of their wishes and their wildest fancies ever extends beyond the bare actualities of life. And this reality, no more no less, is accepted by those who rule over them. They too are realists, they are utterly removed from all thought and human greatness, they are ordinary officers and provincial Junkers, but they are not mistaken, they are right: just as they are, they are perfectly adequate to the task of exploiting and ruling over this animal kingdom -- for here as everywhere rule and exploitation are *identical* concepts. When they make people pay them homage, when they gaze out over the teeming throng of brainless creatures, what comes into their minds but the thought that occurred to Napoleon on the Berezina. It is said that he pointed to the mass of drowning men and declared to his entourage: *Voyez ces crapauds!* ["Look at those toads!"] The story is probably invented, but it is true nevertheless. Despotism's only thought is disdain for mankind, dehumanized man; and it is a thought superior to many others in that it is also a fact. In the eyes of the despot, men are always debased. They drown before his eyes and on his behalf in the mire of common life from which, like toads, they always rise up again. If even men capable of great vision, like Napoleon before he succumbed to his dynastic madness, are overwhelmed by this insight, how should a quite ordinary king be an idealist in the midst of such a reality?

The principle on which monarchy in general is based is that of man as despised and despicable, of *dehumanized man*; and when Montesquieu declared that its principle is honor, he is quite in error. He attempts to make this plausible by distinguishing between monarchy, despotism, and tyranny. But these names refer to a *single* concept denoting at best different modes of the same principle. Where the monarchical principle is in the majority, human beings are in the minority; where it is not called in question, human beings do not even exist. Now, when a man like the king of Prussia has no proof that he is problematic, why should he not simply follow the dictates of his own fancy? And when he does so, what is the result? Contradictory intentions? Very well, so they all lead to nothing. Impotent policies? They are still the only political reality. Scandals and embarrassments? There is only *one* scandal, and *one* source of embarrassment: abdication. As long as caprice remains in its place, it is in the right. It may be as fickle, inane, and contemptible as it pleases; it is still adequate to the task of governing a people which has never known any law but the arbitrary will of its kings. I do not claim that an inane system and the loss of respect both at home and abroad can remain without consequence; I am certainly not prepared to

underwrite the Ship of Fools. But I do maintain that as long as the topsy-turvy world is the real world, the King of Prussia will remain a man of his time.

As you know, he is a man I have been much interested in. Even when his only mouthpiece was the *Berlin Political Weekly*, I could see his worth and his vocation clearly. As early as the act of homage in Konigsberg, he confirmed my suspicion that all issues would now become purely personal. He proclaimed that henceforth his own heart and feelings would constitute the basic law of the Prussian domains, of *his* state; and in Prussia the King really is the system. He is the only political person. His personality determines the nature of the system. Whatever he does or is made to do, whatever he thinks or is put into his mouth, constitutes the thought and action of the Prussian state. It is therefore a positive good that the present King has admitted this so frankly.

The only mistake was to attribute any significance, as people did for a while, to the wishes and ideas actually produced by the King. [Frederick William IV of Prussia was influenced by the Romantic movement. It was his intention to revive an imaginary concept of the Middle Ages, with estates of the Realm as his answers to the calls, which he opposed, for a Constitution. -- editor Quintin Hoare] but these could not affect the situation since the philistine is the material of the monarchy and the monarch is no more than the King of the philistines. As long as both remain themselves he can turn neither himself nor them into real, free human beings.

The King of Prussia tried to change the system with the help of a theory such as his father did not possess. The fate of this attempt is well known: it failed utterly, naturally enough. For once you have arrived at the animal kingdom of politics there is no reaction that can go further back and no way of progressing beyond it without abandoning its basis and effecting the transition to the human world of democracy.

The old King had no extravagant aims, he was a philistine and made no claims to intelligence. He knew that the servile state and his own possession of it stood in need of nothing more than a tranquil, prosaic existence. The young King was more lively and quick-witted; he had a much more grandiose idea of the omnipotent monarch limited only by his own heart and understanding. He felt only repugnance for the old, ossified state of slaves and servants. He desired to infuse new life into it and imbue it with his own wishes, thoughts and feelings; and this, if anything, he could demand in *his own* state. Hence his liberal speeches and effusions. Not the dead letter of the law, but the living heart of the King would govern all his subjects. He wished to set all hearts and minds in motion to fulfill his heart's desires and his long-mediated plans. And people were set in motion, but their hearts did not beat at one with his and the governed could not open their mouths without demanding the abolition of the old form of authority. The idealists, who are impertinent enough to want human beings to be human, spoke up and while the King gave vent to his Old German fantasies, they imagined that they could begin to philosophize in New German. This had never happened before in Prussia. For a moment it looked as if the old order had been turned upside down; things began to be transformed into people and some of these people even had names, although the naming of names is not permitted in the provincial Diets. But the servants of the old despotism soon put a stop to these un-German activities. It was not difficult to bring about a palpable conflict between the wishes of the King who dreamed of a great past epoch full of priests, knights, and bondsmen, and the intentions of the idealists who simply aspired to realize the aims of the French Revolution -- i.e., who in the last analysis wanted a republic and an order of free men instead of an order of dead things. When this conflict had become sufficiently acute and uncomfortable, and the irascible King was in a state of great excitement, his servants, who had formerly managed affairs with such ease,

now came to him and announced that the King would be unwise to encourage his subjects in their idle talk, they would not be able to control a race of people who talked. Moreover, the lord of all posterior Russians [*Hinterrussen*] was disturbed by all the activity going on in the heads of the anterior Russians [Vorderrussen -- Marx is sneeringly calling the Prussians anterior Russians, extensions of the Russian Emperor, Nicholas I; that czar's extreme antipathy to anything remotely revolutionary was well known] and demanded the restoration of the old peaceful state of affairs. This led to a new edition of the old proscription of all the wishes and ideas men have cherished concerning human rights and duties, that is, it meant a return to the old ossified, servile state in which the slave serves in silence and the owner of land and people rules as silently as possible over well-trained, docile servants. Neither can say what he wishes -- the one that he wishes to be human, the other that he has no use for human beings on his territory. Silence is therefore the only means of communication. *Muta pecora, prona et ventri oboedientia*. ["The herd is silent, docile and obeys its stomach."]

This then is the abortive attempt to transform the philistine state on the basis of itself; its only result was that it revealed for all the world to see that, for a despotism, brutality is necessary and humanity impossible. A brutal state of affairs can only be maintained by means of brutality. And this brings me to the end of our common task of analyzing the philistine and the philistine state. You will hardly suggest that my opinion of the present is too exalted and if I do not despair about it, this is only because its desperate position fills me with hope. I will say nothing of the incapacity of the masters and the indolence of their servants and subjects who allow everything to proceed as God would have it; and yet taken together both would certainly suffice to bring about a catastrophe. I would only point out that the enemies of philistinism, i.e., all thinking and suffering people, have arrived at an understanding for which formerly they lacked the means and that even the passive system of procreation characteristic of the old subjects now daily wins new recruits to serve the new race of men. However, the system of industry and commerce, of property and exploitation of man, will lead much faster than the increase in the population to a rupture within existing society which the old system cannot heal because, far from healing and creating, it knows only how to exist and enjoy. The existence of a suffering mankind which thinks and of a thinking mankind which is suppressed must inevitably become unpalatable and indigestible for the animal kingdom of the philistines wallowing in their passive and thoughtless existence.

For our part, it is our task to drag the old world into the full light of day and to give positive shape to the new one. The more time history allows thinking mankind to reflect and suffering mankind to collect its strength the more perfect will be the fruit which the present now bears within its womb.

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Letter from Marx to Arnold Ruge

in Dresden

Written: Kreuzenach, September 1843
First Published: *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844
Transcribed: Zodiac
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

This is the third in the series of letters Marx [age 25] wrote to his friend, Arnold Ruge, during 1843 -- it is also the last in the eight letter exchange. Marx and Ruge would include the entire series in the first and only edition of their joint venture, the *Deutsch-Franzosische Jahrbucher*, February 1844.

Marx is replying to Ruge's previous letter, in which Ruge proclaimed himself an atheist and a vigorous supporter of the "new philosophers".

I am very pleased to find you so resolute and to see your thoughts turning away from the past and towards a new enterprise. In Paris, then, the ancient bastion of philosophy -- *absit omen!* [may this be no ill omen!] -- and the modern capital of the modern world. Whatever is necessary adapts itself. Although I do not underestimate the obstacles, therefore, I have no doubt that they can be overcome.

Our enterprise may or may not come about, but in any event I shall be in Paris by the end of the month as the very air here turns one into a serf and I can see no opening for free activity in Germany.

In Germany everything is suppressed by force, a veritable anarchy of the spirit, a reign of stupidity itself has come upon us and Zurich obeys orders from Berlin. It is becoming clearer every day that independent, thinking people must seek out a new centre. I am convinced that our plan would satisfy a real need and real needs must be satisfied in reality. I shall have no doubts once we begin in earnest.

In fact, the internal obstacles seem almost greater than external difficulties. For even though the question "where from?" presents no problems, the question "where to?" is a rich source of confusion. Not only has universal anarchy broken out among the reformers, but also every individual must admit to himself that he has no precise idea about what ought to happen. However, this very defect turns to the advantage of the new movement, for it means that we do not anticipate the world with our dogmas but instead attempt to discover the new world through the critique of the old. Hitherto philosophers have left the keys to all riddles in their desks, and the stupid, uninitiated world had only to wait around for the roasted pigeons of absolute science to fly into its open mouth. Philosophy has now become secularized and the most striking proof of this can be seen in the way that philosophical consciousness has joined battle not only outwardly, but inwardly too. If we have no business with the construction of the future or with organizing it for all time, there can still be no doubt about the task confronting us at present: the *ruthless criticism of the existing order*, ruthless in that it will shrink neither from its own discoveries, nor from

conflict with the powers that be.

I am therefore not in favor of our hoisting a dogmatic banner. Quite the reverse. We must try to help the dogmatists to clarify their ideas. In particular, communism is a dogmatic abstraction and by communism I do not refer to some imagined, possible communism, but to communism as it actually exists in the teachings of Cabet, Dezamy, and Weitling, etc. This communism is itself only a particular manifestation of the humanistic principle and is infected by its opposite, private property. The abolition of private property is therefore by no means identical with communism and communism has seen other socialist theories, such as those of Fourier and Proudhon, rising up in opposition to it, not fortuitously but necessarily, because it is only a particular, one-sided realization of the principle of socialism.

And by the same token, the whole principle of socialism is concerned only with one side, namely the *reality* of the true existence of man. We have also to concern ourselves with the other side, i.e., with man's theoretical existence, and make his religion and science, etc., into the object of our criticism. Furthermore, we wish to influence our contemporaries above all. The problem is how best to achieve this. In this context there are two incontestable facts. Both religion and politics are matters of the very first importance in contemporary Germany. Our task must be to latch onto these as they are and not to oppose them with any ready-made system such as the *Voyage en Icarie*. [A recently released book by Etienne Cabet, describing a communist utopia.]

Reason has always existed, but not always in a rational form. Hence the critic can take his cue from every existing form of theoretical and practical consciousness and from this ideal and final goal implicit in the *actual* forms of existing reality he can deduce a true reality. Now as far as real life is concerned, it is precisely the *political* state which contains the postulates of reason in all its modern forms, even where it has not been the conscious repository of socialist requirements. But it does not stop there. It consistently assumed that reason has been realized and just as consistently it becomes embroiled at every point in a conflict between its ideal vocation and its actually existing premises.

This internecine conflict within the political state enables us to infer the social truth. Just as religion is the table of contents of the theoretical struggles of mankind, so the *political state* enumerates its practical struggles. Thus the particular form and nature of the political state contains all social struggles, needs and truths within itself. It is therefore anything but beneath its dignity to make even the most specialized political problem -- such as the distinction between the representative system and the estates system -- into an object of its criticism. For this problem only expresses at the *political* level the distinction between the rule of man and the rule of private property. hence the critic not only can but must concern himself with these political questions (which the crude socialists find entirely beneath their dignity). By demonstrating the superiority of the representative system over the Estates system, he will *interest* a great party in *practice*. By raising the representative system from its political form to a general one, and by demonstrating the true significance underlying, it he will force this party to transcend itself -- for its victory is also its defeat.

Nothing prevents us, therefore, from lining our criticism with a criticism of politics, from taking sides in politics, i.e., from entering into real struggles and identifying ourselves with them. This does not mean that we shall confront the world with new doctrinaire principles and proclaim: Here is the truth, on your knees before it! It means that we shall develop for the world new principles from the existing principles of the world. We shall not say: Abandon your struggles, they are mere folly; let us provide you with true campaign-slogans. Instead, we shall simply show the world why it is struggling, and consciousness of

this is a thing it must acquire whether it wishes or not.

The reform of consciousness consists entirely in making the world aware of its own consciousness, in arousing it from its dream of itself, in explaining its own actions to it. Like Feuerbach's critique of religion, our whole aim can only be to translate religious and political problems into their self-conscious human form.

Our programme must be: the reform of consciousness not through dogmas but by analyzing mystical consciousness obscure to itself, whether it appear in religious or political form. It will then become plain that the world has long since dreamed of something of which it needs only to become conscious for it to possess it in reality. It will then become plain that our task is not to draw a sharp mental line between past and future, but to *complete* the thought of the past. Lastly, it will becomes plain that mankind will not being any new work, but will consciously bring about the completion of its old work.

We are therefore in a position to sum up the credo of our journal in a *single word*: the self-clarification (critical philosophy) of the struggles and wishes of the age. This is a task for the world and for us. It can succeed only as the product of untied efforts. What is needed above all is a *confession*, and nothing more than that. To obtain forgiveness for its sins, mankind needs only to declare them for what they are.

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A Father's letters to his son at school in Bonn and Berlin...

Heinrich Marx to Karl
November 8, 1835
Heinrich Marx to Karl
November 18, 1835
Heinrich Marx to Karl
1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
March 19, 1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
May, 1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
July 1, 1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
November 9, 1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
December 28, 1836
Heinrich Marx to Karl
Februrary 3, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
March 2, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
August 12, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
August 20, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
September 16, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
November 17, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
December 9, 1837
Heinrich Marx to Karl
February 10, 1838

Karl Marx, age 18. Detail from an 1836 lithograph of the Trier Students' Club, by D. Levy-Elkan.

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Bonn

Written: Trier, November 8, 1835
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 645.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

More than three weeks have passed since you went away, and there is no sign of you! You know your mother and how anxious she is, and yet you show this boundless negligence! That, unfortunately, only too strongly confirms the opinion, which I hold in spite of your many good qualities, that in your heart egoism is predominant.

Your mother knows nothing of this letter. I do not want to increase her anxiety still more, but I repeat, it is irresponsible of you.

For my part, I can wait -- but I expect you to set your mother's mind at rest by return of post.

Your father,

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Bonn

Written: Trier, November 18-29, 1835
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 645-648.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

First of all, a word about my letter, which may possibly have annoyed you. You know I don't pedantically insist on my authority and also admit to my child if I am wrong. I did actually tell you to write only after you had had a somewhat closer look around you. However, since it took so long, you ought to have taken my words less literally, especially as you know how anxious and worried your good mother is. Well, that is enough on that subject.

Your letter, which was barely legible, gave me great joy. Of course, I have no doubt of your good intentions, your diligence, or of your firm resolve to achieve something worth while. However, I am glad that the beginning is pleasant and easy for you and that you are getting a liking for your professional studies.

Nine lecture courses seem to me rather a lot and I would not like you to do more than your body and mind can bear. If, however, you find no difficulty about it, it may be all right. The field of knowledge is immeasurable, and time is short. In your next letter you will surely give me a somewhat larger and more detailed report. You know how greatly I am interested in everything which concerns you closely.

In connection with the lectures on law, you must not demand [...] should be touching and poetic. The subject-matter does not allow [...] poetic composition, you will have to put up with it and [...] find worthy of deep thought. Excuse [...] subjects.

What more ought I to say to you? Give you a sermon? In order [...] to tell [...] what you do not know? Although enough of [...] nature has so endowed you that if you truly ... the [...] your clear mind, your pure feeling, your unspoilt [...] instruct, in order not to stray from the right path [...] and what I wish, you know very well. I want now [...] you make up for what I in less favourable circumstances [...] could not achieve. I should like to see in you what perhaps I could have become, if I had come into the world with equally favourable prospects. You can fulfil or destroy my best hopes. It is perhaps both unfair and unwise to build one's best hopes on someone and so perhaps undermine one's own tranquillity. But who

else than nature is to blame if men who are otherwise not so weak are nevertheless weak fathers?

You have been granted a good fortune, dear Karl, that is given to few youths of your age. At the important initial stage of your career you have found a friend, and a very worthy friend, who is older and more experienced than you. Know how to value this good fortune. Friendship in the true classical sense is life's most beautiful jewel, and at this age for your whole life. It will he the best touchstone of your character, your mind and heart, indeed of your morality, if you are able to retain your friend and be worthy of him.

That you will continue to be good morally, I really do not doubt. But a great support for morality is pure faith in God. You know that I am anything but a fanatic. But this faith is a real [require]ment of man sooner or later, and there are moments in life when even the atheist is [involun]tarily drawn to worship the Almighty. And it is common [...], for what Newton, Locke and Leibniz believed, everyone can [...] submit to.

[Herr] Loers has taken it ill that you did not pay him a farewell [visit]. You and Clemens were the only ones, he [...] Herr Schlick. I had to have recourse to a white lie and tell him [...] we were there while he was away. The society [...] association with Clemens was little to my liking.

Herr Loers has been appointed second director and Herr [Brugge]mann as Commissioner was here yesterday for the installation. It was a big [... ce]remony, since both Herr Bruggemann and Herr Loers spoke. Herr Loers gave a great luncheon, which I also attended. There I spoke with several persons who asked after you, and from many quarters I was congratulated on Herr Wienenbrugge being your friend. I am truly desirous of making his acquaintance, and I should be very glad if you would both visit us at Easter and, of course, stay with us together. I should regard that especially as a proof of his friendship for you.

And so, dear Karl, fare you very well, and in providing really vigorous and healthy nourishment for your mind, do not forget that in this miserable world it is always accompanied by the body, which determines the well-being of the whole machine. A sickly scholar is the most unfortunate being on earth. Therefore, do not study more than your health can bear. With that, daily exercise and abstemiousness, and I hope to find you stronger in mind and body every time I embrace you.

Trier, November 18, 1835

Your faithful father,

Marx

Apropos! I have read your poem word by word. I quite frankly confess, dear Karl, that I do not understand it, neither its true meaning nor its tendency. In ordinary life it is an undisputed proposition that with the fulfilment of one's most ardent wishes the value of what one wished is very much diminished and often disappears altogether. That is surely not what you wanted to say. That would be worth consideration at most as a moral principle, because guided by this idea one avoids immoral enjoyments and even puts off what is permissible, in order by the postponement to retain the desire or even secure a heightened enjoyment. Kant felicitously says something of this sort in his anthropology.

Do you want to find happiness only in abstract idealising (somewhat analogous to fanciful reverie)? In short, give me the key, I admit that this is beyond me.

[In the left margin of the first page]

On the occasion of the celebration for Herr Loers I found the position of good Herr Wyttenbach extremely painful. I could have wept at the offence to this man, whose only failing is to be much too kind-hearted. I did my best to show the high regard I have for him and, among other things, I told him how devoted you are to him and that you would have liked to compose a poem in his honour but had no time. That made him very happy. Will you do me the favour of sending me a few verses for him?

[Postscript at the top of the first page on the right-hand side]

P.S. Your dear mother has been prevented from writing and so it has taken until today, November 29. It is remarkable that we do not even know your exact address.

[Postscript by Marx's mother on November 29 to the letter of November 18]

Much beloved, dear Carl,

With great pleasure I take up my pen to write to you; your dear father's letter has been ready a long time, but I have always been prevented. I should like to have another letter from you, which would prove that you are well, for you can well believe that I long for you very much. We are still all quite well, heaven be thanked, everybody is busy and industrious, and even Eduard is working very hard so that we hope to make an able man of him yet. Now, you must not regard it as a weakness of our sex if I am curious to know how you arrange your little household, whether economy really plays the main role, which is an absolute necessity for both big and small households. Here allow me to note, dear Carl, that you must never regard cleanliness and order as something secondary, for health and cheerfulness depend on them. Insist strictly that your rooms are scrubbed frequently and fix a definite time for it -- and you, my dear Carl, have a weekly scrub with sponge and soap. How do you get on about coffee, do you make it, or how is it? Please let me know everything about your household. Your amiable Muse will surely not feel insulted by your mother's prose, tell her that the higher and better is achieved through the lower. So good-bye now. If you have any wish to express for Christmas that I can satisfy, I am ready to do so with pleasure. Farewell, my dear beloved Carl, be upright and good and always keep God and your parents before your eyes. Adieu, your loving mother Henriette Marx.

All the children send you greetings and kisses, and as usual you are the kindest and best.

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Bonn

Written: Trier, beginning of 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 649-652.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear [Karl,]

Unless the description of your condition was somewhat poetical -- as I hope it was -- it is well adapted to cause us disquiet. I hope at least that the sad experience will bring home to you the need to pay rather more attention to your health. Next to a clear conscience, this is man's greatest blessing, and youthful sins in any enjoyment that is immoderate or even harmful in itself meet with frightful punishment. We have a sad example here in Herr Gunster. True, In his case there is no question of vice, but smoking and drinking have worked havoc with his already weak chest and he will hardly live until the summer. His life itself is a torture, and in him we shall have lost an excellent mind.

Even excessive study is madness in such a case. On the other hand, moderate exer[cise], such as walking, and sometimes even riding, but not madly, is very beneficial; cheerfulness and banishing all worries still better.

Your accounts, dear Karl, are it a la Carl, disconnected and inconclusive. If only they had been shorter and more precise, and the figures properly set out in columns, the operation would have been very simple. One expects order even from a scholar, and especially from a practical lawyer.

On the whole, I find nothing to object to, only at the present moment I think it is inexpedient and burdensome to buy a lot of books, especially big historical works.

Your journey was appropriate if it was good for your health, only you ought to have sent a few words about it beforehand.

In spite of your two letters (you see, they can be counted), I still do not know your study plan, which of course is of great interest to me. This much I do see, that you are not going in for any branch of natural history, and if physics and chemistry are really so badly taught, you will indeed do better to attend these courses in Berlin. Only a general introduction into cameralistics, it seems to me, would be expedient, because it is always useful to have a general idea of what one will have to do some day.

Apropos! Herr Gratz here has sent me a recommendation for Herr Walter. I sent it to him with a letter -- have you heard anything about it? I would be pleased at this, because it was precisely this professor you so particularly liked.

Your little circle appeals to me, as you may well believe, much more than ale-house gatherings. Young people who take pleasure in such meetings are necessarily educated people and are more aware of their value as future excellent citizens than those who find their outstanding value in outstanding coarseness.

You do well to wait before going into print. A poet, a writer, must nowadays have the calling to provide something sound if he wants to appear in public. Otherwise, let him, of course, pay homage to the Muses. That always remains one of the most noble acts of homage to women. But if everywhere the first appearance in the world is largely decisive, this is primarily the case for these demigods. Their superiority must show itself in the first verse, so that everyone immediately recognises their divine inspiration. I tell you frankly, I am profoundly pleased at your aptitudes and I expect much from them, hut it would grieve me to see you make your appearance as an ordinary poetaster; it should still be enough for you to give delight to those immediately around you in the family circle. Only the excellent have the right to claim the attention of a pampered world which has a Schiller -- poetic minds would probably say "gods"

I thank you, by the way, dear Karl, for your very filial remark that you would submit your first work to me for criticism before anybody else. That is all the more proof of your tender regard since you know how little nature has endowed me with poetry, so that throughout my life I was never capable of composing a merely tolerable poem, even in the sweet days of first love. However, I will bear it in mind and wait to see if it was merely a compliment.

How does it happen, dear Karl, that your journey does not figure in the expenses. You haven't eked out your existence by cadging, I hope.

I enclose a money order for 50 talers, and on this occasion can only say that your only concern should be your studies and, without using more than is necessary, you should save yourself any further anxiety. The hope that you might some day be a support for your brothers and sisters is an idea too beautiful and too attractive for a good-natured heart for me to want to deprive you of it.

For the time being, I have nothing more to add, and only repeat my advice to you to take care of your health. There is no more lamentable being than a sickly scholar, and no more unfortunate parents than those who see a son of great promise wasting away, for whose education they have made sacrifices. Take that to heart. I can only appeal to your heart, for I believe it good and noble. Embracing you affectionately,

Your father

Marx

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

Your being ill has worried us very much, but I hope and wish that you will have recovered, and although I am very anxious about the health of my dear children, I am sure that if you, dear Carl, behave sensibly you can reach a ripe old age. But for that you must avoid everything that could make things worse, you

must not get over-heated, not drink a lot of wine or coffee, and not eat anything pungent, a lot of pepper or other spices. You must not smoke any tobacco, not stay up too long in the evening, and rise early. Be careful also not to catch cold and, dear Carl, do not dance until you are quite well again. It will seem ridiculous to you, dear Carl, that I act the doctor in this way, but you do not know how parents take it to heart when they see that their children are not well, and how many anxious hours this has already caused us. You children see to it that you keep morally and physically healthy, and do not worry about anything else. Dear father has been well throughout the winter, thank God, and there has been no lack of work, and we are still all quite well. How do you like my native city -- it is a really beautiful place and I hope that it may have so much inspired you as to give you material for poetry. Write soon, dear Carl, even if not a lot, but don't put it off too long. Adieu, dear Carl, I kiss you in my thoughts,

Your loving mother

Henriette Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Bonn

Written: Trier, March 19, 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 652-653.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

I have just received your letter, and I must confess that I am somewhat surprised at it. As regards your letter containing the accounts, I already told you at the time that I could not make head or tail of them. This much I did see, that you need money, and therefore I sent yell 50 talers. With what you took with you, that makes 160 talers. You have been away five months in all, and now you do not even say what you need. That, at all events, is strange. Dear Karl, I repeat that I do everything very willingly, but that as the father of many children -- and you know quite well I am not rich -- I am not willing to do more than is necessary for your well-being and progress.

If therefore you have somewhat overstepped the bounds, let it be glossed over, since it must. But I assure you, what the "nec plus ultra" stands for is money thrown away. I am convinced that it is possible to manage with less, and Herr Muller, the notary here, gives less and can perhaps do better. But no more under any condition; I should have to have some special stroke of good fortune, but there is nothing of the kind at the present time; on the contrary, my income has decreased. I don't by any means say that to distress you, far from it, but to make my firm decision clear to you once and for all.

I enclose a draft on Herr Kaufmann, who, as Herr Hofmann tells me, is the keeper of the lottery office in the university building; you will get money there, as m[uch as] you need.

Well, may God take care of you, and come soon. We are all longing to see you.

Your faithful father,

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Bonn

Written: Trier, about May or June 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 653-655.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

Your letter, which I received only on the 7th, has strengthened my belief in the uprightness, frankness and loyalty of your character, which means more to me than the money, and therefore we will not say anything more about that. You are receiving 100 talers herewith and, if you ask for it, you will receive the rest. However, you will surely become somewhat wiser, and also will have to concern yourself with the smaller things, for, God knows, in spite of all philosophy, these smaller things give one many grey hairs.

And is duelling then so closely interwoven with philosophy? It is respect for, indeed fear of, opinion. And what kind of opinion? Not exactly always of the better kind, and yet!!! Everywhere man has so little consistency. -- Do not let this inclination, and if not inclination, this craze, take root. You could in the end deprive yourself and your parents of the finest hopes that life offers. I think a sensible man can easily and decently pay no heed to it, tout en imposant.

Dear Karl, if you can, arrange to be given good certificates by competent and well-known physicians there, you can do it with a good conscience. Your chest is weak, at least at present. -- If you like, I will send you one from Herr Berncastel, who treats you. But to be consistent with your conscience, do not smoke much.

You have not kept your word to me -- you remember your promise -- and I rather prided myself on the recognition of my criticism. However, like political optimists, I take the actual state of things as it is, but I did wish to have some knowledge of my own of the matter, i.e., of the negotiations conducted, which perhaps I would have been able to check better than Schafer -- and if possible also knowledge of the matter in question -- but if this last involves too much trouble, I shall wait till your arrival. Farewell, dear Karl, always remain frank and true, always look on your father and your good mother as your best friends. I could not keep anything secret from her, because otherwise she would have been anxious at your long silence. She is economical, but for her love of life is [...]-- and everything is secondary to this. I

embrace you affectionately.

Your faithful father,

Marx

I must, however, inform you about something peculiar.

Your friend Kleinerz wrote to me that he is being badly persecuted (probably because he left) and has even had to take the school examination, which, however, to his astonishment he passed brilliantly. He fears very many difficulties. Of very effective assistance to him would he a recommendation from your bishop to the Dean of the Medical Faculty, Herr Professor Muller, who in his youth received much kindness from this worthy man.

And lo and behold, good Herr Gorgen undertook to speak to the bishop, and the latter at once agreed, and said I should draw up the paper myself (without, however, in the slightest wanting to admit his relation to Herr Muller). I sent the recommendation post-paid to Herr Muller and informed Herr Kleinerz about it.

The latter displayed great tact because at once, and in order to safeguard my position to some extent in relation to the friend who trusted my bare word, he sent me, without waiting for the result, his service testimonials, which are really splendid. Moreover, he seemed to have no doubt of success.

How chance plays with human beings!

Your dear mother greets and kisses you. It is too late to write any more -- until next time.

[Added on the first page of the letter]

At the moment I could not send you any more. In the next few days you will probably receive 20 talers through Rabe.

Your faithful father,

Marx

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Father's Consent to Marx's Transfer from Bonn to Berlin University

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Written: July 1, 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 655-56.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

I not only grant my son Karl Marx permission, but it is my will that he should enter the University of Berlin next term for the purpose of continuing there his studies of Law and Cameralistics, which he began in Bonn.

Trier, July 1, 1836

Marx

Justizrat, Barrister

[Postscript]

Please, dear Karl, write at once, but write frankly, without reserve and truthfully. Calm me and your dear, kind mother, and we will soon forget the little monetary sacrifice.

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl, in Berlin

Written: Trier, November 9, 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 661-663.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
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Translated into English by Clemens Dutt for the Collected Works
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

We had, it is true, already received news of you before getting your letter, because Herr Jaehnigen was kind enough to write to me. His letter is very courteous towards you and me. He even very kindly asks me to recommend that you should comply with his desire and visit him and his family quite often sans g~ne; and as I play such a small part in the world, I have all the less reason to doubt his sincerity, since in general I have always seen him behaving as a man most worthy of respect and most noble. It does one good to enjoy the esteem of such a man, whose heart and mind rank him amon~g the privileged.

That Herr Esser treated you with such respect, I found rather unexpected, and it does you honour, for this circumstance proves that, in spite of your strict principles, you are able to associate with the most diverse kinds of people on human terms. These principles remind me of my bygone youth, and the more so since they were all I possessed. I was not adroit, and that can easily be explained. Your mother says that you are a favourite of fortune. I have no objection to that. Please God that you believe it! At least, in this respect I do not for a moment doubt your heart, that you are serious in counting yourself lucky to have your parents. Alld surely a little exaggeration is nowhere more pardonable than on this point, and no harm is done if here the head is ruled by the heart.

Even if Herr Reinhard is ill, nevertheless he must have a clerk who should surely know something about my son.

Herr Sandt is not von, he is the brother of the Attorney General Sandt of Cologne and has a post at the Court of Appeal. Herr Meurin knows him well. If necessary, he can inform you about my case, in which he is probably the opponent.

That you like Herr Meurin so much gives me great pleasure, for I have a special liking for him. He is one of the rare people who retain goodness of heart along with polite manners. His practical mind certainly puts to shame many very learned persons.

I am particularly glad that you live with well-educated people and do not associate much with young people, at least those whom you don't know well enough. The only thing I ask of you is not to overdo your studying, but to keep physically fit and spare your badly impaired eyesight. You have been attending many and important courses -- naturally, you have every reason to work a great deal, but do not

exhaust yourself. You have still a long time to live, God willing, to the benefit of yourself and your family and, if my surmise is not mistaken, for the good of mankind.

For the moment, I have not yet settled on any-commercial firm. I want to talk to Herr von Nell about it. For the time being I am sending you herewith 50 talers. You must at present be able to estimate approximately the amount you absolutely need each year, and that is what I should like to know.

I wrote to you from Frankfurt, where I was because of Hermann. Herr Donner conveyed the letter to the Hofrat. It was sent on October 20. You seem not to have received it yet. It contained rather a lot of sermonising, so I won't engage in that for a long time to come. But I should like a reply to that letter. Because of the one and, of course, extremely important item, I beg you even to enclose, besides the special letter for me, an extra-special one. True, as a rule I never keep anything secret from your good mother. But in this matter I am concerned at present about her all too great anxiety, which is not, as in the case of the husband, adequately countered by the more lively feeling of strict duty.

I am no angel, it is true, and I know that man does not live by bread alone. But in the face of a sacred duty to be fulfilled, subsidiary intentions must give way. And, I repeat, there is no more sacred duty for the husband than that which he undertakes towards his wife, who is weaker. Therefore, in this, as in every other respect, be quite frank with me as with a friend. But if, after self-examination, you really persist in your resolve, you must at once show yourself to be a man. That, all the same, does not prevent poetic ardour, the aspiration to fulfil one's duty is also very poetic.

Today Hermann has gone to Brussels, where he is entering a good house. But he has to pay 1,000 fr. immediately for the entree. In return, the house is merely bound to introduce him to all the commercial transactions that occur, without stipulation of period, so that it depends on his diligence and understanding to put himself as quickly as possible in a position to become independent. I expect a good deal from his diligence, but all the less from his intelligence. Understandably, he is not living at the businessman's house, and for the present he has to keep himself entirely. It is a pity that this well-meaning youth has not got a better brain. Menni" attends the gymnasium and, it seems, he does want to show rather more zeal.-- The girls are good and diligent. My hair srands on end when I reflect that this commodity now is only sought after if gilded, and I understand so little of that art.

Why have you not told me any details about Kleinerz? I am very interested to know what has become of him.

Well, God take care of you, dear Karl, and always love your father as he loves you.

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl, in Berlin

Written: Trier, December 28, 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 663-66.
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Translated into English by Clemens Dutt for the Collected Works
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

If I were less indulgent, if in general I could harbour resentment for a long time, and particularly against my dear ones, I would certainly be justified in not answering you at all. It is not in itself praiseworthy to he exaggeratedly touchy, least of all towards a father whose failing is certainly not that of severity.

If you had reflected that at the time I sent you the last letter I had had no word from you apart from your first letter; that the interval was somewhat large, even counting from my second letter from here; that having once got mixed up in a matter -- which in itself was not precisely pleasing to me -- from a feeling of duty towards a really most worthy person, I was bound to be extremely sensitive to a silence that was inexplicable to me, and that, if I then used some expressions which might sound harsh, in the first place I did not think of weighing my words, but also was sensitive not entirely without cause; besides, I assure you I did not have any animus calumniandi.

If I did not have a high opinion of your kind heart, I would not in general be so attached to you and would suffer less at aberrations, for you know that high as I esteem your intellectual gifts, in the absence of a good heart they would be of no interest to me at all. But you yourself confess that you have previously given me some cause to harbour some doubts about your self-abnegation. And in view of all this, you could very well be somewhat less touchy towards your father.

It is now high time that you did away with the tension that ruins mind and body, and I can rightly demand that in this connection you should show some consideration for the well-being of your good mother and myself, for we certainly do not soar to Elysian fields, and consider it of some importance that you should remain healthy.

But I repeat, you have undertaken great duties and, dear Karl, at the risk of irritating your sensitivity, I express my opinion somewhat prosaically after my fashion: with all the exaggerations and exaltations of love in a poetic mind you cannot restore the tranquillity of a being to whom you have wholly devoted yourself; on the contrary, you run the risk of destroying it. Only by the most exemplary behaviour, by manly, firm efforts which, however, win people's goodwill and favour, can you ensure that the situation is straightened out and that she is exalted in her own eyes and the eyes of the world, and comforted.

I have spoken with Jenny and I should have liked to be able to set her mind at rest completely. I did all I

could but it is not possible to argue everything away. She still does not know how her parents will take the relationship. Nor is the judgment of relatives and the world a trifling matter. I am afraid of your not always just sensitivity and therefore leave it to you to appreciate this situation. If I were powerful enough to protect and soothe this noble being in some respect by vigorous intervention, no sacrifice would be too great for me. Unfortunately, however, I am weak in every respect.

She is making a priceless sacrifice for you. She is showing a self-denial which can only be fully appreciated in the light of cold reason. Woe to you, if ever in your life you could forget this! At present, however, only you yourself can effectively intervene. From you must come the certainty that, despite your youth, you are a man who deserves the respect of the world, and wins it in mighty strides, who gives assurance of his constancy and his serious efforts in the future, and compels evil tongues to be silent about past mistakes.

How you can best set about this, only you can be fully aware.

In this connection I must ask you whether you know how old one must be to hold an academic post. It is very important to know this, for your plan, I think, should aim at attaining such a position as soon as possible, even if in a lower grade, and you should try by writing to create prospects for a good situation and eventually to realise them.

Poetry must surely be the first lever; the poet, of course, should be competent here. However, the kind of poetry to bring about the magic effect might preferably be a matter for one who is wise and a man of the world.-- In ordinary life that might well be too much to demand of a young man; but he who undertakes higher duties must be consistent, and here wisdom and policy will be sanctified in the eyes of the poet himself by high and creditable fulfilment of duty.

I beg and beseech you -- since basically you have talent, only the form is not yet smooth -- henceforth be calm, moderate these storms, do not arouse them either in the bosom of one who deserves and needs tranquillity. Your mother, I myself, Sophie, the good child, who exercises self-denial in the highest degree, watch over you, as far as the situation allows, and in return for your efforts the future holds out for you a happiness to deserve which all hardships are easy to bear.

Your views on law are not without truth, but are very likely to arouse storms if made into a system, and are you not aware how violent storms are among the learned! If what gives offence in this matter itself cannot be entirely eliminated, at least the form must be conciliatory and agreeable.

You do not say anything about Meurin, nor whether you paid a visit to Herr Eichhorn.

I do not want to write to Herr Jaehnigen just now, and since the matter is not at all urgent, you can wait for an opportunity.

If you send bulky letters by ordinary post, they are very expensive. The last but one cost a taler. Parcels sent by express post are dear too, the last one also cost a taler.

If you want to write a great deal in future, then write on all possible sorts of subjects, so that what we hear is much and varied. Let it mount up to form a parcel and send this by the luggage van. Do not be offended at this little remark about economy.

I hope that you will have received the wine by now. Drink it and be cheerful, and give up all irrelevant ventures, all despair, and abandon poetry if it does not embellish your life and make it happy.

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear Carl,

Your dear father is in such a hurry to send off this letter that all I can do is to send you heartiest greetings and kisses. Your loving mother

Henriette Marx

[Continuation from Marx's father]

Enclosed a money order for 50 talers. If you prefer me to look for a firm there to make an arrangement with you, you must tell me approximately the monthly sum I should fix for you. By now you must be able to say what it amounts to with one thing and another.

Marx

[Postscript by Marx's sister, Sophie]

Your last letter, dear Karl, made me weep bitter tears; how could you think that I would neglect to give you news of your Jenny!? I dream and think only of you two. Jenny loves you; if the difference in age worries her, that is because of her parents. She will now try gradually to prepare them; after that write to them yourself; they do indeed think highly of you. Jenny visits us frequently. She was with us yesterday and wept tears of delight and pain on receiving your poems. Our parents and your brothers and sisters love her very much, the latter beyond all measure. She is never allowed to leave us before ten o'clock, how do you like that? Adieu, dear, good Karl, my most ardent wishes for the success of your heart's desire.

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Trier, February 3, 1837
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Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Karl,

Your last letter made me particularly glad, for it proves that you have got rid of the little weaknesses which, by the way, disquieted me; you recognise your position and are endeavouring with energy and dignity to assure your future. But, dear Karl, do not fall into the opposite extreme.

Apart from the fact that to be sociable offers very great advantages for diversion, rest and development, especially to a young man, wisdom demands -- and this is something you must not neglect, since you are no longer alone -- that one should acquire some support, in an honourable and worthy way, of course. Neglect, especially as one is not always inclined to seek the most honourable reason for it, is not easily forgiven by distinguished persons, or those who think themselves such, and particularly if they have shown a certain degree of condescension. -- Herr Jaehnigen and Herr Esser are not only excellent men, but are probably important for you, and it would be most unwise and really improper to neglect them, since they received you in a very decent way. At your age and in your position you cannot demand any reciprocity.

Nor must the body be neglected. Good health is the greatest boon for everyone, for scholars most of all.

Do not overdo things. With your natural gifts and your present diligence, you will reach your goal, and a single term does not matter.

However much experience I may have, I cannot draw up a complete plan for you with a clear survey of all nuances.

In any case, it seems to me beyond doubt that your intention of advancing yourself by academic studies is quite good and suitable for you, if, besides, you do not overlook the trifle of paying some attention to physical development.

But, of course, this may take rather a long time and given the state of things it would of course be desirable that something be done about it. In this respect, therefore, the only thing left is authorship. But

how to make a start? This is a difficult question, but there is another that precedes it: will you succeed at once in winning the confidence of a good publisher? For that could well be the most difficult thing. If you succeed in that -- and on the whole you are a favourite of fortune -- then the second question arises. Something philosophical or legal, or both together, seems excellent for laying a basis. Good poetry might well take second place, and it never harms one's reputation, except perhaps in the eyes of a few pedants. Light polemical articles are the most useful, and with a few good titles, if they are original and have a new style, you can decently and safely await a professorship, etc., etc., etc. But you must come to a firm decision, if not at the present moment, at any rate this year, and when you have taken it, keep it firmly in view and pursue your course unswervingly. It is by no means so difficult for you as it was for your papa to become a lawyer.

You know, dear Karl, because of my love for you I have let myself in for something which is not quite in accord with my character, and indeed sometimes worries me. But no sacrifice is too great for me if the welfare of my children requires it. Moreover, I have won the full confidence of your Jenny. But the good, lovable girl torments herself incessantly -- she is afraid of doing you harm, of making you over-exert yourself, etc., etc., etc. It weighs on her mind that her parents do not know or, as I believe, do not want to know. She cannot explain to herself how it is that she, who considers herself quite unsentimental, has let herself be so carried away. A certain shyness may have something to do with it.

A letter from you, which you may enclose sealed, but which should not be dictated by the fanciful poet, could comfort her. It must, of course, be full of delicate, devoted feeling and pure love, as I have no doubt it will be, but it must give a clear view of your relationship and elucidate and discuss the prospects. The hopes expressed must be set out without reserve, clearly and with firm conviction, so that they in their turn are convincing.

You must give a firm assurance that this relationship, far from doing you any harm, has the happiest effect on you, and in certain respects I believe that myself. On the other hand, resolutely demand, with the manly audacity in the face of which the poor child was so defenceless, that now she must not waver, not look back, but calmly and confidently look to the future.

What have you to say to your father? Are you not astonished to find me in the role of intermediary? How wrongly I might be judged by many persons if my influence were to become known! What ignoble motives might perhaps be imputed to me! But I do not reproach myself -- if only heaven bestows its blessing, I shall feel extremely happy.

It would be proper to pay a visit to Herr Eichhorn, but I leave that to you. I repeat, however, that I should like to see you going more often to Herr Jaehnigen and Herr Esser.

It would be just as well, too, if you were to make somewhat closer contact with at least one of the most influential professors.

Have you not seen any more of young Herr Schriever? Since we are on very good terms and Mlle. Schriever will probably marry your friend Karl von Westphalen, and since anyway he should be coming here soon, I should like you to visit him now and again.

Have you not heard any further news of Dr. Kleinerz? I should like to learn something about him.

I enclose herewith a letter of credit. It is for a higher amount than you yourself asked, but I did not want to have it altered, because now I trust you not to use more than is necessary.

Well, good-bye, dear Karl, write soon if you have not yet sent a letter such as I have requested. Write also what your landlord is doing, he interests me very much.

Herr von Notz told me that you would come here during the autumn vacation. I am not at all in favour of this, and if you bear in mind your circumstances and those of persons who are dear to you, you will have to agree with me. But it is possible that I may go to Berlin. What do you say to that?

Your faithful father

Marx

I send my best regards to my dear friend Meurin and his amiable wife. Tell him that he would do well to spare a moment for me.

P.S. It would not he a bad thing, dear Karl, if you would write more legibly.

I seldom see Jenny, she cannot do as she likes. You can be easy in your mind, her love is true. -- When you have written in the way I would like, I will ask for a reply.

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Trier, March 2, 1837
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Transcribed: S. Ryan
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It is remarkable that I, who am by nature a lazy writer, become quite inexhaustible when I have to write to you. I will not and cannot conceal my weakness for you. At times my heart delights in thinking of you and your future. And yet at times I cannot rid myself of ideas which arouse in me sad forebodings and fear when I am struck as if by lightning by the thought: is your heart in accord with your head, your talents? Has it room for the earthly but gentler sentiments which in this vale of sorrow are so essentially consoling for a man of feeling? And since that heart is obviously animated and governed by a demon not granted to all men, is that demon heavenly or Faustian? Will you ever -- and that is not the least painful doubt of my heart -- will you ever be capable of truly human, domestic happiness? Will -- and this doubt has no less tortured me recently since I have come to love a certain person like my own child -- will you ever be capable of imparting happiness to those immediately around you?

What has evoked this train of ideas in me, you will ask ? Often before, anxious thoughts of this kind have come into my mind, but I easily chased them away, for I always felt the need to surround you with all the love and care of which my heart is capable, and I always like to forget. But I note a striking phenomenon in Jenny. She, who is so wholly devoted to you with her childlike, pure disposition, betrays at times, involuntarily and against her will, a kind of fear, a fear laden with foreboding, which does not escape me, which I do not know how to explain, and all trace of which she tried to erase from my heart, as soon as I pointed it out to her. What does that mean, what can it be? I cannot explain it to myself, but unfortunately my experience does not allow me to be easily led astray.

That you should rise high in the world, the flattering hope to see your name held one day in high repute, and also your earthly well-being, these are not the only things close to my heart, they are long-cherished illusions that have taken deep root in me. Basically, however, such feelings are largely characteristic of a weak man, and are not free from all dress, such as pride, vanity, egoism, etc., etc., etc. But I can assure you that the realisation of these illusions could not make me happy. Only if your heart remains pure and beats in a purely human way, and no demonic spirit is capable of estranging your heart from finer feelings -- only then would I find the happiness that for many years past I have dreamed of finding through you; otherwise I would see the finest aim of my life in ruins. But why should I grow so soft and

perhaps distress you? At bottom, I have no doubt of your filial love for me and your good, dear mother, and you know very well where we are most vulnerable.

I pass on to positive matters. Some days after receiving your letter, which Sophie brought her, Jenny visited us and spoke about your intention. She appears to approve your reasons, but fears the step itself, and that is easy to understand. For my part, I regard it as good and praiseworthy. As she intimates, she is writing to you that you should not send the letter direct -- an opinion I cannot agree with. What you can do to put her mind at rest is to tell us eight days beforehand on what day you are posting the letter. The good girl deserves every consideration and, I repeat, only a lifetime full of tender love can compensate her for what she has already suffered, and even for what she will still suffer, for they are remarkable saints she has to deal with.

It is chiefly regard for her that makes me wish so much that you will soon take a fortunate step forward in the world, because it would give her peace of mind, at least that is what I believe. And I assure you, dear Karl, that were it not for this, I would at present endeavour to restrain you from coming forward publicly rather than spur you on. But you see, the bewitching girl has turned my Old head too, and I wish above all to see her calm and happy. Only you can do that and the aim is worthy of your undivided attention, and it is perhaps very good and salutary that, immediately on your entry into the world, you are compelled to show human consideration, indeed wisdom, foresight and mature reflection, in spite of all demons. I thank heaven for this, for it is the human being in you that I will eternally love. You know that, a practical man though I am, I have not been ground down to such a degree as to be blunted to what is high and good. Nevertheless, I do not readily allow myself to be completely torn up from the earth, which is my solid basis, and wafted exclusively into airy spheres where I have no firm ground under my feet. All this naturally gives me greater cause than I would otherwise have had to reflect on the means which are at your disposal. You have taken up dramatic composition, and of course it contains much that is true. But closely bound up with its importance, its great publicity, is quite naturally the danger of coming to grief. Not always, especially in the big cities, is it necessarily the inner value which is decisive. Intrigues, cabals, jealousy, perhaps among those who have had the most experience of these, often outweigh what is good, especially if the latter is not yet raised to and maintained in high honour by a well-known name.

What, therefore, would be the wisest course? To look for a possible way by which this great test would be preceded by a smaller one involving less danger, but sufficiently important for you to emerge from it, in the event of success, with a not quite unimportant name. If, however, this has to be achieved by something small, then the material, the subject, the circumstances, must have some exceptional quality. I racked my brains for a long time in the search for such a subject and the following idea seemed to me suitable.

The subject should be a period taken from the history of Prussia, not one so prolonged as to call for an epic, but a crowded moment of time where, however, the future hung in the balance.

It should redound to the honour of Prussia and afford the opportunity of allotting a role to the genius of the monarchy -- if need be, through the mind of the very noble Queen Louise.

Such a moment was the great battle at La Belie Alliance-Waterloo. The danger was enormous, not only for Prussia, for its monarch, for the whole of Germany, etc., etc., etc. In fact, it was Prussia that decided the great issue here -- hence, at all events this could be the subject of an ode in the heroic genre, or otherwise -- you understand that better than I do.

The difficulty would not be too great in itself. The biggest difficulty, in any case, would be that of compressing a big picture into a small frame and of giving a successful and skilful portrayal of the great moment. But if executed in a patriotic and German spirit with depth of feeling, such an ode would itself be sufficient to lay the foundation for a reputation, to establish a name.

But I can only propose, advise. You have outgrown me; in this matter you are in general superior to me, so I must leave it to you to decide as you will.

The subject I have spoken of would have the great advantage that it could very soon be presented apropos, since the anniversary is on June 18. The cost would not be very considerable, and if necessary I will bear it. -- I should so very much like to see good Jenny calm and able to hold up her head proudly. The good child must not wear herself out. And if you are successful in this project -- and the demand is not beyond your powers -- then you will be in a secure position and able to relax somewhat from the hothouse life.

In point of fact, too, it is impossible not to be enthusiastic over this moment of time, for its failure would have imposed eternal fetters on mankind and especially on the human mind. Only today's two-faced liberals can deify a Napoleon. And in truth under his rule not a single person would have dared to think aloud what is being written daily and without interference throughout Germany, and especially in Prussia. And anyone who has studied the history of Napoleon and what he understood by the absurd expression of ideology can rejoice greatly and with a clear conscience at his downfall and the victory of Prussia.

Give my cordial greetings to our friend Meurin. Tell him that until now I have not been able to carry out the commission with which I have been charged. I suffered from a cold for eight days and since then I have not ventured any farther than to attend the sitting.

Your faithful father

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Bad Ems, August 12, 1837
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Transcribed: S. Ryan
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Dear Karl,

My letter, written when I was greatly excited, may have hit you rather hard, and I am sincerely sorry if this was actually the case. Not as though I would thus have committed an injustice; I leave it to you to judge for yourself whether I had a valid reason to lose my temper. You know, you must know, how much I love you. Your letters (so long as I do not find in them any traces of that sickly sensitivity and fantastic, gloomy thoughts) are a real need and would have been particularly so this summer for your deeply feeling mother and myself. Eduard has been ailing for the last six months, and has grown quite thin, his recovery is very doubtful, and, what is so rare among children and so exhausting, he suffers from the deepest melancholy, really fear of dying. -- And you know what your mother is like -- she won't go from his side, she torments herself day and night, and I am for ever afraid that she will be overcome by these exertions.

For the last 7-8 months, I myself have been afflicted by a painful cough, which has been continually irritated by the eternal necessity of speaking. Sophie, too, is never quite well and is always taking medicine without success. In this situation -- what with your love affair, Jenny's prolonged indisposition, her profound worry, and the ambiguous position in which I, who have always known only the most straightforward course, find myself in relation to the Westphalens -- all this has deeply affected me and at times depressed me so much that I no longer recognised myself, and so I ask you: have I been too hard under the influence of the most profound ill humour?

However much I love you above everything -- except your mother -- I am not blind and still less want to be so. I do you justice in many matters, but I cannot entirely rid myself of the thought that you are not free from a little more egoism than is necessary for self-preservation, and I cannot always dispel the thought that were I in your position I would show greater consideration for and more self-sacrificing love towards my parents. I received nothing from my parents apart from my existence -- although not to be unjust, love from my mother -- and how I have fought and suffered, in order not to distress them as long as possible.

Do not put forward your character as an excuse. Do not blame nature. It has certainly treated you like a mother. It has given you strength enough, the will is left to man. But to abandon oneself to grief at the slightest storm, to lay bare a shattered heart and break the heart of our beloved ones at every suffering, do you call that poetry? God protect us from the most beautiful of all nature's gifts if that is its immediate effect. No, it is only weakness, over-indulgence, self-love and conceit which reduce everything to their own measure in this way and force even those we love most into the background!

The first of all human virtues is the strength and will to sacrifice oneself, to set aside one's ego, if duty, if love calls for it, and indeed not those glamorous, romantic or hero-like sacrifices, the act of a moment of fanciful reverie or heroic feeling. Even the greatest egoist is capable of that, for it is precisely the ego which then has pride of place. No, it is those daily and hourly recurring sacrifices which arise from the pure heart of a good person, of a loving father, of a tender-hearted mother, of a loving spouse, of a thankful child, that give life its sole charm and make it beautiful despite all unpleasantness.

You yourself have described so beautifully the life of your excellent mother, so deeply felt that her whole life is a continual sacrifice of love and loyalty, and truly you have not exaggerated. But what is the good of beautiful examples if they do not inspire one to copy them? But can you, with your hand on your heart, pride yourself on having done this up to now?

I do not want to press you too hard, certainly I do not want to offend you, for as a matter of fact I am weak enough to regret having offended you. But it is not merely that I, and your good mother, suffer from it, perhaps I would let that pass. In no one's heart is there so little selfishness as in that of good parents. But for your own good I must not and will not ever abandon this text until I am convinced that this stain on your otherwise so noble character has disappeared. Quite soon you will and must be the father of a family. But neither honour nor wealth nor fame will make your wife and children happy; you alone can do that, your better self, your love, your tender behaviour, the putting behind you of stormy idiosyncrasies, of violent outbreaks of passion , of morbid sensitivity, etc., etc., etc. I am hardly speaking any longer on my own behalf, I am calling your attention to the bond that is to be tied.

You say yourself that good fortune has made you its pet child. May God in His infinite goodness make it ever attend you closely, as much as frail humanity permits. But even the happiest man experiences gloomy hours, no mortal basks in eternal sunshine. But from him who is happy one has every right to demand that he meet the storm with manly courage, calm, resignation, cheerfulness. One can rightly demand that past happiness be an armour against temporary suffering. The heart of the happy man is full and wide and strong, it must not allow itself to be easily shattered.

Your dear mother has forwarded your letter to me here. The plan you have outlined is fine, and if properly executed, well fitted to become a lasting monument of literature. But great difficulties are piling up in the way, particularly because of the selfishness of those who are offended, and of the fact that there is no man of outstanding critical reputation to be at the head. On the other hand, the paper is suitable for creating a reputation. Here the question arises whether your name appears in this connection. For it is precisely to gain a reputation, a reputation as a critic, that is so essential for you, as helping towards a professorship. Nevertheless, I could not derive any certainty on that score from your letter. May God give you His blessing.

It seems that my trip to Berlin will not materialise. After the big expenses I have had this year it would make too great a demand on my funds. And then also I must confess that I have had some intention (although not very definite) to try if possible to transfer to the magistracy. However, I would have liked

to know in advance the opinion of Herr Jaehnigen, whose co-operation could in any case be very useful. But since this did not come about, I see little hope for the matter. I did not want to ask anything of you that went against your feelings, but perhaps you could have acted more wisely. -- I hear, by the way, that Herr Jaehnigen and his wife are making a trip to Paris and will pass through Trier. You have missed a lot, for this summer Frau Jaehnigen has written some really exceptionally tender letters to your Jenny.

I am looking forward with great desire to receiving a letter from you to hear more about your undertakings. But I ask you to go into rather more detail.

Today I have sacrificed my morning walk for you, but there is just time to make a smaller one and to write a few lines to your good mother, to whom I will send this letter. For it would irk me to write again at length, and in this way your mother has a big letter all the same.

Good-bye, my good Karl, and always hold me as dear as you say, but do not make me blush with your flattery. There is no harm in having a high opinion of your father. In my position I have also achieved something, enough to have you, but not enough by far to satisfy me.

Your father

Marx

P.S. The supposed funeral sermon which you asked me for is a work of about ten lines, which I no longer possess, but which I believe Sophie has, and which even in the last version has undergone some alterations.

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Bad Ems, [approx August 20, 1837]
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Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear, good Karl,

I do not know whether on receipt of this letter you will already have received the letter which I [sent] to your dear mother. But I think so. Meanwhile, since I like talking to you, and since you may perhaps find it pleasant to see someone whose friendly company I have enjoyed for a number of days, I take advantage of the kind willingness of the bearer [to] send you a few lines.

The bearer is a fine young man, tutor to the son of Prince Karl. I made his acquaintance here, where I, who do not easily mix, have mostly been isolated. I have spent many pleasant hours with Herr Heim, and insofar as one can get to know [someone] in a short time, I think I have found in him a very honest, pleasant and upright man. He will look you up, he tells me, and I shall be [glad if] he finds that the picture sketched by a father's self-complacency is accurate.

In view of the approaching vacation, it may perhaps not be unpleasing for you to see some things that are remarkable and it is possible that owing to his position Herr Heim can easily help you in this respect.

If you have leisure and write to me, I shall be glad if you will draw up for me a concise plan of the positive legal studies that you have gone through this year. According to your project, it seems to me unnecessary for you to take lectures on cameralistics. Only do not neglect natural science, for there is no certainty of being able to make up for this later, and regret comes too late.

Perhaps in a few years' time it will be a favourable moment to obtain an [...] entry into law, if you are making Bonn your goal, since there is absolutely no man there who can do anything out of the ordinary. I know that in regard to science Berlin has advantages and great attraction. But apart from the fact that greater difficulties arise there, you must surely also have some regard for your parents, whose sanguine hopes would be largely shattered by your residing so far away. Of course that must not hinder your plan of life; parental love is probably the least selfish of all. But if this plan of life could be fraternally combined with these hopes, that would be for me the highest of all life's joys, the number of which decreases so considerably with the years.

My stay here has so far yielded very little success, and yet I shall have to prolong it in spite of the most painful boredom in order to comply with the wish of your dear mother, who most urgently begs me to do so.

I shall obviously have to abandon my beautiful, long-cherished desire to see you during this vacation. It costs me great effort, but it seems it cannot be helped. This fatal cough tortures me in every respect!

Well, God take care of you, dear Karl, be happy and -- I cannot repeat it too often -- do not neglect your health as you enrich your mind.

With all my heart and soul,

Your father,

Marx

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Trier, September 16, 1837
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Transcribed: S. Ryan
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Dear Karl,

Your last letter, which we received about eight days ago, leads me to expect a larger sequel, and that indeed soon, and I should have liked to wait until I have a general view of the whole. But it might have worried you to have to wait too long, especially as it concerns a plan which will perhaps determine the next steps.

You know me, dear Karl, I am neither obstinate nor prejudiced. Whether you make your career in one department of learning or in another [is] essentially all one to me. But it is dear to my heart, of course for your sake, that you choose the one that is most in accord with your natural talents. At the outset it was the ordinary thing that one had in mind. Such a career, however, seemed not to your liking and I confess that, infected by your precocious views, I applauded you when you took academic teaching as your goal, whether in law or philosophy, and in the final count I believed the latter to be more likely. I was sufficiently aware of the difficulty of this career, and I particularly learned about it recently in Ems, where I had the opportunity to see a good deal of a professor of Bonn University. On the other hand, one thing is undeniable, namely [that] someone who is sure of himself could play an important role as a professor of law in Bonn, and it is easier to be sent from Berlin to Bonn, provided of course one has some patronage. Poetry would have to procure this patronage for you. But whatever your good fortune in this respect, it will take several years and your special situation puts you under pressure(...].

Let us take a look at the other aspect (and an important point is that with good classical studies a professorship can always remain a final goal). Does a practical career advance one so rapidly? As a rule it does not, and experience proves this only too well. Here also patronage does a great deal. Without it you would not be able to complain at all if, a few years after having completed your studies, you became an unpaid assessor, and then [remained] an assessor for years after. However, even with the strictest moral standards and the most meticulous scruples, it may be permissible to procure for oneself through one's own merits a patron who, convinced of the protege's efficiency, conscientiously advances and promotes him. And in any case you have been endowed by nature with talents that are very suitable for

this purpose. How to make the best use of them is a matter for you to decide, and can hardly be judged by a third person, the more so since here the individual character must be very much taken into consideration. And whatever you undertake you must necessarily look at the matter and make your estimate from this point of view, for you are in a hurry; you feel that and so do I.

In some respects, that is of course to be regretted, but the most beautiful picture has its shades, and here resignation has to come into play. This resignation, moreover, is based on parts so brilliantly lit, and owes its origin so entirely to one's own will, which is guided by the heart and mind, that it is to be considered a pleasure rather than a sacrifice.

But I return to the question: What should I advise? And, in the first place, as regards your plan for theatrical criticism, I must confess above all that, as far as the subject itself is concerned, I am not particularly competent. Dramatic criticism requires much time and great circumspection. As far as art is concerned, such work in our time may perhaps be most meritorious. As far as fame is concerned, it can lead to an academic diploma.

How will it be received? I think with more hostility than favour, and the good, learned Lessing pursued, as far as I know, no rose-strewn path, but lived and died a poor librarian.

Will it yield particular financial profit? The question merges with the preceding one, and I am not in a position to give a categorical reply. I still think that some outstanding single works, a really good poem, a sterling tragedy or comedy, are far more suitable for your purpose. -- But you are carving out your own career and you want to go on doing so. I can only address one wish to heaven, that in one way or another you may as quickly as possible achieve your real aim.

I will say only one thing more. If, owing to the fact that after three years of study you ask nothing more from home, you expose yourself too much to the necessity of doing what could be harmful to you, then let fate have its way and at all events even if it involves sacrifice on my part, I will much rather make such sacrifice than harm your career. If you manage it sensibly and without holding up your career, you will certainly afford me great relief, because, in point of fact, since the separation of the law court and the hawking activities of the young men, my income has diminished in proportion as my expenses have become heavier. But, as I have said, this consideration must not stand in the way.

In coming back to the question of a practical career, however, why do you say nothing of cameralistics? I do not know whether I am mistaken, but it seems to me that poetry and literature are more likely to find patrons in the administration than in the judiciary, and a singing government adviser seems to me more natural than a singing judge. And after all what more is there in cameralistics than you already need as a true lawyer, apart from natural science? This last you must by no means neglect, that would be irresponsible.

You are, however, at the fountain-head, from which you can derive instruction, and precisely that aspect of the whole structure which under normal conditions you would probably still be far from appreciating, viz., the vital question in the proper sense, is forced on your attention and hence you will reflect, check and act with due care. I feel no anxiety that these considerations, even though forced on you, will ever lead you to base, grovelling actions. Despite my grey hairs, somewhat depressed state of mind and all too many cares, I would still be defiant and despise what is base. To you with your unimpaired powers, on whom nature has showered blessings, anything of the sort must seem impossible. But proud youth with its abundance of vital energy may regard as humiliating much that wisdom and duty peremptorily dictate

in regard to oneself and especially to those whose welfare one has made it one's duty to ensure. True, worldly wisdom is a good deal to ask of a 19-year-old, but one who at 19--

I have not shown your last letter to Westphalen. These very good people are of such a peculiar stamp; they discuss everything from so many aspects and at such length that it is as well to give them as little material as possible. Since your studies this year remain the same, I do not see why I should give them material for new fantasies.

Jenny is not yet here, but is to come soon; that she does not write to you is -- I cannot call it anything else -- childish, headstrong. For there can be no doubt at all that her attitude to you is one of the most self-sacrificing love, and she was not far from proving it by her death.

She has somehow got the idea that it is unnecessary to write, or some other obscure idea about it that she may hold, she has also a touch of genius, and what bearing does that too have on the matter? You can be certain, as I am (and you know that I am not credulous by nature), that no prince would be able to turn her away from you. She is devoted to you body and soul, and you must never forget it, at her age she is making a sacrifice for you that ordinary girls would certainly not be capable of. So if she has the idea of not being willing or able to write, in God's name let it pass. For after all it is only a token, and one can dispense with that at least, if one is assured of the essential. I [shall] speak to her about it if the occasion offers, however unwilling I am to do so.

Throughout the year I was gladdened by the expectation of seeing you, and so one lives under an eternal illusion. The only thing that does not deceive is a good heart, the love that flows from the heart; and in this respect I can only count myself among the rich, for I enjoy the love of an incomparable wife and the love of good children.

Do not make us wait so long for letters. Your good mother needs to be cheered up and your letters have a wonderful effect on her spirits. She has suffered so much this summer that only one so entirely forgetful of self could keep going, and things are still the same. May God rescue us soon from this long struggle! Write now and again a few lines for Eduard but act as if he were quite well again.

If, without too much inconvenience to yourself, you can make closer contact with Herr Jaehnigen, you will be doing me a favour, I very much desire it. For you especially, it would be very advantageous to associate with Herr Esser and, as I hear, he is on friendly terms with Meurin.

Further, I beg you to go to Herr Geh. Justizrat Reinhard and in my name ask him to take steps to get a move made at last in my affair. Win or lose, I have cares enough and should like to have this worry off my mind at least.

Well, my dear good Karl, I think I have written enough. I seldom divide things into portions and think that warmed-up portions are not as good as fresh ones. Good-bye, and in connection with your old father do not forget that your blood is young; and if you are lucky enough to safeguard it from tempestuous and ravaging passions, refresh it at least by youthful cheerfulness and a joyful spirit, and by youthful pleasures in which heart and mind agree. I embrace you with all my heart and soul.

Your faithful father

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

That heaven may keep you in good health is indeed my most ardent wish, apart from that you be moderate in your way of life and as much as possible also in your wishes and hopes now that you have achieved what is most essential, you can act with more calm and discretion. Frau von Westphalen spoke to the children today. [Jenny is to] come today or tomorrow. She writes that she wants so very much to return to Trier and is longing to hear from you. I think Jenny's silence towards you is due to maidenly modesty, which I have already often noted in her, and which is certainly not to her disadvantage, but only still more enhances her charms and good qualities. -- Edgar will probably go to Heidelberg to continue his studies from [...] for the feared -- that your welfare and your success in whatever you undertake is dear to our hearts, you can rest assured. May the Almighty and the All-good only show you the right path that is most beneficial for you, that is what we wish to ask for. Only be of good courage and [...] persists will be crowned. I kiss you with all my heart in my thoughts. [...] make you for the autumn woollen jackets which will protect you from catching cold. Write very soon, dear Carl.

Your ever loving mother

Henriette Marx

Write also a few lines sometime to Hermann, and enclose them in a letter to us. He is doing very well and people are very satisfied with him.

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Trier, November 17, 1837
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Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
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Dear Karl,

Have you still your headquarters in Stralow? At this time of year and in the land where no lemon trees are in bloom, can this be thinkable? But where are you then? That is the question, and for a practical man the first requirement for correspondence is to know an address. Therefore, I have to take advantage of the kindness of others.

An address, however, is form, and precisely that seems to be your weak side. Things may well be different as regards material? At least, one should suppose so, if one bears in mind: 1) that you have no lack of subject-matter, 2) that your situation is serious enough to arouse great interest, 3) that your father is perhaps somewhat partial in his attachment to you, etc., etc., etc., and yet after an interval of two months, the second of which caused me some unpleasant hours full of anxiety, I received a letter without form or content, a torn fragment saying nothing, which stood in no relation to what went before it and had no connection with the future!

If a correspondence is to be of interest and value, it must have consistency, and the writer must necessarily have his last letter before his eyes, as also the last reply. Your last letter but one contained much that excited my expectation. I had written a number of letters which asked for information on my points. And instead of all that, I received a letter of bits and fragments, and, what is much worse, an embittered letter.

Frankly speaking, my dear Karl, I do not like this modern word, which all weaklings use to cloak their feelings when they quarrel with the world because they do not possess, without labour or trouble, well-furnished palaces with vast sums of money and elegant carriages. This embitterment disgusts me and you are the last person from whom I would expect it. What grounds can you have for it? Has not everything smiled on you ever since your cradle? Has not nature endowed you with magnificent talents? Have not your parents lavished affection on you? Have you ever up to now been unable to satisfy your reasonable wishes? And have you not carried away in the most incomprehensible fashion the heart of a

girl whom thousands envy you? Yet the first untoward event, the first disappointed wish, evokes embitterment! Is that strength? Is that a manly character?

You yourself had declared, in dry words, that you would be satisfied with assurances for the future, and because of them renounce all outward signs for the present. Did you not make that renunciation word for word in writing? And only children complain about the word they have given when they begin to feel pressure.

Yet here too your luck holds. Your good mother, who has a softer heart than I have and to whom it still very often occurs that we too were once the plaything of the little blind rogue, sounded the alarm, and the all too good parents of your Jenny could hardly wait for the moment when the poor, wounded heart would be consoled, and the recipe is undoubtedly already in your hands, if a defective address has not caused the epistle to go astray.

Time is limited, for Sophie is to take the letter before the post to the von Westphalens, who now live far away, and this good opportunity also was announced to me only today, so that I must conclude. As a matter of fact, at present I would not know what to say, at most I could only put questions to you, and I do not like to be importunate. Only one thing more my Herr Son will still allow me, namely, to express my surprise that I have still not received any request for money! Or do you perhaps want already now to make up for it from the too great amount taken? It's a little too early for that.

Your dear mother refused to reconcile herself entirely to the fact that you did not come home in the autumn as the others did. If it is too long for you and dear mother until next autumn, you could come for the Easter vacation.

Your faithful father

Marx

[Postscript by Marx's sister Sophie]

Good-bye, dear Karl, let us have news soon that you are now satisfied and that your mind is at rest. Until Easter, Karl, the hours until then will seem to me an eternity!

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

Written: Trier, December 9, 1837
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Dear Karl,

If one knows one's weaknesses, one must take steps against them. If then I wanted as usual to write in a coherent way, in the end my love for you would mislead me into adopting a sentimental tone, and all that had gone before would be the more wasted since you -- so it seems at least -- never take a letter in your hand a second time, and indeed quite logically, for why read a letter a second time if the letter sent in return is never an answer.

I will therefore give vent to my complaints in the form of aphorisms, for they are really complaints that I am putting forward. So, in order to make them quite clear to myself and to make you swallow them like pills, I raise questions which I am inclined to settle quite a posteriori.

1. What is the task of a young man on whom nature has incontestably bestowed unusual talent, in particular

a) if he, as he asserts and moreover I willingly believe, reveres his father and idealises his mother;

b) if he, without regard to his age and situation, has bound one of the noblest of girls to his fate, and

c) has thereby put a very honourable family into the position of having to approve a relationship which apparently and according to the usual way of the world holds out great dangers and gloomy prospects for this beloved child?

2. Had your parents any right to demand that your conduct, your way of life, should bring them joy, at least moments of joy, and as far as possible banish causes of sorrow?

3. What have been so far the fruits of your magnificent natural gifts, as far as your parents are concerned?

4. What have been these fruits as far as you yourself are concerned?

Strictly speaking, I could and should perhaps end here and leave it to you to reply and give a complete explanation. But I am afraid of any vein of poetry in this connection. I will reply prosaically, from real life as it actually is, at the risk of appearing too prosaic even to my Herr Son.

The mood in which I find myself is in fact anything but poetic. With a cough which I have had for a year and which makes it hard for me to follow my profession, coupled with recent attacks of gout, I find myself to be more ill-humoured than is reasonable and become annoyed at my weakness of character, and so, of course, you can only expect the descriptions of an aging, ill-tempered man who is irritated by continual disappointments and especially by the fact that he is to hold up to his own idol a mirror full of distorted images.

Replies and/or Complaints

1. Gifts deserve, call for gratitude; and since magnificent natural gifts are certainly the most excellent of all, they call for a specially high degree of gratitude. But the only way nature allows gratitude to be shown her is by making proper use of these gifts and, if I may use an ordinary expression, making one's talent bear profit.

I am well aware how one should and must reply in a somewhat nobler style, namely, such gifts should be used for one's own ennoblement, and I do not dispute that this is true. Yes, indeed, they should be used for one's ennoblement. But how? One is a human being, a spiritual being, and a member of society, a citizen of the state. Hence physical, moral, intellectual and political ennoblement. Only if unison and harmony are introduced into the efforts to attain this great goal can a beautiful, attractive whole make its appearance, one which is well-pleasing to God, to men, to one's parents and to the girl one loves, and which deserves with greater truth and naturalness to be called a truly plastic picture than would a meeting with an old schoolfellow.

But, as I have said, only the endeavour to extend ennoblement in due, equal proportion to all parts is evidence of the will to prove oneself worthy of these gifts; only through the evenness of this distribution can a beautiful structure, true harmony, be found.

Indeed, if restricted to individual parts, the most honest endeavours not only do not lead to a good result, on the contrary, they produce caricatures: if restricted to the physical part -- simpletons; if to the moral part -- fanatical visionaries; if to the political part -- intriguers, and if to the intellectual part -- learned boors.

a) Yes, a young man must set himself this goal if he really wants to give joy to his parents, whose services to him it is for his heart to appreciate; especially if he knows that his parents put their finest hopes in him.

b) Yes, he must bear in mind that he has undertaken a duty, possibly exceeding his age, but all the more sacred on that account, to sacrifice himself for the benefit of a girl who has made a great sacrifice in view of her outstanding merits and her social position in abandoning her brilliant situation and prospects for an uncertain and duller future and chaining herself to the fate of a younger man. The simple and practical solution is to procure her a future worthy of her, in the real world, not in a smoke-filled room with a reeking oil-lamp at the side of a scholar grown wild.

c) Yes, he has a big debt to repay, and a noble family has the right to demand adequate compensation for the forfeiting of its great hopes so well justified by the excellent personality of the child. For, in truth,

thousands of parents would have refused their consent. And in moments of gloom your own father almost wishes they had done so, for the welfare of this angelic girl is all too dear to my heart; truly I love her like a daughter, and it is for that very reason that I am so anxious for her happiness.

All these obligations together form such a closely woven bond that it alone should suffice to exorcise all evil spirits, dispel all errors, compensate for all defects and develop new and better instincts. It should suffice to turn an uncivilised stripling into an orderly human being, a negating genius into a genuine thinker, a wild ringleader of wild young fellows into a man fit for society, one who retains sufficient pride not to twist and turn like an eel, but has enough practical intelligence and tact to feel that it is only through intercourse with moral-minded people that he can learn the art of showing himself to the world in his most pleasant and most advantageous aspect, of winning respect, love and prestige as quickly as possible, and of making practical use of the talents which mother nature has in fact lavishly bestowed upon him.

That, in short, was the problem. How has it been solved?

God's grief!!! Disorderliness, musty excursions into all departments of knowledge, musty brooding under a gloomy oil-lamp; running wild in a scholar's dressing-gown and with unkempt hair instead of running wild over a glass of beer; unsociable withdrawal with neglect of all decorum and even of all consideration for the father. -- The art of association with the world restricted to a dirty work-room, in the classic disorder of which perhaps the love-letters of a Jenny and the well-meant exhortations of a father, written perhaps with tears, are used for pipe-spills, which at any rate would be better than if they were to fall into the hands of third persons owing to even more irresponsible disorder. -- And is it here, in this workshop of senseless and inexpedient erudition, that the fruits are to ripen which will refresh you and your beloved, and the harvest to be garnered which will serve to fulfil your sacred obligations!?

3. I am, of course, very deeply affected in spite of my resolution, I am almost overwhelmed by the feeling that I am hurting you, and already my weakness once again begins to come over me, but in order to help myself, quite literally, I take the real pills prescribed for me and swallow it all down, for I will be hard for once and give vent to all my complaints. I will not become soft-hearted, for I feel that I have been too indulgent, given too little utterance to my grievances, and thus to a certain extent have become your accomplice. I must and will say that you have caused your parents much vexation and little or no joy.

Hardly were your wild goings-on in Bonn over, hardly were your old sins wiped out -- and they were truly manifold -- when, to our dismay, the pangs of love set in, and with the good nature of parents in a romantic novel we became their heralds and the bearers of their cross. But deeply conscious that your life's happiness was centred here, we tolerated what could not be altered and perhaps ourselves played unbecoming roles. While still so young, you became estranged from your family, but seeing with parents' eyes the beneficial influence on you, we hoped to see the good effects speedily developed, because in point of fact reflection and necessity equally testified in favour of this. But what were the fruits we harvested?

We have never had the pleasure of a rational correspondence, which as a rule is the consolation for absence. For correspondence presupposes consistent and continuous intercourse, carried on reciprocally and harmoniously by both sides. We never received a reply to our letters; never did your next letter have any connection with your previous one or with ours.

If one day we received the announcement that you had made some new acquaintance, afterwards this disappeared totally and for ever, like a still-born child.

As to what our only too beloved son was actually busy with, thinking about and doing, hardly was a rhapsodic phrase at times thrown in on this subject when the rich catalogue came to an end as if by magic.

On several occasions we were without a letter for months, and the last time was when you knew Eduard was ill, mother suffering and I myself not well, and moreover cholera was raging in Berlin; and as if that did not even call for an apology, your next letter contained not a single word about it, but merely some badly written lines and an extract from the diary entitled *The Visit*, which I would quite frankly prefer to throw out rather than accept, a crazy botch-work which merely testifies how you squander your talents and spend your nights giving birth to monsters; that you follow in the footsteps of the new immoralists who twist their words until they themselves do not hear them; who christen a flood of words a product of genius because it is devoid of ideas or contains only distorted ideas.

Yes, your letter did contain something -- complaints that Jenny does not write, despite the fact that at bottom you were convinced that you were favoured on all sides -- at least there was no reason for despair and embitterment -- but that was not enough, your dear ego yearned for the pleasure of reading what you knew already (which, of course, in the present case is quite fair), and Herr Son could say to his parents, that was almost all that suffering, whom he had oppressed by a whom he knew to be senseless silence.

As if we were men of wealth, my Herr Son disposed in one year of almost 700 talers contrary to all agreement, contrary to all usage, whereas the richest spend less than 500. And why? I do him the justice of saying that he is no rake, no squanderer. But how can a man who every week or two discovers a new system and has to tear up old works laboriously arrived at, how can he, I ask, worry about trifles? How can he submit to the pettiness of order? Everyone dips a hand in his pocket, and everyone cheats him, so long as he doesn't disturb him in his studies, and a new money order is soon written again, of course. Narrow-minded persons like G. R. and Evers may be worried about that, but they are common fellows. True, in their simplicity these men try to digest the lectures, even if only the words, and to procure themselves patrons and friends here and there, for the examinations are presided over by men, by professors, pedants and sometimes vindictive villains, who like to put to shame anyone who is independent; yet the greatness of man consists precisely in creating and destroying!!!

True, these poor young fellows sleep quite well, except when they sometimes devote half a night or a whole night to pleasure, whereas my hard-working talented Karl spends wretched nights awake, weakens his mind and body by serious study, denies himself all pleasure, in order in fact to pursue lofty abstract studies, but what he builds today he destroys tomorrow, and in the end he has destroyed his own work and not assimilated the work of others. In the end the body is ailing and the mind confused, whereas the ordinary little people continue to creep forward undisturbed and sometimes reach the goal better and at least more comfortably than those who despise the joys of youth and shatter their health to capture the shadow of erudition, which they would probably have achieved better in an hour's social intercourse with competent people, and with social enjoyment into the bargain!!!

I conclude, for I feel from my more strongly beating pulse that I am near to lapsing into a soft-hearted tone, and today I intend to be merciless.

I must add, too, the complaints of your brothers and sisters. From your letters, one can hardly see that

you have any brothers or sisters; as for the good Sophie, who has suffered so much for you and Jenny and is so lavish in her devotion to you, you do not think of her when you do not need her.

I have paid your money order for 160 talers. I cannot, or can hardly, charge it to the old academic year, for that truly has its full due. And for the future I do not want to expect many of the same kind.

To come here at the present moment would be nonsense! True, I know you care little for lectures, though you probably pay for them, but I will at least observe the decencies. I am certainly no slave to public opinion, but neither do I like gossip at my expense. Come for the Easter vacation -- or even two weeks earlier, I am not so pedantic -- and in spite of my present epistle you can rest assured that I shall receive you with open arms and the welcoming beat of a father's heart, which is actually ailing only through excessive anxiety.

Your father

Marx

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Letter from Heinrich Marx to son Karl

in Berlin

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Dear Karl,

For already two months now I have had to keep to my room, and for one whole month to my bed, and so it has come about that I have not written to you Today I intend to be up for a few hours and to see how far I can succeed in writing a letter. True, I manage rather shakily, but I do manage, only I shall of course have to be somewhat shorter than I should be and would like to be.

When I wrote you a rather blunt letter, the mood in which I was had naturally to be taken into account, but that mood did not make me invent anything, although of course it could make me exaggerate.

To embark again on a discussion of each separate complaint is what I am now least capable of doing, and in general I do not want to engage with you in the art of abstract argument, because in that case I should first of all have to study the terminology before I could as much as penetrate into the sanctum, and I am too old for that.

All right, if your conscience modestly harmonises with your philosophy and is compatible with it.

Only on one point, of course, all transcendentalism is of no avail, and on that you have very wisely found fit to observe an aristocratic silence; I am referring to the paltry matter of money, the value of which for the father of a family you still do not seem to recognise, but I do all the more, and I do not deny that at times I reproach myself with having left you all too loose a rein in this respect. Thus we are now in the fourth month of the law year and you have already drawn 280 talers. I have not yet earned that much this winter.

But you are wrong in saying or imputing that I misjudge or misunderstand you. Neither the one nor the other. I give full credit to your heart, to your morality. Already in the first year of your legal career I gave you irrefutable proof of this by not even demanding an explanation in regard to a very obscure matter, even though it was very problematic. -- Only real faith in your high morality could make this possible, and thank heaven I have not gone back on it. -- But that does not make me blind, and it is only because I

am tired that I lay down my arms. But always believe, and never doubt, that you have the innermost place in my heart and that you are one of the most powerful levers in my life.

Your latest decision is worthy of the highest praise and well considered, wise and commendable, and if you carry out what you have promised, it will probably bear the best fruits. And rest assured that it is not only you who are making a big sacrifice. The same applies to all of us, but reason must triumph.

I am exhausted, dear Karl, and must close. I regret that I have not been able to write as I wanted to. I would have liked to embrace you with all my heart, hut my still poor condition makes it impossible.

Your last proposal concerning me has great difficulties. What rights can I bring to bear? What support have I?

Your faithful father

Marx

[Postscript by Marx's mother]

Dear beloved Carl,

For your sake your dear father has for the first time undertaken the effort of writing to you. Good father is very weak, God grant that he may soon regain his strength. I am still in good health, dear Carl, and I am resigned to my situation and calm. Dear Jenny behaves as a loving child towards her parents, takes an intimate part ill everything and often cheers us up by her loving childlike disposition, which still manages to find a bright side to everything. Write to me, dear Carl, about what has been the matter with you and whether you are quite well again. I am the one most dissatisfied that you are not to come during Easter; I let feeling go before reason and I regret, dear Carl, that you are too reasonable. You must not take my letter as the measure of my profound love; there are times when one feels much and can say little. So good-bye, dear Carl, write soon to your good father, and that will certainly help towards his speedy recovery.

Your ever loving mother

Henriette Marx

[Postscript by Marx's sister Sophie]

You will be glad, dear Karl, to hear from Father; my long letter now appears to me so unimportant that I do not know whether I should enclose it, since I fear that it might not be worth the cost of carriage.

Dear Father is getting better, it is high time too. He will soon have been in bed for eight weeks, and he only got up for the first time a few days ago so that the bedroom could be aired. Today he made a great effort to write a few lines to you in a shaky hand. Poor Father is now very impatient, and no wonder: the whole winter he has been behindhand with business matters, and the need is now four times as great as before. I sing to him daily and also read to him. Do send me at last the romance you have so long promised me. Write at once, it will be a pleasant distraction for us all. Karoline is not well, and Louise is also in bed; in all probability she has scarlet fever. Emilie keeps cheerful and in good spirits, and Jette is not exactly in the most amiable humour.

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Jenny Marx Correspondence

[Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl]
1839
[Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl]
August 10, 1841
[Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl]
March, 1843
[Jenny to Karl]
July 21, 1844
[Jenny to Karl]
August 10, 1844
[Jenny to Karl]
August 18, 1844
[Jenny Marx to Karl]
February 10, 1845
[Jenny Marx to Karl]
August 24, 1845
[Jenny Marx to Karl]
March 24, 1846
[Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer]
March 17, 1848
[Jenny Marx to Caroline Shöler]
March 17, 1848
[Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer]
May 20, 1850
[Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer]
June 20, 1850
[Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels]
December 19, 1850
[Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels]
January 11, 1851
[Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels]
December 17, 1851
[Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels]
December 17, 1851

[Marx/Engels Letter Archive]
[Marx/Engels Internet Archive]

Letter from Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl

in Berlin

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My dear and only beloved,

Sweetheart, are you no longer angry with me, and also not worried about me? I was so very upset when I last wrote, and in such moments I see everything still much blacker and more terrible than it actually is. Forgive me, one and only beloved, for causing you such anxiety, but I was shattered by your doubt of my love and faithfulness. Tell me, Karl, how could you do that, how could you set it down so dryly in writing to me, express a suspicion merely because I was silent somewhat longer than usual, kept longer to myself the sorrow I felt over your letter, over Edgar, indeed over so much that filled my soul with unspeakable misery. I did it only to spare you, and to save myself from becoming upset, a consideration which I owe indeed to you and to my family.

Oh, Karl, how little you know me, how little you appreciate my position, and how little you feel where my grief lies, where my heart bleeds. A girl's love is different from that of a man, it cannot but be different. A girl, of course, cannot give a man anything but love and herself and her person, just as she is, quite undivided and for ever. In ordinary circumstances, too, the girl must find her complete satisfaction in the man's love, she must forget everything in love. But, Karl, think of my position, you have no regard for me, you do not trust me. And that I am not capable of retaining your present romantic youthful love, I have known from the beginning, and deeply felt, long before it was explained to me so coldly and wisely and reasonably. Oh, Karl, what makes me miserable is that what would fill any other girl with inexpressible delight -- your beautiful, touching, passionate love, the indescribably beautiful things you say about it, the inspiring creations of your imagination -- all this only causes me anxiety and often reduces me to despair. The more I were to surrender myself to happiness, the more frightful would my fate be if your ardent love were to cease and you became cold and withdrawn.

You see, Karl, concern over the permanence of your love robs me of all enjoyment. I cannot so fully rejoice at your love, because I no longer believe myself assured of it; nothing more terrible could happen

to me than that. You see, Karl, that is why I am not so wholly thankful for, so wholly enchanted by your love, as it really deserves. That is why I often remind you of external matters, of life and reality, instead of clinging wholly, as you can do so well, to the world of love, to absorption in it and to a higher, dearer, spiritual unity with you, and in it forgetting everything else, finding solace and happiness in that alone. Karl, if you could only sense my misery you would be milder towards me and not see hideous prose and mediocrity everywhere, not perceive everywhere want of true love and depth of feeling.

Oh, Karl, if only I could rest safe in your love, my head would not burn so, my heart would not hurt and bleed so. If only I could rest safe for ever in your heart, Karl, God knows my soul would not think of life and cold prose. But, my angel, you have no regard for me, you do not trust me, and your love, for which I would sacrifice everything, everything, I cannot keep fresh and young. In that thought lies death; once you apprehend it in my soul, you will have greater consideration for me when I long for consolation that lies outside your love. I feel so completely how right you are in everything, but think also of my situation, my inclination to sad thoughts, just think properly over all that as it is, and you will no longer be so hard towards me. If only you could be a girl for a little while and, moreover, such a peculiar one as I am.

So, sweetheart, since your last letter I have tortured myself with the fear that for my sake you could become embroiled in a quarrel and then in a duel. Day and night I saw you wounded, bleeding and ill, and, Karl, to tell you the whole truth, I was not altogether unhappy in this thought: for I vividly imagined that you had lost your right hand, and, Karl, I was in a state of rapture, of bliss, because of that. You see, sweetheart, I thought that in that case I could really become quite indispensable to you, you would then always keep me with you and love me. I also thought that then I could write down all your dear, heavenly ideas and be really useful to you. All this I imagined so naturally and vividly that in my thoughts I continually heard your dear voice, your dear words poured down on me and I listened to every one of them and carefully preserved them for other people. You see, I am always picturing such things to myself, but then I am happy, for then I am with you, yours, wholly yours. If I could only believe that to be possible, I would be quite satisfied. Dear and only beloved, write to me soon and tell me that you are well and that you love me always. But, dear Karl, I must once more talk to you a little seriously. Tell me, how could you doubt my faithfulness to you? Oh, Karl, to let you be eclipsed by someone else, not as if I failed to recognise the excellent qualities in other people and regarded you as unsurpassable, but, Karl, I love you indeed so inexpressibly, how could I find anything even at all worthy of love in someone else? Oh, dear Karl, I have never, never been wanting in any way towards you, yet all the same you do not trust me. But it is curious that precisely someone was mentioned to you who has hardly ever been seen in Trier, who cannot be known at all, whereas I have been often and much seen engaged in lively and cheerful conversation in society with all kinds of men. I can often be quite cheerful and teasing, I can often joke and carry on a lively conversation with absolute strangers, things that I cannot do with you. You see, Karl, I could chat and converse with anyone, but as soon as you merely look at me, I cannot say a word for nervousness, the blood stops flowing in my veins and my soul trembles.

Often when I thus suddenly think of you I am dumbstricken and overpowered with emotion so that not for anything in the world could I utter a word. Oh, I don't know how it happens, but I get such a queer feeling when I think of you, and I don't think of you on isolated and special occasions; no, my whole life and being are but one thought of you. Often things occur to me that you have said to me or asked me about, and then I am carried away by indescribably marvellous sensations. And, Karl, when you kissed me, and pressed me to you and held me fast, and I could no longer breathe for fear and trembling, and you looked at me so peculiarly, so softly, oh, sweetheart, you do not know the way you have often

looked at me. If you only knew, dear Karl, what a peculiar feeling I have, I really cannot describe it to you I sometimes think to myself, too, how nice it will he when at last I am with you always and you call me your little wife. Surely, sweetheart, then I shall be able to tell you all that I think, then one would no longer feel so horribly shy as at present. Dear Karl, it is so lovely to have such a sweetheart. If you only knew what it is like, you would not believe that I could ever love anyone else. You, dear sweetheart, certainly do not remember all the many things you have said to me, when I come to think of it. Once you said something so nice to me that one can only say when one is totally in love and thinks one's beloved completely at one with oneself. You have often said something so lovely, dear Karl, do you remember? If I had to tell you exactly everything I have been thinking -- and, my dear rogue, you certainly think I have told you everything already, but you are very much mistaken -- when I am no longer your sweetheart, I shall tell you also what one only says when one belongs wholly to one's beloved. Surely, dear Karl, you will then also tell me everything and will again look at me so lovingly. That was the most beautiful thing in the world for me. Oh, my darling, how you looked at me the first time like that and then quickly looked away, and then looked at me again, and I did the same, until at last we looked at each other for quite a long time and very deeply, and could no longer look away. Dearest one, do not be angry with me any more and write to me also a little tenderly, I am so happy then. And do not be so much concerned about my health. I often imagine it to be worse than it is. I really do feel better now than for a long time past. I have also stopped taking medicine and my appetite, too, is again very good. I walk a lot in Wettendorfs garden and am quite industrious the whole day long. But, unfortunately, I can't read anything. If I only knew of a book which I could understand properly and which could divert me a little. I often take an hour to read one page and still do not understand anything. To be sure, sweetheart, I can catch up again even if I get a little behind at present, you will help me to go forward again, and I am quick in grasping things too. Perhaps you know of some book, but it must be quite a special kind, a bit learned so that I do not understand everything, but still manage to understand something as if through a fog, a bit such as not everyone likes to read; and also no fairy-tales, and no poetry, I can't bear it. I think it would do me a lot of good if I exercised my mind a bit. Working with one's hands leaves too much scope to the mind. Dear Karl, only keep well for my sake. The funny little dear is already living somewhere else. I am very glad at the change in your....

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Letter from Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl

in Bonn

Written: [Trier, August 10, 1841]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 707-709.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

My little wild boar,

How glad I am that you are happy, and that my letter made you cheerful, and that you are longing for me, and that you are living in wallpapered rooms, and that you drank champagne in Cologne, and that there are Hegel clubs there, and that you have been dreaming, and that, in short, you are mine, my own sweetheart, my dear wild boar. But for all that there is one thing I miss: you could have praised me a little for my Greek, and you could have devoted a little laudatory article to my erudition. But that is just like you, you Hegeling gentlemen, you don't recognise anything, be it the height of excellence, if it is not exactly according to your view, and so I must be modest and rest on my own laurels. Yes, sweetheart, I have still to rest, alas, and indeed on a feather bed and pillows, and even this little letter is being sent out into the world from my little bed.

On Sunday I ventured on a bold excursion into the front rooms -- but it proved bad for me and now I have to do penance again for it. Schleicher told me just now that he has had a letter from a young revolutionary, but that the latter is greatly mistaken in his judgment of his countrymen. He does not think he can procure either shares or anything else. Ah, dear, dear sweetheart, now you get yourself involved in politics too. That is indeed the most risky thing of all. Dear little Karl, just remember always that here at home you have a sweetheart who is hoping and suffering and is wholly dependent on your fate. Dear, dear sweetheart, how I wish I could only see you again.

Unfortunately, I cannot and may not fix the day as yet. Before I feel quite well again, I shall not get permission to travel. But I am staying put this week. Otherwise our dear synopticist may finally depart and I should not have seen the worthy man. This morning quite early I studied in the Augsburg newspaper three Hegelian articles and the announcement of Bruno's book!

Properly speaking, dear sweetheart, I ought now to say vale faveque to you, for you only asked me for a

couple of lines and the page is already filled almost to the end. But today I do not want to keep so strictly to the letter of the law and I intend to stretch the lines asked for to as many pages. And it is true, is it not, sweetheart, that you will not be angry with your little Jenny on that account, and as for the content itself, you should bear firmly in mind that only a knave gives more than he has. Today my buzzing, whirring little head is quite pitiably empty and it has hardly anything in it but wheels and clappers and mills. The thoughts have all gone, but on the other hand, my little heart is so full, so overflowing with love and yearning and ardent longing for you, my infinitely loved one.

In the meantime have you not received a letter written in pencil sent through Vauban? Perhaps, the intermediary is no longer any good, and in future I must address the letters directly to my lord and master.

Commodore Napier has just passed by in his white cloak. One's poor senses fail one at the sight. It strikes me as just like the wolves' ravine in the Freischuz, when suddenly the wild army and all the curious fantastic forms pass through it. Only on the miserable little stage of our theatre one always saw the wires to which the eagles and owls and crocodiles were fastened -- in this case the mechanism is merely of a somewhat different kind.

Tomorrow, for the first time, Father will be allowed out of his constrained position and seated on a chair. He is rather discouraged by the very slow progress of his recovery, but he vigorously issues his orders without pause, and it will not be long before he is awarded the grand cross of the order of commanders.

If I were not lying here so miserably, I would soon be packing my bag. Everything is ready. Frocks and collars and bonnets are in beautiful order and only the wearer is not in the right condition. Oh, dearest one, how I keep thinking of you and your love during my sleepless nights, how often have I prayed for you, blessed you and implored blessings for you, and how sweetly I have then often dreamed of all the bliss that has been and will be. -- This evening Haizinger is acting in Bonn. Will you go there? I have seen her as Donna Diana.

Dearest Karl, I should like to say a lot more to you, all that remains to be said -- but Mother will not tolerate it any longer -- she will take away my pen and I shall not be able even to express my most ardent, loving greetings. Just a kiss on each finger and then away into the distance. Fly away, fly to my Karl, and press as warmly on his lips as you were warm and tender when starting out towards them; and then cease to be dumb messengers of love and whisper to him all the tiny, sweet, secret expressions of love that love gives you -- tell him everything -- but, no, leave something over for your mistress.

Farewell, one and only beloved. I cannot write any more, or my head will be all in a whirl [...] you know, and quadrupedante putrem sonitu etc., etc. -- Adieu, you dear little man of the railways. Adieu, my dear little man. -- It is certain, isn't it, that I can marry you?

Adieu, adieu, my sweetheart.

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Letter from Jenny Von Westphalen to Karl

in Cologne

Written: [Kreuznach, March 1843]
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Although at the last conference of the two great powers nothing was stipulated on a certain point, nor any treaty concluded on the obligation of initiating a correspondence, and consequently no external means of compulsion exist, nevertheless the little scribe with the pretty curls feels inwardly compelled to open the ball, and indeed with feelings of the deepest, sincerest love and gratitude towards you, my dear, good and only sweetheart. I think you had never been more lovable and sweet and charming, and yet every time after you had gone I was in a state of delight and would always have liked to have you back again to tell you once more how much, how wholly, I love you. But still, the last occasion was your victorious departure; I do not know at all how dear you were to me in the depths of my heart when I no longer saw you in the flesh and only the true image of you in all angelic mildness and goodness, sublimity of love and brilliance of mind was so vividly present to my mind. If you were here now, my dearest Karl, what a great capacity for happiness you would find in your brave little woman. And should you come out with ever so bad a leaning, and ever such wicked intentions, I would not resort to any reactionary measures. I would patiently bow my head and surrender it to the wicked knave. "What", how? -- Light, what, how light. Do you still remember our twilight conversations, our guessing games, our hours of slumber? Heart's beloved, how good, how loving, how considerate, how joyful you were!

How brilliant, how triumphant. I see you before me, how my heart longs for your constant presence, how it quivers for you with delight and enchantment, how anxiously it follows you on all the paths you take. To Pabschritier, to Merten in Gold, to Papa Ruge, to Pansa, everywhere I accompany you, I precede you and I follow you. If only I could level and make smooth all your paths, and sweep away everything that might be an obstacle to you. But then it does not fall to our lot that we also should be allowed to interfere actively in the workings of fate. We have been condemned to passivity by the fall of man, by Madame Eve's sin; our lot lies in waiting, hoping, enduring, suffering. At the most we are entrusted with knitting stockings, with needles, keys, and everything beyond that is evil; only when it is a question of deciding where the *Deutsche Jahrbucher* is to be printed does a feminine veto intervene and invisibly play

something of a small main role. This evening I had a tiny little idea about Strasbourg. Would not a return to the homeland be forbidden you if you were to betray Germany to France in this way, and would it not be possible also that the liberal sovereign power would tell you definitely: "Emigrate then, or rather stay away if you do not like it in my states." But all that, as I have said, is only an idea, and our old friend Ruge will certainly know what has to be done, especially when a private little chick lurks like this in the background, and comes out with a separate petition. Let the matter rest, therefore, in Father Abraham's bosom.

This morning, when I was putting things in order, returning the draughtsmen to their proper place, collecting the cigar butts, sweeping up the ash, and trying to destroy the "Althauschen" [?], I came across the enclosed page. You have dismembered our friend Ludwig and left a crucial page here. If you are already past it in your reading, there is no hurry; but for the worthy bookbinder, in case it is to be bound, it is urgently needed. The whole work would be spoilt. You have certainly scattered some more pages. It would be a nuisance and a pity. Do look after the loose pages.

Now I must tell you about the distress and misfortune I had immediately after you went away. I saw at once that you had not paid any attention to your dear nose and left it at the mercy of wind and weather and air, and all the vicissitudes of fate, without taking a helpful handkerchief with you. That, in the first place, gave me grave concern. In the second place, the barber dropped in. I thought of putting it to great advantage and with rare amiability I asked him how much the Herr Doctor owed him. The answer was 7 1/2, silver groschen. I quickly did the sum in my head and 21/2 groschen were saved. I had no small change and I therefore gave him 8 silver groschen in good faith that he would give me change. But what did the scoundrel do? He thanked me, pocketed the whole sum, my six pfennigs were gone and I could whistle for them. I was still on the point of reproving him, but either he did not understand my glance of distress or Mother" tried to soothe me -- in short, the six pfennigs were gone as all good things go. That was a disappointment!

Now I come to a matter of dress. I went out this morning and I saw many new pieces of lace at Wolf's shop. If you cannot get them cheap or get someone else to choose them, then I ask you, sweetheart, to leave the matter in my hands. In general, sweetheart, I would really prefer at present that you did not buy anything and saved your money for the journey. You see, sweetheart, I shall then be with you and we shall be buying together, and if someone cheats us, then at least it will happen in company. So, sweetheart, don't buy anything now. That applies also to the wreath of flowers. I am afraid you would have to pay too much, and to look for it together would indeed be very nice. If you won't give up the flowers, let them be rose-coloured. That goes best with my green dress. But I would prefer you to drop the whole business. Surely, sweetheart, that would be better. You can do that only when you are my dear lawful, church-wed husband. And one thing more: before I forget. Look for my last letter. I should be annoyed if it got into anyone else's hands. Its tendency is not exactly well-meaning, and its intentions are unfathomably malevolent. Were you barked at as a deserter when you jumped in? Or did they temper justice with mercy? Has Oppenheim come back and is Claessen still in a bit of a rage? I shall send Laffarge on as soon as I can. Have you already delivered the letter of bad news to E[...]? Are the passport people willing? Dearest sweetheart, those are incidental questions, now I come to the heart of the matter. Did you behave well on the steamer, or was there again a Madame Hermann on board? You bad boy. I am going to drive it out of you. Always on the steamboats. I shall have an interdiction imposed immediately on wanderings of this kind in the contrat social, in our marriage papers, and such enormities will be severely punished. I shall have all the cases specified and punishment imposed for them, and I shall make a second marriage law similar to the penal code. I shall show you alright. Yesterday evening I

was dead tired again, but all the same I ate an egg. Food shares, therefore, are not doing so badly and are going up like the Dusseldorf shares. When you come, it is to be hoped they will be at par, and the state guarantees the interest. However, adieu now. Parting is painful. It pains the heart. Good-bye, my one and only beloved, black sweet, little hubby. "What", how! Ah! you knavish face. Talatta, talatta, good-bye, write soon, talatta, talatta.

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Paris

Written: [Trier,about June 21, 1844]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 575-579.
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First Published: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Erganzungsband, Teil 1, Berlin, 1968
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You see, dear heart, that I don't deal with you according to the law and demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a letter for a letter; I am generous and magnanimous, but I hope that my twofold appearance before you will soon yield me golden fruit, a few lines in return, for which my heart is yearning, a few words to tell me that you are well and are longing for me a little. I should so like to know that you miss me and to hear you say you want me. But now quickly, before the holding of the daily court begins again, a bulletin about our little one, for after all she is now the chief person in our alliance and, being at once yours and mine, is the most intimate bond of our love. The poor little doll was quite miserable and ill after the journey, and turned out to be suffering not only from constipation but downright overfeeding. We had to call in the fat pig, and his decision was that it was essential to have a wet-nurse since with artificial feeding she would not easily recover. You can imagine my anxiety. But that is all over now, the dear little Clever Eyes is being fed magnificently by a healthy young wet-nurse, a girl from Barbeln, the daughter of the boatman with whom dear Papa so often sailed. In better times, Mother once provided a complete outfit of clothes for this girl, when she was still a child, and what a coincidence -- this poor child, to whom Papa used to give a kreutzer every day, is now giving life and health to our baby. It was not easy to save her life, but she is now almost out of any danger. In spite of all her sufferings, she looks remarkably pretty and is as flower-white, delicate and transparent as a little princess. In Paris we would never have got her through the illness, so this trip has already been well worth while. Besides, I am now again with my good, poor mother, who only with the greatest struggle can put up with our being separated.

She has had a very bad time at the Wettendorfs'. They are rather coarse people. Ah, if I had only known how things were with poor Mother on many occasions during the winter! But I often wept and was miserable when thinking of her, and you were always so considerate and patient. Another good thing about this wet-nurse is that she is also very useful as a maid, is willing to accompany [us] and, as it happens, served three years in Metz and therefore also speaks French. Hence my return journey is fully assured. What a stroke of luck it is, is it not! Only at present poor Mother has to bear too many expenses and is after all very poor. Edgar robs her of all she has and then writes one nonsensical letter after

another, rejoices over the approaching revolutions and the overthrow of all existing conditions, instead of beginning by revolutionising his own conditions, which then always evokes unpleasant discussions and indirect attacks on the mad revolutionary youth. In general, nowhere does a longing for a transformation of the existing state of things arise more strongly than when one sees the surface looking so drearily flat and even, and yet knows what a commotion and ferment is taking place in the depths of mankind.

But let us leave the revolution and come back to our wet-nurse. I shall pay the monthly sum of four talers from the remainder of the journey money, from which I will pay also for the medicine and doctor. True, Mother does not want me to do so, but for food alone she has to bear more than she can. In spite of poverty, she keeps everything about her in decent condition. People in Trier are really behaving excellently towards her and that placates me a little. Moreover, I do not need to visit anyone, for they all come to me and I hold court from morning to night. I cannot give you the names of all of them. Today I also disposed of the patriot Lehmann, who is very well disposed by the way, and is only afraid that your thorough scientific studies might suffer over there. Incidentally, I behave towards everyone in a lordly fashion and my external appearance fully justifies this. For once I am more elegant than any of them and never in my life have I looked better and more blooming than I do now. Everyone is unanimous about that. And people constantly repeat Herwegh's compliment asking me "when my confirmation has taken place". I think to myself, too, what would be the good of behaving humbly; it does not help anyone out of a difficulty, and people are so happy if they can express their regret. Despite the fact that my whole being expresses satisfaction and *affluence*, everyone still hopes that you will decide after all to obtain a permanent post. 0, you asses, as if all of you were standing on firm ground. I know that we are not exactly standing on rock, but where is there any firm foundation now? Can one not see everywhere signs of earthquake and the undermining of the foundations on which society has erected its temples and shops? I think that time, the old mole, will soon stop burrowing underground -- indeed in Breslau there have been thunderstorms again. If we can only hold out for a time, until our little one has grown big. As to that, you'll put my mind at ease, won't you, my dear sweet angel, my one and only heart's beloved? How my heart went out to you on June 19! How strongly and intimately it beat out of love for you.

But to return to the account of events. It was not until our wedding-day that our dear little baby was well again and sucked healthily and lustily. Then I set out on my difficult journey -- you know where to. I wore my nice Paris frock and my face glowed with anxiety and excitement. When I rang, my heart was beating almost audibly. Everything went through my mind. The door opened and Jettchen appeared. She embraced and kissed me and led me into the drawing-room where your mother and Sophie were sitting. Both immediately embraced me, your mother called me "thou", and Sophie sat me on the sofa beside her. She has been terribly ravaged by illness, looks like CxC, and is hardly likely to get well again. And yet Jettchen is in an almost worse state. Only your mother looks well and flourishing, and is cheerfulness itself, almost gay and frolicsome. Alas, this gaiety seems somehow sinister. All the girls were equally affectionate, especially little Caroline. Next morning your mother came already at 9 o'clock to see the baby. In the afternoon Sophie came, and this morning little Caroline also paid a visit to our little angel. Can you imagine such a change? I am very glad about it and Mother as well, but how has it come about so suddenly? What a difference success makes, or in our case rather the *appearance* of success, which by the subtlest tactics I know how to maintain.

That's strange news, isn't it? Just think, how the time runs and even the fattest pigs as well; Schleicher, too, is no longer a politician, and a Socialist, that is to say, like Schmiriaks from the organism of labour, etc. It is enough to make one sick, as the Frankenthaler says. He partly considers that your clique is mad, but he thinks it is high time you attacked Bauer. Ah, Karl, what you are going to do, do it soon. And also

do give me soon some sign of your life. I am being treated with great tenderness by the most gentle loving mother, my little one is being properly looked after and cared for, the whole of Trier gapes, stares, admires, and pays court, and yet my heart and soul are turned towards you. Ah, if only I could see you now and again, and ask you: what is that for? Or sing for you: "Do you know also when it will be the day after tomorrow?" Dear heart of mine, how I should like to kiss you, for such cold collations are no good, isn't that true, my dearest one? However, you should read the *Trier'sche Zietung*, it is quite good now. How do things look with you? It is now already eight days I have been away from you. Even here, with better-quality milk, it would not have been possible to get our baby over her illness without a wet-nurse. Her whole stomach was upset. Today Schleicher has assured me that she is now saved. 0, if only poor Mother did not have so many worries, and particularly because of Edgar, who makes use of all the great signs of the times, and all the sufferings of society, in order to cover up and whitewash his own worthlessness. Now the vacation is coming again and then once again nothing will come of the examination. All his essays are ready. It is unpardonable. Mother must deny herself everything, while he has a good time in Cologne going to all the operas, as he himself writes. He speaks with the utmost tenderness of his little sister, his little Jenny, but I find it impossible to be tender towards the scatterbrain.

Dearest heart, I am often greatly worried about our future, both that near at hand and later on, and I think I am going to be punished for my exuberance and cockiness here. If you can, do set my mind at rest about this. There is too much talk on all sides about a steady income. I reply then merely by means of my rosy cheeks, my clear skin, my velvet cloak, feather hat and smart coiffure. That has the best and deepest effect, and if as a result I become depressed, nobody sees it. Our baby has such a beautiful white colour that everyone wonders at it, and she is so fine and delicate. Schleicher is very solicitous and very nice to the child. Today he did not want to go away at all, then there came God's Wrath, and then Reverchon, then Lehmann, and then Poppey, and so it goes on all the time. Yesterday the Tree-frog too, was here with his parchment better half. I did not see them. The members of your family have just paid a call in passing, including Sophie in full fig. But how ill she looks!!! -- Give greetings from me to Siebenkas and the Heines, if you see them. I shall have news of you soon, isn't that so? And are you bravely singing the postillion of Longjumeau?

Only don't write with too much rancour and irritation. You know how much more effect your other articles have had. Write either in a matter-of-fact and subtle way or humorously and lightly. Please, dear heart of mine, let your pen run over the paper, even if it should on occasion stumble and fall, and the sentence with it. Your thoughts all the same stand erect like the grenadiers of the old guard, so honourably firm and courageous, and they could say like the old guard: *elle meurt mais elle ne se rend pas.* What does it matter if occasionally the uniform hangs a bit loosely and is not so tightly buttoned up? What is so very nice about the French soldiers is their free and easy appearance. When you think of our stilted Prussians, doesn't it make you shudder? -- Just slacken the strappings and remove the cravat and helmet -- let the participles take their course and set down the words just as they come of themselves. Such an army does not have to march in such strict order. And your troops are taking the field, are they not? Good luck to the general, my dusky master! Good-bye, dearest heart, my beloved, my entire life. For the present I am in my little Germany, with everything around me, including my little one and my mother, and yet my heart is sad because you are absent; it yearns for you, and it hopes for you and your black messengers.

Good-bye,

Your Schipp and Schribb

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Paris

Written: [Trier, between August 4 and 10, 1844]
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First Published: *Volwärts,* No. 64, August 10, 1844
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

My dearest,

I received your letter at the very moment when all the bells were ringing, the guns firing, and the pious crowd flocking into the temples to convey their hallelujahs to the heavenly Lord for having so miraculously saved their earthly Lord. You can imagine with what peculiar feeling I read Heine's poems during the celebration and also chimed in with my hosannas. Did not your Prussian heart also quiver with horror at the news of that crime, that shocking, unthinkable crime? Alas, for the lost virginity, the lost honour! Such are the Prussian catchwords. When I heard the little green grasshopper, cavalry captain X., declaiming about the lost virginity, I could only believe that he meant the holy immaculate virginity of Mother Mary, for that after all is the only one officially confirmed. But as for the virginity of the Prussian state! No, I lost any belief in that long ago. As regards the terrible event, one consolation remains for the pure Prussian people, viz., that the motive for the deed was not any political fanaticism, but a purely personal desire for revenge. They console themselves with that--lucky for them--but it is precisely a new proof that a political revolution is impossible in Germany, whereas all the seeds of a social revolution are present. While there has never been a political fanatic there who dared to go to the extreme, the first one to risk an attempt at assassination was driven to it by want, dire want. For three days the man had been begging in vain in Berlin in constant danger of death from starvation--hence it was a social attempt at assassination! If something does break out, it will start from this direction--that is the most sensitive spot, and in this respect a German heart also is vulnerable!

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Paris

Written: [Trier, between August 11 and 18, 1844]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 581-584.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: First published in Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, Teil 1, Berlin, 1968
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

My dearest, unique Karl,

You cannot believe, darling of my heart, how very happy you make me by your letters, and how your last pastoral letter, you high priest and bishop of my heart, has once again restored soothing calm and peace to your poor lamb. It is certainly wrong and silly to torture oneself with all sorts of cares and glimpses of dark distant perspectives. I am very well aware of that myself in those self-tormenting moments -- but although the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak, and so it is always only with your help that I am able to exorcise those demons. Your latest news truly brought me such real and tangible solace that it would be quite wrong to start brooding again. I expect now that it is going to happen as in a game of cards, and I hope that some external circumstance will determine the time of my return home. Perhaps Edgar's arrival or some similar [external] occasion. I touch on this painful [point] very unwillingly, and it is only in Edgar's presence that I shall return to this matter for a decision. In any case I shall be coming before the winter, how could I indeed resist such dear, heart-warming friendliness as that which shines on me from your lines. And then in the background are dark feelings of anxiety and fear, the real menace of unfaithfulness, the seductions and attractions of a capital city -- all those are powers and forces whose effect on me is more powerful than anything else. How I am looking forward after such a long time to rest comfortably and happily once more close to your heart, in your arms. What a lot I shall have to chatter with you about, and what trouble you will have to bring me again *à la hauteur des principes* for in partitioned Germany it is not easy to remain *au courant*.

How glad you will be to see the little creature. I am convinced that you will not be able to recognise our child, unless her little eyes and black crest of hair reveal the secret to you. Everything else is really quite different now, only the resemblance to you becomes ever more obvious. During the last few days she has begun to eat a little broth made from the herbs which I have brought with me, and she relishes it greatly. In the bath she splashes with her little hands so much that the whole room is flooded, and then she dips her tiny finger in the water and afterwards licks it hastily. Her little thumb, which she has always kept bent and then made to peep out between her fingers, has become so unusually supple and flexible owing to this habit, that one cannot help being astonished by it. She can become a little piano player -- I believe

she can do magic tricks with her little thumb. When she cries, we quickly draw her attention to the flowers in the wall-paper, and then she becomes quiet as a mouse and gazes so long that tears come into her eyes. We must not talk to her for too long because it makes her over-exert herself. She wants to imitate every sound and answer it, and the fact that her forehead swells and reddens is a sign of excessive strain. Incidentally, she is the acme of cheerfulness. Every kind of look you give her makes her laugh. You ought to see what a darling little creature I shall bring with me. When she hears anyone speaking she at once looks in that direction and goes on looking until something fresh happens. You can't have any idea of the liveliness of the child. For whole nights through her little eyes refuse to close in sleep, and if one looks at her she laughs out loud. She is happiest when she sees a light or the fire. By that means one can allay her heaviest storm. Karl dear, how long will our little doll play a solo part? I fear, I fear, that when her papa and mama are together once again, and live in common ownership, the performance will soon become a duet. Or should we set about it in the good Parisian style? Usually one finds the greatest number of children where the means are smallest. Recently a poor man with ten children asked for relief from Chief Burgomaster Gortz. When he was reproached for having produced so many children, his only reply was to say: there is a parish fðte once a year even in the tiniest and most insignificant village. Then he was given assistance, and no doubt he will be celebrating the eleventh parish fðte.

We have not seen your relatives for a long time. First the great illustrious visit and now the important arrangements for the marriage, so that one's presence is inopportune, one does not receive any calls and is oneself modest enough not to visit them again. The marriage is on August 28. On Sunday the banns were called for the first time. In spite of all the magnificence, Jettchen's health becomes worse every day, her cough and hoarseness are increasing. She can hardly walk any longer. She goes about like a ghost, but married she must be. It is generally regarded as terrible and unscrupulous. Rocholl, however, is said to be in favour of it in order to secure something for his nephew. I don't know whether that can turn out well. If at least they were going to live in a town -- but in a miserable village, and in winter at that. I can't imagine how your relatives can be cheerful and happy about it. If fate did not somewhat dampen their spirits, there could be no escape from their haughtiness. And the boasting about grand parties and brooches, ear-rings and shawls! I cannot understand your mother. She herself has told us that she thinks Jettchen is consumptive, and yet she lets her marry. But Jettchen is said to want it very strongly. I am curious to know how it will all turn out.

In Trier there is already such a stir and bustle as I have never seen. There is activity everywhere. All the shops have been newly smartened up, everyone is arranging rooms for lodging. We, too, have got a room ready. The whole of Coblenz is coming here and the cream of society is joining in the procession. All the hotels are already full up. 210 new pubs have been established, as well as circuses, theatres, menageries, dioramas, international theatres, in short, everything one could think of is already announcing its presence. The entire palace square is covered with tents. Entire wooden houses have been erected outside the gates. Trier marches on Sunday. Everyone has to join a procession and then come the villages. Every day some 16,000 people. Frau Stein has already sold 400 talers' worth of tiny copies of the sacred linen cloth, made out of old strips of ribbon. Rosaries, worth from six pfennigs to one hundred talers, are displayed at every house. I, too, have bought a little medallion for my little one, and yesterday she herself obtained a small rosary. You cannot imagine the bustling activity that is going on here. Next week half Luxemburg is coming; cousin Michel has also announced his arrival. All the people seem to be mad. What is one to think about it? Is it a good sign of the times that everything has to go to extremes, or are we still a long way from our goal?

Where you are, too, all hell is being let loose. Will things be patched up once more? And tell me, what

did the blockhead [note: Ruge] say about your article? Has he given tit for tat, replied or kept silent? Jung really is an exceptionally noble characher. What a good thing it is that you are now a little bit in funds again. Only always bear in mind, when the purse is full, how quickly it becomes empty again, and how difficult it is to fill it. You dear good Karl, darling of my heart. How I love you, how my heart yearns for you. I should like so very much that Edgar could still see his charming niece. If only he became an uncle barrister -- then I could earlier talk to Mother about my departure. Our little doll is just eating her soup. Just think, she does not want to lie down at all any more, she wants to sit upright all the time. She is then better able to look around her. Tell me, dear heart, for some time past I have noticed that you no longer mention Guerrier. Has anything happened in connection with the worthy cousin? And is there no news of the divine Georga?

I am very eager to know what the Pomeranian is going to do now. Will he keep silent or will he make a row? It is peculiar that from Cologne there never comes anything unpleasant, but always the best. After all, how loyal our friends are, how solicitous, tactful and considerate. Even if it is painful to have to ask for money, in relation to these people it surely ceases to be at all unpleasant and onerous. I can hardly go on writing, the baby keeps distracting my attention with her delicious chuckles and attempts at speech. You cannot have any idea of the beauty of her forehead, the transparency of her skin and the wonderful delicacy of her tiny hands.

Dear good heart of my heart. Do write to me again quite soon. I am so very happy when I see your handwriting. You dear, good. sweet, little wild boar. You dear father of my little doll.

Adieu, heart of my heart.

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Brussels

Written: February 10, [1845] Paris
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 525.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MEGA-2 Abt III, Bd I, Berlin, 1975
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

...partment He is coming tomorrow to give the order to the concierge. It was a terrible blow and I leave you to imagine what I'm going to do with my 200 francs, now that I've had to give him 980 fr. as a deposit, half of which he will return when he has found a tenant.

Such are the delightful consequences of that governmental, Guizotian, Humboldtian disgraceful trick. I don't know what we're going to do. This morning I traipsed all over Paris. The Mint was closed and I shall have to go again. Then I visited the carriers and the agent of a furniture auctioneer. I had no success anywhere. And in the course of these wearisome excursions, what's more, Ewerbeck forced me to call on Mme Glaise, who, however, is quite an amiable, artless and kindly woman who pleased me much. At this moment I'm amusing myself with the infant and the grumbler while writing to you. Little Jenny never stops saying papa. She still has a very bad cold and her little teeth are very painful. However I hope she'll soon be herself again. The person is in good spirits, though this morning she felt quite 'lausig'." I heard from mama today. Edgar will be sitting his exam shortly. Aren't you astonished, my good Karl, at my addressing you in French? But it happened without my thinking about it. I intended to start off with a few sentences in French and then, just as the appetite comes with eating, I was unable to part company with this language. I find it so easy to write to you and chat with you I am writing as fast as I would in German and, although it may not be classical French, I trust it will amuse you to read it, faults, inexpressible beauties and all. I shall not send off these lines until I get your first letter. Say lots of nice things to our good friend Burgers on my behalf. A thousand kisses from mama to papa, and a little kiss from Munsterchen. Adieu my friend. I long to see you again. By now you will already be in Brussels. Best greetings to our new fatherland. Adieu. 10 February Heine was at the Ministry of the Interior where he was told they knew nothing at all about it; Ledru-Rollin will be raising the matter in the Chamber as soon as everyone has escaped. Have you read the Réforme? What a silly, pitiful thing it is. Everything it says is offensive, more so than the most violent attacks launched by the others. There you have the work of that great man, such as he should be—Mr Bakunin, who, however, came and gave me a lesson in rhetoric and drama in order to unbosom himself to me. Herwegh is playing with the child. Ewerbeck is talking incessantly about the continual distractions of Mr Burgers and the son of the people. Mr Weill,

my special protector, came to my aid....

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Brussels

Written: [after August 24, 1845, Trier]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 526.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MEGA-2 Abt III, Bd I, Berlin, 1975
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Although our letters may have crossed on this occasion, my beloved Karl, I nevertheless look on yours as furnishing a reply to my last letter, since it in fact anticipates and answers in advance all the questions concerning which my mind was unsettled and in doubt.

Only one big vital question, the one of the tailor's and dressmaker's bills, still awaits a favourable solution, which I hope will soon be forthcoming. You, sweetheart, weigh up every circumstance with such loving concern that when I read your dear letter I felt quite comforted. But my heart is still irresolute in the matter of leaving or staying or at any rate of fixing a definite date and, if I am to be honest, it inclines more and more toward staying. If only could draw out each day to twice its length, if only I could attach leaden wings to the hours that they might not hasten by so fast—oh, if only you knew what bliss it is for my mother, our living together, what unending happiness and joy of life she derives from the contemplation of the lovely child, and what consoling elation from my presence! And am I to deprive her of all this with one cold word, am I to take all this away, leaving her with nothing but the forlorn loneliness of long, dreary winter days, anxious worry concerning my life and Edgar's future, nothing save gentle, kindly memories? She herself urges me with rare courage to depart but, having one day secretly fixed the date, I vacillate again on the morrow and grant myself one day more—and then another and still another. And yet my days here are already numbered and it will soon behove me to eke out the time, for it is drawing inexorably closer. Besides, I feel altogether too much at ease here in little Germany! Though to say so in the face of you arch anti-Germans calls for a deal of courage, does it not? But that courage I have and, for all that and all that, one can live quite happily in this old land of sinners. At all events it was in glorious France and Belgium that I first made acquaintance with the pettiest and meanest of conditions. People are petty here, infinitely so, life as a whole is a pocket edition, but there heroes are not giants either, nor is the individual one jot better off. For men it may be different, but for a woman, whose destiny it is to have children, to sew, to cook and to mend, I commend miserable Germany. There, it still does one credit to have a child, the needle and the kitchen spoon still lend one a modicum of grace and, on top of that, and by way of reward for the days spent washing, sewing and child-minding, one has the comfort of knowing in one's heart of hearts that one has done one's duty. But

now that old-fashioned things such as duty, honour and the like no longer mean anything, now that we are so advanced as to consider even old watchwords such as these outmoded, now that we actually feel in ourselves an urge towards sentiments of positively Stirnerian egoism, we no longer feel any inclination for the lowlier duties of life. We, too, want to enjoy ourselves, to do things and to experience the happiness of mankind in our own persons. But for me, what really turns the scales in favour of Germany is my having seen, *me Hercule*, that prince of men, the model man—let no one say a word against a Germany in which men such as these stand up on their little legs and turn somersaults. But now joking apart.

I shall probably be leaving after the middle of September. Weydemeyer may accompany me as far as Cologne; Schleicher is also going to Brussels and told me yesterday that he might manage to be there at the right moment for me. Fiddlesticks, stout Sir, nothing will come of it. We shall probably have to stick to Breyer. The little house should do. In winter one does not need much room anyhow. My mother thought it might be best if we were to lodge Edgar elsewhere throughout that period, perhaps in the *bois sauvage.* Anyhow that would be cheapest. Then, having concluded my important business on the upper floor, I shall remove downstairs again. Then you could sleep in what is now your study and pitch your tent in the *salon immense*—that would present no difficulty. The children's noise downstairs would then be completely shut off, you would not be disturbed upstairs, I could join you when things were quiet and the living-room could, after all, always be kept reasonably tidy. The two rooms on the second floor would be of little or no use to us. At all events we must instal a good, warm stove and appurtenances in the living-room at the earliest opportunity. That again is Breyer's business, for one doesn't let out unheatable rooms. It would be as well to tackle Master Braggart in really good time, otherwise it will be the same as in the case of the kitchen table of hallowed memory. After that I shall see to everything else. Such preparations as could be made here, have been made. It would be wonderful for me if you could come and meet me. It is too far to Verviers and there wouldn't be any point. Maybe as far as Liège. Do make inquiries about an inn there at which we could meet. Wilhelm the Pacific, anti-pauper and metal-hard, strongly advised me against making the trip from here to Cologne in one day. It's simply that I detest the idea of spending the night at Coblenz. Nor should I like to spend a whole day at Cologne, but shall travel on to Air. Then on to Liège the following day. However, I shall have to break the train journeys often for the joggling might well have unpleasant consequences. But I shall let you know more definitely about the journey itself later. What a colony of paupers there is going to be in Brussels! Has Engels come back alone or a deux? Hess has written and told Weydemeyer he intends to marry. Is Bourgeois living in Cologne, or does he have to be in Elberfeld on account of the *Spiegel?* I should also like to ask Daniels to come and see me, but how? Little Jenny is sitting beside me and is also writing to her papa about whom she constantly talks. She is too sweet for words. Mrs Worbs gave her such a lovely little blue frock. Everyone is quite besotted with the child who has become the talk of the town, so that every day people come to see her. Her favourite is the chimney sweep, by whom she insists on being picked up. Tell Edgar that the woollen stockings are in the big box on the right in the attic, not immediately beneath the window. He will probably find them if he rummages about a bit amongst the children's clothes. If only the great catastrophe did not take place at the very time when you are finishing off your book, the publication of which I anxiously await. More about this and one or two personal *rencontres* with your mother when we meet. Such things are better talked of than written about. Goodbye, sweetheart. Give my love to Edgar and the others, and cherish fond thoughts of mother and daughter. Write again soon. I am so happy when you write.

Your

Jenny

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Karl

in Brussels

Written: [March 24, 1846] Trier
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 529.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MEGA-2 Abt III, Bd I, Berlin, 1975
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

A thousand thanks, my dearly beloved Karl, for your long, dear letter of yesterday. How I longed for news of you all during those days of anxiety and sorrow when my heart scarcely dared to hope any more, and how long, how very long, did my yearning breast remain unsatisfied. Every hour contained in itself an eternity of fear and worry. Your letters are the only gleams of light in my life just now. Dear Karl, pray let them shine for me more often and cheer me. But maybe I shall not need them much longer, for my dear mother's condition has taken such a turn for the better that the possibility of her recovery has become almost a probability. This time we all of us hope that the improvement that has set in is not an illusory one as is so often the case in insidious afflictions such as nervous disorders. She is recovering her strength and her mind is no longer oppressed by worries and fears, real or imaginary. I had composed myself for any eventuality and, had the worst happened, should have found comfort and solace enough, but nevertheless my heart is now jubilant with all the joy and rapture of spring. It's a strange thing about the life of someone you love. It is not so readily relinquished. You cling to it with every fibre of your being and, when the other's breathing falters, feel as though those fibres have been abruptly severed. I believe that recovery is now on the way and will rapidly accomplish its task. Now it is a matter of banishing all gloomy thoughts while constantly conjuring up cheerful images before her mind's eye. I now have to think up all kinds of tales which must nonetheless have about them some semblance of truth. All this is most difficult and is rendered easier only by the love I bear my dear mother and the blessed hope that, when all this is over, I shall be able to hasten back again and rejoin you, my darling, and my dear, sweet, little ones. Stay fit and well, all you my dear ones, and keep a careful watch over their sweet little heads. How I look forward to seeing the children's little faces again!

It seems that murder and mayhem has broken loose among you! I am glad that this radical breach should not have taken place until after my departure. Much of it would have been attributed to the machinations of that ambitious woman, Lady Macbeth, [Mary Burns] and not without reason. For I have, to be sure, for too long again been carping at circumstances and exercising *la petite critique.* But it is better thus. Now as regards this critical woman, Engels was perfectly right, as opposed to yourselves, in finding such a woman *'as she ought to be'* as the eternal antithesis, very arrogant and hence in making a great fuss

about very little I myself, when confronted with this abstract model, appear truly repulsive in my own eyes and would like to be sure of finding out all its faults and weaknesses in return. Moreover, it is quite false, or at any rate very mistaken, to speak, in respect of Engels, of a 'rare exemplar'. Then he is right in maintaining that 'such is not to be found'. But that is precisely where the argument falls to the ground. There is an abundance of lovely, charming, capable women, they are to be found all over the world and are only waiting for a man to liberate and redeem them. Any man can become the redeemer of a woman.

Present-day women, in particular, are receptive to all things and very capable of self-sacrifice. True, one would have to acquire a somewhat wider knowledge of one's wares if one was not to renounce all taste which, more than anything else, is reprehensible in a salesman who has long been dealing in such articles. Who could accuse Rabbi Rabuni of a blunder, a display of ignorance, in respect of a commercial transaction? To him, all cats are of the same colour and he is satisfied at that. On the other hand, when he sees rosy tints appear in far-away Poland, he forgets that the colour of these blood-red roses is not genuine; they are pleasing to the eye and necessary and have, 'for all that and all that', created a great stir, but how can one establish any connection between this attempt and attempts to attempt an attempt? Who can understand that? Things have come to such a pass that, along with the perfectly justified aim and intention of conceiving the real flesh-and-blood human being, with all his needs and desires, as the be-all and end-all, of seeing man as humankind—that, along with this, almost all idealism has gone by the board and been replaced by nothing but fantasticism. Once again the mania for practical reality is firmly in the saddle. And when men like Hess, who are, in fact, nothing but ideologists, who actually have no real flesh and blood but only, as it were, an abstraction of the same, when such men suddenly parade the knife and fork question as their mission in life, then they are bound to plunge neck and crop into fantasticism. Hess will constantly beguile himself with bogus projects while still continuing to exercise a mysterious, inexplicable, magical, personal sway over the weak. Such is indeed his calling—to act, as it were, the prophet and high priest. So let him go to Babel-Jerusalem-Elberfeld if he will. Weitling's hullaballoo about his fantastical projects is also quite explicable. Just as he, coming from the artisan class, is perforce incapable of anything more elevated than to herald drinking bouts in popular poetry, so too he is capable of nothing more elevated than ill-fated undertakings which are obviously foolhardy and fail. He has no sense of the ridiculous, and what a fiasco it would have been on this occasion. That is now plain for all to see. I am happy beyond words, my dear Karl, that you are still keeping your spirits up and continuing to master your impatience and your longings. How I love you for this courage of yours. You are my husband, and I am still thankful for this! To remain calm and clear-headed in the midst of the hurly-burly and to be in harmony with the times! The most repulsive thing about the ill-starred insurrection is that wretched Prussia, with its spinelessness and pseudo-humanism, is again acclaimed by those idiots the French and all the rest of its admirers as against crude, brutish Austria. This besottedness with progress is truly repulsive. But now, my beloved Karl, I shall dwell on the subject of progress and enlarge on it as regards you, my dear master. How are you getting on with Stirner and what progress have you made? Above all, apply yourself to your book. Time marches inexorably on. I myself am besieged with inquiries here. Schleicher has already asked after it twice and complained bitterly about the literature that comes their way. And it's true, they are very badly off.

They are all having to grapple with Grun and Ruge and do not know which way to turn. Schleicher asked whether the Rabbi was by any chance Hess. Even Schleicher is prepared to swallow anything. But there is altogether too great a lack of knowledge. The false prophets have done so much to queer the pitch....

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer

in Hamm

Written: Thursday [March 17, 1848] Hotel Manchester, rue Grammont No. 1
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 539.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MECW, First Russian Edition, Moscow, 1934
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

My husband, being again so caught up in the work and pother here in this huge city, has asked me to suggest that you announce in the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* that several German societies have been formed here, particulars of which will be known to Mr Lüning; but that the *German* Workers' Club under the leadership of the Germans in London, Schapper, Bauer, Moll, and the Germans in Brussels, Marx, Wolff, Engels, Wallau, Born, that these (who are also in direct touch with the Chartists in England via Harney and Jones) have nothing in common with the German Democratic Society headed by Börnstein, Bornstedt, Herwegh, Volk, Decker, etc., a society which flies the black, red and gold flag (wherein it had already been anticipated by the Federal Diet) and babbles of Father Blücher and is drilled in sections by retired Prussian officers. It is of the utmost importance that, in the eyes of France and Germany, one should dissociate oneself completely from that society, since it will bring the Germans into disrepute. If the *Dampfboot* comes out too late, use the information provided above for a short article in any German newspapers you choose, these being more readily at your command in the South. Try and get as much as you can into German papers.

I would like to write and tell you a great deal more about the interesting goings-on here which grow livelier by the minute (tonight 400,000 workers are meeting in front of the Hôtel de Ville), while attroupements are again on the increase; however I am so busy with house and home and the three mites that all I have time for is to hail you and your dear wife from afar with a few friendly words of greeting.

Greeting and fraternity.

Your *Citoyenne and Vagabonde*

Jenny Marx

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Caroline Shöler

in Cologne

Written: July 14, 1849, Hotel rue de Lille, No.45
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 539.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

My dear Lina,

You will have received my two letters from Trier and will have seen from them that on this occasion I did not feel at ease there. Everything has changed too much there and one does not, of course, always remain the same oneself. I felt an intense nostalgia for Paris and so, together with all my baggage, I returned posthaste via Air and Brussels; we got back here last Saturday, fit and well. I found very pretty, convenient lodgings in a salubrious district where we have already set up house, including kitchen, quite cosily.

At this moment Paris is splendid and luxurious in the extreme. The aristocracy and bourgeoisie suppose themselves safe since the ill-starred 13th of June and the fresh victories their party has won. On the 14th all the grandees, together with their carriages and their liveried retainers, were already creeping out of the holes in which they had been hiding and thus the marvellous streets are awash with magnificence and splendour of every description. Paris is a gorgeous city. How often during the past few days have I not wished you were here beside me as, filled with admiration and amazement, I walked along streets that were alive with people. Once we have settled in properly you must pay us a visit here and see for yourself how lovely it is.

Until 15 August we shall remain in these lodgings which, however, are too dear for us to stay in for any length of time. In Passy, a very pretty place an hour's distance from Paris, we have been offered a whole cottage with garden, 6-10 rooms, elegantly furnished throughout, and having four beds, at the unbelievable rent of eleven thalers a month. If it were not too remote we should remove there at once.

We have still not made up our minds whether we should have our things sent or not. So I shall have to make yet further calls upon your kindness and good nature.

Could you not find out from Johann and my packing-case maker, Hansen [Kunibert], *approximately* how many cwt. the whole amounts to, i.e. including only one of the boxes of books, No. 4, and how much it

costs to transport a cwt. from Cologne to Paris? That would enable us to make an estimate of sorts. Before winter sets in you would in any case have to unpack out of the trunks and dispatch to me here some of the linen, clothing, etc. I shall be sending you further details later on. Johann would be of very great service to you in this.

At the end of August our things will have to be removed from the place where they are now. Perhaps you could have a word with Johann or Faulenbach about cheap storage for them later on. These are all very tiresome affairs, but unavoidable in view of our vagabond existence. I am only sorry that I should have to place this additional burden on you, the more so since you yourself will surely have had a great deal to arrange and see to of late. For I feel sure that your next dear letter will bring me the joyous tidings of Bertha's marriage. Whether that day is already past or whether it is yet to come, do please convey to her my most cordial wishes for her future prosperity and happiness. I wish it were within my power to make you all really happy and more than anything else I should like to see you, my dear Lina, as cheerful and contented as you deserve and have every right to be, considering the many

cares troubles and disappointed expectations that have already clouded and embittered your young life. Rest assured that in me you will always find a loyal and loving friend.

I shall not write anything about politics today. There is no telling what may happen to a letter.

My dear husband sends you his warm regards and wonders whether you could, perhaps, find out from Stein, the banker in the neumarkt, or from his mother, etc, etc., the address of Jung, the assessor, and then forward the enclosed letter to him, the matter is one of some urgency. I am not franking these letters because the franking office is much too far away—I beg you not to frank your letters either and, in fact, to get yourself a cash book for your outlays on my behalf. If you fail to keep strict accounts, I shall have to have recourse to coercive measures.

The children, who can hardly open their eyes wide enough to take in all these marvels, often babble about their dear Aunt Lina and send you their love, so does Lenchen, *qui est toujours la meme.*

My love to your sisters, to Roland *et femme* and to the Eschweilers should you happen to see them, etc., etc.

Yours ever

Jenny

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer

in Frankfurt Am Main

Written: May 20, 1850, London
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 555.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, No 27, 1906-07
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

Almost a year has gone by since I was accorded such a kind and cordial reception by you and your dear wife, since I felt so happy and at home in your house, and throughout that long time I have sent you no word; I remained silent when your wife wrote to me so kindly, I even remained mute when news reached us of the birth of your child. I have myself often felt oppressed by this silence, but for much of the time I have been incapable of writing, and even today find it difficult, very difficult.

Circumstances, however, compel me to take up my pen—I beg you to *send us as soon as possible any money that has come in or comes in from the Revue.* We are in *dire need of it.* No one, I am sure, could reproach us with having made much ado about what we have been obliged to renounce and put up with for years; the public has never, or hardly ever, been importuned with our private affairs, for my husband is very sensitive about such matters and would sooner sacrifice all he has left rather than demean himself by passing round the democratic begging-bowl, as is done by the official great men. But what he was entitled to expect of his friends, especially in Cologne, was active and energetic concern for his *Revue*. He was above all entitled to expect such concern from those who were aware of the sacrifices he had made for the *Rh. Ztg*. Instead, the business has been utterly ruined by the negligent, slovenly way in which it was run, nor can one really say which did most harm—the bookseller's procrastination, or that of acquaintances and those managing the business in Cologne, or again the whole attitude of the democrats generally.

Over here my husband has been all but crushed by the most trivial worries of bourgeois existence, and so exasperating a form have these taken that it required all the energy, all the calm, lucid, quiet self-confidence he was able to muster to keep him going during these daily, hourly struggles. You, dear Mr Weydemeyer, are aware of the sacrifices made by my husband for the sake of the paper; he put thousands in cash into it, he took over the paper's property, talked into doing so by democratic worthies

who otherwise must themselves have assumed responsibility for the debts, at a time when there was already small prospect of being able to carry on. To save the paper's political honour and the bourgeois honour of his Cologne acquaintances, he shouldered every burden, he gave up his machinery, he gave up the entire proceeds and, on his departure, even borrowed 300 Reichstalers so as to pay the rent for newly hired premises, the editors' arrears of salary, etc.—and he was forcibly expelled.

As you know, we saved nothing out of all this for ourselves, for I came to Frankfurt to pawn my silver—all that we had left, I sold my furniture in Cologne because I was in danger of seeing my linen and everything else placed under distraint. As the unhappy era of counter-revolution dawned, my husband went to Paris where I followed him with my three children. Hardly had we settled down in Paris than he was expelled, I and my children being refused permission to stay for any length of time. Again I followed him across the sea. A month later our 4th child was born. You would have to know London and what conditions are like here to realise what that means—3 children and the birth of a 4th. We had to pay 42 talers a month in rent alone. All this we were in a position to defray with our own realised assets. But our slender resources ran out with the appearance of the *Revue.* Agreements or no agreements, the money failed to come in, or only by dribs and drabs, so that we found ourselves faced with the most frightful situations here.

Let me describe for you, as it really was, just *one* day in our lives, and you will realise that few refugees are likely to have gone through a similar experience. Since wet-nurses here are exorbitantly expensive, I was determined to feed my child myself, however frightful the pain in my breast and back. But the poor little angel absorbed with my milk so many anxieties and unspoken sorrows that he was always ailing and in severe pain by day and by night. Since coming into the world, he has never slept a whole night through—at most two or three hours. Latterly, too, there have been violent convulsions, so that the child has been hovering constantly between death and a miserable life. In his pain he sucked so hard that I got a sore on my breast—an open sore; often blood would spurt into his little, trembling mouth. I was sitting thus one day when suddenly in came our landlady, to whom we had paid over 250 Reichstalers in the course of the winter, and with whom we had contractually agreed that we should subsequently pay, not her, but her landlord by whom she had formerly been placed under distraint; she now denied the existence of, the contract, demanded the £5 we still owed her and, since this was not ready to hand (Naut's letter arrived too late), two bailiffs entered the house and placed under distraint what little I possessed—beds, linen, clothes, everything, even my poor infant's cradle, and the best of the toys belonging to the girls, who burst into tears. They threatened to take everything away within 2 hours—leaving me lying on the bare boards with my shivering children and my sore breast. Our friend Schramm left hurriedly for town in search of help. He climbed into a cab, the horses took fright, he jumped out of the vehicle and was brought bleeding back to the house where I was lamenting in company with my poor, trembling children.

The following day we had to leave the house, it was cold, wet and overcast, my husband went to look for lodgings, on his mentioning 4 children no one wanted to take us in. At last a friend came to our aid, we paid and I hurriedly sold all my beds so as to settle with the apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and milkman who, their fears aroused by the scandal of the bailiffs, had suddenly besieged me with their bills. The beds I had sold were brought out on to the pavement and loaded on to a barrow—and then what happens? It was long after sunset, English law prohibits this, the landlord bears down on us with constables in attendance, declares we might have included some of his stuff with our own, that we are doing a flit and going abroad. In less than five minutes a crowd of two or three hundred people stands gaping outside our door, all the riff-raff of Chelsea. In go the beds again; they cannot be handed over to the purchaser until

tomorrow morning after sunrise; having thus been enabled, by the sale of everything we possessed, to pay every farthing, I removed with my little darlings into the two little rooms we now occupy in the German Hotel, 1 Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we were given a humane reception in return for £5.10 a week.

You will forgive me, dear friend, for describing to you so exhaustively and at such length just one day in our lives over here. It is, I know, immodest, but this evening my heart has flowed over into my trembling hands and for once I must pour out that heart to one of our oldest, best and most faithful friends. Do not suppose that I am bowed down by these petty sufferings, for I know only too well that our struggle is not an isolated one and that, furthermore, I am among the happiest and most favoured few in that my beloved husband, the mainstay of my life, is still at my side. But what really shatters me to the very core of my being, and makes my heart bleed is that my husband has to endure so much pettiness, that so little would have been needed to help him and that he, who gladly and joyously helped so many, has been so bereft of help over here. But as I have said, do not suppose, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that we are making demands on anyone; *if money is advanced to us by anyone,* my husband *is still in a position to repay it out of his assets.* The only thing, perhaps, my husband was entitled to ask of those who owe him many an idea, many a preferment, and much support was that they should evince more commercial zeal, greater concern for his *Revue.* That modicum, I am proud and bold enough to maintain, that modicum was his due. Nor do I even know whether my husband ever earned by his labours 10 silver groschen to which he was not fully entitled. *And I don't believe that anyone was the worse off for it.* That grieves me. But my husband is of a different mind. Never, even in the most frightful moments, has he lost his confidence in the future, nor yet a mite of his good humour, being perfectly content to see me cheerful, and our dear children affectionately caressing their dear mama. He is unaware, dear Mr Weydemeyer, that I have written to you at such length about our situation, so do not make any use of this letter. All he knows is that I have asked you on his behalf to expedite as best you can the collection and remittance of the money. I know that the use you make of this letter will be wholly dictated by the *tact* and *discretion* of your friendship for us.

Farewell, dear friend. Convey my most sincere affection to your wife and give your little angel a kiss from a mother who has shed many a tear upon the infant at her breast. Should your wife be suckling her child herself, do not tell her anything of this letter. I know what ravages are made by any kind of upset and how bad it is for the little mites. Our three eldest children are doing wonderfully well, for all that and for all that. The girls are pretty, blooming, cheerful and in good spirits, and our fat boy is a paragon of comical humour and full of the drollest ideas. All day the little imp sings funny songs with tremendous feeling and at the top of his voice, and when he sings the verse from Freiligrath's Marseillaise

Come, o June, and bring us deeds,
Fresh deeds for which our hearts do yearn

in a deafening voice, the whole house reverberates. Like its two unfortunate precursors, that month may be destined by world history to see the opening of the gigantic struggle during which we shall all clasp one another's hands again.

Fare well.

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer

in Frankfurt Am Main

Written: [London, about 20 June 1850]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 559.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MECW, First Russian Edition, Moscow, 1934
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Weydemeyer,

My husband is not a little astonished that you could send the money to Naut, and likewise that from the red number to anyone but himself.

There will, of course, have to be a complete overhaul of the way in which the *Revue* is distributed. Meanwhile my husband requests you not to send anything more to Mr Naut, but rather all of it here, even the smallest amount (in Prussian talers). Conditions here are not as they are in Germany. We live, all six of us, in one small room and a very small closet, for which we pay more than for the largest house in Germany, and pay weekly at that. Hence you can imagine what a position one finds oneself in if so much as 1 Reichstaler arrives a day too late. For all of us here, without exception, it's a question of our daily bread. So do not await Mr Naut's orders and so forth. Another thing my husband wishes me to say is that it is really is not desirable for Luning to write a critique, a strong attack would do, only no praise. Nor has my husband ever expected a profound critique, but only a straightforward piece such as all newspapers accord to reviews and pamphlets, and what your paper also does when it wants to make works known and promote them, namely, publish short excerpts of a suitable kind. This involves little work.

Many regards to your dear wife, and my cordial regards to yourself.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels

in Manchester

Written: London, 19 December [1850]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 560.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MEGA Abt III, Bd I, 1929
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Engels,

On Karl's request I send you herewith six copies of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Harney, who is a little better, wishes you to send one to Helen Macfarlane. Just imagine, that rascal Schuberth will only let Eisen have the 300 copies if he is paid in cash and Naut, the jackass, is now quite beside himself. Hence Karl has masses of letters to write, and you know what that means where he is concerned. The Cologne anathema against Willich and Co. arrived yesterday, together with new Rules, circulars, etc. This time the Cologne people were exceptionally active and energetic and adopted a firm stand vis-a-vis the rotten band. Just imagine, it wasn't enough for Willich to have put his foot in it once, with the Fanon-Caperon manifesto—the leviathans must needs issue another epistle, while Willich has gone so far as to send red Becker 3 decrees for forwarding to the Cologne *Landwehr* in which he gives them orders from here to mutiny, to nominate a provisional government in every company and to overthrow all civil and military authorities and have them shot if need be. And the Cologne *Landwehr*, at that, who are now quite happily talking pot politics in the city of their fathers on the Rhine's cool strand. If Willich is not ripe for the lunatic asylum, then I don't know who is. Schapper has obtained a passport from Hamburg, to enable him to take over in person Haude's occupation of emissary. Good luck to the hippopotamus!

We have also heard from Dronke. Mrs Moses has again persuaded her husband that he is 'poss' of the 'gommunists'. But you'll soon be here and can hear and see for yourself everything that's been going on. The Caperonians set upon and beat up red Wolff one night, and our friend had Wengler taken into custody. The next morning, when he had been sentenced, Willich ransomed him for 20 shillings.

We are all looking forward to seeing you here soon.

Yours

Jenny Marx

[On the back of the letter]
Frederic Engels, Esquire
70 Great Ducie Street, Manchester

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels

in Manchester

Written: [London, 11] January 1851
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 561.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: MEGA Abt III, Bd I, 1929
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Engels,

On my husband's request I am sending you herewith a letter for Weerth. You had agreed to forward it along with your own. Red Wolff has made a new pair of shoes by machine, citizen Liebknecht grows daily more earnest and virtuous, Schramm is down in the dumps and no one has seen anything of him. The children send their love to Engels, and my husband is at the library whiling away his time.

With my warm regards,

Jenny Marx

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels

in Manchester

Written: London, 17 December 1851
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 562.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian edition, Vol 27, Moscow, 1962
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Engels,

Moor has just asked me to send you in great haste a few words in reply to Weydemeyer's letter, just received. He will himself let you have an article on the French misre by Friday and wonders whether you might not be able to dispatch to America a humorous essay on the German nonsense, notably the hearing of Prussia by Austria, etc. I am also, on the orders of the powers that be, sending Freiligrath a reminder. We all look forward very much to seeing you here soon. Colonel Musch and the young ladies, his sisters, send you their warm regards as does your

Jenny Marx

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Letter from Jenny Marx to Frederick Engels

in Manchester

Written: [London, 17 December 1851]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 38, pg 563.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Mr Engels,

Hardly hall I posted my letter to you (yours not having arrived until four o'clock in the afternoon) when Moor returned from the Museum and began 'burning his fingers' over the French stuff. Now he asks me to send you at once this second epistle to tell you that, as he would not be able to Post his article until late on Thursday evening, he proposes to send it off from here, and that, supposing you were in fact to leave on Friday, everything would cross. If you can send your article here by Friday, it could travel in company with the rest; but you might consider it preferable to send yours off from Liverpool. So *comme il vous plaira.* How do you like my husband creating a stir with your article throughout western, eastern and southern America—and mutilated at that, and what's more under another name? For the rest the whole article is nothing but a source of mystification.

Should you have the English version of the *Manifesto* to hand, please bring it with you. Colonel Musch writes three letters a day to Frederick in Manchester, sticking used stamps thereon with the utmost conscientiousness. The whole tribe sends its love. Until Saturday, then.

Farewell.

Yours

Jenny Marx

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Engels to Nikolai-on Danielson Correspondence

This series of letters pertain to the question of development of capitalism in Russia. It has been noted that independently of Engels, Lenin came to similar conclusions in his writings against the Narodniki.

Engels to Danielson in London
April 10, 1879
Engels to Danielson in London
February 19, 1881
Engels to Danielson in London
September 22, 1892
Engels to Danielson in London
February 24, 1893
Engels to Danielson in London
October 17, 1893

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Nikolai Danielson

in London

Written: April 10, 1879
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

In regard to your most remarkable letter I shall confine myself to a few observations.

The railways sprang up first as the *couronnement de l'oeuvre* in those countries where *modern industry was most developed,* England, United States, Belgium, France, etc. I call them the *"couronnement de l'oeuvre"* not only in the sense that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) the *means of communication* adequate to the modern means of production, but also in so far as they were the basis of immense joint stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all *other sorts* of joint stock companies, to commence by banking companies. They gave in one word, an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital,* and also to the accelerated and immensely *enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital,* thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual indebtedness, the capitalist form of "international" brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading countries of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic superstructure in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body, carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the Public Exchequer. In the United States, to their profit, great part of the public land they received as a present, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines but many miles of land along both sides the lines, covered with forests, etc. They become so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course land so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport.

The system inaugurated in France by Louis Philippe, of handing over the railways to a small band of financial aristocrats, endowing them with long terms of possession, guaranteeing the interest out of the

public pocket, etc., etc., was pushed to the utmost limit by Louis Bonaparte, whose regime, in fact, was essentially based upon the traffick in railway concessions, to some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals, etc.

And in Austria and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of foreign commerce, but the commerce in countries which export principally raw produce increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the government on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special *sort of produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitableness for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption *in loco.* Thus, for instance, in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but at the same time the agricultural population was driven away. All the changes very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude by this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way, for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple)* of its paper money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the civil war) of an unprecedented rapid industrial development, agricultural progress, etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the time of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the facades of the social edifices, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satyre upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they lag still behind in the extent of acquired wealth; but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong antitheses.

A propos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on credit and banking?

[DANIELSON (NICOLAI-ON) NIKOLAI FRANZEVICH (1844-1918). Russian economist, Narodnik; translator of Capital; he completed the translation begun by G. A. Lopatin of the first volume, which was published in 1872. In this connection Danielson entered into correspondence with Marx. Danielson was one of the chief theoreticians of the Narodniki, who contested the necessity and possibility of the development of capitalism in Russia.]

Engels to Danielson Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Nikolai Danielson

in London

Written: February 19, 1881
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I have read with the greatest interest your article, which is in the best sense of the word "original." Hence the boycotting--if you break through the webs of routine thought, you are always sure to be "boycotted" in the first instance; it is the only arm of defence which in their first perplexity the routiniers know how to wield. I have been "boycotted" in Germany for many, many years, and am still so in England, with that little variation that from time to time something so absurd and asinine is launched against me that I would blush to take any public notice of it. But try on! The next thing to do--in my opinion--is to take up the wonderfully increasing *indebtedness of the landlords,* the upper-class representatives of agriculture, and show them how they are "crystallised" in the retort under the control of the "new pillars of society."

I am very anxious to see your polemics with the *"Slovo."* As soon as I shall sail in more quiet waters I shall enter more fully upon your *Esquisse* [sketch]. For the present I cannot omit one observation. The soil being exhausted and getting not the elements--by artificial and vegetable and animal manure, etc. --to supply its wants, will, with the changing favour of the seasons, of circumstances independent of human influence--still continue to yield harvests of very different amounts, though, summing up a period of years, as for instance, from 1870-80, the stagnant character of the production presents itself in the most striking character. Under such circumstances the favourable climatic conditions pave the way to a *famine year* by quickly consuming and setting free the mineral fertilisers still potent on the soil, while vice-versa, a *famine-year,* and still more a series of bad years following it, allow the soil-inherent minerals to accumulate anew, and to work efficiently with returning favour of the climatic conditions. Such a process goes, of course, everywhere on, but *elsewhere* it is checked by the modifying intervention of the agriculturist himself. It becomes the only *regulating factor* where man has ceased to be a "power"--for want of means.

So we have 1870 as an excellent harvest in your country, but that year is a *climax year,* and as such immediately followed by a very bad one; the year *1871,* the very bad harvest, must be considered as the starting point for a new little cycle, till we come to the new climax year 1874, which is immediately followed by the famine year 1875; then the upwards movement begins again, ending in the still worse famine year 1880. The summing up of the years during the whole period proves that the average annual

production remained the same and that the mere natural factors have alone produced the changes, comparing the single years and the smaller cycles of years.

I wrote you some time ago, that if the great industrial and commercial crisis England has passed through, went over without the culminating financial crash at London, this *exceptional* phenomenon was only due to French money. This is now seen and acknowledged even by English *routiniers.* Thus the *Statist* (January 19, 1881) says: "The money market has only be[en] so easy as it has been during the past years *through an accident.* The *Bank of France* in the early autumn permitted its stock of gold bullion to fall from £30 millions to £22 millions .... *Last autumn undoubtedly there was a very narrow escape."* (!)

The *English railway system* rolls on the same inclined plane as the European Public Debt system. The ruling magnates amongst the different railway-nets directors contract not only--progressively--new loans *in order to enlarge their network,* i.e., the " territory," where they rule as absolute monarchs, but they enlarge their respective networks *in order to have* new pretexts *for engaging in new loans* which enable them to pay the interest due to the holders of obligations, preferential shares, etc., and also from time to time to throw a sop to the much ill-used common shareholders in the shape of somewhat increased dividends. This pleasant method must one day or another terminate in an ugly catastrophe.

In the United States the railway kings have become the butt of attacks, not only, as before this, on the part of the farmers and other industrial *"entrepreneurs"* of the *West,* but also on the part of the grand representative of commerce--the *New York Chamber of Commerce*. The Octopodus railway king and financial swindler *Gould* has, on his side, told the New York commercial magnates: You now attack the railways, because you think them most vulnerable considering their present unpopularity; but take heed: after the railways *every sort of corporation* (means in the Yankee dialect joint stock company) will have its turn; then, later on, all forms of associated capital; finally *all forms of capital;* you are thus paving the way to--*Communism* whose tendencies are already more and more spreading among the people. M. Gould *"a le flair bon."*

In *India* serious complications, if not a general outbreak, is in store for the British government. What the English take from them annually in the form of rent, dividends for railways useless to the Hindus; pensions for military and civil service men, for Afghanistan and other wars, etc., etc.--what they take from them *without any equivalent* and quite apart from what they appropriate to themselves annually *within* India, speaking only of the *value of the commodities* the Indians have gratuitously and annually to *send over* to England--it amounts to *more than the total sum of income of the sixty millions of agricultural and industrial labourers of India!* This is a bleeding process, with a vengeance! The famine years are pressing each other and in dimensions till now not yet suspected in Europe! There is an actual conspiracy going on wherein Hindus and Mussulmans co-operate; the British government is aware that something is "brewing," but this shallow people (I mean the governmental men), stultified by their own parliamentary ways of talking and thinking, do not even desire to see clear, to realise the whole extent of the imminent danger! To delude others and by deluding them to delude yourself--this is: *parliamentary wisdom* in a nutshell! *Tant mieux!*

Letter from Engels to Danielson

in London

Written: September 22, 1892
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

So far, then, we agree upon this one point, that Russia, in 1892, could not exist as a purely agricultural country, that her agricultural population must be complemented by industrial production.

Now I maintain, that industrial production nowadays means *grande industrie,* steam, electricity, self-acting mules, powerlooms, finally machines that produce machinery. From the day Russia introduced railways, the introduction of these modern means of production was a foregone conclusion. You must be able to repair your own locomotives, waggons, railways, and that can only be done cheaply if you are able to construct those things at home, that you intend to repair. From the moment warfare became a branch of the *grande industrie* (ironclad ships, rifled artillery, quickfiring and repeating cannons, repeating rifles, steel covered bullets, smokeless powder, etc.), *la grande industrie*, without which all these things cannot be made, became a political necessity. All these things cannot be had without a highly developed metal manufacture. And that manufacture cannot be had without a corresponding development in all other branches of manufacture, especially textile.

I quite agree with you in fixing the beginning of the new industrial era of your country about 1861. It was the hopeless struggle of a nation, with primitive forms of production, against nations with modern production, which characterised the American War. The Russian people understood this perfectly; hence their transition to modern forms, a transition rendered irrevocable by the emancipation act of 1861.

This necessity of the transition from the primitive methods of production that prevailed in 1854, to the modern methods that are now beginning to prevail--this necessity once condeded, it becomes a secondary question whether the hothouse process of fostering the industrial revolution by protective and prohibitive duties was advantageous or even necessary, or otherwise.

This industrial hothouse atmosphere renders the process acute, which otherwise might have retained a more chronic form. It crams into twenty years a development which otherwise might have taken sixty or more years. But it does not affect the nature of the process itself, which, as you say, dates from 1861.

One thing is certain: if Russia really required, and was determined to have, a *grande industrie* of her

own, she could not have it at all except under some degree of protection, and this you admit. From this point of view, too, then, the question of protection is one of *degree* only, not of principle; the principle was unavoidable.

Another thing is certain: if Russia required after the Crimean War a *grande industrie* of her own, she could have it in one form only: the *capitalistic form.* And along with that form, she was obliged to take over all the consequences which accompany capitalistic *grande industrie* in all other countries.

Now I cannot see that the results of the industrial revolution which is taking place in Russia under our eyes, are in any way different from what they are, or have been, in England, Germany, America. In America the conditions of agriculture and landed property are different, and this *does* make some difference.

You complain of the slow increase of hands employed in textile industry, when compared with the increase of quantity of product. The same is taking place everywhere else. Otherwise, whence our redundant "industrial reserve"? *(Capital,* C. 23, Sect. 3 and 4.) [Kerr edition, Vol. I, Chap. 25.]

You prove the gradual replacing of men's work by that of women and children--*Capital,* C. 13 (Sect. gal. [Ibid, Chap. 15.]

You complain that the machine-made goods supersede the products of domestic industry and thus destroy a supplementary production, without which the peasant cannot live. But we have here an absolutely necessary consequence of capitalistic *grande industrie:* the creation of the home market *(Capital,* C. 24, Sect. 5), and which has taken place in Germany during my lifetime and under my eyes. Even what you say, that the introduction of cotton goods destroys not only the domestic spinning and weaving of the peasants, but also their *flax culture,* has been seen in Germany between 1820 and now. And as far as this side of the question: the destruction of home industry and the branches of agriculture subservient to it--as far as this is concerned, the real question for you seems to me this: that the Russians had to decide whether *their own grande industrie* was to destroy their domestic manufacture, or whether *the import of English goods* was to accomplish this. *With* protection, the *Russians* effected it, *without* protection, the *English.* That seems to me perfectly evident.

Your calculation that the sum of the textile products of *grande industrie* and of domestic industry does not increase, but remains the same and even diminishes, is not only quite correct, but would not be correct if it came to another result. So long as Russian manufacture is confined to the home market, its product can only cover home consumption. And that can only slowly increase, and, as it seems to me, ought even to decrease under present Russian conditions.

For it is one of the necessary corollaries of *grande industrie* that it *destroys* its own home market by the very process by which it creates it. It creates it by destroying the basis of the domestic industry of the peasantry. But without domestic industry the peasantry cannot live. They are ruined *as peasants;* their purchasing power is reduced to a minimum; and until they, as *proletarians,* have settled down into new conditions of existence, they will furnish a very poor market for the newly-arisen factories.

Capitalist production being a transitory economical phase, is full of internal contradictions which develop and become evident in proportion as it develops. This tendency to destroy its own market at the same time it creates it, is one of them. Another one is the insoluble situation to which it leads, and which is developed sooner in a country *without* a foreign market, like Russia, than in countries which are more or less capable of competing on the open world market. This situation without an apparent issue finds its

issue, for the latter countries, in commercial revulsions, in the forcible opening of new markets. But even then the *cul-de-sac* stares one in the face. Look at England. The last new market which could bring on a temporary revival of prosperity by its being thrown open to English commerce is China. Therefore English capital insists upon constructing Chinese railways. But Chinese railways mean the destruction of the whole basis of Chinese small agriculture and domestic industry, and as there will not even be the counterpoise of a Chinese *grande industrie*, hundreds of millions of people will be placed in the impossibility of living. The consequence will be a wholesale emigration such as the world has not yet seen, a flooding of America, Asia and Europe by the hated Chinaman, a competition for work with the American, Australian and European workman on the basis of the Chinese standard of life, the lowest of all--and if the system of production has not been changed in Europe before that time, it will have to be changed then.

Capitalistic production works its own ruin, and you may be sure it will do so in Russia too. It may, and if it lasts long enough, it will surely produce a fundamental agrarian revolution--I mean a revolution in the condition of landed property, which will ruin both the *pomeshchik* and the *muzhik* [the landlord and the peasant], and replace them by a new class of large landed proprietors drawn from the *kulaki [kulaks]* of the villages and the bourgeois speculators of the towns. At all events, I am sure the conservative people who have introduced capitalism into Russia, will be one day terribly astonished at the consequences of their own doings.

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Letter from Engels to Danielson

in London

Written: February 24, 1893
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

We seem to be agreed upon all points except one, which you tackle in both your letters of 3rd October and 27 January, though in each from a different point of view.

In the first you ask : was the economic change which after 1854 had become unavoidable, of such a nature that it must, instead of developing: the historical institutions of Russia, on the contrary attack them in their root? In other words, could not the rural commune be taken for the basis of the new economic development?

And, Jan. 27th, you express the same idea in this form: the *grande industrie* had become a necessity for Russia, but was it unavoidable that it was developed in a capitalistic form?

Well, in, or about, 1854 Russia started with the commune on the one hand, and the necessity of the *grande industrie* on the other. Now, if you take the whole state of your country into account, as it was at that date, do you see any possibility of the *grande industrie* being grafted on the peasants' commune in a form which would, on the one hand, make the development of that *grande industrie* possible, and on the other hand raise the primitive commune to the rank of a social institution superior to anything the world has yet seen? And that while the whole Occident was still living under the capitalist regime? It strikes me that such an evolution, which would have surpassed anything known in history required other economical, political and intellectual conditions than were present at that time in Russia.

No doubt the commune and to a certain extent the artel, contained germs which under certain conditions might have developed and saved Russia the necessity of passing through the torments of the capitalistic regime. I fully subscribe to our author's letter about Shukovsky. But in his, as well as in my opinion, the first condition required to bring this about, was the impulse from without, the change of economic system in the Occident of Europe, the destruction of the capitalist system in the countries where it had originated. Our author said in a certain preface to a certain old manifesto, in January 1882, replying to the question whether the Russian commune might not be the starting point of a higher social development: if the change of economic system in Russia coincides with a change of economic system in

the West, so that both supplement each other, then contemporary Russian landownership may become as the starting point of a new social development.

If we in the West had been quicker in our own economic development, if we had been able to upset the capitalistic regime some ten or twenty years ago, there might have been time yet for Russia to cut short the tendency of her own evolution towards capitalism. Unfortunately we are too slow, and those economic consequences of the capitalistic system which must bring it up to the critical point, are only just now developing in the various countries about us: while England is fast losing her industrial monopoly, France and Germany are approaching the industrial level of England, and America bids fair to drive them all out of the world's market both for industrial and for agricultural produce. The introduction of an, at least relative, free trade policy in America, is sure to complete the ruin of England's industrial monopoly, and to destroy, at the same time, the industrial export trade of Germany and France; then the crisis must come, *tout ce qui'il a de plus fin de siecle.* But in the meantime, with you, the commune fades away, and we can only hope that the change to a better system, with us, may come soon enough to save, at least in some of the remoter portions of your country, institutions which may, under those circumstances, be called upon to fulfil a great future. But facts are facts, and we must not forget that these chances are getting less and less every year.

For the rest I grant you that the circumstance of Russia being the last country seized upon by the capitalist *grande industrie*, and at the same time the country with by far the *largest peasant population*, are such as must render the *bouleversement* caused by this economic change, more acute than it has been anywhere else. The process of replacing some 500,000 *pomeshchiki* (landowners) and some eighty million peasants by a new class of *bourgeois* landed proprietors cannot be carried out but under fearful sufferings and convulsions. But history is about the most cruel of all goddesses, and she leads her triumphal car over heaps of corpses, not only in war, but also in "peaceful" economic development. And we men and women are unfortunately so stupid that we never can pluck up courage to a real progress unless urged to it by sufferings that seem almost out of proportion.

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Letter from Engels to Danielson

in London

Written: October 17, 1893
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When I received your letter of July 18, announcing your return home, I was on the point myself of going abroad for two months and am only just returned. This is the reason of my long silence.

Many thanks for the copies of the *Ocherki* three of which I have forwarded to appreciative friends. The book, I am glad to see, has caused considerable stir and indeed sensation, as it well merited. Among the Russians I have met, it was the chief subject of conversation. Only yesterday one of them writes: *"With us in Russia a controversy is going on about the 'fate of capitalism in Russia.'"*

In the Berlin *Sozial-Politische Zentralblatt* a Mr. B. V. Struve has a long article on your book; I must agree with him in this one point, that for me, too, the present capitalistic phase of development in Russia appears an unavoidable consequence of the historical conditions as created by the Crimean War, the way in which the change of 1861 in agrarian conditions was accomplished, and the political stagnation in Europe generally. Where he is decidedly wrong is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United States. There he quite forgets, that the U.S. are modern, bourgeois from the very origin; that they were founded by *petits* bourgeois and peasants who ran away from European feudalism to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia we have a groundwork of a primitive communistic character, a precivilisation *Gentilgesellschaft*, crumbling to ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon which the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, *Geldwirtschaft* has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia *Naturalwirtschaft* was all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America.

But for all that it still seems to me that you take a gloomier view of the case than the facts justify. No doubt the passage from primitive agrarian communism to capitalistic industrialism cannot take place without terrible dislocation of society, without the disappearance of whole classes and their transformation into other classes; and what enormous suffering, and waste of human lives and productive

forces that necessarily implies, we have seen--on a smaller scale--in Western Europe. But from that to the complete ruin of a great and highly gifted nation there is still a long way. The rapid increase of population to which you have been accustomed, may be checked; the reckless deforestation combined with the expropriation of the old landlords as well as the peasants may cause a colossal waste of productive forces; but after all, a population of more than a hundred millions will finally furnish a very considerable home market for a very respectable *grande industrie*, and with you as elsewhere, things will end by finding their own level--if capitalism lasts long enough in Western Europe.

You yourself admit that "the social conditions in Russia after the Crimean War were not favourable to the development of the form of production inherited by us from our past history." I would go further, and say, that no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless--that higher form was *already in existence* in another country, so as to serve as a model. That higher form being, wherever it is historically possible, the necessary consequence of the capitalistic form of production and of the social dualistic antagonism created by it, it could not be developed directly out of the agrarian commune, unless in imitation of an example *already in existence* somewhere else. Had the West of Europe been ripe, 1860-70, for such a transformation, had that transformation then been taken in hand in England, France, etc., then the Russians would have been called upon to show what could have been made out of their commune, which was then more or less intact. But the West remained stagnant, no such transformation was attempted, and capitalism was more and more rapidly developed. And as Russia had no choice but this: either to develop the commune into a form of production from which it was separated by a number of historical stages, and for which not even in the West the conditions were then ripe--evidently an impossible task--or else to develop into capitalism; what remained to her but the latter chance?

As to the commune, it is only possible so long as the differences of wealth among its members are but trifling. As soon as these differences become great, as soon as some of its members become the debt-slaves of the richer members, it can no longer live. The *kulaki* and *miroyedy* (kulaks and parasites) of Athens, before Solon, have destroyed the Athenian *gens* with the same implacability with which those of your country destroy the commune. I am afraid that institution is doomed. But on the other hand, capitalism opens out new views and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation like yours outlives every crisis. There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress. Only the *modus operandi* is changed. *Que les destinees s'accomplissent!* [Only the mode of operation is changed. Let fate be accomplished.]

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Marx to Kugelmann Correspondence

Lenin's Editorial Introduction to the 1907 First Edition Letters to Dr. Kugelmann

Marx to Kugelmann
March 6, 1868

Marx to L. Kugelmann in Hanover (Abstract)
July 11, 1868

Marx to Dr. Kugelmann (On the Paris Commune)
Apr 17, 1871

Marx to Kugelmann
December 12, 1868

Marx to Kugelmann
March 3, 1869

Marx to Kugelmann
November 11, 1869

Marx to Kugelmann
April 4, 1871

Marx to Kugelmann
April 12, 1871

Marx to Kugelmann
April 17, 1871

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Vladimir Lenin

Lenin's Editorial Introduction to the 1907 First Edition
Letters to Dr. Kugelmann

Written: 5 February, 1907
Source: *Collected Works*, Volume 12
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HTML Markup: David Walters

Our purpose in issuing as a separate pamphlet the full collection of Marx's letters to Kugelmann published in tire German Social-Democratic weekly, *Neue Zeit*, is to acquaint the Russian public more closely with Marx and Marxism. As was to be expected, a good deal of space in Marx's correspondence is devoted to personal matters. This is exceedingly valuable material for the biographer. But for the general public, and for the Russian working class in particular, those passages in the letters which contain theoretical end political material are infinitely more important in the revolutionary period we are now passing through, it is particularly instructive for us to make a careful study of this material which reveals Marx as a man who responded directly to all questions of the labour movement and world politics. The editors of *Neue Zeit* ale quite right in saying that "we are elevated by an acquaintance with the personality of me whose thoughts and wills took shape in the period of great upheavals". Such an acquaintance is doubly necessary to the Russian socialist in 1907, for it provides a wealth of very valuable material indicating the direct tasks confronting socialists in every revoution through which a country passes. Russia is experiencing a "great upheaval" at this very moment. In the present Russian revolution the Social-Democrat should more and more frequently pattern his policy after that of Marx in the comparatively stormy sixties.

We shall, therefore, permit ourselves to make only brief mention of those passages in Marx's correspondence that are of particular importance from the theoretical standpoint and shall deal in greater detail with his revolutionary policy as a representative of the proletariat.

Of outstanding interest as a contribution to a fuller and more profound understanding of Marxism is the letter of July 11, 1868 (p. 42, et seq.) In the form of a polemic against the vulgar economists, Marx in this

letter very clearly expounds *his* conception of what is called the "labour" theory of value. Those very objections to Marx's theory of value which naturally arise in the minds of the least trained readers of *Capital* and for this reason are most eagerly seized upon by the common or garden representatives of "professorial" bourgeois "science," are here analysed by Marx briefly, simply, and with remarkable lucidity. Marx here shows the road be took and the read to be taken towards elucidation of the law of value. He teaches us his *method*, using the most common objections as illustrations. He makes clear the connection between such a purely (it would seem) theoretical and abstract question as the theory of value and "the interest of the ruling classes", which must be *"to perpetuate confusion"*. It is only to be hoped that every one who begins to study Marx amid read *Capital* will read and re-read this letter when studying the first and most difficult chapters of that book.

Other passages in the letters that are very interesting from the theoretical standpoint are those in which Marx passes judgement on various writers. When you read these opinions of Marx -- vividly written, lull of passion and revealing a profound interest in all the great ideological trends and in an analysis of them -- you realise that you are listening to the words of a great thinker. Apart from the remarks on Dietzgen, made in passing, the comments on the Proudhonists (p. 17) deserve particular attention from the reader. The 'brilliant" young bourgeois intellectuals who dash "into the thick of the proletariat' at times of social upheaval, and are incapable of acquiring the stand point of the working class or of carrying on persistent and serious work among the "rank and file" of the proletarian organisations, are depicted with remarkable vividness in a few strokes of the pen.

Take the comment on Dühring (p. 35), which, as it were, anticipates the contents of the famous Anti-Dühring written by Engels (in conjunction with Marx) nine years later. There is a Russian translation of this book by Zederbaum which, unfortunately, is not only guilty of omissions but is simply a poor translation, with mistakes. Here, too, we have the comment on Thünen, which likewise touches on Ricardo's theory of rent. Marx had already, in 1868, emphatically rejected "Ricardo's errors", which he finally refuted in Volume III of *Capital*, published in 1894, but which to this very day are repeated by the revisionists -- from our ultra-bourgeois and even "Black-Hundred" Mr. Bulgakov to the "almost orthodox" Maslov.

Interesting, too, is the comment on Büchner, with an appraisal of vulgar materialism and of the "superficial nonsense" copied from Lange (the usual source of "professorial" bourgeois philosophy!) (p. 48).

Let us pass to Marx's revolutionary policy. There is among Social-Democrats in Russia a surprisingly widespread philistine Conception of Marxism, according to which a revolutionary period, with its specific forms of struggle and its special proletarian tasks, is almost an anomaly, while a "constitution" and an "extreme opposition" are the rule. In no other country in the world at this moment is there such a profound revolutionary crisis as in Russia -- and in no other country are there "Marxists" (belittlers and vulgarisers of Marxism) who take up such a Skeptical and philistine attitude towards the revolution. From the fact that the revolution is bourgeois in content they draw the shallow conclusion that the bourgeoisie is *the driving force* of the revolution, that the tasks of the proletariat in this revolution are of an ancillary, not independent, character and that proletarian leadership of the revolution is impossible!

How excellently Marx, in his letters to Kugelmann, exposes this shallow interpretation of Marxism! Here is a letter dated April 6, 1866. At that time Marx had finished his principal work. He had given his final judgement on the German Revolution of 1848 fourteen years before this letter was written. He had

himself, in 1850, renounced his socialist illusions that a socialist revolution was impending in *1848.* And in 1866, when only just beginning to observe the growth of new political crises, ho writes:

"Will our philistines [he is referring to the German bourgeois liberals] at last realise that without a revolution which removes the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns ... there must finally come another Thirty Years' War...!" (pp. 13- 14).

There is not a shadow of illusion here that the impending revolution (it took place from above, not from below as Marx bad expected) would remove the bourgeoisie and capitalism, but a most clear and precise statement that it would remove only the Prussian and Austrian monarchies. And what faith in this bourgeois revolution! What revolutionary passion of a proletarian fighter who realises the vast significance the bourgeois revolution has for the progress of the socialist movement!

Noting "a very interesting" social movement three years later, on the eve of the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire in France, Marx says in *a positive outburst of enthusiasm* that "the Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution". And describing the struggle of classes revealed in this study of the past, Marx concludes (p. 56): "And so the whole historical witches' cauldron is bubbling. When will *our country* [Germany] be so far."

Such is the lesson to be learned from Marx by the Russian Marxist intellectuals, who are debilitated by scepticism, dulled by pedantry, have a penchant for penitent speeches, rapidly tire of the revolution, and yearn, as for a holiday, for the interment of the revolution and its replacement by constitutional prose. From the theoretician and leader of the proletarians they should learn faith in the revolution, the ability to call on the working class to fight for its immediate revolutionary aims to the last, and a firmness of spirit which admits of no faint-hearted whimpering following temporary setbacks of the revolution.

The pedants of Marxism think that this is all ethical twaddle, romanticism, and lack of a sense of reality! No, gentlemen, this is the combination of revolutionary theory and revolutionary policy, without which Marxism becomes Brentanoism, Struvism and Sombartism. The Marxian doctrine has fused the theory and practice of the class struggle into one inseparable whole. And he is no Marxist who takes a theory that soberly states the objective situation and distorts it into a justification of the existing order and even goes to the length of trying to adapt himself as quickly as possible to every temporary decline in the revolution, to discard "revolutionary illusions" as quickly as possible, and to turn to "realistic' tinkering.

In times that were most peaceful, seemingly "idyllic", as Marx expressed it.. and "wretchedly stagnant" (as *Neue Zeit* put it), Marx was able to sense the approach of revolution and *to rouse* the proletariat, to a consciousness of its advanced revolutionary tasks. Our Russian intellectuals, who vulgarise Marx in a philistine manner, in. the most revolutionary times teach the proletariat a policy of passivity, of submissively "drifting with the current" of timidly supporting the most unstable elements of the fashionable liberal party!

Marx's assessment of the the Commune crowns the letters to Kugelmann. And this assessment is particularly valuable when compared with the methods of the Russian Right-wing Social-Democrats. Plekhanov, who after December 1905 faint-heartedly exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms", had the modesty to compare himself to Marx. Marx, he says, also put the brakes on the revolution in 1870.

Yes, Marx *also* put the brakes on the revolution. But see what a gulf lies between Plekhanov and Marx,

in Plekhanov's own comparison!

In November 1905, a month before the first revolutionary wave in Russia had reached its climax, Plekhanov, far from emphatically warning the proletariat, spoke directly of the necessity *to learn to use arms and to arm*. Yet, when the struggle flared up a month later, Plekhanov, without making the slightest attempt to analyze its significance, its role in the general course of events and its connection with previous forms of struggle, hastened to play the part of a penitent intellectual and exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms."

In September 1870, six months before the Commune, Marx gave a direct warning to the French workers: insurrection would be an act of desperate folly, he said in the well-known Address of the International. He exposed in advance the nationalistic illusions of the possibility of a movement in the spirit of 1792. He was able to say, not after the event, but many months before: "Don't take up arms."

And how did he behave when this hopeless cause, as he himself had called it in September, began to take practical shape in March 1871? Did he use it (as Plekhanov did the December events) to "take a dig" at his enemies, the Proudhonists and Blanquists who were leading the Commune? Did he begin to scold like a school-mistress and say: "I told you so, I warned you; this is what comes of your romanticism, your revolutionary ravings?" Did he preach to the Communards, as Plekhanov did to the December fighters, the sermon of the smug philistine: "You should not have taken up arms?"

No. On April 12, 1871, Marx writes an enthusiastic letter to Kugelmann [see above] -- a letter which we would like to see hung in the home of every Russian Social-Democrat and of every literate Russian worker.

In September 1870 Marx had called the insurrection an act of desperate folly; but in April 1871, when he saw the mass movement of the people he watched it with the keen attention of a participant in great events marking a step forward in the historic revolutionary movement.

This is an attempt, he says, to smash the bureaucratic military machine, and not simply to transfer it to different hands. And he has words of the highest praise for the "heroic" Paris workers led by the Proudhonists and Blanquists. "What elasticity," he writes, "what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! [...] history has no example of a like greatness."

The historical initiative of the masses was what Marx prized above everything else. Ah, if only our Russian Social-Democrats would learn from Marx how to appreciate the historical initiative of the Russian workers and peasants in October and December 1905!

Compare the homage paid to the historical initiative of the masses by a profound thinker, who foresaw failure six months ahead -- and the lifeless, soulless pedantic: "they should not have taken up arms"! Are these not as far apart as heaven and earth?

And like a participant in the mass struggle, to which he reacted with all his characteristic ardor and passion, Marx, then living in exile in London, set to work to criticize the immediate steps of the "recklessly brave" Parisians who were "ready to storm heaven".

Ah, how our present "realist" wiseacres among the Marxists, who in 1906-07 are deriding revolutionary romanticism in Russia, would have sneered at Marx at the time! How people would have scoffed at a materialist, an economist, an enemy of utopias, who pays homage to an "attempt" to storm heaven! What

tears, condescending smiles or commiseration these "men in mufflers" [referring to a Chekov story, a character who fears all initiative] would have bestowed upon him for his rebel tendencies, utopianism, etc., etc., and for his appreciation of a heaven-storming movement!

But Marx was not inspired with the wisdom of the small fry who are afraid to discuss the technique of the higher forms of revolutionary struggle. It is precisely the technical problems of the insurrection that he discussed. Defence or attack, he asked, as if the military operation were just outside London. And he decided that it must certainly be attack: "They should have marched at once on Versailles...."

This was written in April 1871, a few weeks before the great and bloody May....

"They should have marched at once on Versailles" -- the insurgents should, those who had begun the "act of desperate folly" (September 1870) of storming heaven.

They should not have taken up arms" in December 1905 in order to oppose by force the first attempts to take away the liberties that had been won....

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx!

"Second mistake," Marx said, continuing his technical criticism: "The Central Committee (the military command -- note this -- the reference is to the Central Committee to the National Guard) "surrendered its power too soon...."

Marx knew how to warn the leaders against a premature rising. But his attitude towards the heaven-storming proletariat was that of a practical adviser, of a participant in the struggle of the masses, who were raising the whole movement to a higher level in spite of the false theories and mistakes of Blanqui and Proudhon.

"However that may be," he wrote, "the present rising in Paris -- even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine, and vile curs of the old society -- is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection...."

And, without concealing from the proletariat a single mistake of the Commune, Marx dedicated to this heroic deed a work which to this very day serves as the best guide in the fight for "heaven" and as a frightful bugbear to the liberal and radical "swine".

Plekhanov dedicated to the December events a "work" which has become practically the bible of the Cadets.

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx.

Kugelmann apparently replied to Marx expressing certain doubts, referring to the hopelessness of the struggle and to realism as opposed to romanticism -- at any rate, he compared the Commune, an insurrection, to the peaceful demonstration in Paris on June 13, 1849.

Marx immediately (April 17, 1871) severely lectured Kugelmann.

"World history," he wrote, "would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances."

In September 1870, Marx called the insurrection an act of desperate folly. But, when the masses rose,

Marx wanted to march with them, to learn with them in the process of the struggle, and not to give them bureaucratic admonitions. He realized that to attempt in advance to calculate the chances with complete accuracy would be quackery or hopeless pedantry. What he valued above everything else was that the working class heroically and self-sacrificingly took the initiative in making world history. Marx regarded world history from the standpoint of those who make it without being in a position to calculate the chances infallibly beforehand, and not from the standpoint of an intellectual philistine who moralises: "It was easy to foresee... they should not have taken up...."

Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when a desperate struggle of the masses, even for a hopeless cause, is essential for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the next struggle.

Such a statement of the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle to our present-day quasi-marxists, who like to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future. Plekhanov did not even think of it when he set out after December 1905 "to put the brakes on".

But it is precisely this question that Marx raised, without in the least forgetting that he himself in September 1870 regarded insurrection as an act of desperate folly.

"...The bourgeoisie canaille of Versailles," he wrote, " ...presented to the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case, the demoralization of the working class would have been a far greater misfortune than the fall of any number of 'leaders'."

And with this we shall conclude our brief review of the lessons in a policy worthy of the proletariat which Marx teaches in his letters to Kugelmann.

The working class of Russia has already proven once, and will prove again more than once, that it is capable of "storming heaven".

Lenin Works Archive

Marx to Kugelmann

Written: London, 6 March, 1868
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

There is something touching about Thünen. A Mecklenburg junker (true, with a German training in thinking) who treats his estate at Tellow as the land, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin as the town, and who, proceeding from these premises, with the help of observation, the differential calculus, practical accounting, etc., constructs for himself the Ricardian theory of rent. It is at once worthy of respect and at the same time ridiculous.

I can now understand the curiously embarrassed tone of Herr Dühring's criticism. He is ordinarily a most bumptious, cheeky hoy, who sets up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. He has published, firstly, (proceeding from Carey) a *Critical Foundation of Political Economy* (about 500 pages) and, secondly, a new *Natural Dialectic* (against the Hegelian). My book has buried him from both sides. He gave it notice because of his hatred for Roscher, etc. For the rest, half intentionally, and half from lack of insight, he commits deceptions. He knows very well that my method of development is not Hegelian, since I am a materialist and Hegel is an idealist. Hegel's dialectic is the basic form of all dialectic, but only after it has been stripped of its mystical form, and it is precisely this which distinguishes my method. As for Ricardo, it really hurt Herr Dühring that in my treatment of Ricardo the weak points in him, which Carey and a hundred others before him pointed out, do not even exist. Consequently he attempts, in *mauvaise foi* [bad faith], to burden me with all Ricardo's limitations. But never mind. I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first expert who has said anything at all.

In the second volume (which will certainly never appear if my health does not improve) property in land will be one of the subjects dealt with, competition only in so far as it is required for the treatment of the other themes.

During my illness (which I hope will soon cease altogether) I was unable to write, but I got down an enormous amount of "stuff," statistical and otherwise, which in itself would have been enough to make people sick who are not used to that sort of fodder and do not possess stomachs accustomed to digesting it rapidly.

My circumstances are very harassing, as I have been unable to do any additional work which would bring in money, and yet certain' appearances must be maintained for the children's sake. If I did not have these two damned volumes to produce (and in addition to look for an English publisher) which can be done only in London, I would go to Geneva, where I could live very well with the means at my disposal.

*Thünen, Johann Heinrich Von (1783-1850). German economist. He deduced differential ground rent by presupposing a town surrounded by a series of circles of different kinds of agricultural cultivation whose respective distance from the town was determined by the amount of human labour they required (e.g.,

vegetable cultivation nearer, cattle-raising further off). In his book, *Der isolierte Staat (The Isolated Slate)* he raised the question of the nature of capitalist exploitation.

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Abstract from Marx to L. Kugelmann in Hanover

Written: 1868, July 11
Translated: from the German
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

London, July 11, 1868

Every child knows a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish. Every child knows, too, that the masses of products corresponding to the different needs required different and quantitatively determined masses of the total labor of society. That this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labor in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a *particular form* of social production but can only change the *mode* of its *appearance* , is self-evident. No natural laws can be done away with. What can change in historically different circumstances is only the *form* in which these laws assert themselves. And the form in which this proportional distribution of labor asserts itself, in the state of society where the interconnection of social labor is manifested in the *private exchange* of the individual products of labor, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Science consists precisely in demonstrating *how* the law of value asserts itself. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to "explain" all the phenomenon which seemingly contradict that law, one would have to present science *before* science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter on value [*On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* , Page 479] he takes *as given* all possible and still to be developed categories in order to prove their conformity with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you correctly assumed, the *history of the theory* certainly shows that the concept of the value relation has *always been the same* — more or less clear, hedged more or less with illusions or scientifically more or less definite. Since the thought process itself grows out of conditions, is itself a *natural process* , thinking that really comprehends must always be the same, and can vary only gradually, according to maturity of development, including the development of the organ by which the thinking is done. Everything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the faintest idea that the actual everyday exchange relations can *not be directly identical* with the magnitudes of value. The essence of bourgeois society consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no conscious social regulation of production. The rational and naturally necessary asserts itself only as a blindly working average. And then the vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, as against the revelation of the inner interconnection, he proudly claims that in appearance things look different. In fact, he boasts that he holds fast to appearance, and takes it for the ultimate. Why, then, have any science at all?

But the matter has also another background. Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Here, therefore,

it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate a senseless confusion. And for what other purpose are the sycophantic babblers paid, who have no other scientific trump to play save that in political economy one should not think at all?

But *satis superque* [enough and to spare]. In any case it shows what these priests of the bourgeoisie have come down to, when workers and even manufacturers and merchants understand my book [Capital] and find their way about in it, while these " *learned* scribes" (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their understanding....

Marx/Engels Letter Archive

Abstract from MARX TO DR KUGELMANN

CONCERNING THE PARIS COMMUNE

Written: April 12-17, 1871
Transcribed: Zodiac
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

[London] April 12, 1871

... If you look at the last chapter of my Eighteenth Brumaire you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and this is essential for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused rather by internal treachery than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not at the gates of Paris. History has no like example of a like greatness. If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame. They should have marched at once on Versailles, after first Vinoy and then the reactionary section of the Paris National Guard had themselves retreated. The right moment was missed because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to *start the civil war*, as if that mischievous *abortion* Thiers had not already started the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris. Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune. Again from a too "honorable" scrupulosity! However that may be, the present rising in Paris -- even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society -- is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slave to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with it posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, cabbage-*junkerdom* and above all, of the philistine.

A propos. In the official publication of the list of those receiving direct subsidies from Louis Bonaparte's treasury there is a note that Vogt received 40,000 francs in August 1859. I have informed Liebknecht of the *fait*, for further use.

[London] April 17, 1871

... How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations a la 13 June, 1849, etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances. It would, on the other hand, be a very mystical nature, if "accidents" played no part. These accidents themselves fall naturally into the general course of development and are compensated again by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very dependent upon such "accidents", which included the "accident" of the character of those who at first stand at the head of the movement.

The decisive, unfavorable "accident" this time is by no means to be found in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this, the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight of succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case, the demoralization of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained.

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Kugelmann

in London

Written: December 12, 1868
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I am also returning Dietzgen's portrait. The story of his life is not quite what I had imagined it to be, although I always had a feeling that he was "not a worker like Eccarius." It is true that the sort of philosophic outlook which he has worked out for himself requires a certain amount of peace and leisure which the everyday workman does not enjoy. I have got two very good workmen living in New York, A. Vogt, a shoemaker and Siegfried Meyer, a mining engineer, both from Berlin. A third workman who could give lectures on my book, is Lochner, a carpenter (common working man), who has been here in London about fifteen years.

Tell your wife I never suspected her of being one of Generaless Geck's subordinates. My question was only intended as a joke. In any case ladies cannot complain of the *International*, for it has elected a lady, Madame Law, to be a member of the General Council.

Joking aside, great progress was evident in the last Congress of the American "Labour Union" in that among other things, it treated working women with complete equality. While in this respect the English, and still more the gallant French, are burdened with a spirit of narrow-mindedness. Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex (the ugly ones included).

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

already done

Letter from Marx to Kugelmann

in London

Written: March 3, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

A very interesting movement is going on in France.

The Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution. First the *origin of the Empire*--then the *coup d'etat of December*. This has been completely forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany succeeded in stamping out the memory of 1848-49.

That is why Ténot's books on the *coup d'etat* attracted such enormous attention in Paris and the provinces that in a short time they went through ten impressions. They were followed by dozens of other books on the same period. It was all the rage and therefore soon became a speculative business for the publishers.

These books were written by the opposition--Ténot, for example is one of the *Siécle* [Century] men (I mean the liberal bourgeois paper, not our "century"). All the liberal and illiberal scoundrels who belong to the official opposition patronise this movement. Also the republican democrats, people like, for example, Delescluze, formerly Ledru Rollin's adjutant, and now, as a republican patriarch, editor of the Paris *Réveil*.

Up to the present everybody has been revelling in these posthumous disclosures or rather reminiscences, everybody who is not Bonapartist.

But then came the other side of the medal. First of all the French government itself got the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish *Les Massacres de Juin 1848* [The Massacres of June 1848.] This was a blow for Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, etc., in short, for the chiefs of what is called in France *l' Union Liberale*, who want to wangle the next elections, the infamous old dogs!

Then, however, came the Socialist Party, which "exposed" the opposition--and the republican democrats of the old style. Among others, Vermorel: Les Hommes de 1848 and l'Opposition. [The Men of 1848 and

The Opposition].

Vermorel is a Proudhonist.

Finally came the Blanquists, for example G. Tridon: *Gironde et Girondins.*

And so the whole historic witches' cauldron is bubbling.
When shall *we* be so far!

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Kugelmann

in London

Written: November 29, 1869
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat* the resolution against Gladstone which I proposed on the question of the Irish amnesty. I have now attacked Gladstone--and it has attracted attention here--just as I formerly attacked Palmerston. The demagogic refugees here love to fall upon the Continental despots from a safe distance. That sort of thing only attracts me, when it happens *vultu instantis tyranni*.

Nevertheless both my coming out on this Irish Amnesty question and my further proposal to the General Council to discuss the relation of the English working class to Ireland and to pass resolutions on it, have of course other objects besides that of speaking out loudly and decidedly for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I have become more and more convinced--and the only question is to bring this conviction home to the English working class--that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland in the most definite way from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish, but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And, indeed, this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland, but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it must join with them in a common front against Ireland. Every one of its movements in England itself is crippled by the disunion with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England. *The primary condition* of emancipation here--the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy--remains impossible because its position here cannot be stormed so long as it maintains its strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland. But there, once affairs are in the hands of the Irish people itself, once it is made its own legislator and ruler, once it becomes autonomous, the abolition of the landed aristocracy (to a large extent the *same persons* as the English landlords) will be infinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not merely a simple economic question, but at the same time a *national* question, since the landlords there are not like those in England, the traditional dignitaries and representatives, but are the mortally hated oppressors of a nation. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by her present relation with Ireland; her foreign policy, and particularly her policy with regard to Russia and America, suffers

the same fate.

But since the English working class undoubtedly throws the decisive weight into the scale of social emancipation generally, the lever has to be applied here. As a matter of fact, the English republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in -- Ireland. *Non bis in idem!* [Not twice for the same thing]. The Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the "convict felon" O'Donovan Rossa to Parliament. The government papers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a "renewed System of terror." In fact, England never has and never *can* -- so long as the present relation lasts--rule Ireland otherwise than by the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption.

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to W. Liebknecht

in London

Written: April 6, 1871
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It appears that the defeat of the Parisians was their own fault, but a fault which really arose from their too great honnêteté [decency]. The Central Committee and later the Commune gave the mischievous abortion Thiers time to centralise hostile forces, in the first place by their folly in trying not to start *civil war*--as if Thiers had not started it by his attempt at the forcible disarming of Paris, as if the National Assembly, which was only summoned to decide the question of war or peace with the Prussians, had not immediately declared war on the *Republic!* (2) In order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them they lost precious moments--(they should immediately have advanced on Versailles after the defeat (Place Vendôme) of the reaction in Paris)--by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time.

You must not believe a word of all the stuff you may see in the papers about the internal events in Paris. It is all lies and deception. Never has the vileness of bourgeois journalism displayed itself more brilliantly.

It is highly characteristic that the German Unity-Emperor and Unity-Parliament in Berlin appear not to exist at all for the outside world. Every breath of wind that stirs in Paris excites more interest.

You must carefully follow what is happening in the *Danubian Principalities*. If the revolution in France is temporarily defeated--the movement there can only be suppressed for a short time--there will be a new business of war for Europe beginning in the East, and Rumania will offer the orthodox tsar the first pretext for it. So look out on that side.

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Kugelmann

in London

Written: April 17, 1871
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations a la June 13, 1849, etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances. It would on the other hand be of a very mystical nature, if "accidents" played no part. These accidents themselves fall naturally into the general course of development and are compensated for, again, by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very dependent upon such "accidents" which include the "accident" of the character of those who at first stand at the head of the movement.

The decisive, unfavourable accident this time is by no means to be found in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case the demoralisation of the working class would have been a far greater misfortune than the fall of any number of "leaders." The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world historic importance has been gained.

Marx to Kugelmann Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx or Engels to Sorge Correspondence

Marx to Sorge
September 01, 1870
Engels to Sorge
September 12, 1874
Marx to Sorge
September 27, 1877
Marx to Sorge
October 19, 1877
Marx to Sorge
June 30, 1881
Marx to Sorge
December 15, 1881
Engels to Sorge
March 15, 1883
Engels to Sorge
November 11, 1886
Engels to Sorge
January 1, 1888
Engels to Sorge
December 12, 1889
Engels to Sorge
February 8, 1890
Engels to Sorge
April 19, 1890
Engels to Sorge
September 14, 1891
Engels to Sorge
December 31, 1892
Engels to Sorge
January 18, 1893
Engels to Sorge
November 10, 1894

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Sorge

in London

Written: September 1, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The miserable behaviour of Paris during the war--still allowing itself to be ruled by the mamelukes of Louis Bonaparte and of the Spanish adventuress Eugenie after these appalling defeats--shows how greatly the French need a tragic lesson in order to regain their manhood.

What the Prussian fools do not see is that the present war is leading just as inevitably to a war between Germany and Russia as the war of 1866 led to the war between Prussia and France. That is the *best result* I expect from it for Germany. Typical "Prussianism" never has had and never can have any existence except in alliance with and subjection to Russia. And a war No. 2 of this kind will act as the midwife to the inevitable social revolution in Russia.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

Written: September 12 (and 17), 1874
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

With your resignation the *old* International is entirely wound up and at an end. And that is well. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, during which the oppression reigning throughout Europe entailed unity and abstention from all internal polemics upon the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could be put in the foreground: Germany, Spain, Italy, Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very confused everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German Communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist on its particular fads, Bakunin's new trash had not so much as come into being in his own head, even the leaders of the English trade unions thought the programme laid down in the Preamble to the Statutes gave them a basis for entering the movement. The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all fractions. This success was the Commune, which was without any doubt the child of the International intellectually, although the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International--thus far with full justification--was held responsible.

When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row at once began. Every fraction wanted to exploit the success for itself. The inevitable collapse arrived. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to work further along the lines of the old comprehensive programme--the German Communists--drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was really the end--and for both parties. The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the old International was America, and by a happy instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there too, and any further effort to galvanise it into new life would be folly and waste of energy. For ten years the International dominated one side of European history--the side on which the future lies--and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived itself. In order to produce a new International after the fashion of the old one--an alliance of all the proletarian parties in every country--a general suppression of the workers' movement like that which predominated from 1849-64 would be

necessary. But for this the proletarian world has become too big, too extensive. I think that the next International--after Marx's writings have had some years of influence--will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles. ...

In Germany things are going splendidly in spite of all the persecution, and partly just *because* of the persecution. The Lassalleans have been so much discredited by their representatives in the Reichstag that the Government has had to start persecuting them in order to give this movement once more the appearance of being intended seriously. For the rest, since the elections the Lassalleans have found it necessary to come out in the wake of our people. It is a real piece of luck that Hasselmann and Hasenclever were elected to the Reichstag. They are discrediting themselves there visibly; they will either have to go with our people or else perpetrate tomfooleries on their own. Both will ruin them.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Sorge

in London

Written: September 27, 1877
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

This crisis [Russio-Turkish war and Near Eastern crisis] is a new turning point in European history. Russia has long been standing on the threshold of an upheaval, all the elements of it are prepared--I have studied conditions there from the original Russian sources, unofficial and official (the latter only available to a few people but got for me through friends in Petersburg). The gallant Turks have hastened the explosion by years with the thrashing they have inflicted, not only upon the Russian army and Russian finances, but in a highly personal and individual manner on the *dynasty commanding* the army (the Tsar, the heir to the throne and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin *secundum artem* [according to the rules of the art] with some playing at constitutionalism and then there will be a fine row. If Mother Nature is not particularly unfavourable towards us we shall still live to see the fun! The stupid nonsense which the Russian students are perpetrating is only a symptom, worthless in itself. But it is a symptom. All sections of Russian society are in complete disintegration economically, morally and intellectually.

This time the revolution will begin in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution.

Herr Bismarck was pleased to see the thrashing, but it ought not to have gone so far. Russia too much weakened could not hold Austria in check again as she did in the Franco-Prussian War! And if it were even to come to revolution there, where would the last guarantee of the Hohenzollern dynasty be?

For the moment everything depends on the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) lying low. If only there are no risings there at the moment! Bismarck would at once intervene and Russian chauvinism would once more side with the Tsar. If on the other hand the Poles wait quietly till there is a conflagration in Petersburg and Moscow, and Bismarck then intervenes as a saviour, Prussia will find its--Mexico!

I have rammed this home again and again to any Poles I am in contact with who can influence their fellow-countrymen.

Compared with the crisis In the East, the *French crisis* is quite republic will be victorious or else the old

game will begin a secondary event. Still it is to be hoped that the bourgeois republic will be victorious or else the old game will begin all over again, and a nation can repeat the same stupidities once too often.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Sorge

in London

Written: October 19, 1877
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

A rotten spirit is making itself felt in our Party in Germany, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and " workers ").

The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to compromise with other half-way elements too; in Berlin (e.g., Most) with Diihring and his "admirers", but also with a whole gang of half-mature students and super-wise doctors who want to give socialism a "higher ideal" orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis (which demands serious objective study from anyone who tries to use it) by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Freedom, Equality and Fraternity. Dr. Hochberg, who publishes the *Zukunft [Future]* is a representative of this tendency and has "bought himself in" to the party--with the "noblest" intentions, I assume, but I do not give a damn for "intentions." Anything more miserable than his programme of the " future " has seldom seen the light of day with more " modest" "presumption."

The workers themselves when, like Mr. Most and Co. they give up work and become *professional literary men,* always set some theoretical mischief going and are always ready to attach themselves to muddleheads from the alleged "learned" caste. *Utopian* socialism especially, which for tens of years we have been clearing out of the German workers' heads with so much toil and labour--their freedom from it making them theoretically, and therefore also practically, superior to the French and English--utopian socialism, playing with fancy pictures of the future structure of society, is now raging in a much more futile form, as compared not only with the great French and English utopians, but with--Weitling. Naturally utopianism, which *before* the time of materialisticcritical socialism concealed the germs of the latter within itself, coming now *after* the event can only be silly--silly, stale and basically reactionary.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Marx to Sorge

Written: London, 30 June, 1881
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Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Theoretically the man [Henry George*] is utterly backward! He understands nothing about the nature of surplus value and so wanders about in speculations which follow the English model but have now been superseded even among the English, about the different portions of surplus value to which independent existence is attributed--about the relations of profit, rent, interest, etc. His fundamental dogma is that everything would be all right if ground rent were paid to the state. (You will find payment of this kind among the transitional measures included in *The Communist Manifesto* too.) This idea originally belonged to the bourgeois economists ; it was first put forward (apart from a similar demand at the end of the eighteenth century) by the earliest radical followers of Ricardo, soon after his death. I said of it in 1847, in my work against Proudhon: "We can understand that economists like Mill" (the elder, not his son John Stuart, who also repeats this in a somewhat modified form) "Cherbuliez, Hilditch and others have demanded that rent should be paid to the state in order that it may serve as a substitute for taxes. This is a frank expression of the hatred which the industrial capitalist dedicates to the landed proprietor, who seems to him a useless and superfluous element in the general total of bourgeois production."

We ourselves, as I have already mentioned, adopted this appropriation of ground rent by the state among numerous other transitional measures, which, as we also remarked in the *Manifesto*, are and must be contradictory in themselves.

But the first person to turn this desideratum [requirement] of the radical English bourgeois economists into a socialist panacea, to declare this procedure to be the solution of the antagonisms involved in the present method of production, was Colins, a former old Hussar officer of Napoleon's, born in Belgium, who in the latter days of Guizot and the first of Napoleon the Less, favoured the world from Paris with some fat volumes about this "discovery" of his. Like another discovery he made, namely, that while there is no God there is an "immortal" human soul and that animals have "no feelings." For if they had feelings, that is souls, we should be cannibals and a realm of righteousness could never be founded upon earth. His "anti-landownership" theory together with his theory of the soul, etc., have been preached every month for years in the Parisian *Philosophie de l'Avenir [Philosophy of the Future]* by his few remaining followers, mostly Belgians. They call themselves "rational collectivists" and have praised Henry George. After them and besides them, among other people, the Prussian banker and former lottery owner Samten from East Prussia, a shallow-brained fellow, has eked out this "socialism" into a thick volume.

All these "socialists" since Colins have this much in common that they leave wage labour and therefore capitalist production in existence and try to bamboozle themselves or the world into believing that if ground rent were transformed into a state tax all the evils of capitalist production would disappear of themselves. The whole thing is therefore simply an attempt, decked out with socialism, to save capitalist

domination and indeed to establish it afresh on an even wider basis than its present one.

This cloven hoof (at the same time ass's hoof) is also unmistakably revealed in the declamations of Henry George. And it is the more unpardonable in him because he ought to have put the question to himself in just the opposite way: How did it happen that in the United States, where, relatively, that is in comparison with civilised Europe, the land was accessible to the great mass of the people and to a certain degree (again relatively) still is, capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed more rapidly and shamelessly than in any other country!

On the other hand George's book, like the sensation it has made with you, is significant because it is a first, if unsuccessful, attempt at emancipation from the orthodox political economy.

H. George does not seem, for the rest, to know anything about the history of the early American anti-renters,** who were rather practical men than theoretical. Otherwise he is a talented writer (with a talent for Yankee advertisement too) as his article on California in the Atlantic proves, for instance. He also has the repulsive presumption and arrogance which is displayed by all panacea-mongers without exception.

*GEORGE, HENRY (1839-97) American bourgeois economist, earlier a sailor, gold-digger and printer. He was the founder of the petty-bourgeois land reform movement.

**Settlers in New York State in the 'thirties and 'forties of the 19th century who refused to pay rent for their land and shot down the sheriffs' officers who came to enforce payment. The no-renters numbered thousands and turned the scale at several elections.

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Marx to Sorge

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The English have recently begun to occupy themselves more with *Capital*, etc. Thus in the last October (or November, I am not quite sure) number of the *Contemporary* there is an article on socialism by John Rae. Very inadequate, full of mistakes, but "fair" as one of my English friends told me the day before yesterday. And why fair? Because John Rae does not suppose that for the forty years I am spreading my pernicious theories, I was being instigated by "bad" motives. "Seine Grossmuth muss ich loben." The fairness of making yourself at least sufficiently acquainted with the subject of your criticism seems a thing quite unknown to the penmen of British philistinism.

Before this, in the beginning of June, there was published by a certain Hyndman (who had before intruded himself into my house) a little book: *England for All*. It pretends to be written as an expose of the programme of the "Democratic Federation" --a recently formed association of different English and Scotch radical societies, half bourgeois, half proletaires. The chapters on Labour and Capital are only literal extracts from, or circumlocutions of, the *Capital*, but the fellow does neither quote the book, nor its author, but to shield himself from exposure remarks at the end of his preface: "For the ideas and much of the matter contained in Chapters II and III, I am indebted to the work of a great thinker and original writer, etc., etc." Vis-a-vis myself, the fellow wrote stupid letters of excuse, for instance, that "the English don't like to be taught by foreigners," that "my name was so much detested, etc." With all that, his little book--so far as it pilfers the *Capital*--makes good propaganda, although the man is a "weak" vessel, and very far from having even the patience--the first condition of learning anything--of studying a matter thoroughly. All those amiable middle-class writers--if not specialists--have an itching to make money or name or political capital immediately out of any new thoughts they may have got at by any favourable windfall. Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order--to take me out and to learn in the easiest way.

Lastly there was published on the first December last (I shall send you a copy of it) in the monthly review, *Modern Thought,* an article: "Leaders of Modern Thought"; No. XXIII--Karl Marx. By Ernest Belfort Bax.

Now this is the first English publication of the kind which is pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves and boldly stands up against Brit. Philistinism. That does not prevent that the biographical notices the author gives of me are mostly wrong, etc. In the exposition of my economic principles and in his translations (i.e., quotations of the *Capital*) much is wrong and confused, but with all that the appearance of this article, announced in large letters by placards on the walls of Westend London, has produced a great sensation. What was most important for me, I received the said number of *Modern Thought* already on the 30th of November, so that my dear wife had the last days of her life still

cheered up. You know the passionate interest she took in all such affairs.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

Written: March 15, 1883
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
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It was not possible to keep you regularly informed about Marx's state of health because it was constantly changing. Here, briefly, are the main facts.

Shortly before his wife's death, in October of '81, he had an attack of pleurisy. He recovered from this but when, in February '82, he was sent to Algiers, he came in for cold, wet weather on the journey and arrived with another attack of pleurisy. The atrocious weather continued, and then when he got better, he was sent to Monte Carlo (Monaco) to avoid the heat of the approaching summer. He arrived there with another, though this time a milder, attack of pleurisy. Again abominable weather. When he was at last better, he went to Argenteuil near Paris to stay with his daughter, Madame Longuet. He went to the sulphur springs near by at Enghien, in order to relieve the bronchitis from which he had suffered for so long. Here again the weather was awful, but the cure did some good. Then he went to Vevey for six weeks and came back in September, having apparently almost completely recovered his health. He was allowed to spend the winter on the south coast of England, and he himself was so tired of wandering about with nothing to do, that another period of exile to the south of Europe would probably have harmed him in spirit as much as it would have benefited him in health. When the foggy season commenced in London, he was sent to the Isle of Wight. There it did nothing but rain and he caught another cold. Schorlemmer and I were intending to pay him a visit at the New Year when news came which made it necessary for Tussy to join him at once. Then followed Jenny's death and he had another attack of bronchitis. After all that had gone before, and at his age, this was dangerous. A number of complications set in, the most serious being an abscess on the lung and a terribly rapid loss of strength. Despite this, however, the general course of the illness was proceeding favourably, and last Friday the chief doctor who was attending him, one of the foremost young doctors in London, specially recommended to him by Ray Lankester, gave us the most brilliant hope for his recovery. But anyone who has but once examined the lung tissue under the microscope, realises how great is the danger of a blood vessel being broken if the lung is purulent. And so every morning for the last six weeks I had a terrible feeling of dread that I might find the curtains down when I turned the corner of the street. Yesterday afternoon at 2.30--Which is the best time for visiting him--I arrived to find the house in tears. It seemed that the end was near. I

asked what had happened, tried to get to the bottom of the matter, to offer comfort. There had been only a slight haemorrhage but suddenly he had begun to sink rapidly. Our good old Lenchen, who had looked after him better than a mother cares for her child, went upstairs to him and then came down. He was half asleep, she said, I might come in. When we entered the room he lay there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain.

All events which take place by natural necessity bring their own consolation with them, however dreadful they may be. So in this case. Medical skill might have been able to give him a few more years of vegetative existence, the life of a helpless being, dying--to the triumph of the doctors' art--not suddenly, but inch by inch. But our Marx could never have borne that. To have lived on with all his uncompleted works before him, tantalised by the desire to finish them and yet unable to do so, would have been a thousand times more bitter than the gentle death which overtook him. "Death is not a misfortune for him who dies, but for him who survives," he used to say, quoting Epicurus. And to see that mighty genius lingering on as a physical wreck to the greater glory of medicine and to the scorn of the philistines whom in the prime of his strength he had so often put to rout--no, it is better, a thousand times better, as it is--a thousand times better that we shall in two days' time carry him to the grave where his wife lies at rest.

And after all that had gone before, about which the doctors do not know as much as I do, there was in my opinion no other alternative.

Be that as it may, mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but gone is its central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments, to receive always that clear incontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give. Local lights and lesser minds, if not the humbugs, will now have a free hand. The final victory is certain, but circuitious paths, temporary and local errors--things which even now are so unavoidable--will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for?

And we are not near losing courage yet.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

Written: November 29, 1886
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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The Henry George *boom* has of course brought to light a colossal mass of fraud and I am glad I was not there. But despite it all it has been an epoch-making day. The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way, as something which has got to be learnt off by heart but which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a *credo* [creed] and not a guide to action. Added to which they learn no English on principle. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own way and seem to have found it for the time being in the K(nights) of L(abour), whose confused principles and ludicrous organisation appear to correspond to their own confusion. But according to all I hear the K. of L. are a real power, especially in New England and the West, and are becoming more so every day owing to the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I think it is necessary to work inside them, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will therefore themselves take over the leadership, at least of a section, when the inevitably impending break-up of the present "order" takes place. The rottenest side of the K. of L. was their political neutrality, which resulted in sheer trickery on the part of the Powderlys, etc. ; but this has had its edge taken off by the behaviour of the masses at the November elections, especially in New York. The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the organisation of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party. And this step has been taken, far more rapidly than we had a right to hope, and that is the main thing. That the first programme of this party is still confused and highly deficient, that it has set up the banner of Henry George, these are inevitable evils but also only transitory ones. The masses must have time and opportunity to develop and they can only have the opportunity when they have their own movement--no matter in what form so long as it is only *their own* movement--in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn wisdom by hurting themselves. The movement in America is in the same position as it was with us before 1848; the really intelligent people there will first of all have the same part to play as that played by the Communist League among the workers' associations before 1848. Except that in America now things will go infinitely more quickly; for the movement to have attained such election successes after scarcely eight

months of existence is absolutely unheard of. And what is still lacking will be set going by the bourgeoisie; nowhere in the whole world do they come out so shamelessly and tyrannically as here, and your judges have got Bismarck's smart practitioners in the German Reich brilliantly driven off the field. Where the bourgeoisie conducts the struggle by methods of this kind, things come rapidly to a decision, and if we in Europe do not hurry up the Americans will soon be ahead of us. But it is just now that it is doubly necessary to have a few people there from our side with a firm seat in their saddles where theory and long-proved tactics are concerned, and who can also write and speak English; for, from good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid. And if there are people at hand there whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make it clear to them that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail--then many a piece of nonsense may be avoided and the process considerably shortened. But it must take place in the English way, the specific German character must be cut out and for that the gentlemen of the *Sozialist* have hardly the qualifications, while those of the *Volkszeitung* are only more intelligent where business is concerned.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

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A war, on the other hand, would throw us back for years. Chauvinism would swamp everything, for it would be a fight for existence. Germany would put about five million armed men into the field, or ten per cent. of the population, the others about four to five per cent., Russia relatively less. But there would be from ten to fifteen million combatants. I should like to see how they are to be fed; it would be a devastation like the Thirty Years' War. And no quick decision could be arrived at, despite the colossal fighting forces. For France is protected on the north-eastern and south-eastern frontiers by very extensive fortifications and the new constructions in Paris are a model. So it will last a long time, and Russia cannot be taken by storm either. If, therefore, everything goes according to Bismarck's desires, more will be demanded of the nation than ever before and it is possible enough that partial defeats and the dragging out of the decisive war would produce an internal upheaval. But if the Germans were defeated from the first or forced into a prolonged defensive, then the thing would certainly start.

If the war was fought out to the end without internal disturbances a state of exhaustion would supervene such as Europe has not experienced for two hundred years. American industry would then conquer all along the line and would force us all up against the alternatives: either retrogression to nothing but agriculture for *home consumption* (American corn forbids anything else) or--social transformation. I imagine, therefore, that the plan is not to push things to extremities, to more than a sham war. But once the first shot is fired, control ceases, the horse can take the bit between its teeth.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

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Here in England one can see that it is impossible simply to drill a theory in an abstract dogmatic way into a great nation, even if one has the best of theories, developed out of their own conditions of life, and even if the tutors are relatively better than the S.L.P. [Socialist Labour Party of North America.] The movement has now got going at last and I believe for good. But it is not directly Socialist, and those English who have understood our theory best remain outside it: Hyndman because he is incurably jealous and intriguing, Bar because he is only a bookworm. Formally the movement is at the moment a trade union movement, but utterly different from that of the *old* trade unions, the skilled labourers, the aristocracy of labour.

The people are throwing themselves into the job in quite a different way, are leading far more colossal masses into the fight, are shaking society much more deeply, are putting forward much more far-reaching demands: eight-hour day, general federation of all organisations, complete solidarity. Thanks to Tussy [Eleanor Marx Aveling] women's branches have been formed *for the first time*--in the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union. Moreover, the people only regard their immediate demands themselves as provisional, although they themselves do not know as yet what final aim they are working for. But this dim idea is strongly enough rooted to make them choose *only* openly declared Socialists as their leaders. Like everyone else they will have to learn by their own experiences and the consequences of their own mistakes. But as, unlike the old trade unions, they greet every suggestion of an identity of interest between capital and labour with scorn and ridicule this will not take very long....

... The most repulsive thing here is the bourgeois "respectability" which has grown deep into the bones of the workers. The division of society into a scale of innumerable degrees, each recognised without question, each with its own pride but also its native respect for its "betters" and "superiors," is so old and firmly established that the bourgeois still find it pretty easy to get their bait accepted. I am not at all sure for instance, that John Burns is not secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor and the bourgeoisie in general than of his popularity with his own class. And Champion--an ex-lieutenant--has intrigued for years with bourgeois and especially with conservative elements, preached Socialism at the parsons' Church Congress, etc. Even Tom Mann, whom 1 regard as the finest of them, is

fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one can see what a revolution is good for after all. However, it will not help the bourgeoisie much if they do succeed in enticing some of the leaders into their toils. The movement has been far enough strengthened for this sort of thing to be overcome.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

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In my opinion we hardly lose anything worth counting by the going-over of the official Socialists there to the Nationalists. [Followers of Edward Bellamy, U.S.] If the whole German Socialist Labour Party went to pieces as a result it would be a gain, but we can hardly expect anything so good as that. The really serviceable elements will come together again in the end all the same, and the sooner the waste matter has separated itself the sooner this will happen; when the moment comes in which events themselves drive the American proletariat forward there will be enough fitted by their superior theoretical insight and experience to take the part of leaders, and then you will find that your years of work have not been wasted.

The movement there, just like the one here and in the mining districts of Germany now as well, cannot be made by preaching alone. Facts must hammer the thing into people's heads, but then it will go quickly too, quickest, of course, where there is already an organised and theoretically educated section of the proletariat at hand, as in Germany. The miners are ours to-day potentially and necessarily: in the Ruhr district the process is proceeding rapidly, Air la Chapelle and the Saar basin will follow, then Saxony, then Lower Silesia, finally the Polish bargemen of Upper Silesia. With the position of our party in Germany all that was needed in order to call the irresistible movement into being was the impulse arising from the miners' own conditions of life.

Here it is going in a similar way. The movement, which I now consider irrepressible, arose from the dockers' strike, purely out of the absolute necessity of defence. But here too the ground had been so far prepared by various forms of agitation during the last eight years that the people without being Socialists themselves still only wanted to have Socialists as their leaders. Now, without noticing it themselves, they are coming on to the right theoretical track, they drift into it, and the movement is so strong that I think it will survive the inevitable blunders and their consequences and the friction between the various trade unions and leaders without serious damage. ...

I think it will be the same with you in America too. The Schleswig-Holsteiners [Anglo-Saxons] and their descendants in England and America are not to be converted by lecturing, this pig-headed and conceited

lot have got to experience it on their own bodies. And this they are doing more and more every year, but they are born conservatives--just *because* America is so purely bourgeois, so entirely without a feudal past and therefore proud of its purely bourgeois organisation--and so they will only get quit of the old traditional mental rubbish by practical experience. Hence the trade unions, etc., are the thing to begin with if there is to be a mass movement, and every further step must be forced upon them by a defeat. But once the first step beyond the bourgeois point of view has been taken things will move quickly, like everything in America, where, driven by natural necessity, the growing speed of the movement sets some requisite fire going under the backsides of the Schleswig-Holstein Anglo-Saxons, who are usually so slow; and then too the foreign elements in the nation will assert themselves by greater mobility. I consider the decay of the specifically German party, with its absurd theoretical confusion, its corresponding arrogance and its Lassalleanism, a real piece of good fortune. Not until these separatists are out of the way will the fruits of your work come to light again. The Socialist Laws were a misfortune, not for Germany, but for America to which they consigned the last *Knoten.* I often used to marvel at the many *Knoten* faces one met with over there; these have died out in Germany but are flourishing over yonder.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

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In a country with such an old political and labour movement there is always a colossal heap of traditionally inherited rubbish which has to be got rid of by degrees. There are the prejudices of the skilled Unions--Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters and Joiners, Type Compositors, etc.--which have all to be broken down; the petty jealousies of the particular trades, which become intensified in the hands and heads of the leaders to direct hostility and secret struggle; there are the mutually obstructive ambitions and intrigues of the leaders: one wants to get into Parliament and so does somebody else, another wants to get on to the County Council or School Board, another wants to organise a general centralisation of all the workers, another to start a paper, another a club, etc., etc. In short, there is friction upon friction. And among them all the Socialist League, which looks down on everything which is not directly revolutionary (which means here in England, as with you, everything which does not limit itself to making phrases and otherwise doing nothing) and the Federation, who still behave as if everyone except themselves were asses and bunglers, although it is only due to the new force of the movement that they have succeeded in getting some following again. In short, anyone who only looks at the surface would say it was all confusion and personal quarrels. But *under* the surface the movement is going on, it is seizing ever wider sections of the workers and mostly just among the hitherto stagnant *lowest* masses, and the day is no longer far off when this mass will suddenly *find itself*, when the fact that it is this colossal self-impelled mass will dawn upon it, and when that day comes short work will be made of all the rascality and wrangling.

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Engels to Sorge

Written: Helensburgh, Scotland, 14 September, 1891
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The Newcastle Trade Union Congress is also a victory. The old unions, with the textile workers at their head, and the whole of the reactionary party among the workers, had exerted all their strength towards overthrowing the eight-hour decision of 1890· They came to grief and have only achieved a very small temporary concession. This is decisive. The confusion is still great, but the thing is in irresistible motion and the bourgeois papers recognise the defeat of the bourgeois labour parry completely and with terror, howling and gnashing of teeth. The Scottish Liberals especially, the most intelligent and the most classic bourgeoisie in the kingdom, are unanimous in their outcry at the great misfortune and hopeless wrongheadedness of the workers.

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Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

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Here in old Europe things are rather more lively than in your "youthful" country, which still refuses to get quite out of its hobbledehoy stage. It is remarkable, but quite natural, that in such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois basis from the first, bourgeois prejudices should also be so strongly rooted in the working class. Out of his very opposition to the mother country—which is still clothed in its feudal disguise—the American worker also imagines that the bourgeois regime as traditionally inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time, a *non plus ultra* [not to be surpassed]. Just as in New England, Puritanism, the reason for the whole, colony's existence, has become precisely on this account a traditional inheritance, almost inseparable from local patriotism. The Americans can strain and struggle as much as they like, but they cannot realise their future—colossally great as it is—all at once like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it becomes due; and just *because* their future is so great their present must mainly occupy itself with preparatory work for the future, and this work, as in every young country, is of a predominantly material nature and determines a certain backwardness of thought, a clinging to traditions connected with the foundation of the new nationality. The Anglo-Saxon race—those damned Schleswig-Holsteiners, as Marx always called them—is slow-witted anyhow and their history both in Europe and America (economic success and predominantly peaceful political development) has encouraged this still more. Only great events can be of use here and if, added to the more or less completed transition of the national property in land into private ownership, there comes the expansion of industry under a less crazy tariff policy and the conquest of foreign markets, then it may go well with you too. The class-struggles here in England too were more violent during the period in which large scale industry was *developing* and were enfeebled just in the period of England's unquestioned industrial domination of the world. In Germany, too, the development of large-scale industry since 1850 coincides with the rise of the Socialist movement, and it will be no different, probably, with America. It is the revolutionising of all traditional relations through industry *as it develops* which also revolutionises people's minds.

For the rest, Americans have for some time been providing the European world with the proof that a bourgeois republic is a republic of capitalist business men in which politics are only a business deal, like

any other; and the French, whose ruling bourgeois politicians have long known this and practised it in secret, are now at last also learning this truth on a national scale through the Panama scandal. In order, however, that the constitutional monarchies should not be able to give themselves virtuous airs, every one of them has his little Panama: England the scandal of the building-societies, one of which, the Liberator, has thoroughly "liberated" a mass of small depositors from some £8,ooo,ooo of their savings; Germany the Baare scandals and Löwe Jüdenflinten (which have proved that the Prussian officer steals as he always did, but very, very little—the one thing he is modest about), Italy the *Banca Romana,* which already approaches the Panama scale, about 150 deputies and senators having been bought up; I am informed that documents about this will shortly be published in Switzerland-Schlüter should look out for everything which appears in the papers about the *Banca Romana.* And in holy Russia the old-Russian Prince Meshchersky is indignant at the indifference with which the Panama revelations are received in Russia and can only explain it to himself by the fact that Russian virtue has been corrupted by French examples, and "we ourselves have more than one Panama at home."

But all the same the Panama business is the beginning of the end of the bourgeois republic and may soon bring us into very responsible positions. The *whole* of the opportunist and the majority of the radical gang are shamefully compromised, the government is trying to hush it up but that is no longer possible; the documents containing the evidence are in the hands of people who *want* to overthrow the present rulers: (I) the Orleanists; (2) the fallen minister Constans, whose career has been ended by revelations about his scandalous past; (3) Rochefort and the Boulangists; (4) Cornelius Herz who, himself deeply involved in every sort of fraud, has obviously only fled to London in order to buy himself out by getting the others into a hole. All these have more then enough evidence against the gang of thieves, but are holding back, first in order not to use up all their ammunition at once, and secondly in order to give both the government and the *courts* time to compromise themselves beyond any hope of salvation. This can only suit us well; enough stuff is coming to light by degrees to keep up the excitement and compromise the *dirigeants* more and more while it also gives time for the scandal and the revelations to make their effect felt in the most remote corner of the country before the inevitable dissolution of the chamber and new elections, which however ought *not to come too soon.* It is clear that this business brings the moment considerably nearer when our people will become the only possible leaders of the state in France. Only things ought not to move too quickly, our people in France are not ripe for power by a long way. But as things are at present it is absolutely impossible to say what intermediate stages will fill this gap. The old Republican parties are compromised to the last man, the Royalists and Clericals dealt in the Panama lottery bonds on a mass scale and identified themselves with them—if that ass Boulanger had not shot himself he would now be master of the situation. I am eager to know if the old unconscious logic of French history will assert itself again this time too. There will be plenty of surprises. If only some general or other does not swing himself to the top during the interval of clarification and start war—that is the one danger.

In Germany the steady irresistible progress of the Party goes quietly on. Small successes in every hole and corner, which prove the advance. If the essential part of the military Bill is accepted, new masses of the discontented will stream to us; if it is rejected there will be dissolution and new elections in which we shall get at least fifty seats in the Reichstag, which in cases of conflict may often give us the decisive vote. In any case the struggle, even if, as is possible, it also breaks out in France, can only be fought out in Germany. But it is good that the third volume [of *Capital]* will now at last be finished-when? Indeed I cannot yet say; the times are becoming disturbed and the waves are beginning to rise high.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

Written: January 18, 1893
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Here there has been a Conference in Bradford of the Independent Labour Party, which you know from the *Workman's Times.* The S.D.F. on the one hand and the Fabians on the other have not been able, with their sectarian attitude, to absorb the mass pressure for socialism in the provinces, so the foundation of a third Party was quite good. But the pressure has now become so great, especially in the industrial districts of the north, that the new Party came out already at this first Congress stronger than the S.D.F. or the Fabians, if not stronger than both put together. And as the *mass* of the membership is certainly very good, as the centre of gravity lies in the provinces and not in London, the home of cliques, and as the main point of the programme is ours, Aveling was right to join and to accept a seat on the Executive. If the petty private ambitions and intrigues of the London would-be-greats are slightly held in check here and the tactics do not turn out too wrong-headed, the Independent Labour Party may succeed in detaching the masses from the Social-Democratic Federation and in the provinces from the Fabians too, and thus forcing unity.

The Fabians are an ambitious group here in London who have understanding enough to realise the inevitability of the social revolution, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the rough proletariat alone and are therefore kind enough to set themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the "educated" *par excellence.* Their socialism is municipal socialism; not the nation but the *municipality* is to become the owner of the means of production, at any rate for the time being. This socialism of theirs is then represented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois Liberalism, and hence follow their tactics of not decisively opposing the Liberals as adversaries but of pushing them on towards socialist conclusions and therefore of intriguing with them, of *permeating Liberalism with Socialism,* of not putting up Socialist candidates against the Liberals but of fastening them on to the Liberals, forcing them upon them, or deceiving them into taking them. That in the course of this process they are either lied to and deceived themselves or else betray socialism, they do not of course realise.

With great industry they have produced amid all sorts of rubbish some good propagandist writings as well, in fact the best of the kind which the English have produced. But as soon as they get on to their

specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle it all turns putrid. Hence too their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us--because of the class struggle.

These people have of course many bourgeois followers and therefore money, and have many active workers in the provinces who will have nothing to do with the S.D.F. But five-sixths of the provincial members agree more or less with our point of view and at the critical moment will certainly fall away. In Bradford, where they were represented, they several times decisively declared themselves against the London Executive of the Fabians.

You see that it is a critical moment for the movement here and something may come of this new organisation. There was a moment when it nearly fell into the clutches of Champion-who consciously or unconsciously works just as much for the Tories as the Fabians do for the Liberals--and of his ally Maltman Barry, whom you knew at the Hague (Barry is now an acknowledged and permanent paid Tory agent and manager of the Socialist wing of the Conservatives!)--see the *Workman's Times* for November and December. But in the end Champion preferred to start publishing his *Labour Elector* again and has thus placed himself in opposition to the *Workman's Times* and the new Party.

Hardie brought off a clever stroke by putting himself at the head of this new Party, while John Burns, whose complete inactivity outside his constituency has already done him a lot of harm, committed a fresh piece of stupidity by holding back here too. I am afraid he is heading straight for an impossible position.

The fact that here too people like Keir Hardie, Shaw, Maxwell and others are pursuing all sorts of secondary aims of personal ambition is of course obvious. But the danger arising from this becomes less according to the degree in which the party itself becomes stronger and gets more of a mass character, and it is already diminished by the necessity for exposing the weakness of the competing sects. Socialism has penetrated the masses in the industrial districts enormously in the last years and I am counting on these masses to keep the leaders in order. Of course, there will be stupidities enough, and cliques of every kind too, but so long as it is possible to keep them within decent limits----.

At the worst, the foundation of the new organisation has this advantage that unity will be more easily brought about between these competing sects than between two which are diametrically opposed.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Sorge

in London

Written: November 10, 1894
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

On the Continent success is developing the appetite for more success, and catching the peasant, in the literal sense of the word, is becoming the fashion. First the French in Nantes declare through Lafargue not only (what I had written to them) that it is not our business to hasten by direct interference of our own the ruin of the small peasant which capitalism is seeing to for us, but they also add that we must directly *protect* the small peasant against taxation, usurers and landlords. But we cannot co-operate in this, first because it is stupid and second because it is impossible. Next, however, Vollmar comes along in Frankfort and wants to bribe the *peasantry as a whole*, though the peasant he has to do with in Upper Bavaria is not the debt-laden poor peasant of the Rhineland but the middle and even the big peasant, who exploits his men and women farm servants and sells cattle and grain in masses. And that cannot be done without giving up the whole principle. We can only win the mountain peasants and the big peasants of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, if we sacrifice their ploughmen and day labourers to them, and if we do that we lose more than we gain politically. The Frankfort Party Congress did not take a decision on this question and that is to the good in so far as the matter will now be thoroughly studied; the people who were there knew far too little about the peasantry and the conditions on the land, which vary so fundamentally in different provinces, to have been able to do anything but take decisions in the air. But there has got to be a resolution on the question some time all the same.

Marx or Engels to Sorge Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Miscellaneous Documents

Birth Certificate of Karl Marx
1818
Certificate of Release from Bonn University
1836
Leaving Certificate from Berlin University
1841
Recommendatory Reference on Dissertation of Karl Marx
1841
On the marriage of Jenny Von Westphalen and Karl Marx
July 12, 1843
On the marriage of Jenny Von Westphalen and Karl Marx
July 19, 1843

Marx/Engels Letter Archive
Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Birth Certificate of Karl Marx

Written: 1818
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 635.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

No. 231 of the Register of Births

In the year eighteen hundred and eighteen, on the *seventh day* of the month of *May*, at *four* o'clock in the *afternoon*, there appeared before me, registrar of births, marriages and deaths at *Trier* burgomaster's office in *Trier* district, *Herr Heinrich Marx*, domiciled in Trier, aged *thirty-seven*, by profession *barrister of the Higher Court of Appeal*, who showed me a *male* child and stated that the said child had been born in *Trier*, on the *fifth* day of the month of *May* at *two* o'clock in the *morning*, to *Herr Heinrich Marx*, barrister by profession, domiciled in *Trier*, and his wife *Henriette Presborck*, and that they wished to give the name *Carl* to this their child. After the aforesaid showing of the child and the above statement made in the presence of two witnesses, namely: *Herr Carl Petrasch*, aged *thirty-two*, by profession *government secretary*, domiciled in *Trier*, and *Mathias Kropp*, aged *twenty-one*, by profession *office employee*, domiciled in *Trier*, had taken place, I drew up in writing in the presence of the exhibitor of the child and the witnesses the present *certificate* on all this in double original, which after being read aloud were signed by the exhibitor of the child, the witnesses and myself.

Done in *Trier* on the day, month and year as above.

Carl Petrasch. Kropp. Mane. E. Grach.

Marx Engels Internet Archive

Certificate of Release from Bonn University

Written: 1836
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 657-58.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

To No. 26

Copy

We, the Rector and Senate of the Royal Prussian Rhenish Frederick William University in Bonn, testify by this certificate that Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx*, born in Trier, son of Herr Justizrat Marx of the same place, prepared for academic studies at the gymnasium in Trier, on the basis of the certificate of maturity of the above-mentioned gymnasium, was matriculated here on October 17, 1835, has since then resided here until now as a student, and has applied himself to the study of jurisprudence.

During this stay at our University, according to the certificates submitted to us, he has attended the lectures listed below:

I. In the winter term 1835/36

1) Encyclopaedia of jurisprudence with Professor Pugge, very diligent and attentive.
2) Institutions with Professor Bocking, very diligent and with constant attention.
3) History of Roman law with Professor Waiter, ditto.
4) Mythology of the Greeks and Romans with Professor Welcker, with excellent diligence and attention.
5) Questions about Homer with Professor von Schlegel, diligent and attentive.
6) History of modern art with Professor D'Alton, diligent and attentive.

II. In the summer term 1836

7) History of German law with Professor Waiter, diligent.
8) Elegiacs of Propertius with Professor van Schlegel, diligent and attentive.
9) European international law and
10) Natural right with Professor Pugge. Could not be testified owing to the sudden death of Professor Pugge on August 5.

In regard to his behaviour, it has to be noted that he has incurred a punishment of one day's detention for disturbing the peace by rowdiness and drunkenness at night; nothing else is known to his disadvantage in

a moral or economic respect. Subsequently, he was accused of having carried prohibited weapons in Cologne. The investigation is still pending.

He has not been suspected of participation in any forbidden association among the students.

In witness thereof, this certificate has been drawn up under the seal of the University and signed with their own hand by the Rector pro tem and also by the present Deans of the Faculties of Law and Philosophy.

Bonn, August 22, 1836
Rector
Freytag
University judge
von Salomon

Dean of the Faculty of Law
Walter
Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy
Loebell

Oppenhofen, U.S.

Witnessed by the Extraordinary Governmental Plenipotentiary and Curator
Von Rehfues

Marx Engels Internet Archive

Leaving Certificate from Berlin University

Written: 1841
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 703-704.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

To No. 26

We, the Rector and Senate
of the Royal Frederick William University
in Berlin,

testify by this leaving certificate that Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx*, born in Trier, son of the banister *Marx* there deceased, already of age, prepared for academic studies at the gymnasium in Trier, was matriculated here on October 22, 1836, on the basis of the certificate of maturity of the above-mentioned gymnasium and of the certificate of release of the University in Bonn, has been here since then as a student until the end of the winter term 1840/41, and has applied himself to the study of jurisprudence.

During this stay at our University, according to the certificates submitted to us, he has attended the lectures listed below:

I. *In the winter term 1836/37*

1. Pandects with Herr Professor v. *Savigny*, diligent.
2. Criminal law " "*Gans*, exceptionally, diligent.
3. Anthropology " " *Steffens*, diligent.

II. *In the summer term 1837*

1. Ecclesiastical law with Herr Professor *Hefter*, diligent.
2. Common German civil procedure " ".
3. Prussian civil procedure " ".

III. *In the winter term 1837/38*

1. Criminal legal procedure with Herr Professor *Hefter*, diligent.

IV. *In the summer term 1838*

I. Logic with Herr Professor *Gabler*, extremely diligent.
2.General geography with Herr Professor *Ritter*, attended.
3. Prussian law " " *Gans*, exceptionally diligent.

V. *In the winter term 1838/39*

1. Inheritance law with Herr Professor *Rudorff*, diligent.

VI. *In the summer term 1839*

1. Isaiah with Herr Licentiate *Bauer*, attended.

VII and VIII. *In the winter term 1839/40*
and summer term 1840, none

IX. *In the winter term 1840/41*

1. Euripides with Herr Dr. *Geppert*, diligent.

v. Medem
23.3.41

In regard to his behaviour at the University here, there is nothing specially disadvantageous to note from the point of view of discipline, and from the economic point of view only that on several occasions he has been the object of proceedings for debt.

He has not hitherto been charged with participating in forbidden associations among students at this University.

In witness thereof, this certificate has been drawn up under the seal of the University and signed with their own hand by the Rector pro tem and by the Judge, and also by the present Deans of the Faculties of Law and Philosophy.

Berlin, March 30, 1841

Lichtenstein. Krause. Lancizolle. Zumpt.

Witnessed by the Deputy Royal Governmental Plenipotentiaries

Lichtenstein. Krause.

Marx Engels Internet Archive

Recommendatory Reference on the Dissertation of Karl Marx

Written: 1841
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 705-6.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Senior Venerande,
Assessores Gravissimi,

I present to you hereby a very worthy candidate in Herr *Carl Heinrich Marx* from *Trier*. He has sent in 1) A *written request*. (sub. lit. a.) 2) Two university certificates on his academic studies in Bonn and Berlin. (lit. b. and c.) The disciplinary offences therein noted can be disregarded by us. 3) A written request in Latin, curriculum vitae, and specimen: *On the Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*, together with a certificate on authorship written in Latin. (lit. d.) 4) 12 Friedr. d'or, the excess of which will be returned to the candidate. The specimen testifies to intelligence and perspicacity as much as to erudition, for which reason I regard the candidate as preeminently worthy. Since, according to his German letter, he desires to receive only the degree of Doctor, it is clear that it is merely an error due to lack of acquaintance with the statutes of the faculty that in the Latin letter he speaks of the degree of Magister. He probably thought that the two belong together. I am convinced that only a clarification of this point is needed in order to satisfy him.

Requesting your wise decision,

Most respectfully,

Dr. Carl Friedrich *Bachmann*

pro tem Dean

Jena, April 13, 1841

Ordinis philosophorum Decane maxime spectabilis
As Your Spectabilitit

Luden
F. Hand
E. Reinhold
Döbereiner

J. F. Fries
Goettling
Schulze

Marx Engels Internet Archive

MARRIAGE CONTRACT

**between Herr Carl Marx, Doctor of Philosophy,
resident in Cologne,
and Fräulein Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalin,
without occupation, resident in Kreuznach,
June 12, 1843**

Written: 1843
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 3, pg 571-2.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

No. 715

***We,
Frederick William,
by the Grace of God
King of Prussia,
Grand Duke of Lower Rhine, etc., etc.,***

herewith give notice and let it he known that:

Before the Undersigned Wilhelm Christian Heinrich *Burger*, royal Prussian notary in the residence of the town of *Kreuznach*, in the provincial-court district of *Coblenz*, and in the presence of the two witnesses named below, there appeared Herr *Karl Marx*, Doctor of Philosophy, resident in *Cologne*, on the one hand, and Fräulein *Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen*, without occupation, resident in *Kreuznach*, on the other hand.

The declarants stated that they intended to marry and in view of their future marriage, the celebration of which is to take place as soon as possible, they have mutually agreed and laid down the clauses and conditions and the consequences in civil law as follows:

Firstly. Legal common ownership of property shall be established between the future marriage partners insofar as this is not specially amended by the following articles.

Secondly. This common ownership shall also apply to all future fixed assets of the spouses by the future spouses hereby declaring all fixed assets which they will inherit in the future, or which will later fall to the lot of one or other of them, to be movable property, and putting these future fixed assets, which they

give wholly into common ownership, on a par with movable property, whereby in accordance with Article fifteen hundred and five of the Civil Code their transformation into movable assets (:*ameublissement*:) takes place.

Thirdly. Each spouse shall for his or her own part pay the debts he or she has made or contracted, inherited or otherwise incurred before marriage; in consequence whereof these debts shall be excluded from the common ownership of property.

Thus everything has been agreed and settled between the future spouses. Concerning which the present marriage contract was adopted, which has been clearly read out to the interested parties.

Done at *Kreuznach* in the dwelling of the widow Frau *von Westphalen*, June twelfth of the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, in the presence of the attendant witnesses, personally known to the notary, Johann Anton *Rickes*, private gentleman, and Peter *Beltz*, tailor, both resident in *Kreuznach.* And in witness thereof the present document has been signed first by the above-mentioned declarants, the name, position and residence of whom is known to the notary, and after them by the above-mentioned witnesses and the notary.

The original, which has remained inthe possession of the notary, and on which a stamp of two talers has been affixed, has been signed by:

"*Dr. Karl Marx, Jenny von Westphalen, J. A. Rickes, Peter Beltz*, and *Burger*, notary.

At the same time We order and instruct all executors of courts of justice on request to put into operation the present act; Our Procurators-General and Our Procurators at provincial courts of justice to administer the same; all officers and commandants of the armed forces or their representatives to lend a powerful helping hand if legally requested to do so.

In confirmation thereof the present main copy has been signed by the notary and furnished with his seal of office.

Vouching for the correctness of this main copy

Burger, notary

Letters Archive

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF MARRIAGES OF THE REGISTRY OFFICE OF BAD KREUZNACH FOR THE YEAR 1843

Municipality: Kreuznach. District: Kreuznach. Administrative district: Coblenz

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Written: 1843
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 3, pg 573-4.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Hb. 2, 1929
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

No. 51

In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, on the nineteenth of the month of June, at 10 a.m., there appeared before me, Franz Buss, Chief Burgomaster of Kreuznach, Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages, Karl *Marx*, aged twenty-five, born in Trier, administrative district of Trier, Doctor of Philosophy, resident in Cologne, administrative district of Cologne, major son of Heinrich Marx, deceased, in his lifetime King's Counsel, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier, and of Henriette Pressburg, of no profession, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier.

And Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen, aged twenty-nine, born at Salzwedel, administrative district of Magdeburg, of no particular occupation: resident in Kreuznach, administrative of Coblenz, major daughter of Johann Ludwig von Westphalen, deceased, in his lifetime Privy Councillor, resident in Trier, administrative district of Trier, and of Carolina Heubel, of no profession, resident in Kreuznach, administrative district of Coblenz.

The bridegroom's mother consents to the intended marriage by the deed of consent quoted below and the bride's mother by her personal presence. In the deed of consent of the bridegroom's mother the Christian name of the bride's father is given as Ferdinand, but it is Johann Ludwig, as follows from the sworn declaration made before us by the bride and the four witnesses present, after they had previously declared that they knew him closely and well.

The same requested me to perform legally the marriage agreed upon between them. As the prescribed public announcements of this marriage were actually read twice before the main door of the Kreuznach Town Hall, namely, the first on Sunday, the twenty-first of May, and the second on the following Sunday, the twenty-eighth of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, and as the documents of the announcement were duly posted up publicly and no objection to the marriage was lodged, I, in order to comply with the said request, read out the following documents:

a) the birth certificate of the bridegroom, and

b) the death certificate of his father, both certificates drawn up by Chief Burgomaster Gortz and Assistant Thanisch in Trier under the date of the thirtieth and twenty-eighth of January this year;

c) the deed of consent of his mother, recorded by Notary Funck in Trier under the date of the twenty-eighth of January this year;

d) the birth certificate of the bride, furnished by the Royal Consistorial Councillor and Pastor of the Church of Saint Mary at Salzwedel under the date of the eleventh of February this year;

e) the death certificate of her father, furnished by Assistant Thanisch in Trier under the date of the twenty-third of February this year;

f) the attestation of the announcement in Cologne, furnished by the Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages Schenk in that city under the date of the fourteenth of June this year;

g) the attestation of the announcement in Bonn, furnished by the Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages Gerhard in that city under the date of the sixteenth of the current month and year, and read out aloud Chapter Six of the part dealing with marriage in the Civil Code of Law and thereupon asked the above-named bridegroom and bride whether they wished to be joined in wedlock.

As each of them separately answered this question affirmatively, I declared in the name of the law that Karl Marx and Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen were legally married.

Of this I drew up the present document in the presence of Dr. Karl Engelmann, aged thirty-five, a physician, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; of Heinrich Balthasar Christian Clevens, aged thirty, a probationer notary, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; of Elias Mayer, aged sixty-four, man of private means, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple; and of Valentin Relier, aged fifty-six, innkeeper, resident in Kreuznach, a friend of the newly married couple. Then the persons present signed the document with me after it had been read out to them.

Dr. Karl Marx.
Jenny von Westphalen.
Caroline von Westphalen.
Dr. Carl Engelmann.
H. Clevens.
Valentin Keller.
E. Mayer. Buss.

Letters Archive

LETTER FROM MARX TO HIS FATHER IN TRIER (1837)

First published in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 1, 1897

Berlin, November 10

Dear Father,
There are moments in one's life which are like frontier posts marking the completion of a period but at the same time clearly indicating a new direction.

At such a moment of transition we feel compelled to view the past and the present with the eagle eye of thought in order to become conscious of our real position. Indeed, world history itself likes to look back in this way and take stock, which often gives it the appearance of retrogression or stagnation, whereas it is merely, as it were, sitting back in an armchair in order to understand itself and mentally grasp its own activity, that of the mind.

At such moments, however, a person becomes lyrical, for every metamorphosis is partly a swan song, partly the overture to a great new poem, which endeavours to achieve a stable form in brilliant colours that still merge into one another. Nevertheless, we should like to erect a memorial to what we have once lived through in order that this experience may regain in our emotions the place it has lost in our actions. And where could a more sacred dwelling place be found for it than in the heart of a parent, the most merciful judge, the most intimate sympathiser, the sun of love whose warming fire is felt at the innermost centre of our endeavours! What better amends and forgiveness could there be for much that is objectionable and blameworthy than to be seen as the manifestation of an essentially necessary state of things? How, at least, could the often ill-fated play of chance and intellectual error better escape the reproach of being due to a perverse heart?

When, therefore, now at the end of a year spent here I cast a glance back on the course of events during that time, in order, my dear father, to answer your infinitely dear letter from Ems, allow me to review my affairs in the way I regard life in general, as the expression of an intellectual activity which develops in all directions, in science, art and private matters.

When I left you, a new world had come into existence for me, that of love, which in fact at the beginning was a passionately yearning and hopeless love. Even the journey to Berlin, which otherwise would have delighted me in the highest degree, would have inspired me to contemplate nature and fired my zest for life, left me cold. Indeed, it put me strikingly out of humour, for the rocks which I saw were not more rugged, more indomitable, than the emotions of my soul, the big towns not more lively than my blood, the inn meals not more extravagant, more indigestible, than the store of fantasies I carried with me, and, finally, no work of art was as beautiful as Jenny.

After my arrival in Berlin, I broke off all hitherto existing connections, made visits rarely and unwillingly, and tried to immerse myself in science and art.

In accordance with my state of mind at the time, lyrical poetry was bound to be my first subject, at least the most pleasant and immediate one. But owing to my attitude and whole previous development it was purely idealistic. My heaven, my art, became a world beyond, as remote as my love. Everything real became hazy and what is hazy has no definite outlines. All the poems of the first three volumes I sent to Jenny are marked by attacks on our times, diffuse and inchoate expressions of feeling, nothing natural, everything built out of moonshine, complete opposition between what is and what ought to be, rhetorical reflections instead of poetic thoughts, but perhaps also a certain warmth of feeling and striving for poetic fire. The whole extent of a longing that has no bounds finds expression there in many different forms and makes the poetic “composition” into “diffusion”.

Poetry, however, could be and had to be only an accompaniment; I had to study law and above all felt the urge to wrestle with philosophy. The two were so closely linked that, on the one hand, I read through Heineccius, Thibaut and the sources quite uncritically, in a mere schoolboy fashion; thus, for instance, I translated the first two books of the Pandect into German, and, on the other hand, tried to elaborate a philosophy of law covering the whole field of law. I prefaced this with some metaphysical propositions by way of introduction and continued this unhappy opus as far as public law, a work of almost 500 pages.

Here, above all, the same opposition between what is and what ought to be, which is characteristic of idealism, stood out as a serious defect and was the source of the hopelessly incorrect division of the subject-matter. First of all came what I was pleased to call the metaphysics of law, i. e., basic principles, reflections, definitions of concepts, divorced from all actual law and every actual form of law, as occurs in Fichte, only in my case it was more modern and shallower. From the outset an obstacle to grasping the truth here was the unscientific form of mathematical dogmatism, in which the author argues hither and thither, going round and round the subject dealt with, without the latter taking shape as something living and developing in a many-sided way. A triangle gives the mathematician scope for construction and proof, it remains a mere abstract conception in space and does not develop into anything further. It has to be put alongside something else, then it assumes other positions, and this diversity added to it gives it different relationships and truths. On the other hand, in the concrete expression of a living world of ideas, as exemplified by law, the state, nature, and philosophy as a whole, the object itself must be studied in its development; arbitrary divisions must not be introduced, the rational character of the object itself must develop as something imbued with contradictions in itself and find its unity in itself.

Next, as the second part, came the philosophy of law, that is to say, according to my views at the time, an examination of the development of ideas in positive Roman law, as if positive law in its conceptual development (I do not mean in its purely finite provisions) could ever be something different from the formation of the concept of law, which the first part, however, should have dealt with.

Moreover, I had further divided this part into the theory of formal law and the theory of material law, the first being the pure form of the system in its sequence and interconnections, its subdivisions and scope, whereas the second, on the other hand, was intended to describe the content, showing how the form becomes embodied in its content.

This was an error I shared with Herr v. Savigny, as I discovered later in his learned work on ownership, the only difference being that he applies the term formal definition of the concept to “finding the place which this or that theory occupies in the (fictitious) Roman system”, the material definition being “the theory of positive content which the Romans attributed to a concept defined in this way”, whereas I understood by form the necessary architectonics of conceptual formulations, and by matter the necessary quality of these formulations. The mistake lay in my belief that matter and form can and must develop separately from each other, and so I obtained not a real form, but something like a desk with drawers into which I then poured sand.

The concept is indeed the mediating link between form and content. In a philosophical treatment of law, therefore, the one must arise in the other; indeed, the form should only be the continuation of the content. Thus I arrived at a division of the material such as could be devised by its author for at most an easy and shallow classification, but in which the spirit and truth of law disappeared. All law was divided into contractual and non-contractual. In order to make this clearer, I take the liberty to set out the plan up to the division of *jus publicum*, which is also treated in the formal part.

I
jus privatum

II
jus publicum

I. *jus privatum*

a) Conditional contractual private law.
b) Unconditional non-contractual private law.

A. *Conditional contractual private law*

a) Law of persons; b) Law of things; c) Law of persons in relation to property.

a) Law of persons

I. Commercial contracts; II. Warranties; III. Contracts of bailment.

I. *Commercial contracts*

2. Contracts of legal entities (societas). 3. *Contracts of casements (locatio conductio)*.

3. *Locatio conductio*

l. Insofar as it relates to *operae*.
  a) *locatio conductio* proper (excluding Roman letting or leasing);
  b) *mandatum*.

2. Insofar as it relates to *usus rei*.
  a) On land: *usus fructus* (also not in the purely Roman sense);
  b) On houses: *habitatio*.

II. *Warranties*

l. Arbitration or conciliation contract; 2. Insurance contract.

III. *Contracts of bailment*

2. *Promissory contract* 1. *fide jussio*; 2. *negotiorum gestio*.

3. *Contract of gift*

1. *donatio*; 2. *gratiae promissum*

b) *Law of things*

I. *Commercial contracts*

2. *permutatio stricte sic dicta*.

1. *permutatio* proper; 2. *mutuum (usurae)*, 3. *emptio venditio*.

II. *Warranties*

pignus.

III. *Contracts of bailment*

2. *commodatum*; 3. *depositum*.

But why should I go on filling up pages with things I myself have rejected? The whole thing is replete with tripartite divisions, it is written with tedious prolixity, and the Roman concepts are misused in the most barbaric fashion in order to force them into my system. On the other hand, in this way I did gain a general view of the material and a liking for it, at least along certain lines.

At the end of the section on material private law, I saw the falsity of the whole thing, the basic plan of which borders on that of Kant, but deviates wholly from it in the execution, and again it became clear to me that there could be no headway without philosophy. So with a good conscience I was able once more to throw myself into her embrace, and I drafted a new system of metaphysical principles, but at the conclusion of it I was once more compelled to recognise that it was wrong, like all my previous efforts. In the course of this work I adopted the habit of making extracts from all the books I read, for instance from Lessing's *Laokoon*, Solger's *Erwin*, Winckelmann's history of art, Luden's German history, and incidentally scribbled down my reflections. At the same time I translated Tacitus' *Germania*, and Ovid's *Tristia*, and began to learn English and Italian by myself, i. e., out of grammars, but I have not yet got anywhere with this. I also read Klein's criminal law and his annals, and all the most recent literature, but this last only by the way.

At the end of the term, I again sought the dances of the Muses and the music of the Satyrs. Already in the last exercise book that I sent you idealism pervades forced humour (*Scorpion and Felix*) and an unsuccessful, fantastic drama (*Oulanem*), until it finally undergoes a complete transformation and becomes mere formal art, mostly without objects that inspire it

and without any impassioned train of thought.

And yet these last poems are the only ones in which suddenly, as if by a magic touch – oh, the touch was at first a shattering blow – I caught sight of the glittering realm of true poetry like a distant fairy palace, and all my creations crumbled into nothing.

Busy with these various occupations, during my first term I spent many a sleepless night, fought many a battle, and endured much internal and external excitement. Yet at the end I emerged not much enriched, and moreover I had neglected nature, art and the world, and shut the door on my friends. The above observations seem to have been made by my body. I was advised by a doctor to go to the country, and so it was that for the first time I traversed the whole length of the city to the gate and went to Stralow. I had no inkling that I would mature there from an anaemic weakling into a man of robust bodily strength.

A curtain had fallen, my holy of holies was rent asunder, and new gods had to be installed.

From the idealism which, by the way, I had compared and nourished with the idealism of Kant and Fichte, I arrived at the point of seeking the idea in reality itself. If previously the gods had dwelt above the earth, now they became its centre.

I had read fragments of Hegel's philosophy, the grotesque craggy melody of which did not appeal to me. Once more I wanted to dive into the sea, but with the definite intention of establishing that the nature of the mind is just as necessary, concrete and firmly based as the nature of the body. My aim was no longer to practise tricks of swordsmanship, but to bring genuine pearls into the light of day.

I wrote a dialogue of about 24 pages: "Cleanthes, or the Starting Point and Necessary Continuation of Philosophy". Here art and science, which had become completely divorced from each other, were to some extent united, and like a vigorous traveller I set about the task itself, a philosophical-dialectical account of divinity, as it manifests itself as the idea-in-itself, as religion, as nature, and as history. My last proposition was the beginning of the Hegelian system. And this work, for which I had acquainted myself to some extent with natural science, Schelling, and history, which had caused me to rack my brains endlessly, and which is so written (since it was actually intended to be a new logic) that now even I myself can hardly recapture my thinking about it, this work, my dearest child, reared by moonlight, like a false siren delivers me into the arms of the enemy.

For some days my vexation made me quite incapable of thinking; I ran about madly in the garden by the dirty water of the Spree, which "washes souls and dilutes the tea". I even joined my landlord in a hunting excursion, rushed off to Berlin and wanted to embrace every street-corner loafer.

Shortly after that I pursued only positive studies: the study of Savigny's *Ownership*, Feuerbach's and Grolmann's criminal law, Cramer's *de verborum significatione*, Wenning-Ingenheim's Pandect system, and Mühlenbruch's Doctrina *pandectarum*, which I am still working through, and finally a few titles from Lauterbach, on civil procedure and above all canon law, the first part of which, Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum*, I have almost entirely read through in the corpus and made extracts from, as also the supplement, Lancelotti's *Institutiones*. Then I translated in part Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, read *de*

augmentis scientiarum of the famous Bacon of Verulam, spent a good deal of time on Reimarus, to whose book on the artistic instincts of animals I applied my mind with delight, and also tackled German law, but chiefly only to the extent of going through the capitularies of the Franconian kings and the letters of the Popes to them.

Owing to being upset over Jenny's illness and my vain, fruitless intellectual labours, and as the result of nagging annoyance at having had to make an idol of a view that I hated, I became ill, as I have already written to you, dear Father. When I got better I burnt all the poems and outlines of stories, etc., imagining that I could give them up completely, of which so far at any rate I have not given any proofs to the contrary.

While I was ill I got to know Hegel from beginning to end, together with most of his disciples. Through a number of meetings with friends in Stralow I came across a Doctors' Club, which includes some university lecturers and my most intimate Berlin friend, Dr. Rutenberg. In controversy here, many conflicting views were expressed, and I became ever more firmly bound to the modern world philosophy from which I had thought to escape, but all rich chords were silenced and I was seized with a veritable fury of irony, as could easily happen after so much had been negated. In addition, there was Jenny's silence, and I could not rest until I had acquired modernity and the outlook of contemporary science through a few bad productions such as *The Visit*, etc.

If perhaps I have here neither clearly described the whole of this last term nor gone into all details, and slurred over all the nuances, excuse me, dear Father, because of my desire to speak of the present time.

Herr v. Chamisso sent me a very insignificant note in which he informed me "he regrets that the *Almanac* cannot use my contributions because it has already been printed a long time ago". I swallowed this with vexation. The bookseller Wigand has sent my plan to Dr. Schmidt, publisher of Wunder's firm that trades in good cheese and bad literature. I enclose his letter; Dr. Schmidt has not yet replied. However, I am by no means abandoning this plan, especially since all the aesthetic celebrities of the Hegelian school have promised their collaboration through the help of university lecturer Bauer, who plays a big role among them, and of my colleague Dr. Rutenberg.

Now, as regards the question of a career in cameralistics, my dear father, I recently made the acquaintance of an assessor, Schmidthanner, who advised me after the third law examination to transfer to it as a justiciary, which would be the more to my taste, since I really prefer jurisprudence to all administrative science. This gentleman told me that in three years he himself and many others from the Münster high provincial court in Westphalia had succeeded in reaching the position of assessor, which was not difficult, with hard work of course, since the stages there are not rigidly fixed as they are in Berlin and elsewhere. If later, as an assessor, one is awarded a doctor's degree, there are also much better prospects of obtaining a post as professor extraordinary, as happened in the case of Herr Gärtner in Bonn, who wrote a mediocre work on provincial legislation and is otherwise only known as belonging to the Hegelian school of jurists. But, my dear, very good father, would it not be possible to discuss all this with you personally? Eduard's condition, dear Mama's illness, your own ill health, although I hope it is not serious, all this makes me want to hurry to you,

indeed it makes it almost a necessity. I would be there already if I was not definitely in doubt about your permission and consent.

Believe me, my dear, dear father, I am actuated by no selfish intention (although it would be bliss for me to see Jenny again), but there is a thought which moves me, and it is one I have no right to express. In many respects it would even be a hard step for me to take but, as my only sweet Jenny writes, these considerations are all of no account when faced with the fulfilment of duties that are sacred.

I beg you, dear Father, however you may decide, not to show this letter, at least not this page, to my angel of a mother. My sudden arrival could perhaps help this grand and wonderful woman to recover.

My letter to Mama was written long before the arrival of Jenny's dear letter, so perhaps I unwittingly wrote too much about matters which are not quite or even very little suitable.

In the hope that gradually the clouds that have gathered about our family will pass away, that it will be granted to me to suffer and weep with you and, perhaps, when with you to give proof of my profound, heartfelt sympathy and immeasurable love, which often I can only express very badly; in the hope that you also, dear, ever beloved Father, taking into account my much agitated state of mind, will forgive me where often my heart seems to have erred, overwhelmed by my militant spirit, and that you will soon be wholly restored to health so that I can clasp you to my heart and tell you all my thoughts,

Your ever loving son,

Karl

Please, dear Father, excuse my illegible handwriting and bad style; it is almost 4 o'clock, the candle has burnt itself out, and my eyes are dim; a real unrest has taken possession of me, I shall not be able to calm the turbulent spectres until I am with you who are dear to me.

Please give greetings from me to my sweet, wonderful Jenny. I have read her letter twelve times already, and always discover new delights in it. It is in every respect, including that of style, the most beautiful letter I can imagine being written by a woman.

Transcribed in 1998 for MEIA by slr@marx.org

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Carl Friedrich Bachman

in Jena

Written: April 6, 1841
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 379.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: the yearly*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1926
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Sir,

I send you herewith a dissertation for a doctor's degree on the difference between the natural philosophy of Democritus and the natural philosophy of Epicurus, and enclose the liltcrac pctitoriac,b carrriculum vitcrc, my leaving certificates from the universities of Bonn and Berlin, and, finally, the legal fees of twelve friedrichsdors. At the same time, in the event of my work being found satisfactory by the faculty, I humbly beg you to hasten as much as possible the conferring of the doctor's degree'" since, on the one hand, I can only remain a few weeks longer in Berlin and, on the other hand, external circumstances make it highly desirable for me to obtain the doctor's degree before my departure.

I should Like the leaving certificates to be returned, as they are originals.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,

Your most devoted servant,

Karl Heinrich Marx

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Oscar Ludwig Bernhard Wolf

in Jena

Written: Berlin, April 7 [1841]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 380.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: the yearly*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1926
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Herr Professor,

In expressing my most sincere thanks for your great kindness in fulfilling my request, I take the liberty of informing you that I have just sent my dissertation, together with the accompanying material, to the faculty of philosophy, and I beg you, in accordance with your kind offer, to be so good as to hasten the dispatch of the diploma. I thought that I had already made too great a claim on your kindness to dare to trouble you still further by sending my dissertation direct to you.

Assuring you of my most sincere gratitude and highest respect,

I remain

Yours most devotedly,
Karl Heinrich Marx

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Dagobert Oppenheim

in Cologne

Written: [Bonn, approximately August 25, 1842]
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 1, pg 391-393.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: book*Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, 1. Bd., Essen, 1919
Translated: Clemens Dutt
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Dear Oppenheim,

I enclose a manuscript from Ruge. No. 1 is not usable, but No. 2, on the state of affairs in Saxony, you will probably be able to use.

Send me Mayer's article in the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the *system of local government* and, if possible, all Hermes' articles *against the Jews*. I will then send you as soon as possible an article which, even if it does not finally settle the latter question, will nevertheless make it take another course.

Will the article on Hanover go through? At least try to make a small start with it soon. It is not so much a matter of this article itself as of a series of useful articles from that quarter which I can then promise you. The author of the article wrote to me yesterday:

"I do not think my attacks on the opposition will do harm to sales of the newspaper in Hanover; on the contrary, people there am fairly generally so far advanced that the views I put forward will be accepted as correct."

If it is in accord with your views on the subject, send me also the Juste-Milieu article for criticism. The subject must be discussed dispassionately. In the first place, quite general theoretical arguments about the state political system are more suitable for purely scientific organs than for newspapers. The correct theory must be made clear and developed within the concrete conditions and on the basis of the existing state of things.

However, since it has now happened, two things should be borne in mind. Every time we come into conflict with other newspapers, the matter can, sooner or later, be used against us. Such a clear demonstration against the foundations of the present state system can result in an intensification of the censorship and even the suppression of the newspaper. It was in this way that the South-German Tribüne came to an end. But in any case we arouse the resentment of many, indeed the majority, of the

free-thinking practical people who have undertaken the laborious task of winning freedom step by step, within the constitutional framework, while we, from our comfortable armchair of abstractions, show them their contradictions. True, the author of the Juste-Milieu article invites criticism; but 1) we all know how governments respond to such challenges; 2) it is not enough for someone to express readiness to hear criticism, for which in any case his permission will not be asked; the question is whether he has selected the appropriate arena. Newspapers only begin to be the appropriate arena for such questions when these have become questions of the real state, practical questions.

I consider it essential that the *Rheinische Zeitung* should not be guided by its contributors, but that, on the contrary, it should guide them. Articles of the kind mentioned afford the best opportunity for indicating a definite plan of operations to the contributors. A single author cannot have a view of the whole in the way the newspaper can.

If my views do not coincide with yours, I would--if you do not find it inappropriate-give this criticism to the *Anekdota*, as a supplement to my article against Hegel's theory of constitutional monarchy. But I think it is better when the newspaper is its own doctor.

Hoping for an early reply from you,

Yours,

Marx

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

TO LUDWIG FEUERBACH IN BRUCKBERG

First published in part in:
K. Grun, *Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Brietwechsel und Nachlass,*
sowie in seiner Philosophischen Charaiterentwicklung
Bd. I, Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1874;
in full in:
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works,*
second Russ. ea., Vol. 27, 1962.
Translated into English by Jack Cohen for the *Collected Works*.

Kreuznach, October 3, 1843

Dear Sir,

A few months ago while passing through [Bruckberg], Dr. Ruge informed you of our plan to publish Franco-German *Jahrbücher* and asked at the same time for your collaboration. It has now been already settled that *Paris* is to be the place for printing and publication and that the first monthly number is to appear by the end of November.

Before I leave for Paris in a few days time I feel obliged to make a brief *epistolary* approach to you since I have not had the privilege of making your personal acquaintance.

You were one of the first writers who expressed the need for a Franco-German scientific alliance. You will, therefore, assuredly be one of the first to support an enterprise aimed at bringing such an alliance into being. For German and French articles are to be published *promiscue* in the *Jahrbücher*. The best Paris writers have agreed to cooperate. Any contribution from you will be most welcome and there is probably something at your disposal that you have already written.

From your preface to the 2nd edition of *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, I am almost led to conclude that you are engaged on a fuller work on *Schelling* or that you have something about this windbag in mind. Now that would be a marvellous beginning.

Schelling, as you know, is the 38th member of the [German] Confederation. The entire German police is at his disposal as I myself once experienced when I was editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. That is, a censorship order can prevent anything against the holy Schelling [...indecipherable word here...] from getting through. Hence it is almogt impossible in Germany to attack Schelling except in books of over 21 sheets, and books of over 21 sheets are not books read by the people. *Kapp's* book *is* very commendable but it is too circum" stantial and rather inaptly separates judgment from facts. Moreover, our governments have found a means of making such works ineffective. They must not be mentioned. They are ignored or the few official reviews dismiss them with a few contemptuous words. The great Schelling himself pretends he knows nothing about these attacks and he succeeded in diverting attention from

Kapp's book by making a tremendous *fiscal* todo about old Paulus' soup. That was a diplomatic master stroker

But just imagine Schelling exposed in Paris, before the French literary world! His vanity will not be able to restrain itself, this will wound the Prussian Government to the quick, it will be an attack on Schelling's sovereignty abroad, and a *vain* monarch sets muck greater store by his *sovereignty abroad* than at home.

How cunningly Herr von Schelling enticed the French, first of all the weak, eclectic *Cousin*, then even the gifted Leroux. For Pierre Leroux and his like still regard Schelling as the man who replaced transcendental idealism by rational realism, abstract thought by thought with flesh and blood, specialised philosopty by world philosophy! To the French romantics and mystics he cries: "I, the union of philosophy and theology", to the French materialists: "I, the union of flesh and idea", to the French sceptics: "I, the destroyeer of dogmatism", in a word, "I ... Schelling!"

Schelling has not only been able to unite phllosopny and theology, but philosophy and diplomacy too. He has turned philosophy into a general diplomatic science, into a diplomacy for all occasions. Thus an attack on Schelling is indirectly an attack on our entire policy, and especially on Prussian policy. Schelling's philosophy is Prussian policy *sub specie philosophiae*.

You would therefore be doing a great service to our enterprise, but even more to truth, if you were to contribute a characterisation of Schelling to the very first issue. You are just the man for this because you are *Schelling in reverse*. The *sincere thought* -- we may believe the best of our opponent -- of the *young* Schelling for the realisation of which however he did not possess the necessary qualities except imagination, he had no energy but vanity, no driving force but opium, no organ but the irritability of a feminine perceptivity, this sincere thought of his youth, which in his case remained a fantastic youthful dream, has become truth, reality manly seriousness in your case. Schelling is therefore an *anticipated caricature* of you, and as soon as reality confronts the caricature the latter must dissolve into thin air. I therefore regard you as the necessary, natural -- that is, nominated by Their Majesties Nature and History -- opponent of Schelling. Your struggle with him is the struggle of the imagination of philosophy with philosophy itself.

I confidently expect a contribution from you in the form you may find most convenient.'" My address is: "Herr Mäurer. Rue Vanneau No. 23, Paris, for the attention of Dr. Marx." Although she does not know you, my wife sends greetings. You would not believe how many followers you have among the fair sex.

Yours very truly,

Dr. Marx

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Marxists Internet Archive

TO JULIUS FRÖBEL IN ZURICH

First published in German and Russian
Printed according to the original
in the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS* No. 4
Translated into English by Jack Cohen for the *Collected Works*.

Paris, November 21, 1843
rue Vanneau, No. 31, Faub. St. Germain

Dear Friend,

Your letter has just arrived, but with some very strange symptoms.

1) *Everything* which you say you enclosed is missing with the exception of *Engels' article*. This, however, is all in pieces and is therefore useless. It begins with No. 5.

2) The letters for Mäurer and myself were wrapped up in the enclosed envelope which is postmarked St. Louis. The few pages of Engels' article were in the same wrapper.

3) Mäurer's letter, which, like mine, I found open in the enclosed envelope, is also superscribed in a strange hand. I enclose the page with the writing.

Hence there are only two possibilities.

Either the *French* Government opened and seized your letters your packet. In which case return the enclosed addresses. We will then not only initiate *proceedings* against the French Post-Office but, at the same time, publicise this fact in all the opposition papers. In any event it would be better if you addressed all packets to a *French bookshop*. However, we do not believe that the French Government has perpetrated the kind of *infamy* which so far only the Austrian Government has permitted itself.

There thus remains the *second possibility*, that your *Bluntschli* and associates have played this police-spy trick. If this is so, then (1) You must bring proceedings against the Swiss and (2) Mäurer as a *French citizen* will protest to the Ministry.

As far as the business itself is concerned, it is now necessary:

a) To ask Schuller not to issue the aforesaid document for the time being, as this must be the principal ornament of our first number.

b) Send the whole of the contents to Louis Blanc's address. No. 2 or 3, rue Taitbout.

c) Ruge is not yet here. I cannot very well begin printing until he has arrived. I have had to reject the articles so far sent to me by the local people (Hess, Weill, etc.) after many protracted discussions. But Ruge is probably coming at the end of this month, and if at that time we also have the document you promised, we can begin with the printing. I have written to Feuerbach, Kapp and Hagen. Feuerbach has already replied.

d) Holland seems to me to be the most suitable place providing that your police spies have not already been in direct touch with the government.

If your Swiss people have perpetrated the infamy I will not only attack them in the *Réforme*, the *National*, the *Démocratie pacifique*, the *Siecle, Courrier, La Presse, Charivari, Commerce* and the *Revue indépendante*, but in the *Times* as well, and, if you wish, in a pamphlet written in French.

These pseudo-Republicans will have to learn that they are not dealing with young cowhands, or tailors' apprentices.

As to the *office*, I will try to acquire one along with the new lodging into which I intend moving. This will be convenient from the business and financial viewpoint.

Please excuse this scraggy letter. I can't write for indignation.

Yours, *Marx*

In any case, whether the Paris doctrinaires or the Swiss peasant lads were responsible for the trick, we will get *Arago* and *Lamartine* to make an intervention in the Chamber. If these gentlemen want to make a scandal, *ut scandalum fiat*. Reply quickly for the matter is pressing. Since Mäurer is a *French citizen*, the plot on the part of the Zurichers would be a violation of international law, with which the cowhands shall not get away.

The Marx / Engels Archive

The Marxist writers' Archives

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE DÉMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE

Written: Paris, December 10, 1843
Source: *Marx Engels Collected Works* Vol 3, pg 132.
Publisher: International Publishers (1975)
First Published: the Démocratie pacifique, December 11, 1843
Translated Jack Cohen for the Collected Works
Transcribed: S. Ryan
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

No. 28 of the *Bien public* contains the following lines:

"The *Kölnische Zeitung* publishes a letter from Leipzig in which it is stated that a journal in French and German is due to appear shortly in Paris under the editorship of Dr. Ruge, to which M. de Lamartine and M. de Lamennais are said to have promised their collaboration.

"It is not true that M. de Lamartine has undertaken to write in any journal and, in particular, in the one in question, with M. de Lamennais.

"M. de Lamartine, who is wholly absorbed in his parliamentary work, is reserving for the *Histoire des Girondins* the little leisure that politics leaves him."

It is true that M. de Lamartine has not undertaken to write for the journal in question with M. de Lamennais, but we affirm that he has let us hope for his collaboration in the journal that we are proposing to found.

In addressing ourselves separately to these two famous personages, we have been prompted by the belief that for a work such as that of an intellectual alliance between France and Germany one should seek the support of all eminent representatives of progress in France.

Furthermore, we declare that the letter from Leipzig published by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which gave rise to the article in the *Bien public*, did not emanate from us or from any of our friends.

Arnold Ruge,
former editor of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*

Charles Marx,
former editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*

Paris, December 10, 1843

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* (AUGSBURG)

First published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*
Augsburg, No. 3, April 20, 1844
Translated from German by Jack Cohen
for the *Collected Works*

The diverse rumours which have been spread by German newspapers concerning the discontinuation of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* impel me to state that the Swiss publishers of the *Jahrbücher* suddenly withdrew from this enterprise for economic reasons and thus made impossible the continuation of this journal for the time being.

Paris, April 14, 1844

Karl Marx

The Marx / Engels Archive

The Marxist writers' Archives

The private letters of Marx and Engels

MARX TO HEINRICH BORNSTEIN IN PARIS

Published: *Katalog 211 des Antiquariats Leo Liepmonssohn*, Berlin, 1924
Translated: Into English for the *MECW* by Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed for the Internet by zodiac@interlog.com, 1996

[Copy]

[Paris, end of December 1844-beginning of January 1845]

Dear Sir,

It is impossible for me to let you have the review of Stirner before next week. Therefore deliver the specimen copy without my contribution; Buergers will let you have an article in its stead.

You shall have my article next week.

Yours faithfully

Marx

NOTES
From MECW

Here, Marx writes about the *Vorwarts! Pariser Deutsche Monatsschrift* which Heinrich Boernstein planned to publish instead of the newspaper *Vorwarts!* The prospectus of the monthly published in German and French on 1 January 1845 (its publication date helps in determining the approximate date of this letter) stated that one of the reasons for the reformation of *Vorwarts!* was that no caution-money was needed for publishing a journal as distinct from a newspaper. The journal of eight printed sheets was to appear on the 16th of each month. The expulsion of Marx and other contributors to *Vorwarts!* from France prevented the publication of the first issue, the proof sheets of which had already been printed.

As is seen from this letter, and that of Engels to Marx written approximately 20 January 1845, Marx intended to write a critical review of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* at the end of December 1844 and originally wanted to publish it in the monthly *Vorwarts!* There is no information on whether this plan materialized. It is only known that two years later, Marx and

Engels scathingly criticized Stirner's book in the *German Ideology*.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

The private letters of Marx and Engels

MARX TO HEINRICH HEINE IN PARIS

First published abridged in *Aus dew literorischen Nach lass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1902

and in full in *Archiv fur die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Jg. 9 Leipzig, 1921

and in *The Letters of Karl Marx*,selected and translated with explanatory notes and an introduction by Saul K. Padover, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Engelwood Cliff, New Jersey, 1979.

Transcribed for the Internet by zodiac@interlog.com, 1996

[Paris, end of January-February 1845]

Dear Friend,

I hope to have time to see you tomorrow. I am due to leave on Monday.[1]

The publisher Leske has just been to see me. He is bringing out a quarterly [2] in Darmstadt which is not subject to censorship. Engels, Hess, Herwegh, Jung and I, etc., are collaborating with him. He has asked me to solicit your cooperation -- poetry or prose. Since we must make use of every opportunity to establish ourselves in Germany, you will surely not decline.

Of all the people I am leaving behind here, those I leave with most regret are the Heines. I would gladly include you in my luggage! Best regards to your wife [3] from mine and myself.

Yours

K. Marx

NOTES
From MECW

The letter has no date. The approximate date of its writing is established on the basis of Marx's mentioning in it his imminent departure from Paris due to the expulsion decree issued against him by the French authorities, and also his meeting with the publisher Leske during which he probably concluded the contract for publishing his *Kritik der Politik und National-ökonomie*, which was signed on 1 February 1845.

[1] 3 February

[2] *Rheinische Jahrbücher*

[3] Mathilde

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE

in Brussels

Written: [Paris,] Wednesday, 16 September 1846
First Published: abridged in abridged in *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913 and in full in *MEGA*, Abt. III, Bd. 1, 1929
Translation: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: zodiac@interlog.com
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Committee No. 2

[Paris,] Wednesday, 16 September 1846

Dear Friends,

Your news about Belgium, London and Breslau [1] was of great interest to me. [2] I told Ewerbeck and Bernays what was of interest to them. Keep me *au fait* [3] as well with the success of our enterprise and *plus ou moins* [4] the enthusiasm with which the various localities are taking part, so that I can expatiate on that to the workers here in so far as it is politic. What are the Cologne people [5] doing?

There's all manner of news from here.

I've had several meetings with the local workers, i.e. with the leaders of the cabinet-makers from the Faubourg St. Antoine. These people are curiously organised. Apart from the business of their league [6] having been thrown into the utmost confusion -- as a result of a serious dispute with the Weitlingian tailors -- these lads, i.e. 12-20 of them, foregather once a week; they used to hold discussions but, after they ran out of matter, as indeed they were bound to do, Ewerbeck was compelled to give them lectures on German history -- starting from scratch -- and on an extremely muddled political economy, a popular rendering of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. [7] Meanwhile I appeared. In order to establish contact with them, I twice discussed conditions in Germany since the French Revolution, my point of departure being the economic relations. What they glean from these weekly meetings is thrashed out on Sundays at Barriere meetings [8] attended by Cherethites and Pelethites, wife and children. [9] Here -- *abstraction faite de toute espace de politique* [10] -- such things as 'social questions' are discussed. It is a good way of attracting new people, for it's entirely public; a fortnight ago the police arrived and wanted to impose a veto but allowed themselves to be placated and did nothing further. Often more than 200 people foregather.

Things cannot possibly remain as they are now. A degree of lethargy has set in amongst the fellows which comes from their being bored with themselves. For they have nothing to set against the tailors' communism but popularisations *a la* Grun and green-tinted [11] Proudhon, [12] all this having been laboriously dinned into them, partly by no less a person than Mr Grun himself, partly by an old, bombastic master cabinet-maker and minion of Grun's, Papa Eisermann, but partly, too, by *amicus* [13] Ewerbeck. Naturally they soon ran dry, endless repetition ensued and, to prevent them going to *sleep* (literally, this was getting worse and worse at the sessions), Ewerbeck torments them with hair-splitting disquisitions on 'true value' (this last being somewhat on my conscience) and bores them with the primeval forests of the Teutons, Hermann the Cheruscan, and the most ghastly old German etymology according to-Adelung, all of it quite wrong. By the way, the real leader of these people isn't Ewerbeck but Junge, who was in Brussels [14]; the fellow realises very well what ought to be changed, and might do a great deal since he has them all in his pocket and is ten times more intelligent than the whole clique, but he vacillates too much and always has some new bee in his bonnet. I haven't seen him for nearly 3 weeks -- he never turned up and isn't to be found -- which is why so little has as yet been achieved. Without him most of them are spineless and irresolute. But one must be patient with the fellows; in the first place we must rid ourselves of Grun, whose enervating influence, both direct and indirect, has been truly dreadful. And then, when we've got these platitudes out of their heads, I hope to be able to achieve something with the fellows, for they all have a strong desire for instruction in economics. This should not take long, as Ewerbeck who, despite his notorious muddle-headedness, now at its fullest flowering, has the best intentions in the world, is completely in my pocket, and Junge, too, is wholly on my side. I have discussed the correspondence [15] with six others; the plan was much acclaimed, specially by Junge, and will be implemented from here. But unless Grun's personal influence is destroyed and his platitudes eradicated, thus reinvigorating the chaps, nothing can be done in view of the considerable material obstacles to be faced (particularly engagements almost every evening). I have offered to confront Grun in their presence and to tax him with his personal rascalities, and Bernays also wishes to be there -- Ewerbeck too has a bone to pick with him. This will happen as soon as they have settled their own affairs with Grun, i.e. obtained a guarantee for the money advanced for the printing of Grun's *Landtag* shit. [17] But since Junge didn't turn up and the rest behaved towards Grun-like children, that matter, too, is still not in order, although with a little effort it could have been settled in 5 minutes. The unfortunate thing about it is that most of these fellows are Swabians.

Now for something to amuse you. In his new, as yet unprinted book, which Grun is translating, [18] Proudhon has a great scheme for making money out of thin air and bringing the kingdom of heaven closer to all workers. No one knew what it was. Grun, while keeping it very dark, was always bragging about his philosopher's stone. General suspense. At length, last week, Papa Eisermann was at the cabinet-makers' and so was I; gradually the old coxcomb came out with it, in a naively secretive manner. Mr Grun had confided the whole plan to him. Hearken, now, to the grandeur of this plan for world redemption: *ni plus ni moins* [19] than the already long extant in England, and ten times bankrupt LABOUR-BAZARS or LABOUR-MARKETS, associations of all artisans of all trades, a big warehouse, all work delivered by the *associes* valued strictly in accordance with the cost of the raw product plus labour, and paid for in other association products, similarly valued. [20] Anything delivered in excess of the association's needs is to be sold on the world market, the proceeds being paid out to the producers. In this way the crafty Proudhon calculates that he and his fellow *associes* will circumvent the profit of the middleman. That this would also mean circumventing the profit on *his association's capital*, that this

capital and this profit must be *just* as *great* as the capital and profit of the circumvented middlemen, that he therefore throws away with his right hand what the left has received, has none of it entered his clever head. That his workers can never raise the necessary capital, since otherwise they could just as well set themselves up separately, that any savings in cost resulting from the association would be more than outweighed by the enormous risk, that the whole thing would amount to spiriting away profit from this world, while leaving the producers of the profit to cool their heals, that it is a truly Straubingerian idyll, [21] excluding from the very outset all large-scale industry, building, agriculture, etc., that they would have to bear only the *losses* of the bourgeoisie without sharing in its gains, all these and a hundred other self-evident objections he overlooks, so delighted is he with his plausible illusion. It's all too utterly preposterous. Paterfamilias Grun, of course, believes in the new redemption and already in his mind's eye sees himself at the head of an association of 20,000 *ouvriers* [22] (they want it *big* from the start), his family, of course, to receive free clothing, board and lodging. But if Proudhon comes out with this, he will be making a fool of himself and all French socialists and communists in the eyes of bourgeois economists. Hence those tears, that polemicising against revolution [23] because he had a peaceable nostrum up his sleeve. Proudhon is just like John Watts. In spite of his disreputable atheism and socialism, the latter regards it as his vocation to acquire respectability in the eyes of the bourgeoisie; Proudhon, despite his polemic against the economists, does his utmost to gain recognition as a great economist. Such are the sectarians. Besides, it's such an old story! [24]

Now for another highly curious affair. -- The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 21 July, Paris, 16 July. Article on the *Russian* Embassy [25] ...

"That is the official Embassy -- but quite extraneous to it, or rather *above* it, there is a certain Mr *Tolstoy* who bears no title, is described, however, as '*confidant of the Court.'* Formerly, with the Ministry of Education, he came to Paris charged with a *Literary mission;* there he wrote a few memoirs for his Ministry, sent them a few reports on the French daily press, then wrote no more but did all the more. He maintains a splendid establishment, is invited everywhere, receives everyone, busies himself with everything, knows everything and arranges much. He seems to me to he the *actual Russian Ambassador* in Paris.... His intervention works wonders" (-- all Poles seeking a pardon addressed themselves to him --) "-- at the Embassy *all bow down before him and in Petersburg he is held in great regard."*

This Tolstoy is none other than our Tolstoy, that noble fellow who told us untruthfully that he wanted to sell his estates in Russia. [26] Besides the apartment to which he took us, the man has a magnificent *hotel [27] in the rue Mathurin where he receives the diplomats. This has long been known to the Poles and to many* of the French, but not to the German radicals amongst whom he thought it better to insinuate himself as a radical. The above article was written by a Pole known to Bernays, and was immediately taken up by the *Corsaire-Satan* and the *National*. On reading the article, all Tolstoy did was laugh heartily and crack jokes about having been found out at last. He is now in London, where he will try his luck, being played out here. It's a pity he is not coming back, otherwise I'd have had a joke or two to try out on him, eventually leaving my card in the rue Mathurin. After this, *c'est clair* [28] that Annenkov, whom he recommended, is also a Russian informer. Even Bakunin, who *must have known* the whole story since the other Russians knew it, is very suspect. I shall, of course, give him no hint of this, but wreak vengeance on the Russians. Even though these spies may not constitute any particular threat to us, we can't let them get away with it. They're good subjects for conspiratorial experiments *in corpore vili*. [29] For that they are not really too bad.

Father Hess. After I had happily consigned his spouse, [30] cursing and swearing about same, to oblivion, i.e. to the furthest end of the Faubourg St. Antoine where there is a wailing and gnashing of teeth (Grun and Gsell), I received not long since, through the agency of one Reinhardt, another letter in which the communist papa sought to re-establish relations. It's enough to make one split one's sides. As if nothing had happened of course, altogether *in dulci jubilo*, [31] and moreover altogether the same old Hess. After the remark that he was to some extent reconciled with 'the party' (the 'Yiddish' Circle appears to have become insolvent) -- and 'also anxious to resume work' (which event ought to be rung in with a peal of bells), comes the following historical note (dated 19 August):

'A few weeks ago we were *within a hair's breadth* of a *bloody* riot here in Cologne, *Large numbers* being already armed' (among them certainly not Moses). 'The affair did not come to a head because the military *did not put in an appearance'* (tremendous triumph for Cologne's pint-sized philistine), etc., etc...'

Then he tells of the civic assemblies [32] where 'we', i.e. 'the party' and Mr Moses, *'qua* communists, *won so complete a victory* that we', etc.

'We *drove*, first the moneyed aristocrats ... and then the petty bourgeois, *with glory'* (none of them possessing any talent) *'from the field* Eventually we *could have* (!) *carried everything* in the assemblies' (e.g. made Moses Chief Burgomaster); 'a programme was adopted to which the assembly pledged its candidates, and which' (hear, hear) *'could not have been more radical even if drawn up by English and French communists'* (!!!) (and by no one understood more foolishly than by Moses).... *'Keep* an occasional eye' (sic) 'on my [wife]' (both parties would like me to take over the distaff side at my own expense and risk, *j'en ai les preuves [33]).... 'and pass this onto Ewerbeck as a heartener.'*

May God bless this 'heartener', this manna from the desert. I, of course, completely ignore the beast -- he has now written to Ewerbeck too (and this simply in order that a letter may be conveyed to his distaff side at the former's expense), and is threatening to come here in two months' time. If he visits me, I think I too shall be able to tell him something by way of a 'heartener'.

Now that I'm in full swing, I might as well conclude by telling you that Heine is here again and that the day before yesterday Ewerbeck and I went to see him. The poor devil is dreadfully low. He has grown as thin as a rake. The softening of the brain is spreading, and so is the facial paralysis. Ewerbeck says he might very easily die of pulmonary paralysis or of a sudden cerebral stroke, but could also drag on, sometimes better, sometimes worse, for another three or four years yet. He is, of course, somewhat depressed, melancholy and -- most significant of all -- extremely benign (and, indeed, seriously so) in his judgments -- Maurer is the only person about whom he constantly cracks jokes. For the rest his intellectual vigour is unimpaired, but his appearance, made stranger still by a greying beard (he can no longer be shaved round the mouth), is enough to plunge anyone who sees him into the depths of depression. The impression made by the sight of so splendid a fellow gradually wasting away is exceedingly painful.

I have also seen the great Maurer. 'Manikin, manikin, how little you weigh!" The man's really a sight worth seeing, and I was atrociously rude to him, in return for which the jackass evinces a particular affection for me, and tells me I have a kindly face. He resembles Karl Moor six weeks dead. Reply soon.

Yours

E.

Write soon, as I shall in a fortnight's time [...] from here; such a business a letter [...] easily remain lying or be refused at the old place.

At the *Fraternite* there has been a tremendous dispute between materialists [34] and spiritualists.[35] The materialists, outvoted by 23 to 22, walked out. But that has not stopped the *Fraternite* from publishing a very nice article on the various stages of civilisation and their ability to continue developing in the direction of communism. [36]

You'll be amused by the following: *Journal des economistes*, August of this year, contains, in an article on Biedermann's article on communism, [37] the following: First, all Hess' nonsense, comically Gallicised; next, we read, comes M. Marx.

'M. Marx est un *cordonnier*, comme un autre Communiste allemand, Weitling, est un tailleur. Le premier (Mx) n'a pas une grande estime pour le communisme francais (!) qu'il a ete assez heureux d'etudier sur les lieux. M. ne sort (du) reste point non plus' (do you not recognise Mr Fix in this Alsatian expression?) 'des formules abstraites et ie se garde bien d'aborder aucune question veritablement pratique. Selon lui' (note the nonsense) 'l'emancipation du peuple allemand sera le signal de l'emancipation du genre humain; la tete de cette emancipation serait la philosophie et son coeur le proletariat. Lorsque tout sera prepare, le coq gaulois sonnera la resurrection germanique... Marx dit qu'il *faut creer* en Allemagne un proletariat universel (!!) afin de realiser la pensee philosophique do Cornmunisme'. [38] Signed T. F. (mort depuis).[39]

That was his last work. The previous issue carried an equally comical review of my book. [40] The September number contains an article on Julius which I have not yet read. [41]

[On the back of the letter]

Monsieur Charles Marx au Bois Sauvage, Plaine Ste Gudule, Bruxelles

NOTES
From MECW

[1] Polish name: Wroclaw.

[2] The letter of Marx and other members of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee to Engels mentioned here has not been found.

[3] "acquainted"

[4] "more or less"

[5] Roland Daniels, Heinrich Burgers, Karl d'Ester

[6] A reference to the Paris communities of the League of the Just.

[7] Reference is probably to Engels' 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy'.

[8] *Barriere meetings* were Sunday assemblies of members of the League of the Just held at the Paris city gates (barrieres). As a police agent reported on 1 February 1845, 30 to 200 German emigrants gathered in premises rented for this purpose from a wine-merchant in avenue de Vincennes near the city gate.

[9] 2 Samuel 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23

[10] "all politics apart"

[11] A play on Grun (green)

[12] By 'tailors' communism' Engels means the utopian communism of W. Weitling and his followers.

Karl Grun, who visited Paris in 1846-47, preached 'true socialism' and Proudhon's petty-bourgeois reformist ideas among the German workers.

[13] "friend"

[14] Adolph Junge, a cabinet-maker from Dusseldorf, was a notable figure in the Paris communities of the League of the Just in the early 1840s. At the end of June 1846, after a short visit to Cologne, he returned to Paris via Brussels where he met Marx and Engels. In Paris he vigorously opposed Grun and other advocates of 'true socialism' and became an associate of Engels when the latter was in Paris. At the end of March 1847, the French police expelled Junge from the country.

[15] 5 May 1856

[17] [K. Grun,] *Die preussischen Landtags-Abschiede.*

[18] Grun's German translation of Proudhon's book was published in Darmstadt in February (Volume I) and in May (Volume II) 1847 under the title *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Notwendigkeit des Elends*.

[19] "neither more nor less"

[20] By *labour-bazars* or *labour markets* Engels means equitable-labour exchange bazars which were organised by the Owenites and Ricardian socialists (John Gray, William Thompson, John Bray) in various towns of England in the 1830s for fair exchange without a capitalist intermediary. The products were exchanged for labour notes, or labour money, certificates showing the cost of the products delivered, calculated on the basis of the amount of labour necessary for their production. The organisers considered these bazars as a means for publicising the advantages of a non-capitalist form of exchange and a peaceful way -- together with cooperatives -- of transition to socialism. The subsequent and invariable bankruptcy of such enterprises proved their utopian character.

[21] *Straubingers* -- travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels used this term for German artisans, including some participants in the working-class movement of that time, who were still largely swayed by guild prejudices and cherished the petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to petty handicraft production.

[22] "workers"

[23] Engels refers to Proudhon's letter to Marx of 17 May 1846, in which he turned down a proposal to work in the correspondence committees.

[24] H. Heine, 'Ein Jungling liebt cm Maedchen' from *Lyrisches Intermezzo.*

[25] Engels quotes from the article 'Die russische Allianz und die russisehe Gesandtschaft'.

[26] Engels had been misled by Karl Bernays and Heinrich Bornstein as he later pointed out in his letter to Marx of 15 January 1847. The item in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* dealt with the tsarist spy V. N. Tolstoy and not with the Russian liberal landowner G. M. Tolstoy whose acquaintance Marx and Engels had made in Paris.

[27] "mansion"

[28] "it's clear"

[29] "on the vile body"

[30] Sibylle Hess

[31] "sweetness and joy"

[32] During the campaign for the elections to the local councils in Cologne which started at the end of June 1846, it was obvious at the very first meetings that the Cologne communists had a considerable influence on the petty-bourgeois electors (the Prussian workers were virtually deprived of suffrage). In the course of the election campaign, disorders took place in Cologne on 3 and 4 August, and were suppressed by the army. The people indignantly demanded that the troops should be withdrawn to their barracks and a civic militia organised. Karl d'Ester, a Cologne communist, described these disturbances in an unsigned pamphlet *Bericht iber die Ereignine* za *KoIn* vow 3. *und 4. Augstst und den folgenden Tagen,* published in Mannheim in 1846.

[33] "have proof of it"

[34] By *materialists* Engels meant associates of Theodore Dezamy and other revolutionary representatives of French utopian communism who drew the socialist conclusions from the teaching of the eighteenth-century Frencls materialist philosophers. In the 1840s there existed in France a society of materialist communists which consisted of workers; in July 1847 eleven of its members were brought to trial by the French authorities.

[35] By *spiritualists* Engels must have meant the editors of the *Fraternite* who were influenced by the religious-socialist ideas of Pierre Leroux, and by the "Christian socialism" of Philippe Buchez and Felicite Lamennais.

[36] Engels seems to be writing about a series of articles 'La civilisation' published in the *Fraternite* in 1845 and 1846. The first article was entitled 'La civilisation est l'acheminement de l'esprit humain vers la communaute".

[37] The reference is to a review of K. Biedermann, 'Unsrc Gegenwart und Zukunft' written by Th. Fix and published in the *Journal des Economistes*, Vol. 15, No.57, August 1846.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE

in Brussels

Written: Paris, 23 October 1846
First Published: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen F. Engels und K. Marx*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, 1913
Transcribed: zodiac@interlog.com
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

Paris, 23 October 1846

Committee letter (No.3)

There is little to be said about the Straubinger business [1] here. The main thing is that the various differences I have had to thrash out with the lads hitherto are now settled: Grun's chief follower and disciple, Papa Eisermann, has been chucked out, the rest, so far as their influence over the great majority is concerned, have been completely routed, and I have carried through a unanimous resolution against them.

Briefly this is what happened:

The Proudhonian association scheme was discussed on three evenings. At the beginning I had nearly the whole clique against me and at the end only Eisermann and the three other Grunians. The main thing was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to reject as anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, and Straubingerian Grun's true socialism, which had drawn new strength from the Proudhonian panacea. In the end I became infuriated by my opponents' endless repetition of the same arguments and really pitched into the Straubingers, which aroused great indignation among the Grunians but succeeded in eliciting from the worthy Eisermann an open *attack* on communism. Whereupon I lashed him so mercilessly with my tongue that he never showed his face again.

I now made use of the lever -- the attack on communism -- provided by Eisermann, the more so since Grun never ceased his intrigues, going from workshop to workshop, summoning the people to come to him on Sundays, etc., etc., and, on the Sunday [2] following the above-mentioned session, was *himself* so abysmally stupid as to attack communism in the presence of 8-10 Straubingers. I therefore declared that, before I took part in any further discussion, the question of whether or not we were meeting here as communists must be put to the vote. If the former were the case, we must see to it that attacks on communism such as those made by Eisermann never recur; if the latter, and if they were simply a random collection of individuals who had met to discuss a random selection of subjects, I would not give a fig for them, nor would I ever return. This aroused much horror among the Grunians who, they said,

foregathered here for 'the good of mankind', for their own enlightenment, men of progress and not biased system-mongers, etc., etc., the description 'a random collection' being in no way applicable to such respectable company. Moreover, they *first wanted to know* what communism really was (these curs, who for years have called themselves communists and only deserted out of fear of Grun and Eisermann, these two last having used communism as a pretext for worming their way in among them!). Of course I did not allow myself to be caught by their amiable request to tell them, ignorant as they were, in 2 or 3 words what communism was. I gave them a highly simple definition which went as far as and no further than the foregoing points at issue, which, by positing community of goods, *ruled out*, not only peacefulness, tenderness and consideration for the bourgeoisie and/or the Straubinger fraternity, but also and finally the Proudhonian joint-stock society along with its retention of individual *property* and all that this involves; a definition which, furthermore, contained nothing that could give rise either to divagations or to any circumvention of the proposed vote. I therefore defined the aims of communists as follows: 1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing same with community of goods; 3. to recognise no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force.

Two evenings were spent discussing this. During the second, the best of the 3 Grunians, sensing the mood of the majority, came over to me unreservedly. The other two kept contradicting each other without being aware of the fact. Several chaps, who had never spoken before, suddenly opened their traps and declared themselves unequivocally for me. Up till then Junge had been the only one to do so. Some of these *homines novi*, [3] although trembling with fear lest they dry up, spoke quite nicely and all in all seem to have quite a sound intellect. In short, when it was put to the vote, the meeting was declared to be communist in accordance with the above definition by 13 votes to 2, the latter being those of the pair who had remained true to Grun -- one of whom subsequently declared himself exceedingly eager to be converted.

Thus a clean sweep has at last been made and we can now begin, so far as is possible, to do something with these fellows. Grun, who was easily able to extricate himself from his financial predicament because the principal creditors were those same Grunians, his principal followers, has gone down a great deal in the opinion of the majority and of some of his followers and, despite all his intrigues and experiments (e. g. attending the Barriere meetings wearing a cap, etc., etc.), has been a resounding failure with his Proudhonian society. Had I not been there, our friend Ewerbeck would have fallen for it. *La tete baissee*. [4]

One could hardly help but admire Grun's stratagem! Doubting his chaps' intelligence, he tells them his stories over and over again until they can rattle them off from memory. After every session-nothing was easier, of course, than to reduce such an opposition to silence-the whole defeated gang went scuttling off to Grun, told him what I had said-naturally all of it distorted-, and had their armoury renewed. When next they opened their traps, one could always tell from the first couple of words exactly what the whole sentence would be. In view of this tale-bearing, I was careful not to provide the fellows with anything general which might assist Mr. Grun in further embellishing his true socialism; nevertheless, writing not long ago in the *Koelner* [5] on the occasion of the Geneva Revolution, [6] the cur exploited and variously distorted sundry things I had said to the Straubingers, whereas here in Paris he had drummed the *opposite* into them. He is now engaged in political economy, the worthy man.

You'll have seen Proudhon's book [7] advertised. I shall get hold of it one of these days; it costs 15 fr. so it's too expensive to buy.

The above-mentioned audience, before whom the performance took place, consists of approx. 20 cabinet-makers, who otherwise foregather only at the Barriere and then with all and sundry, having no really closed association of their own, save for a choral club, though some also belong to the rump of the League of the Just. If we could assemble openly we would soon have over 100 chaps from the cabinet-makers alone. I know only a few of the tailors -- who also attend the cabinet-makers' meeting. Nowhere in Paris have I been able to find out anything at all about blacksmiths and tanners. Not a soul knows anything about them.

Not long ago Kriege, as one of the Just, laid his report before the Halle (central authority). Of course I read the missive; but since this constituted a breach of the oath, for which the penalty is death by dagger, rope or poison, you must nowhere record same in writing. The letter proves, just as did his riposte to our attack [9] that he had benefited greatly from the latter and that he was now more concerned with the things of this world. He gave a long account of their difficulties. The first instalment of this American Straubingers' story concerned their misfortunes -- evidently Kriege was at the helm and his management of the money side was big-hearted to say the least, the *Tribun* [10] was given away, not sold, the funds consisted in charitable gifts, in short, by trying to re-enact Chapters III-VI of the Acts of the Apostles not even omitting Ananias and Sapphira, [11] they finally found themselves up to their eyes in debt. The second period, in which Kriege became simply the 'registrar', other chaps having apparently taken over the financial side, was that of recovery. Instead of appealing to the fulness of men's hearts, they now appealed to their lightly tripping feet and to their uncommunist side generally, discovering to their surprise that all the money they needed could be raised by organising balls, picnics, etc., etc., and that human frailty could be exploited for the benefit of communism. Pecuniarily speaking, they were now thoroughly flush. Among the 'obstacles' they had to overcome, the doughty Tecklenburger [12] also counts the manifold calumnies and aspersions they, amongst others, had had to endure 'and this recently at the hands of the "communist" philosophers in Brussels'. For the rest he indulges in some trivial prattle against the colonies, recommends 'Brother Weitling' to them (i.e. to his most inveterate foes), but for the most part remains fairly down-to-earth, if also somewhat unctuous, and only from time to time is there a little sighing about brotherliness, etc.

Do you get the *Reforme* there? If you don't read it, let me know and I will send you accounts of anything special that appears in it. For the past four days it has been picking on the *National* for refusing to express unconditional approval of a petition for electoral reform which is circulating here. This, the *Reforme* maintains, was entirely due to its partiality for Thiers. Not long ago it was rumoured here that Bastide and Thomas had resigned from the *National*, leaving only Marrast, and that the latter had allied himself with Thiers. This was denied by the *National*. However, changes have been made in its editorial department, but I am not aware of the details; for the past year it is known to have been particularly well-disposed towards Thiers; now the *Reforme* is pointing out how greatly it has compromised itself by this partiality.

Moreover, it is only opposition to the *Reforme*, which has of late led the *National* to commit follies such as denying, purely out of malice, and until it could do so no longer, etc., the story, first told by the *Reforme*, of the Portuguese counter-revolution. [13] The *Reforme* is now at great pains to carry on a polemic no less brilliant than that of the *National*, but without success.

Having got to this point in my letter, I once again went to the Straubingers, where the following transpired: Grun, too impotent to harm me in any way, is now having me denounced at the Barriere.

Eisermann is attacking communism at the public Barriere meeting at which, owing to the presence of informers, no one, of course, can answer him back without incurring the risk of being thrown out; Junge answered him furiously (but yesterday we warned him against this). Thereupon Eisermann declared Junge to be the mouthpiece of a third person (myself, of course), who had suddenly irrupted amongst the people like a bomb, and he himself well knew how they were primed for the Barriere discussions, etc., etc. In short, what all his chatter amounted to was an *out-and-out denunciation* to the police; for four weeks ago the landlord in whose house the affair happened said: *il y a toujours des mouchards parmi vous*, [14] and once, at that time, the police inspector also turned up. He accused Junge in so many words of being a 'revolutionary'. Mr. Grun was present throughout and prompted Eisermann on what to say. This was the dirtiest trick of all. According to the facts as I know them, I hold Grun fully responsible for everything Eisermann says. There's absolutely nothing to be done about it. That numskull Eisermann cannot be attacked at the Barriere because this would elicit yet another denunciation of the weekly meeting; Grun is too cowardly to do anything *himself* and in his own name. The only thing that can be done is to have it explained to the people at the Barriere that communism wasn't discussed because that might have exposed the whole meeting to danger from the police.

It's high time I heard from you.

Yours

E.

[1] At the beginning of this letter, Engels gives the name *Straubingers* to the members of the Paris communities of the League of the Just who supported the "true socialist" Karl Grun. Further on, he uses it to denote advocates of "true socialism" among the German artisans, including those living in the USA.

[2] 18 October 1846

[3] "new men"

[4] "With his eyes shut."

[5] This presumably refers to a report from Paris 'Hr. Guizot beabsichtigt eine Intervention in der Schweiz' published in the *Koelnische Zeitung*, No. 291, 18 October 1846.

[6] A reference to an uprising in Geneva which began in October 1846; as a result the radical bourgeoisie came to power and rallied the advanced Swiss cantons in their struggle against the Sonderbund, the separatist union of Catholic cantons.

[7] P. J. Proudhon, *Systeme des contradictions economiques, ou Philosophie de Ia misere*

[8] The People's Chamber (Volkshalle)

[9] K. Marx and F. Engels, 'Circular Against Kriege'.

[10] *Der Volks-Tribun*

[11] The Acts 5:1

[12] Hermann Kriege

[13] A reference to the civil war in Portugal, which was caused by the actions action by the dictatorial ruling Coburg dynasty against the popular uprising. It broke out in the spring of 1846 and was crushed in the summer of 1847 with the help of the British and Spanish interventionists.

[14] "There are always informers among you."

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov[1]

in Paris

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My dear Mr Annenkov,

You would long since have had a reply to your letter of 1 November had not my bookseller delayed sending me Mr Proudhon's book, *Philosophie de la misère,* until last week. I skimmed through it in two days so as to be able to give you my opinion straight away. Having read the book very cursorily, I cannot go into details but can only let you have the general impression it made on me. Should you so desire, I could go into it in greater detail in another letter.

To be frank, I must admit that I find the book on the whole poor, if not very poor. You yourself make fun in your letter of the 'little bit of German philosophy' paraded by Mr Proudhon in this amorphous and overweening work, but you assume that the economic argument has remained untainted by the philosophic poison. Therefore I am by no means inclined to ascribe the faults of the economic argument to Mr Proudhon's philosophy. Mr Proudhon does not provide a false critique of political economy because his philosophy is absurd—he produces an absurd philosophy because he has not understood present social conditions in their *engrènement,*[2] to use a word which Mr Proudhon borrows from Fourier, like so much else.

Why does Mr Proudhon speak of God, of universal reason, of mankind's impersonal reason which is never mistaken, which has at all times been equal to itself and of which one only has to be correctly aware in order to arrive at truth? Why does he indulge in feeble Hegelianism in order to set himself up as an *esprit fort?*[3]

He himself provides the key to this enigma. Mr Proudhon sees in history a definite series of social developments; he finds progress realised in history; finally, he finds that men, taken as individuals, did not know what they were about, were mistaken as to their own course, i. e. that their social development

appears at first sight to be something distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He is unable to explain these facts, and the hypothesis of universal reason made manifest is ready to hand. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, i.e. phrases in which common sense is lacking.

But in admitting his total incomprehension of the historical development of mankind—and he admits as much in making use of high-flown expressions such as universal reason, God, etc.—does not Mr Proudhon admit, implicitly and of necessity, his inability to understand *economic development?*

What is society, irrespective of its form? The product of man's interaction upon man. Is man free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. If you assume a given state of development of man's productive faculties, you will have a corresponding form of commerce and consumption. If you assume given stages of development in production, commerce or consumption, you will have a corresponding form of social constitution, a corresponding organisation, whether of the family, of the estates or of the classes—in a word, a corresponding civil society. If you assume this or that civil society, you will have this or that political system, which is but the official expression of civil society. This is something Mr Proudhon will never understand, for he imagines he's doing something great when he appeals from the state to civil society, i. e. to official society from the official epitome of society.

Needless to say, man is not free to choose *his productive forces*—upon which his whole history is based—for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of previous activity. Thus the productive forces are the result of man's practical energy, but that energy is in turn circumscribed by the conditions in which man is placed by the productive forces already acquired, by the form of society which exists before him, which he does not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. The simple fact that every succeeding generation finds productive forces acquired by the preceding generation and which serve it as the raw material of further production, engenders a relatedness in the history of man, engenders a history of mankind, which is all the more a history of mankind as man's productive forces, and hence his social relations, have expanded. From this it can only be concluded that the social history of man is never anything else than the history of his individual development, whether he is conscious of this or not. His material relations form the basis of all his relations. These material relations are but the necessary forms in which his material and individual activity is realised.

Mr Proudhon confuses ideas and things. Man never renounces what he has gained, but this does not mean that he never renounces the form of society in which he has acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary. If he is not to he deprived of the results obtained or to forfeit the fruits of civilisation, man is compelled to change all his traditional social forms as soon as the mode of commerce ceases to correspond to the productive forces acquired. Here I use the word *commerce* in its widest sense—as we would say *Verkehr* in German. For instance, privilege, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory system of the Middle Ages, were the only social relations that corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the pre-existing social conditions front which those institutions had emerged. Protected by the corporative and regulatory system, capital had accumulated, maritime trade had expanded, colonies had been founded—and man would have lost the very fruits of all this had he wished to preserve the forms under whose protection those fruits had ripened. And, indeed, two thunderclaps occurred,the revolutions of 1640 and of 1688. In England, all the earlier economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, and the political system which was the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed. Thus, the economic forms in which man produces, consumes and exchanges are *transitory and historical.* With the acquisition of new productive faculties man changes his mode of production and with the mode of production he changes all the economic relations which

were but the necessary relations of that particular mode of production.

It is this that Mr Proudhon has failed to understand, let alone demonstrate. Unable to follow the real course of history, Mr Proudhon provides a phantasmagoria which he has the presumption to present as a dialectical phantasmagoria. He no longer feels any need to speak of the seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, for his history takes place in the nebulous realm of the imagination and soars high above time and place. In a word, it is Hegelian trash, it is not history, it is not profane history—history of mankind, but sacred history—history of ideas. As seen by him, man is but the instrument used by the idea or eternal reason in order to unfold itself. The *evolutions* of which Mr Proudhon speaks are presumed to be evolutions such as take place in the mystical bosom of the absolute idea. If the veil of this mystical language be rent, it will be found that what Mr Proudhon gives us is the order in which economic categories are arranged within his mind. It would require no great effort on my part to prove to you that this arrangement is the arrangement of a very disorderly mind.

Mr Proudhon opens his book with a dissertation on *value* which is his hobby-horse. For the time being I shall not embark upon an examination of that dissertation.

The series of eternal reason's economic evolutions begins with the *division of labour.* For Mr Proudhon, the division of labour is something exceedingly simple. But was not the caste system a specific division of labour? And was not the corporative system another division of labour? And is not the division of labour in the manufacturing system, which began in England in the middle of the seventeenth century and ended towards the end of the eighteenth century, likewise entirely distinct from the division of labour in big industry, in modern industry?

Mr Proudhon is so far from the truth that he neglects to do what even profane economists do. In discussing the division of labour, he feels no need to refer to the world *market.* Well! Must not the division of labour in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when there were as yet no colonies, when America was still non-existent for Europe, and when Eastern Asia existed only through the mediation of Constantinople, have been utterly different from the division of labour in the seventeenth century, when colonies were already developed?

And that is not all. Is the whole internal organisation of nations, are their international relations, anything but the expression of a given division of labour And must they not change as the division of labour changes?

Mr Proudhon has so little understood the question of the division of labour that he does not even mention the separation of town and country which occurred in Germany, for instance, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Thus, to Mr Proudhon, that separation must be an eternal law because he is unaware either of its origin or of its development. Throughout his book he speaks as though this creation of a given mode of production were to last till the end of time. All that Mr Proudhon says about the division of labour is but a resume, and a very superficial and very incomplete resume at that, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others said before him.

The second evolution is *machinery.* With Mr Proudhon, the relation between the division of labour and machinery is a wholly mystical one. Each one of the modes of the division of labour had its specific instruments of production. For instance, between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century man did not make everything by hand. He had tools and very intricate ones, such as looms, ships, levers, etc., etc.

Thus nothing could be more absurd than to see machinery as deriving from the division of labour in general.

In passing I should also point out that, not having understood the historical origin of machinery, Mr. Proudhon has still less understood its development. Up till 1825—when the first general crisis occurred—it might he said that the requirements of consumption as a whole were growing more rapidly than production, and that the development of machinery was the necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and use of machinery resulted solely from the war between masters and workmen. But this is true only of England. As for the European nations, they were compelled to use machinery by the competition they were encountering from the English, in their home markets as much as in the world market. Finally, where North America was concerned, the introduction of machinery was brought about both by competition with other nations and by scarcity of labour, i.e. by the disproportion between the population and the industrial requirements of North America. From this you will be able to see what wisdom Mr Proudhon evinces when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, as the antithesis of machinery!

Finally, and generally speaking, it is truly absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside the division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

Machinery is no more an economic category than the ox who draws the plough. The present *use* of machinery is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is exploited is quite distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is still powder, whether you use it to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

Mr Proudhon surpasses himself in causing to grow inside his own brain competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property in the order I have given here. Nearly all the credit institutions had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. State credit was simply another method of increasing taxes and meeting the new requirements created by the rise to power of the bourgeois class. Finally, *property* constitutes the last category in Mr Proudhon's system. In the really existing world, on the other hand, the division of labour and all Mr Proudhon's other categories are social relations which together go to make up what is now known as *property;* outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or juridical illusion. The property of another epoch, feudal property, developed in a wholly different set of social relations. In establishing property as an independent relation, Mr Proudhon is guilty of more than a methodological error: he clearly proves his failure to grasp the bond linking all forms of *bourgeois* production, or to understand the *historical* and *transitory* nature of the forms of production in any one epoch. Failing to see our historical institutions as historical products and to understand either their origin or their development, Mr Proudhon can only subject them to a dogmatic critique.

Hence Mr Proudhon is compelled to resort to a *fiction* in order to explain development. He imagines that the division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented in the service of his *idée fixe*, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naive. These things were invented for the sake of, equality, but unfortunately they have turned against equality. That is the whole of his argument. In other words, he makes a gratuitous assumption and, because actual development contradicts his fiction at every turn, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals the fact that there is a contradiction only between his *idée fixes,* and the real movement.

Thus Mr Proudhon chiefly because he doesn't know history, fails to see that, in developing his productive

faculties, i.e. in living, man develops certain inter-relations, and that the nature of these relations necessarily changes with the modification and the growth of the said productive faculties. He fails to see that *economic categories* are but *abstractions* of those real relations, that they are truths only in so far as those relations continue to exist. Thus he falls into the error of bourgeois economists who regard those economic categories as eternal laws and not as historical laws which are laws only for a given historical development, a specific development of the productive forces. Thus, instead of regarding politico-economic categories as abstractions of actual social relations that are transitory and historical, Mr Proudhon, by a mystical inversion, sees in the real relations only the embodiment of those abstractions. Those abstractions are themselves formulas which have been slumbering in the bosom of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good Mr Proudhon falls prey to severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations of God's heart, if they are the hidden and eternal life of man, how is it, first, that there is any development and, secondly, that Mr Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions in terms of a whole system of antagonisms.

In order to explain this system of antagonisms, let us take an example.

Monopoly is good because it is an economic category, hence an emanation of God. Competition is good because it, too, is an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. And what is even worse is that monopoly and competition mutually devour each other. What is to be done about it? Because these two eternal thoughts of God contradict each other, it seems clear to him that, in God's bosom, there is likewise a synthesis of these two thoughts in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and vice versa. The result of the struggle between the two ideas will be that only the good aspects will be thrown into relief. This secret idea need only be wrested from God and put into practice and all will be for the best; the synthetic formula concealed in the night of mankind's impersonal reason must be revealed. Mr Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to act as revealer.

But take a brief glance at real life. In present-day economic life you will find, not only competition and monopoly, but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement.* Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. That equation, however, far from alleviating the difficulties of the present situation, as bourgeois economists suppose, gives rise to a situation even more difficult and involved. Thus, by changing the basis upon which the present economic relations rest, by abolishing the present *mode* of production, you abolish not only competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement whereby a true balance is maintained between competition and monopoly.

Let me now give you an example of Mr Proudhon's dialectics.

Freedom and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. There is no need for me to speak either of the good or of the bad aspects of freedom. As for slavery, there is no need for me to speak of its bad aspects. The only thing requiring explanation is the good side of slavery. I do not mean indirect slavery, the slavery of proletariat; I mean direct slavery, the slavery of the Blacks in Surinam, in Brazil, in the southern regions of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot upon which our present-day industrialism turns as are machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery there would be no cotton, without cotton there would be no modern industry.

It is slavery which has given value to the colonies, it is the colonies which have created world trade, and world trade is the necessary condition for large-scale machine industry. Consequently, prior to the slave trade, the colonies sent very few products to the Old World, and did not noticeably change the face of the world. Slavery is therefore an economic category of paramount importance. Without slavery, North America, the most progressive nation, would he transformed into a patriarchal country. Only wipe North America off the map and you will get anarchy, the complete decay of trade and modern civilisation. But to do away with slavery would be to wipe America off the map. Being an economic category, slavery has existed in all nations since the beginning of the world. All that modern nations have achieved is to disguise slavery at home and import it openly into the New World. After these reflections on slavery, what will the good Mr Proudhon do? He will seek the synthesis of liberty and slavery, the true golden mean, in other words the balance between slavery and liberty.

Mr Proudhon understands perfectly well that men manufacture worsted, linens and silks; and whatever credit is due for understanding such a trifle! What Mr Proudhon does not understand is that, according to their faculties, men also produce the *social relations* in which they produce worsted and linens. Still less does Mr Proudhon understand that those who produce social relations in conformity with their material productivity also produce the *ideas, categories,* i.e. the ideal abstract expressions of those same social relations. Indeed, the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To Mr Proudhon, on the contrary, the prime cause consists in abstractions and categories. According to him it is these and not men which make history. *The abstraction, the category regarded as such,* i.e. as distinct from man and his material activity, is, of course, immortal, immutable, impassive. It is nothing but an entity of pure reason, which is only another way of saying that an abstraction, regarded as such, is abstract. An admirable *tautology!*

Hence, to Mr Proudhon, economic relations, seen in the form of categories, are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

To put it another way: Mr Proudhon does not directly assert that to him *bourgeois life* is an *eternal truth;* he says so indirectly, by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneous entities, endowed with a life of their own, eternal, the moment these present themselves to him in the shape of categories, of thought. Thus he fails to rise above the bourgeois horizon. Because he operates with bourgeois thoughts and assumes them to be eternally true, he looks for the synthesis of those thoughts, their balance, and fails to see that their present manner of maintaining a balance is the only possible one.

In fact he does what all good bourgeois do. They all maintain that competition, monopoly, etc., are, in principle—i.e. regarded as abstract thoughts—the only basis for existence, but leave a great deal to be desired in practice. What they all want is competition without the pernicious consequences of competition. They all want the impossible, i.e. the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. They all fail to understand that the bourgeois form of production is an historical and transitory form, just as was the feudal form. This mistake is due to the fact that, to them, bourgeois man is the only possible basis for any society, and that they cannot envisage a state of society in which man will have ceased to be bourgeois.

Hence Mr Proudhon is necessarily *doctrinaire.* The historical movement by which the present world is convulsed resolves itself, so far as he is concerned, into the problem of discovering the right balance, the synthesis of two bourgeois thoughts. Thus, by subtlety, the clever fellow discovers God's secret thought,

the unity of two isolated thoughts which are isolated thoughts only because Mr Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities they express. In place of the great historical movement which is born of the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by man, and his social relations which no longer correspond to those productive forces, in the place of the terrible wars now imminent between the various classes of a nation and between the various nations, in place of practical and violent action on the part of the masses, which is alone capable of resolving those conflicts, in place of that movement—vast, prolonged and complex—Mr Proudhon puts the cacky-dauphin [4] of his own mind. Thus it is the savants, the men able movement to filch from God his inmost thoughts, who make history. All the lesser fry have to do is put their revelations into practice.

Now you will understand why Mr Proudhon is the avowed enemy of all political movements. For him, the solution of present-day problems does not consist in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his brain. Because to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories; on the contrary, it is necessary to change the categories, whereupon actual society will change as a result.

In his desire to reconcile contradictions Mr Proudhon does not ask himself whether the very basis of those contradictions ought not to be subverted. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who wants a king and a chamber of deputies and a chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. Only he seeks a new formula with which to balance those powers (whose balance consists precisely in the actual movement in which one of those powers is now the conqueror now the slave of the other). In the eighteenth century, for instance, a whole lot of mediocre minds busied themselves with finding the true formula with which to maintain a balance between the social estates, the nobility, the king, the parliaments [5] etc., and the next day there was neither king, nor parliament, nor nobility. The proper balance between the aforesaid antagonisms consisted in the convulsion of all the social relations which served as a basis for those feudal entities and for the antagonism between those feudal entities.

Because Mr Proudhon posits on the one hand eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, and, on the other, man and his practical life which according to him, is the practical application of these categories, you will find in him from the very outset a dualism between life and ideas, between soul and body—a dualism which recurs in many forms. So you now see that the said antagonism is nothing other than Mr Proudhon's inability to understand either the origin or the profane history of the categories he has deified.

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

The *only point* upon which I am in complete agreement with Mr Proudhon is the disgust he feels for socialist sentimentalising. I anticipated him in provoking considerable hostility by the ridicule I directed at ovine, sentimental, utopian socialism. But is not Mr Proudhon subject to strange delusions when he opposes his petty-bourgeois sentimentality, by which I mean his homilies about home, conjugal love and suchlike banalities, to socialist sentimentality which—as for instance in Fourier's case—is infinitely more profound than the presumptuous platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He himself is so well aware of the emptiness of his reasoning, of his complete inability to discuss such things, that he indulges in tantrums, exclamations and irae hominis probi, [6] that he fumes, cures, denounces, cries pestilence and infamy,

thumps his chest and glorifies himself before God and man as being innocent of socialist infamies! It is not as a critic that he derides socialist sentimentalities, or what he takes to be sentimentalities. It is as a saint, a pope, that he excommunicates the poor sinners and sings the praises of the petty bourgeoise and of the miserable patriarchal amourous illusions of the domestic hearth. Nor is this in any way fortuitous. Mr Proudhon is, from top to toe, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie. In an advanced society and because of his situation, a *petty bourgeois* becomes a socialist on the one hand, and economist on the other, i.e. he is dazzled by the magnificence of the upper middle classes and feels compassion for the sufferings of the people. He is at one and the same time bourgeois and man of the people. In his heart of hearts he prides himself on his impartiality, on having found the correct balance, allegedly distinct from the happy medium. A petty bourgeois of this kind deifies *contradiction*, for contradiction is the very basis of his being. He is nothing but social contradiction in action. He must justify by means of theory what he is in practice, and Mr Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific exponent of the French petty bourgeoisie, which is a real merit since the petty bourgeoisie will be an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

With this letter I should have liked to send you my book on political economy, but up till now I have been unable to have printed either this work or the critique of German philosophers and socialists [7] which I mentioned to you in Brussels. You would never believe what difficulties a publication of this kind runs into in Germany, on the one hand from the police, on the other from the booksellers, who are themselves the interested representatives of all those tendencies I attack. And as for our own party, not only is it poor, but there is a large faction in the German communist party which bears me a grudge because I am opposed to its utopias and its declaiming.

Ever yours

Charles Marx

P.S. Perhaps you may wonder why I should be writing in bad French rather than in good German. It is because I am dealing with a French writer.

You would greatly oblige me by not keeping me waiting too long for a reply, as I am anxious to know whether you understand me wrapped up as I am in my barbarous French.

Footnotes

[1] Marx wrote this letter in reply to the request of his Russian acquaintance Pavel Vasilyevich Annenkov for his opinion on Proudhon's Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère. On 1 November 1846 Annenkov wrote to Marx, concerning Proudhon's book: 'I admit that the actual plan of the work seems to be a jeu d'esprit, designed to give a glimpse of German philosophy, rather than something grown naturally out of the subject and requirements of its logical development.

Marx's profound and precise criticism of Proudhon's views, and his exposition of dialectical and materialist views to counterbalance them, produced a strong impression even on Annenkov, who was far from materialism and communism. He wrote to Marx on 6 January 1847: 'Your opinion of Proudhon`s book produced a truly invigorating effect on me by its preciseness, its clarity, and above all its tendency to keep within the bounds of reality' (MEGA-2, Abt III, Bd. 2, S 321).

When in 1880 Annekov published his reminiscences 'Remarkable Decade 1838-1848', in the *Vestnik*

Yevropy, he included in them long extracts from Marx's letter. In 1883, the year when Marx died, these extracts, translated into German, were published in *Die Nue Zeit* and *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*.

The original has not been found. The first English translation of this letter was published in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London. 1934.

[2] intermeshing

[3] Literally: strong intellect

[4] Here Marx uses the word 'cacadauphin' by which during the French Revolution opponents of the absolutist regime derisively described the mustard-coloured cloth, recalling the colour of the Dauphin's napkins, made fashionable by Queen Marie Antoinette.

[5] Parliaments—juridical institutions which arose in France in the Middle Ages. They enjoyed the right to remonstrate government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth called noblesse de robe (the nobility of the mantle). The parliaments, which finally became the bulwark of feudal opposition to absolutism and impeded the implemation of even moderate reforms, were abolished in 1790, during the French Revolution.

[6] the anger of an upright man

[7] *The German Ideology*

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Abstract from

Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York

Written: March 5, 1852
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

London, March 5, 1852

... And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic economy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove:

(1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production* (historische Entwicklungsphasen der Production),

(2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat* ,

(3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society* .

Ignorant louts like Heinzen, who deny not merely the class struggle but even the existence of classes, only prove that, despite all their blood-curdling yelps and the humanitarian airs they give themselves, they regard the social conditions under which the bourgeoisie rules as the final product, the *non plus ultra* [highest point attainable] of history, and that they are only the servants of the bourgeoisie. And the less these louts realize the greatness and transient necessity of the bourgeois regime itself the more disgusting is their servitude....

Marx/Engels letters index

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Terms

Cl

Class

A group of people sharing common relations to labor and the means of production.

"In the process of production, human beings work not only upon nature, but also upon one another. They produce only by working together in a specified manner and reciprocally exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations to one another, and only within these social connections and relations does their influence upon nature operate — i.e., does production take place.

"These social relations between the producers, and the conditions under which they exchange their activities and share in the total act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production.

Karl Marx
Wage Labour and Capital
Chpt. 5: The Nature and Growth of Capital

The notion of class, as it is used by Marxists, differs radically from the notion of class as used in bourgeois social theory. According to modern capitalist thinking, class is an abstract universal defined by the common attributes of its members (i.e., all who make less than $20,000 a year constitute a "lower" class); categories and conceptions that have an existence prior to and independent of the people who make up the class.

For dialectical materialism however, the notion of class includes the development of collective consciousness in a class — arising from the material basis of having in common relations to the labour process and the means of production.

Gender and Race: Gender and race issues are often compared to class, but gender and race struggle have their own material bases in society distinct from class, but exist within the class structure. The existence of the working class is created by the capitalist mode of production — capitalism could not survive without wage labor — therefore the political emancipation of the working *class* as a whole can only be achieved through revolution. Capitalism can survive, and in fact necessitates the need for completely free labor, with equality between workers of all races and genders; thus women and minorities, through tremendous and painful struggles, slowly gain political emancipation through reformist movements ("women's liberation", "civil rights", etc.). The struggle of gender and race are critical political and social issues, for further readings see the subject section on Marxism on Women & Marxism on Racism [under Construction]).

Class Struggle: Classes emerge only at a certain stage in the development of the productive forces and the social division of labour, when there exists a social surplus of production, which makes it possible for one class to benefit by the expropriation of another. The conflict between classes there begins, founded in the division of the

social surplus, and constitutes the fundamental antagonism in all class. As capitalism was just beginning to create itself, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels explained the processes they had witnessed:

"Modern Industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, 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 bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, in the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

"The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon, the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there, the contest breaks out into riots.

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lie not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by Modern Industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes.

Karl Marx
Manifesto of the Communist Party
Chpt 1: Bourgeois and Proletarians

What is the breaking point? When does the class struggle reach such a height that the increasingly backward structure of capitalist production is overthrown?

"Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. 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 bourgeois and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that, by their periodical return, put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity -- the *epidemic of over-production*.

"Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. 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 comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced 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 to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more

destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

"The essential conditions for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labor. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers.

Karl Marx
Manifesto of the Communist Party
Chpt 1: Bourgeois and Proletarians

Marx showed that all class struggle will be resolved in communism , which can be achieved only after a period of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Class struggle underlies most political struggle. But class struggle certainly is not the only form of struggle in society! Race and gender related oppression and struggle are some of the foremost examples of struggle that is not based on class. While these struggles happen in a definite class environment, race and gender oppression is not always based on economic reasons, but also can exist as a result of archaic social understanding. For example, in the 18th-century United States, Negro slavery was imperative for the survival of the cotton and tobacco industry in the south — thus, racial discrimination had a definite class basis: the maintenance of a class of slaves. In the struggle for their emancipation, a Civil War was necessary to break Negroes out of slavery and into proletarian existence. Continuing racial discrimination in the 21st century in the United States, no longer based on economic necessity, stems from deeply ingrained social racism of the past; through social and political reformist struggles such racism can gradually be eliminated.

Historical Overview: In “primitive communism” there may be a highly developed social division of labour and even social inequality, but no classes, because each appropriates the product their own labour in its entirety, and division of labour and distribution of the product is determined by kinship relations.

In *Slave Society*, the productivity of labour is such that a slave-owning class is able to hold in bondage another class of slaves who are themselves the *property* of the slave-owners. The status of the main class of producers themselves as *property*, is the characteristic of slave society; slaves are not citizens, have no rights and are not regarded in slave society as human beings at all.

In *Feudal Society* the Nobility expropriate a definite proportion of the product of the producing classes, such as the Serfs, according to a system of traditional obligations, which define the rights and responsibilities, most particularly in relation to the land, of all classes in feudal society. Although the peasantry *own* their own land, and are recognised as citizens with rights, they are *not* free to change their station in life which is determined by traditional systems based on kinship. The producers in feudal society *own* the product of their own labour, except labour given under a specific requirements determined by traditional obligations, such as having to work the Duke's estate every second Saturday, give one-tenth of their crop to the priest or fighting in the army when there's war, etc., etc.

In *bourgeois society* the producing class, the Proletariat, are “free labourers” in the sense that they are free from any compulsion on the part of any other person as to how, where and when they work. However, the means of production are the *private property* of the Bourgeoisie (or Capitalists), while the Proletariat (or Working-class) has nothing to sell but its own capacity to work (unlike the peasantry of feudal society who labour on their own land), and must *sell* their labour power to the capitalists in order to live. The slave-owner was obliged to feed his slaves even when he had no work for them; the peasant always had his own land to work; but the proletariat is

entirely free of these restraints, and if there is no work or if wages are too low, she must starve.

In a future *Communist Society* private property in the means of production will be non-existent and will be used in common by the producing class, marking the dissolution of all classes. This is not, of course, to say that there would be no *differences* or conflicts or that there would be no *division of labour* — on the contrary. But the means and products of labour would not be *private property*, and consequently, the conflicts between different people and groups of people would not be *antagonistic*.

In all these social formations (and there are others, only the most classic forms are basically mentioned above) there are other classes apart form the *two basic classes* — the Owners of the Means of Production, and the Producers. These other classes may be intermediate between the two basic classes or may be dependent upon one or the other.

Further Reading: The Communist Manifesto, The German Ideology and Hegel's Philosophy of Right.

Classification

A notion begins to emerge when we 'identify' 'different' things and begin to observe the relations between them. Hegel points out that the natural science of his time was largely at that stage, 'classifying' things, and *either* identifying *or* differentiating, but not yet understanding Opposition and Contradiction, and thus missing Transition and real immanent relation. This stage of the development of natural science lends itself to abstract formal logic and methods of formal comparison.

Further Reading: Hegel on: Arbitrary classification, Division of the subject matter of science, 'the notion is not a mere sum of features common to several things, ... It is, on the contrary, self-particularising'. 'Difference and identity in natural science'

Index of the Letter C

Glossary of Terms | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Terms

Di

Dialectical Materialism

The combination of **Dialectics** and **Materialism**. The materialist dialectic is the theoretical foundation of Marxism (while being communist is the practice of Marxism).

"It is an eternal cycle in which matter moves, a cycle that certainly only completes its orbit in periods of time for which our terrestrial year is no adequate measure, a cycle in which the time of highest development, the time of organic life and still more that of the life of being conscious of nature and of themselves, is just as narrowly restricted as the space in which life and self-consciousness come into operation. A cycle in which every finite mode of existence of matter, whether it be sun or nebular vapour, single animal or genus of animals, chemical combination or dissociation, is equally transient, and wherein nothing is eternal but eternally changing, eternally moving matter and the laws according to which it moves and changes.

Fredrick Engels
Dialectics of Nature
Introduction

"Motion is the mode of existence of matter. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, or motion without matter, nor can there be."

"Change of form of motion is always a process that takes place between at least two bodies, of which one loses a definite quantity of motion of one quality (e.g. heat), while the other gains a corresponding quantity of motion of another quality (mechanical motion, electricity, chemical decomposition).

"Dialectics, so-called *objective* dialectics, prevails throughout nature, and so-called subjective dialectics (dialectical thought), is only the reflection of the motion through opposites which asserts itself everywhere in nature, and which by the continual conflict of the opposites and their final passage into one another, or into higher forms, determines the life of nature."

Fredrick Engels
Dialectics of Nature

But dialectical materialism insists on the approximate relative character of every scientific theory of the structure of matter and its properties; it insists on the absence of absolute boundaries in nature, on the transformation of moving matter from one state into another, that from our point of view [may be] apparently irreconcilable with it, and so forth.

Vladimir Lenin
Materialism and Empirio-criticism

With each epoch-making discovery even in the sphere of natural science, materialism has to change its form; and after history was also subjected to materialistic treatment, a new avenue of development has opened here, too. [Ch. 2, The End of Classical German Philosophy]

"For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher."

Fredrick Engels
The End of Classical German Philosophy

An example of dialectical materialism applied is the materialist conception of history .

'Dialectical Materialism' was coined by Karl Kautsky and popularised in the Second International after the death of Marx and Engels.

See also: dialectics, materialism, Historical Materialism and Political Economy.

Dialectics

Dialectics is the method of reasoning which aims to understand things concretely in all their movement, change and interconnection, with their opposite and contradictory sides in unity.

Dialectics is opposed to the formal, metaphysical mode of thought of ordinary understanding which begins with a fixed definition of a thing according to its various attributes. For example formal thought would explain: ‘a fish is something with no legs which lives in the water’.

Darwin however, considered fish dialectically: some of the animals living in the water were not fish, and some of the fish had legs, but it was the *genesis* of all the animals as part of a whole interconnected process which explained the nature of a fish: they *came from* something and are *evolving into* something else.

Darwin went behind the *appearance* of fish to get to their essence. For ordinary understanding there is no difference between the appearance of a thing and its essence, but for dialectics the form and content of something can be quite contradictory — parliamentary democracy being the prime example: democracy in form, but dictatorship in content!

And for dialectics, things can be contradictory not just in appearance, but in *essence*. For formal thinking, light must be either a wave *or* a particle; but the truth turned out to be dialectical — light is both wave *and* particle. (See the principle of excluded middle)

We are aware of countless ways of understanding the world; each of which makes the claim to be *the* absolute truth, which leads us to think that, after all, “It’s all relative!”. For dialectics the truth is the *whole picture*, of which each view make up more or less one-sided, partial aspects.

At times, people complain in frustration that they lack the Means to achieve their Ends, or alternatively, that they can justify their corrupt methods of work by the lofty aims they pursue. For dialectics, Means and Ends are a unity of opposites and in the final analysis, there can be no contradiction between means and ends — when the objective is rightly understood, "the material conditions [*means*] for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation" (Marx, Preface of Contribution to a Political Economy)

One example of dialectics we can see in one of Lenin's call: “All Power to the Soviets” spoken when the Soviets were *against* the Bolsheviks. Lenin understood, however, that the impasse could only be resolved by workers’ power and since the Soviets were organs of workers’ power, a revolutionary initiative by the Bolsheviks would inevitably bring the Soviets to their side: the *form* of the Soviets during the time (lead by Mensheviks and SRs) were at odds with the *content* of the Soviets as Workers’, Peasants’ and Soldiers’ Councils.

Formal thinking often has trouble understanding the causes of events — something has to be a cause and something else the effect — and people are surprised when they irrigate land and 20 years later — due to salination of the land, silting of the waterways, etc — they have a desert! Dialectics on the other hand understands that cause and effect are just one and another side of a whole network of relations such as we have in an ecosystem, and one thing cannot be changed without changing the whole system.

These are different aspect of Dialectics, and there are many others, because dialectics is the method of thinking in which concepts are flexible and mobile, constrained only by the imperative of comprehending the movement of the object itself, however contradictory, however transient.

History: Dialectics has its origins in ancient society, both among the Chinese and the Greeks, where thinkers sought to understand Nature as a whole, and saw that everything is fluid, constantly changing, coming into being and passing away. It was only when the piecemeal method of observing Nature in bits and pieces, practiced in Western thinking in the 17th and 18th century, had accumulated enough positive knowledge for the interconnections, the transitions, the genesis of things to become comprehensible, that conditions became ripe for modern dialectics to make its appearance. It was Hegel who was able to sum up this picture of universal interconnection and mutability of things in a system of *Logic* which is the foundation of what we today call Dialectics.

As Engels put it:

“the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process — i.e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development; and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development.” [Socialism: Utopian & Scientific]

It was in the decade after Hegel’s death — the 1840s — when Hegel’s popularity was at its peak in Germany, that Marx and Engels met and worked out the foundations of their critique of bourgeois society.

Hegel’s radical young followers had in their hands a powerful critical tool with which they ruthlessly criticised Christianity, the dominant doctrine of the day. However, one of these Young Hegelians, Ludwig Feuerbach, pointed out that *Holy Family* was after all only a Heavenly image of the Earthly family, and said that by criticising theology with philosophy, the Young Hegelians were only doing the same as the Christians — Hegel’s Absolute Idea was just another name for God! For Feuerbach, ideas were a reflection of the material world and he held it to be ridiculous that an Idea could determine the world. Feuerbach had declared himself a materialist.

Marx and Engels began as supporters of Feuerbach. However, very soon they took up an opposition to Feuerbach to restore the Hegelian dialectic which had been abandoned by Feuerbach, and to free it from the rigidity of the idealistic Hegelian system and place the method on a materialist basis:

“Hegel was an idealist. To him, the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realized pictures of the ‘Idea’, existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. This way of thinking turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world. ” [Fredrick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and

Scientific]

Thus, for Marx and Engels, thoughts were not passive and independent reflections of the material world, but products of human labour, and the contradictory nature of our thoughts had their origin in the contradictions within human society. This meant that Dialectics was not something imposed on to the world from outside which could be discovered by the activity of pure Reason, but was a product of human labour changing the world; its form was changed and developed by people, and could only be understood by the practical struggle to overcome these contradictions — not just in thought, but in practice.

Further Reading: [The Science of Dialectics], by Fredrick Engels, Dialectics of Nature, by Fredrick Engels, an example of dialectics in: The Metaphysics of Political Economy, by Karl Marx; The ABC of Materialist Dialectics, by Leon Trotsky; Lenin's Summary of Dialectics.

See also the Sampler for multiple definitions. For examples of Dialectics: references to Examples from History and Society and Examples from Personal Life in Hegel's *Logic*; and see the definition on Taoism for a look at an ancient process of dialectics.

Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

The most democratic bourgeois republic is no more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the working people by a handful of capitalists.

Even in the most democratic bourgeois republic "freedom of assembly" is a hollow phrase, for the rich have the best public and private buildings at their disposal, and enough leisure to assemble at meetings, which are protected by the bourgeois machine of power. The rural and urban workers and small peasants — the overwhelming majority of the population — are denied all these things. As long as that state of affairs prevails, "equality", i.e., "pure democracy", is a fraud.

"Freedom of the press" is another of the principal slogans of "pure democracy". And here, too, the workers know — and Socialists everywhere have explained millions of times — that this freedom is a deception because the best printing presses and the biggest stocks of paper are appropriated by the capitalists, and while capitalist rule over the press remains — a rule that is manifested throughout the whole world all the more strikingly, sharply and cynically — the more democracy and the republican system are developed, as in America for example...

The capitalists have always use the term "freedom" to mean freedom for the rich to get richer and for the workers to starve to death. And capitalist usage, freedom of the press means freedom of the rich to bribe the press, freedom to use their wealth to shape and fabricate so-called public opinion. In this respect, too, the defenders of "pure democracy" prove to be defenders of an utterly foul and venal system that gives the rich control over the mass media. They prove to be deceivers of the people, who, with the aid of plausible, fine-sounding, but thoroughly false phrases, divert them from the concrete historical task of liberating the press from capitalist enslavement.

V.I. Lenin
First Congress of the Communist International

See Also: The same government: Bourgeois Democracy , save put in the perspective of the ruling class; and Democracy in general.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Freedom consists in converting the state from an organ superimposed upon society into one completely subordinate to it; and today, too, the forms of state are more free or less free to the extent that they restrict the "freedom of the state".

Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Marx/Engels
Critique of the Gotha Programme
Part IV

This dictatorship consists in the *manner of applying democracy*, not in its *elimination*, but in energetic, resolute attacks upon the well-entrenched rights and economic relationships of bourgeois society, without which a socialist transformation cannot be accomplished. This dictatorship must be the work of the *class* and not of a little leading minority in the name of the class — that is, it must proceed step by step out of the active participation of the masses; it must be under their direct influence, subjected to the control of complete public activity; it must arise out of the growing political training of the mass of the people.

Rosa Luxemburg
The Russian Revolution
Democracy and Dictatorship

What, then, is the relation of this dictatorship to democracy?

We have seen that the Communist Manifesto simply places side by side the two concepts: "to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class" and "to win the battle of democracy". On the basis of all that has been said above, it is possible to determine more precisely how democracy changes in the transition from capitalism to communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of suppressing the oppressors, cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must suppress them in order to free humanity from wage slavery, their resistance must be crushed by force; it is clear that there is no freedom and no democracy where there is suppression and where there is violence.

V.I. Lenin
The State and Revolution
Chpt. 5: The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State

The real tasks of the workers' state do not consist in policing public opinion, but in freeing it from the yoke of capital. This can only be done by placing the means of production - which includes the production of information - in the hands of society in its entirety. Once this essential step towards socialism has been taken, all currents of opinion which have not taken arms against the dictatorship of the proletariat must be able to express themselves freely. It is the duty of the workers' state to put in their hands, to all according to their numeric importance, the technical means necessary for this, printing presses, paper, means of transportation.

Leon Trotsky
Freedom of the Press and Working Class

See Also: The same government: Proletarian Democracy, save put in the perspective of the ruling (working) class; and Democracy in general.

Difference

Difference is part of the very first stage of Essence in the genesis of a Notion in the grade of Reflection. Difference is the negation of Identity. The identity of something is defined by what is deemed to be *not-equal* to it, different. But Difference soon cancels itself through the discovery that 'everything is different', which is the "maxim of Diversity" (inessential difference). Difference is only meaningful where the objects considered are also in some sense identical, and thus passes over into Opposition (essential difference) and Contradiction, the unity of identity and difference.

In recent European philosophy, especially Derrida, quite of lot is made of Difference, but it is noteworthy that Difference is given a systematic development by Hegel in the earliest, most abstract part of the Logic. Marx can be seen developing the concept of Difference in Chapter 3 of Capital.

Further Reading: Hegel on Difference in the Shorter Logic.

Direct Struggle

A theory set out by the People's Will party in Russia. The theory stipulated that revolution could be instigated through terrorism, called a "direct struggle" against the government apparatus. Direct Struggle aimed to show, through terrorism, an "uninterrupted demonstration of the possibility of struggling against the government, in this manner lifting the revolutionary spirit of the people and its faith in the success of the cause, and organising those capable of fighting." (from the Programme of the People's Will, 1879)

Discrete

Discrete is a synonym for discontinuous, denoting breaks in development, "leaps" in Nature, matter in the form of distinct objects or particles, counting-numbers as opposed to indefinitely divisible magnitudes.

See Also: Continuity and Discontinuity.

Diversity, the maxim of

The maxim of Diversity — ‘There are no two things completely like each other’ is attributed to Leibnitz.

This maxim is dealt with in Hegel's Doctrine of Essence as part of a series of “Laws” beginning with the Law of identity - ‘everything is equal to itself’, the Maxim of Diversity (or Variety), Opposition, Contradiction and Ground, in which understanding of the essentially contradictory sides of a concept is successively deepened.

Further Reading: Hegel on the Law of Identity in the Science of Logic and Trotsky's ABC of Materialist Dialectics; and Essential Identity.

Division of Labour

The separation of the labor in society into different specialized tasks.

The increase of production in all branches -- cattle-raising, agriculture, domestic handicrafts -- gave human labor-power the capacity to produce a larger product than was necessary for its maintenance.... With its increase of the productivity of labor, and therefore of wealth, and its extension of the field of production, the first great social division of labor was bound, in the general historical conditions prevailing, to bring slavery in its train. From the first great social division of labor arose the first great cleavage of society into two classes: masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited....

[In the Iron Age] the second great division of labor took place: handicraft separated from agriculture. The continuous increase of production and simultaneously of the productivity of labor heightened the value of human labor-power. Slavery, which during the preceding period was still in its beginnings and sporadic, now becomes an essential constituent part of the social system; slaves no longer merely help with production -- they are driven by dozens to work in the fields and the workshops. With the splitting up of production into the two great main branches, agriculture and handicrafts, arises production directly for exchange, commodity production; with it came commerce, not only in the interior and on the tribal boundaries, but also already overseas. All this, however, was still very undeveloped; the precious metals were beginning to be the predominant and general money commodity, but still uncoined, exchanging simply by their naked weight.

The distinction of rich and poor appears beside that of freemen and slaves -- with the new division of labor, a new cleavage of society into classes. The inequalities of property among the individual heads of families break up the old communal household communities wherever they had still managed to survive, and with them the common cultivation of the soil by and for these communities. The cultivated land is allotted for use to single families, at first temporarily, later permanently. The transition to full private property is gradually accomplished, parallel with the transition of the pairing marriage into monogamy. The single family is becoming the economic unit of society....

[In overview:] At the lowest stage of barbarism men produced only directly for their own needs; any acts of exchange were isolated occurrences, the object of exchange merely some fortuitous surplus. In the middle stage of barbarism we already find among the pastoral peoples a possession in the form of cattle which, once the herd has attained a certain size, regularly produces a surplus over and above the tribe's own requirements, leading to a division of labor between pastoral peoples and backward tribes without herds, and hence to the existence of two different levels of production side by side with one another and the conditions necessary for regular exchange. The upper stage of barbarism brings us the further division of labor between agriculture and handicrafts, hence the production of a continually increasing portion of the products of labor directly for exchange, so that exchange between individual producers assumes the importance of a vital social function.

Civilization consolidates and intensifies all these existing divisions of labor, particularly by sharpening the opposition between town and country (the town may economically dominate the country, as in antiquity, or the country the town, as in the middle ages), and it adds a third division of labor, peculiar to itself and of decisive importance: it creates a class which no longer concerns itself with production, but only with the exchange of the products -- the merchants. Hitherto whenever classes had begun to form, it had always been exclusively in the field of production; the persons engaged in production were separated into those who directed and those who executed, or else into large-scale and small-scale producers. Now for the first time a class appears which, without in any way participating in production, captures the direction of production as a whole and economically subjugates the producers; which makes itself into an indispensable middleman between any two producers and exploits them both. Under the pretext that they save the producers the trouble and risk of exchange, extend the sale of their products to distant markets and are therefore the most useful class of the population, a class of parasites comes into being, "genuine social icbneumons," who, as a reward for their actually very insignificant services, skim all the cream off production at home and abroad, rapidly amass enormous wealth and

correspondingly social influence, and for that reason receive under civilization ever higher honors and ever greater control of production, until at last they also bring forth a product of their own -- the periodical trade crises....

Fredrick Engels
Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State

With commerce the prerogative of a particular class, with the extension of trade through the merchants beyond the immediate surroundings of the town, there immediately appears a reciprocal action between production and commerce. The towns enter into relations with one another, new tools are brought from one town into the other, and the separation between production and commerce soon calls forth a new division of production between the individual towns, each of which is soon exploiting a predominant branch of industry. The local restrictions of earlier times begin gradually to be broken down....

The existence of the town implies, at the same time, the necessity of administration, police, taxes, etc.; in short, of the municipality, and thus of politics in general. Here first became manifest the division of the population into two great classes, which is directly based on the division of labour and on the instruments of production. The town already is in actual fact the concentration of the population, of the instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation. The antagonism between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property. It is the most crass expression of the subjection of the individual under the division of labour, under a definite activity forced upon him -- a subjection which makes one man into a restricted town-animal, the other into a restricted country-animal, and daily creates anew the conflict between their interests. Labour is here again the chief thing, power over individuals, and as long as the latter exists, private property must exist. The abolition of the antagonism between town and country is one of the first conditions of communal life, a condition which again depends on a mass of material premises and which cannot be fulfilled by the mere will, as anyone can see at the first glance.....

Marx and Engels
German Ideology -- Section 3

How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown most manifestly by the degree to which the division of labour has been carried. Each new productive force, insofar as it is not merely a quantitative extension of productive forces already known (for instance the bringing into cultivation of fresh land), causes a further development of the division of labour....

Further, the division of labour implies the contradiction between the interest of the separate individual or the individual family and the communal interest of all individuals who have intercourse with one another. And indeed, this communal interest does not exist merely in the imagination, as the "general interest", but first of all in reality, as the mutual interdependence of the individuals among whom the labour is divided. And finally, the division of labour offers us the first example of how, as long as man remains in natural society, that is, as long as a cleavage exists between the particular and the common interest, as long, therefore, as activity is not voluntarily, but naturally, divided, man's own deed becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him. For as soon as the distribution of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a herdsman, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic. This fixation of social activity, this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into an objective power

above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to naught our calculations, is one of the chief factors in historical development up till now.

Marx and Engels
German Ideology -- Section 1

The great progress of the division of labor began in England after the invention of machinery. Thus, the weavers and spinners were for the most part peasants like those one still meets in backward countries. The invention of machinery brought about the separation of manufacturing industry from agricultural industry. The weaver and the spinner, united but lately in a single family, were separated by the machine. Thanks to the machine, the spinner can live in England while the weaver resides in the East Indies. Before the invention of machinery, the industry of a country was carried on chiefly with raw materials that were the products of its own soil; in England — wool, in Germany — flax, in France — silks and flax, in the East Indies and the Levant — cottons, etc. Thanks to the application of machinery and of steam, the division of labor was about to assume such dimensions that large-scale industry, detached from the national soil, depends entirely on the world market, on international exchange, on an international division of labor. In short — the machine has so great an influence on the division of labor, that when, in the manufacture of some object, a means has been found to produce parts of it mechanically, the manufacture splits up immediately into two works independent of each other.

Karl Marx
The Poverty of Philosophy

Index of the Letter D

Glossary of Terms | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Marx to Lasalle

Written: London, 16 January, 1861
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Darwin's book is very important and serves me as a basis in natural science for the class struggle in history. One has to put up with the crude English method of development, of course. Despite all deficiencies, not only is the death-blow dealt here for the first time to "teleology" in the natural sciences but their rational meaning is empirically explained.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

La

Jacques Lacan (1901-1981)

French psychoanalyst who gained an international reputation as an interpreter of Sigmund Freud, claiming to have rediscovered the "real Freud"; much of his writing borders on the unreadable but has attracted wide interest due to his combination of structural linguistics with freudian psychology and partly as a result of the view he developed of the centrality of the concept of Woman in Western society.

Graduating from the Faculté de Médecine de Paris in 1932, Lacan was a practicing psychiatrist in Paris for most of his life. As head of the Clinic at the Faculty, he introduced Feudian practices to France; gained widespread recognition through a series of seminars he held at the Univesity of Paris in 1953; in 1964, he founded the L'École Freudienne de Paris, but wound it up in 1980 because of its alleged failure to adhere strictly to Freudian principles.

He was influenced by Alexander Kojève's lectures on Hegel in Paris and discussions with Sartre and Merleau-Ponty; he also translated Heidegger's works into French, absorbing much of Heidegger's views on language. Lacan emphasised the primacy of language as the mirror of the unconscious mind, and introduced the methods and concepts of structural linguistics (See Jakobson and Barthes) to psychoanalytic theory. As a result, he gained influence well beyond the field of psychoanalysis and became a cult-figure in France and more widely during the 1970s. In his psychoanalytic practice, Lacan was known for his unorthodox, even eccentric, therapeutic methods.

In one of his most famous studies, Lacan reinterpreted Freud's study of an 'hysterical' woman, Dora, describing the structure of 'hysterical discourse', and in the latter part of his life, Lacan worked on developing a new notion of femininity which defied the process of symbolic identification which, according to Freud's theory, hinged on "symbolic castration". In different ways, Lacan exerted influence on the development of Althusser, Foucault and Derrida and his ideas have found their way into a wide variety of disciplines.

Lafargue, Paul (1841-1911)

Paul Lafargue was born in 1842 in Santiago, Cuba of mixed heritage. He moved with his family to France as a young boy where he studied medicine and first became involved in politics as a follower of Proudhon. It was while a representative of the French working class movement to the First International he became friendly with Marx and Engels and changed his views to those of Marx. Married in 1868 to Laura Marx, Marx's second daughter, the Lafargue's began several decades of political work together, financially supported by Engels.

Paul was one of the founders of the Marxist wing of the French Workers Party. From 1861 took part in the

republican movement. In 1870-71 he carried on organisational and agitational work in Paris and Bordeaux; after the fall of the Commune he fled to Spain where he fought for the line of the General Council; they then settled in London. After the bloody May Day in Fourmis (1891) he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Lafargue fought against reformism and Millerandism and was an advocate of women's rights.

Lafargue was an influential speaker and wrote numerous works on revolutionary Marxism, including the humorous and well-known, "The Right to Be Lazy" and "Evolution and Property". By age 70, in 1911, the elderly couple commit suicide together, having decided they had nothing left to give to the movement to which they devoted their lives.

See also: **Paul Lafargue Internet Archive**

Lafargue, Charles Étienne (Schnappy) (1868-1872)

Son of Laura and Paul Lafargue.

Lafargue, Francois (-1870)

Father of Paul Lafargue.

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)

Karl Marx's second daughter, wife of Paul Lafargue.

La Follette, Robert M. (1855-1925)

Republican U.S. senator from Wisconsin who ran for president in 1924 on the third-party Progressive ticket. The CP had captured a convention of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1923, changing its name to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, but losing whatever labor support it had. The Ruthenberg -Pepper -Lovestone leadership of the CP then adopted the policy of linking the FFLP to La Follette's third-party campaign for the presidency. There were enough misgivings about this policy in the CP leadership to get it submitted for review by the ECCI. The latter, after extensive discussion, declared the policy to be opportunist, and the CP pulled back from the La Follette candidacy, running its own ticket of Foster and Gitlow.

Laing, R D (1927-1989)

British psychiatrist famous for his treatment of schizophrenia, emphasising the relativity of experience. His writings on psychiatry reflect the influence of Kierkegaard, Dostoyevsky and the Existentialists such as Sartre.

Born into a working-class family in Glasgow, Laing earned a PhD in medicine and psychiatry from the University of Glasgow in 1951. After serving as a psychiatrist as a conscript in the British Army and teaching at the University of Glasgow (1953-56), he conducted research at the Tavistock Clinic and Institute of Human Relations for the remainder of life, while running a private practice in London. Founded the Institute of Phenomenological Studies in 1967.

In his first book, The Divided Self (1960), he proposed that people's insecurity about their existence ("onotlogical insecurity") may prompt a defensive reaction in which the self splits into separate components, generating the symptoms of schizophrenia. He opposed the standard treatments for schizophrenics of the time, which included electric shock "treatment", holding that the origin of the schizophrenia lay in the family, as spelt out in his 1965 Sanity, Madness, and the Family, co-authored with Aaron Esterson. Removal of one family member as "mad", would only force another member of the family into the same role.

Among his other works are The Politics of Experience (1967), in which madness is viewed as a form of transcendence of the normal state of alienation, and The Politics of the Family (1971). Laing's early approach to schizophrenia was quite controversial, and he modified some of his positions in later years. His book Wisdom, Madness and Folly: The Making of a Psychiatrist, 1927-1957 (1985) was autobiographical.

Landau, Kurt (-)

Left Oppositionist who had moved from Austria to Germany and was to become a leader of the German United Left Opposition when it was formed in 1930. He also served briefly as a member of the Provisional International Secretariat before splitting from the Left Opposition in 1931. He was assassinated by the Stalinists in Spain during the civil war.

Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-75)

A German scientist and political writer. In the labour movement he showed himself a conciliator. Author of the well-known book, *The Labour Question: Its Significance for the Present and Future.* Also the author of a *History of Materialism*, of which Plekhanov said that it had "contributed a great deal, not towards the criticism of materialism but towards spreading and strengthening among the public a wrong view of the historical development of materialism and of its importance for modern social science." (Plekhanov's preface to the Russian translation of *The Communist Manifesto.*) Marx said of Lange in a letter to Engels (March 11, 1865): " Siebel has sent me Lange's pamphlet. Confused; Malthusianism mixed with Darwinian; flirts with all sides--but there are some nice things against Lassalle and the bourgeois consumers' co-operative fellows."

Laplace, Pierre Simon de (1749-1827)

French scientist, mathematician and astronomer; established mathematically the stability of the Solar system and its origin from a gaseous nebula - without divine intervention. Established some of the basic principles of the Theory of Probability, but gave his name also to the proof that the entire history of the Universe is determined by knowledge of the exact position and momentum of every particle in it at any given time - absolute Determinism.

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825 - 1864)

Took part in French Revolution of 1848. Created the Democratic Socialist Party in Germany. In 1862 proposed a theory (Lassalleanism) in opposiiton to Marxism, explaining that while bourgeois society "guaranteed" all individuals unlimited development of their individual productive forces the *moral* idea of the proletariat is to render useful service to the community.

Lassalle wrote the *Science and the Working Man*:

"The course of history, is a struggle against nature, against ignorance and impotence, and consequently, against slavery and bondage of every kind in which we were held under the law of nature at the begining of history. The progressive overcoming of this impotence is the evolution of liberty, of which history is an account. In this struggle humanity would never have made one step in advance, and men gone into the struggle singly, each for himself. The state is the contemplated unity and co-operation of individuals in a moral whole, whose function it is to carry on this struggle, a combination which multiplies a million-fold the forces of all the individuals comprised in it, and which heightens a million times the powers which each individual would be able to exert singly."

Lassalle believed that the proletariat represented community, solidarity of interest, and reciprocity of interest. He believed therefore that the cause of the workers is the cause of humanity; when the proletariat gains political supremecy a higher degree of morality, culture and science would occur which would further civilisation.

Lassalle believed in the State as Hegel did, as the organ of right and justice. He believed that only through the State could victory be gained, explaining the state as "the union of indivudals which increases a million-fold the forces of the individuals." He explained that "The aim of the State is the education and development of liberty in the human race." He believed that the State would hear the cause of the proletariat, and so revolution was not necessary.

Killed in a duel by the Wallachian Count von Racowitza on August 31, 1864.

His works included:

Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Kunkeln (1858)
Das System der erworbenen Rechte (1861)

Law, Andrew Ronar (1858-1923)

Born in Canada; began his career as an iron merchant in Glasgow. MP from 1900 and Tory leader 1911-21 and 1922-3. Particularly active in support of army mutinies in opposition to Irish Home Rule before 1914. Despite retiring in 1921 he was made Prime Minister in the 1922 Tory government, but finally resigned and died in 1923. Succeeded by Stanley Baldwin.

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)

English atheist leader. Member of First International.

Index of the Letter L

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Da

Dan, Fyodor (1871- 1947)

Pseudonym of F. Gurvich. Russian writer and Menshevik. Social-chauvnist during WWI. After the February revolution of 1917, Dan became a member of the Petrograd Soviet Executive Committee, supporting the Provisional Government. [...] Infamous opponent of Lenin, and later the R.S.F.S.R., Dan weas expelled from Russia for inciting count-revolution in 1922.

Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-1897)

And editor of *New York Daily Tribune* while Marx was a contributor.

Daniels, Roland (1819-1855)

Communist Cologne doctor and friend of Marx.

Danielson, Nicolai Frantzevich (1844-1918)

Russian writer, translator of *Capital*, Vol.1.

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794)

Right-wing Jacobian leader, French Revolution.

Darwin, Charles (1809-82)

Famous natural scientist who, through the use of dialectics, created the evolutionary theory of the development of the animal world, the struggle for existence, adaptation and the "survival of the fittest." He particularly investigated how the transformation of organisms takes place.

"Darwin," Marx wrote, "has interested us in the history of Nature's technology." (*Capital*, I, Chpt. 15) One work referred to in Marx's letters, On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life, was published in 1859. Marx wrote to Engels on December 19, 1860:

"During my time of trial, these last four weeks I have read all sorts of things. Among others Darwin's book on Natural Selection. Although it is developed in the crude English style, this is the book which contains the basis in natural history for our view." However, this praise had reservations:

1) Of the Darwinian doctrine I accept the *theory of evolution* , but Darwin's method of proof (struggle for life, natural selection) I consider only a first, provisional, imperfect expression of a newly discovered fact. Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Búchner, Moleschott, etc.) emphasized precisely *cooperation* in organic nature, the fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and conversely the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, which was particularly stressed by Liebig. Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrowminded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature — inanimate as well as animate — includes both harmony and collision, struggle and cooperation. When therefore a self-styled natural scientist takes the liberty of reducing the whole of historical development with all its wealth and variety to the one-sided and meager phrase "struggle for existence", a phrase which even in the sphere of nature can be accepted only *cum grano salis* , such a procedure really contains its own condemnation. [....]

Fredrick Engels
Engels to P. L. Lavrov in London

Further Reading: See Darwin's Origin of Species; see also Anton Pannekoe Marx and Darwin.

Daszynski, Ignacy (1866-1936)

Leader of the Galician Polish Socialists. Member Austrian Reichstrath from 1891. Anti-Russian chauvinist. Later joined Pilsudski.

David, Eduard (1863-1930):

Right wing German social democrat revisionist. Supported WWI. Minister in Ebert Cabinet 1919-1920. President of National Assembly, 1919.

Davison, John Emmanuel (1870-1927)

Ironfounder and later full-time organizer for the Ironfounders Society. Elected as Labour MP for Smethwick in 1918. Labour Whip from 1924 until he retired from parliament in 1926.

Index of the Letter D

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Marx to S. Meyer*

Written: Hanover, 30 April, 1867
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Why I never answered you? Because I was perpetually hovering on the verge of the grave. Therefore I had to use every moment in which I was capable of work in order that I might finish the task to which I have sacrificed my health, my happiness in life and my family. I hope this explanation requires no further supplement. I laugh at the so-called "practical" men and their wisdom. If one chose to be an ox one could of course turn one's back on the agonies of mankind and look after one's own skin. But I should really have regarded myself as unpractical if I had pegged out without completely finishing my book, at least in manuscript.

The first volume of the work will be published in a few weeks' time by Otto Meissner in Hamburg. The title is: *Capital, a Critique of Political Economy*. I have come to Germany in order to bring the manuscript across and am staying for a few days with a friend in Hanover on my way back to London.

Volume I comprises the "process of capitalist production." Besides the general scientific development, I describe in great detail, from hitherto unused official sources, the condition of the English agricultural and industrial proletariat during the last twenty years, ditto Irish conditions. You will understand beforehand that all this only serves as an "argumentum ad hominem." I hope that in a year from to-day the whole work will have been published. Volume II gives the continuation and conclusion of the theories. Volume III the history of political economy from the middle of the seventeenth century.**

*Meyer, Siegfried (1840-72) German-American socialist, member of the First International; took part in the organization of the German workers' movement in new York.

**Marx intended to publish the continuation of the first volume of *Capital* in one volume; this volume grew into two. Consequently the volume which had been planned as Volume III *[Theories of Surplus Value]* was numbered IV.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Marx to Schweitzer

in London

Written: October 13, 1868 [Draft]
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryanin 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

As for the Lassalle Association, it was founded in a period of reaction. Lassalle--and this remains his immortal service--re-awakened the workers' movement in Germany after its fifteen years of slumber. But he committed great mistakes. He allowed himself to be too much governed by the immediate circumstances of the time. He made a small starting-point-his opposition to a dwarf like Schulze-Delitzsch--into the central point of his agitation--state aid versus self-help. In so doing he merely took up again the slogan which *Buchez* the leader of French Catholic socialism, had given out in 1843 and the following years against the genuine workers' movement in France. Much too intelligent to regard this slogan as anything but a temporary makeshift, Lassalle could only justify it on the ground of its (alleged) immediate practicability. For this purpose he had to maintain that it could be carried out in the near future. Hence the "state" transformed itself into the Prussian State. And thus he was forced into concessions to the Prussian monarchy, the Prussian reaction (feudal party) and even the clericals.

With Buchez' state aid for associations he combined the Chartist cry of universal suffrage. He overlooked the fact that conditions in Germany and England were different. He overlooked the lessons of the Second Empire with regard to universal suffrage. Moreover from the outset, like everyone who declares that he has a panacea for the sufferings of the masses in his pocket, he gave his agitation a religious and sectarian character. Every sect is in fact religious. Further, just because he was the founder of a sect, he denied all natural connection with the earlier movement *both in Germany and outside*. He fell into the same mistake as Proudhon, and instead of looking among the genuine elements of the class movement for the real basis of his agitation, he tried to prescribe their course to these elements according to a certain dogmatic recipe.

Most of what I am now saying after the event I foretold to Lassalle in 1862, when he came to London and invited me to place myself with him at the head of the new movement.

You yourself have experienced in your own person the opposition between the movement of a sect and the movement of a class. The sect sees the justification for its existence and its "point of honour"--not in what it has in *common* with the class movement but in the *particular shibboleth* which *distinguishes* it

from it. Therefore when at Hamburg you proposed the congress for the formation of trade unions you were only able to defeat the opposition of the sect by threatening to resign from the office of president. In addition, you were obliged to double yourself and to announce that in one case you were acting as the head of the sect and in the other as the organ of the class movement.

The dissolution of the General Association of German Workers gave you the historic opportunity to accomplish a great step forward and to declare, to prove if necessary, that a new stage of development had now been reached, and that moment was ripe for the sectarian movement to merge into the class movement and make an end of all dependence. Where the true content of the sect was concerned it would, as with all previous working-class sects, be carried on into the general movement as an element which enriched it. Instead of this you actually demanded of the class movement that it should subordinate itself to the movement of a particular sect. Those who are not your friends have concluded from this that whatever happens you want to preserve your "own workers' movement."

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Organisations

Ch

Chartists (Chartism)

The first mass revolutionary movement of the British working class in the 1830s and 1840s. Mass meetings and demonstrations involving millions of proletariat and petty-bourgeois were held throughout the country for years.

The Chartists published several petitions to the British Parliament (ranging from 1,280,000 to 3,000,000 signatures), the most famous of which was called the People's Charter (hence their name) in 1842, which demanded:

1) universal suffrage for men
2) the secret ballot
3) removal of property qualifications for Members of Parliament
4) salaries for Members of Parliament
5) electoral districts representing equal numbers of people
6) annually elected parliaments

The British Parliament did not approve the People's Charter, rejecting every petition.

The government subsequently subjected the Chartists to brutal reprisals and arrested their leaders. The remaining party then split as a result of a divide in tactics: the Moral Force Party believed in bureaucratic reformism, while the Physical Force Party believed in workers' reformism (through strikes, etc).

The Chartist movement's reformist goals, although not immediately and directly attained, were gradually achieved. In the same year as the People's Charter was created, the British Parliament instead responded by passing the 1842 Mining Act. Carefully valving the steam of the working class movement, British Parliament reduced the working day to ten hours in 1847.

Chief Land Committee

The Chief Land Commmittee was set up by the Provisional Government in April 1917 under pressure of the growing peasant movement which demanded a solution to the land question. The overwhelming majority of the Committee's members were Cadets and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Committee was to supervise the collection and working up of material for an agrarian reform, for which purpose local land committees were formed.

The formation of the Chief and local land committees was a political manoeuvre on the part of the Provisional Government assigned to drag out the settlement of the land question as long as possible, and to wean the peasant masses away from revolutionary forms of struggle by means of reforms from above that would leave landed

proprietorship intact.

After the October Revolution the Chief Land Committee opposed the enforcement of Lenin's Decree on Land and was dissolved by a decision of the Council of People's Commissars in December 1917.

Chkheidze Group

A Mensheviks group in the Fourth Duma led by N. S. Chkheidze. During the First World War the Menshevik Duma group held a Centrist position, but in practice gave full support to the policy of the Russian social-chauvinists.

Index of the Letter C

Glossary of Organisations | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Pr

Preobrazhensky (d. 1937)

Member of Bolshevik Central Committee prior to 1921; refused to "confess" in the Moscow Trials and shot in 1937

Price, Morgan Philips (1885-1973)

Son of a landowner and Liberal MP. Educated at Cambridge; went to Russia in 1914 as correspondent for the Manchester Guardian. Wrote against the allied intervention and in support of the Soviet government, but never joined the Communist Party of Great Britain. On return to Britain in 1919 he associated with the Independent Labour Party and the Labour Party. Acted as correspondent for the *Daily Herald* during the revolutionary events of 1919-23 in Germany. Labour MP for Whitehaven 1929-31; for the Forest of Dean 1935-50. Held various minor government posts. Wrote of his experiences in Russia in *My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution* (1918), and in retrospect as a reformist in *My Three Revolutions* (1969).

Princip, Gayrilo (1895-1918)

Bosnian student member of secret patriotic organisation to free country from Austria. Shot Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife on 28 June 1914 at Sarajevo. Sentenced to life imprisonment, and died shortly thereafter in prison.

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1803-65)

Theoretician of anarchism, founder of Proudhonism. The ideas of Proudhon had a great influence, above all on the French workers, for a fairly long time; this influence was still considerable even at the time of the Paris Commune in 1871. The anarchism of Bakunin, against which Marx and Engels fought in the First International, was also partly based on Proudhonist theories.

Index of the Letter P

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Marx to Edward Beesly

in London

Written: October 19, 1870
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
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As to Lyons, I have received letters not fit for publication. At first everything went well. Under the pressure of the "International" section, the Republic was proclaimed before Paris had taken that step. A revolutionary government was at once established--*La Commune*--composed partly of workmen belonging to the "International," partly of Radical middle class Republicans. The *octrois* [internal customs dues] were at once abolished, and rightly so. The Bonapartist and Clerical intriguers were intimidated. Energetic means were taken to arm the whole people. The middle class began if not really to sympathise with, at least to quietly undergo, the new order of things. The action of Lyons was at once felt at Marseilles and Toulouse, where the "International" sections are strong.

But the asses, Bakunin and Cluseret, arrived at Lyons and spoiled everything. Belonging both to the "International," they had, unfortunately, influence enough to mislead our friends. The Hotel de Ville was seized for a short time--a most foolish decree on the abolition *de l'etat* [abolition of the state] and similar nonsense were issued. You understand that the very fact of a Russian--represented by the middle class papers as an agent of Bismarck--pretending to impose himself as the leader of a *Comite de Salut de la France* [Committee for the Safety of France] was quite sufficient to turn the balance of public opinion. As to *Cluseret,* he behaved both as a fool and a coward. These two men have left Lyons after their failure.

At Rouen, as in most industrial towns of France, the sections of the International, following the example of Lyons, have enforced the official admission into the "committees of defence" of the working-class element.

Still, I must tell you that according to all information I receive from France, the middle class on the whole prefers Prussian conquest to the victory of a Republic with Socialist tendencies.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Terms

Bo

Bonapartism

First used in reference to the government established by Louis Bonaparte, who had been elected to the office of presidency in 1848. Three years following, on 2 December, 1851, he staged a coup d'etat against his government, setting up a military dictatorship in its place.

Marx soon after wrote a popular pamphlet called the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte "demonstrating how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part."

Bonapartism has been used to describe a government that forms when class rule is not secure and a military, police, and state bureaucracy intervenes to establish order. Nineteenth century Bonapartism is commonly associated with Twentieth century fascism and stalinism.

Further readings: Trotsky, The Rise of Hitler and Destruction of the German Left; and The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism.

Bourgeoisie

Those people in capitalist society who own means of production.

Bourgeois Democracy

A government that serves in the interests of the bourgeois class. The word Democratic is attached to such a government, because in it all people in such a society have certain freedoms: those who own the means of production , the bourgeoisie, are free to buy and sell labor-power and what is produced by it solely for their own benefit. Those who own only their own ability to labor , the proletariat, are free to sell themselves to any bourgeois who will buy their labor power, for the benefit of maintaining their own survival, and giving greater strength and power to the bourgeoisie.

The state fundamentally represents the interests of one class over others. On this basis Lenin named bourgeois democracy bourgeois dictatorship. On the same token, Lenin made no distinction that the socialist state, being a state that represents the working-class, is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In no civilized capitalist country does "democracy in general" exist; all that exists is bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general", but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat,

over its oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome the resistance offered by the exploiters in their fight to maintain their domination.

Vladimir Lenin
First Congress of the Communist International

In capitalist society, providing it develops under the most favourable conditions, we have a more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in effect, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners. Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, the modern wage slaves are so crushed by want and poverty that "they cannot be bothered with democracy", "cannot be bothered with politics"; in the ordinary, peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participation in public and political life.

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich - that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the machinery of capitalist democracy, we see everywhere, in the "petty" - supposedly petty - details of the suffrage (residential qualifications, exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for "paupers"!), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc., - we see restriction after restriction upon democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has never known want himself and has never been inclose contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine out of 10, if not 99 out of 100, bourgeois publicists and politicians come under this category); but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from active participation in democracy.

V.I. Lenin
The State and Revolution
Chpt. 5: The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State

See Also: The same government: dictatorship of the bourgeoisie , save put in the perspective of the oppressed class; and Democracy in general.

Index of the Letter B

Glossary of Terms | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Ba

Babbitt

Real estate salesman in the American Midwest, was the protagonist of a novel with the same name by Sinclair Lewis, 1922.

Babeuf, Francois Noel (1760-1797)

French political agitator; plotted unsuccessfully to destroy the Directory in revolutionary France and establish a communistic system.

Bacon, Francis (1561 - 1626)

English philosopher, founder of materialism and experimental science in modern times; saw task of science as to increase the power of humanity over Nature, and that this could be achieved only by revealing the "true causes" of things; promoted scepticism in relation to all previous learning, cleansing the mind of all preconceptions and "Idols", to rationally re-interpret the facts of experience by methodical generalisation - "induction", particularly including the analysis of experimental activity, and attention to "negative instances".

Bacon wrote the Phenomena of the Universe Or Natural History for the Building Up of Philosophy when he was 48. For most of his life, Queen Elizabeth I was Queen of England, a period of expansion of British trade and influence. Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe in 1580, when Bacon was 19. The Italian Giordano Bruno, had further developed the Copernican system of the heavens (which replaced the Earth as the centre of the Universe with a heliocentric system), proposing an infinity of worlds and removing the Sun from the centre of the Universe. In 1600, when Bacon was 39, Bruno was burnt at the stake by the Roman Inquisition for his heresy. Shortly before Bacon's death Charles I ascended the throne.

Bacon's New Atlantis, written in 1617, foresaw a utopia in which people flourished on the basis of rational learning and advanced technology. New Atlantis was no "classless society" but a bourgeois republic. In 1640, Oliver Cromwell lead the English Revolution, for the first time in history beheading the King and replacing the monarchy with a bourgeois republic.

Bacon was a contemporary of Galileo Galilei (1564 - 1642) though Galileo's principal work, Dialogo dei due sistemi dei mondo, was not completed until after Bacon's death. Galileo was forced to recant.

In Bacon's time, there could not be said to exist anything which could be called natural science. What we have today began with the work of Galileo and Bacon. In Bacon's time, it would have been impossible for someone with a scientific disposition to distinguish between fact and fiction - religious dogma, travellers' yarns, superstition, the untested and unsubstantiated wisdom of the ancients, the practice of farmers and artisans handed down from father to son and mother to daughter. Only mathematics and, thanks to Galileo, the infant science of mechanics, could lay any claim to demonstrable verity.

The advantage Bacon had over his fellow-philosophers on the Continent, was that while war and the inquisition ravaged Europe, England was relatively (relatively!) united, prosperous and liberal and it was possible for Bacon to write as he did without winding up on the rack or the stake. In fact, Bacon had at one time spent 4 days in the Tower of London, not for his radical views, but for accepting bribes in his job as Lord Chancellor!

Bachofen, Johann (1815-1887)

Swiss historian and attorney

Bakayev, Ivan (1887-1936)

Bolshevik before the revoluiton, head of the GPU in Leningrad and a supporter of Zinoviev. Bakayev was expelled from the party in 1927 for his political views but renounced them and was allowed back into the party. He was accused of treason in the first Moscow trial (1936) and was executed.

Bakunin, Michael (1814-70)

Russian revolutionary. One of the founders of anarchism. In the 1830s Bakunin was a Young Hegelian. In 1848 he took part in the German revolution (the rising in Dresden). He was arrested (1849), and eventually handed over to the Russian government and sentenced to life imprisonment. After the death of the Tsar Nicholas I, Bakunin was exiled to Siberia (1857). In 1861 he escaped exile and went to London.

Bakunin became a member of the League of Peace and Freedom. At the Berne Congress of this League (1868) he and his supporters (E. Reclus, Aristide Rey, Jaclard, Fanelli, N. Joukovsky, V. Mratchkovsky and others) were in a minority, and seceded from the League and established their own International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. In 1869 this Alliance became affiliated to the International. In the International Bakunin was an opponent of Marx. (*Further Reading:* the Marx/Engels conflict with Bakunin) In *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* Engels wrote that Bakunin combined Stirner with Proudhon and christened this combination "anarchism."

Further Reading: Bakunin Reference Archive: Biography for more information.

Balabanoff, Angelica (1878-1965)

Born in the Ukraine, Balabanoff was exposed to radical ideas while a university student in Brussels. She settled in Rome and began organizing immigrant laborers in the textile industry. Later, she became a leader of the Italian Socialist Party and then the Italian Social Democrats.

Balabanoff continued to stay closely in touch with the Russian revolutionary movement and served on the executive committee of the Union of Women Socialists and worked with Clara Zetin on women's congresses. Soon after the Bolshevik triumph, Balabanoff returned to Russia where she served as secretary to the International in 1919. She later became a critic of Bolshevism and returned to Italy, but the rise of fascism led her to exile in Switzerland, where she edited the Paris *Avanti! in 1928.* She continued to be involved in socialist activities internationally until her health began to fail in 1964. None of her writings have yet been transcribed for MIA. For a review of her autobiography by Max Shachtman, see his article in the New International.

Baldwin, Staitley (1867-1947)

Tory Prime Minister at time of the General Strike. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge university; he became vice-chairman of his family iron and steel business and a Conservative MP in 1906. President of Board of Trade, 1921-22; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1922-23. In 1923 unexpectedly succeeded Bonar Law as Prime Minister and Tory leader but soon called an election which he lost. Prime Minister again 1925-29 and as such formulated the Tory policy of preparing a decisive confrontation with the working class movement after a strategic retreat on 'Red Friday' in July 1925. In the 1926 General Strike Baldwin took the TUC leaders to the brink and then relied on their cowardice to sell out the miners, who were starved back to work. Later a member of the National Government' set up by the Tories and a rump of right-wing Labour leaders in 1931. Prime Minister once again 1935-37 in succession to MacDonald. His policy of intervention in Spain in this period was agreed with French Foreign Minister Laval and helped Franco to come to power.

Balfour, Arthur James (1848-1930)

Of Scottish aristocratic origin; educated at Eton and Cambridge, entering parliament as a Tory MP in 1874. Secretary to Lord Salisbury (his uncle) in 1878 and served in his government until becoming Prime Minister, 1902-06. Resigned the Tory leadership in 1911 but became Foreign Secretary in Lloyd George's War Cabinet, 1916-19. Made an earl in 1922; and was a member of Baldwin's 1925 cabinet.

Bamberger, Ludwig [Louis] (1823-1899)

German newspaper editor. Partcipant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849. Became a liberal.

Bamberger, Simon

Father of Louis Bamberger. English banker.

Baracchi, Guido (1887-?)

Son of Italian nobleman who was the Victorian government astronomer. Influenced by guild socialists while

visiting Europe. Through Andrade's bookshop, was the main distributor of Marxist literature in Melbourne; co-founder of the Victorian Labor College; jailed for opposition to conscription in 1918; joined the IWW and edited its paper until 1920; editor of The Proletarian, a Marxist monthly which became the CPA's theoretical journal; founding member of the CPA. Went to Germany, where he became editor of *Imprecor*, the English language paper of the Comintern. Returned to Australia in 1925, and with Earsman proposed a propagandist perspective to break into new sections of the working class. Baracchi actually advocated liquidation of the Party as a means of breaking out of isolation, and was expelled. He left Australia, rejoining while in Germany in 1935. In 1939, back in Australia, Baracchi spoke out against the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The young Eric Aarons, who was to lead the Party to its liquidation 50 years later, was secretary of the Sydney University Branch at the time and delivered him a letter saying the Branch had decided his services were no longer required as tutor of the Branch class. The last remaining founding member of the CPA, Baracchi was soon expelled and joined the Trotskyists later in 1939.

Barbès, Armand (1809-1870)

French revolutionist in 1848. Sentenced to life imprisonment, pardoned in 1854 and emigrated to Belgium.

Barbusse, Henri (1873-1935)

Pacifist novelist who joined the French Communist Party, authored biographies of both Joesph Stalin and Jesus Christ. Sponsor of anti-war and anti-fascist congresses.

Barthes, Roland (1915 - 1980)

French academic and literary critic whose writings on semiotics, pioneered by Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson, helped establish structuralism and was a central figure in the development of the leaders of recent French philosophy, such as Foucault and Derrida.

After graduating from the University of Paris in classics, grammar and philology in 1943, Barthes later worked at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and in 1976 became the first person to hold the chair of literary semiology at the Collège de France.

Further developing Saussure's conception of the *arbitrariness* of speech-sounds in relation to their meaning, Barthes examined the arbitrariness of the linguistic forms more generally and in his 1964 The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies he applied the same approach to the hidden assumptions behind popular culture.

In Elements of Semiology, Barthes proposed the inversion of Saussure's thesis that the study of language would be a part of a larger science of semiology, asserting instead that “it is semiology which is a part of linguistics”. At the same time he analysed literature as a sequence of signs, the meaning of which bears no relation to the intention of the author, but rather is a free construction of the reader.

By the 1970s, Barthes' theories had become extremely influential not only in France but throughout Europe and the U.S. Other leading French thinkers associated with Barthes include the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, social theorist Michel Foucault, and philosopher Jacques Derrida. Barthes' later works added to his fame as a literary critic, a reputation as a novelist with an "anti-autobiography," Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes (1975), and his 1977 A Lover's Discourse. Barthes died in a car accident in 1980. His posthumous writings include Susan Sontag's A Barthes Reader published in 1982.

Bastelica, Andre (1845-1884)

Followed Bakunin. French printer.

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882)

Prominent Young Hegelian. German philosopher and former classmate of Karl Marx. Author of a number of books on the history of Christianity. The target of Marx's critism in Chapter Two of the German Ideology.

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)

German journalist. Younger brother of Bruno Bauer.

Bauer, Otto (1881-1938)

Leader of the Austrian Social Democracy after World War I. Major theoretician of Austro-Marxism.

Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926)

English historian. Took part in the foundation of the Social Democratic Federation and collaborated in its organ, *Justice*, and in the monthly, *To-Day*, which he first tried to run independently but owing to lack of funds had to make over to Hyndman in 1884. Broke with Hyndman at the end of 1884 and together with Morris and Eleanor Marx-Aveling etc, helped to form the Socialist League, which, however, later fell under anarchist influence. Later resumed his relations with Hyndman and shared his chauvinistic position.

Bazarov, B (1874-)

A one-time Bolshevik turned Menshevik and opponent of Lenin after 1905. He sometimes used the alias B Rudnev.

Index of the Letter B

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Marx to Leo Frankel and Louis Varlin

in London

Written: May 13, 1871
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Would it not be useful to put the documents which compromise the Versailles *canaille* [blackguards] in a safe place? A precaution of this kind could not do any harm. I hear in a letter from Bordeaux that four Internationalists were elected at the last municipal elections. The ferment is beginning in the provinces. Unfortunately the action there is only local and "pacific." I have written several hundred letters on behalf of your cause to every corner of the world in which we have branches. The working class, for the rest, was on the side of the Commune from the beginning. Even the bourgeois papers in England have given up their first ferocity. I have Succeeded in slipping some favourable paragraphs into them from time to time.

The Commune seems to me to be wasting too much time in trivialities and personal quarrels. One can see that there are other influences besides that of the workers. None of this would matter if you had time to make up for the time lost.

It is absolutely necessary that whatever you want to do outside Paris, in England or elsewhere, you should do quickly. The Prussians will not hand over the forts to the Versailles government, but after the final conclusion of peace (May 26) will allow it to invest Paris with its *gendarmes.* Since Thiers and Co. had, as you know, stipulated for a large commission for themselves in the treaty they concluded by Pouyer Quertier, they refused to accept the help from the German bankers which Bismarck offered them. Had they accepted it they would have lost their commission. The preliminary condition for the realisation of their treaty being the subjugation of Paris, they have asked Bismarck to postpone their payment of the first instalment until after the occupation of Paris. Bismarck has accepted this condition. Prussia, being herself in very urgent need of this money, will therefore give the Versailles government every possible facility for hastening the occupation of Paris. So take care!

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Bi

Bismarck, Otto von (1815-1898)

Prussian and German statesman. Dominated the German and European political scene 1862-1890 as Chancellor. Chancellor of Prussia and the German Reich. Unified Germany under the domination of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns. Author of the anti-Socialist laws that banned the Social Democratic party, mass workers' organizations and the workers' press. Dropped by Emperor Wilhelm II in March 1890.

Index of the Letter B

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Marx to Edward Beesly

in London

Written: June 12, 1871
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Lafargue, his family and my daughter are in the Pyrenees, but on the French side of the Spanish frontier. As Lafargue was born in Cuba he was able to get a Spanish passport. I wish, however, that he would definitely settle on the Spanish side, as he played a leading role in Bordeaux.

Despite my admiration for your article in the *Beehive*, I am almost sorry to see your name in that paper. (And, by the way, you will allow me to observe that as a Party man I have a thoroughly hostile attitude towards Comte's philosophy, while as a scientific man I have a very poor opinion of it, but I regard you as the only Comtist, either in England or France, who deals with historical turning-points (crises) not as a sectarian but as an historian in the best sense of the word.) The *Beehive* calls itself a workers' paper but it is really the organ of the renegades, sold to Sam Morley and Co. During the last Franco-Prussian war the General Council of the International was obliged to sever all connection with this paper and publicly to declare that it was a sham workers' paper. The big London papers, however, with the exception of the London local paper, *The Eastern Post*, refused to print this declaration. In such circumstances your co-operation with the Beehive is a further sacrifice you are making to the good cause.

A woman friend of mine will be going to Paris in three or four days. I am giving her the proper passes for some members of the Commune, who are still living hidden in Paris. If you or one of your friends have any commissions there please write to me.

What comforts me is the nonsense which the *Petite Presse* publishes every day about my writings and my relations to the Commune; this is sent me each day from Paris. It shows that the Versailles police is very hard put to it to get hold of genuine documents. My relations with the Commune were maintained through a German merchant who travels between Paris and London all the year round. Everything was settled verbally with the exception of two matters:

First, through the same intermediary, I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could handle certain securities on the London Exchange.

Second, on May 11, ten days before the catastrophe, I sent them by the same method all the details of the

secret agreement come to between Bismarck and Favre in Frankfort.

I had this information from Bismarck's right hand--a man who had formerly (from 1848-53) belonged to the secret society of which I was the leader. This man knows that I have still got all the reports which he sent me from and about Germany. He is dependent on my discretion. Hence his continual efforts to prove his good intentions towards me. It was the same man who gave me the warning I told you about that Bismarck had decided to have me arrested if I visited Dr. Kugelmann in Hanover again this year.

If only the Commune had listened to my warnings! I advised its members to fortify the northern side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them beforehand that they would otherwise be caught in a trap; I denounced Pyat, Grousset and Vesinier to them; I demanded that they should at once send to London all the documents compromising the members of the National Defence, so that by this means the savagery of the enemies of the Commune could to some extent be held in check--thus the plan of the Versailles people would have been brought to nothing.

If these documents had been discovered by the Versailles people they would not have published forged ones.

The address of the International [*The Civil War in France,* 1871] will not be published before Wednesday. I will then at once send you a copy. Material for four to five sheets has been compressed into two. Hence arose numerous corrections, revisions and misprints. Hence also the delay.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Ku

Kugelman, Ludwig (1830-1902)

German socialist and doctor. Friend and correspondent of Karl Marx. Member of the First International. See the Marx/Engels Letters section for correspondence.

Kuhn, Thomas (1922-1996)

American historian of science noted for The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, one of the most influential works of history and philosophy of the 20th century. Kuhn introduced the idea of a “Paradigm” which allows only certain kinds of questions to be asked about a science while excluding others, until contradictions build-up to a point where a sudden change of Paradigm takes place, and the whole science is rapidly reconstructed under the “new paradigm”. Kuhn developed a kind of sociology of scientific community to study how these paradigms both constrained and promoted the development of scientific knowledge.

After studying Physics at Harvard, Kuhn did his PhD in the history of science and subsequently taught and wrote on the history and philosophy of science at Harvard, the University of California (Berkeley), Princeton and M.I.T. until his retirement in 1991.

In his first book, The Copernican Revolution (1957), Kuhn studied the development of the heliocentric theory of the solar system during the Renaissance. In his landmark second book, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, he generalised what he described in the first book. In a conception which is strongly reminiscent of Hegel’s conception of the development of knowledge, he argued that scientific research always works within a certain “paradigm,” or closed system of concepts and methods which exclude dissident views which cannot be fitted into the system. During such a period of ‘normality’, researchers simply refine theories and develop their implicaitons; puzzling or anomalous results or facts are simply excluded. Over time, however, the weight of these anomalies builds up and eventually trigger a crisis in which attention is suddenly turned to what was previously ignored, basic assumptions and long-held opinions are overthrown and eventually some new way forward emerges and the old system of ideas falls into disrepute and the whole science is again reworked under

the new “paradigm”.

Kuhn was a part of a widespread movement interested in Cognitive Science in the post-World War Two period. While sharing an element of social-relativism with Structuralism and Functionalism, Kuhn's theory has the great benefit of disclosing the inner dynamic hidden within an social structure.

Kuihyshev, Valerian (1888-1935)

Old Bolshevik in many important posts before becoming head of the country's chief economic body. Kuihsyhev became a dedicated Stalinist. The cause of his death is unknown.

Kun, Bela (1886-1937)

Leader of defeated Hungarian Soviet of 1919; worked for Comintern, and directed misconceived insurrection in Germany in March 1921. Accused of treason in the Moscow Trials and shot.

Kuron, Jasek

Jailed while a student at the University of Warsaw, and published the Open Letter to Polish Workers Party in 1965, the first programmatic document against Stalinism to come out of the Stalinist bloc since the Left Opposition; jailed 1967; he was supported by Trotskyists in the West. Founder of the KOR (Defence of Workers Rights) in 1976, a Marxist opposition group in defence of workers of Radom and Warsaw, which sowed the seeds of Solidarity. Made alliance with Catholic Church against Stalinism. Invited to join Solidarity as its chief adviser in 1980. Labour Minister in first Solidarity government; founded the Democratic Union in December 1990, which received the largest vote in the October 1991 elections, campaigning a more gradually transition to capitalism. By the time of the 1993 elections situated on the right-wing of the Polish political spectrum. Quoted in 1989 stating: "What I would most wish is to be a social-democrat in a proper capitalistic country. But for that I have to build this proper capitalistic country first".

Index of the Letter K

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Marx to Bolte

in London

Written: November 23, 1871
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The International was founded in order to replace the Socialist or semi-Socialist sects by a real organisation of the working class for struggle. The original Statutes and the Inaugural Address show this at the first glance. On the other hand the Internationalists could not have maintained themselves if the course of history had not already smashed up the sectarian system. The development of the system of Socialist sects and that of the real workers' movement always stand in inverse ratio to each other. So long as the sects are (historically) justified, the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historic movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity ail sects are essentially reactionary. Nevertheless what history has shown everywhere was repeated within the International. The antiquated makes an attempt to re-establish and maintain itself within the newly achieved form.

And the history of the International was a continual struggle on the part of the General Council against the sects and amateur experiments which attempted to assert themselves within the International itself against the genuine movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the Congresses, but far more in the private dealings of the General Council with the individual sections.

In Paris, as the Proudhonists (Mutualists) were co-founders of the Association, they naturally had the reins in their hands there for the first years. Later, of course, collectivist, positivist, etc., groups were formed in opposition to them.

In Germany--the Lassalle clique. I myself went on corresponding for two years with the notorious Schweitzer and proved irrefutably to him that Lassalle's organisation is nothing but a sectarian organisation and as such hostile to the organisation of the *genuine* workers' movement striven for by the International. He had his "reasons" for not understanding this.

At the end of 1868 the Russian, Bakunin, entered the *International* with the aim of forming inside it a *second International* called the *"Alliance of Social-Democracy," with himself as leader.* He--a man devoid of theoretical knowledge--put forward the pretension that this separate body was to represent the scientific propaganda of the International, which was to be made the special function of this second

International within the International.

His programme was a superficially scraped together hash of Right and Left--EQUALITY Of CLASSES (!), *abolition of the right of inheritance as the starting point* of the social movement (St. Simonistic nonsense), *atheism as a dogma* to be dictated to the members, etc., and as the main dogma *(Proudhonist), abstention from the political movement.*

This infant's spelling-book found favour (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the real conditions of the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious and empty doctrinaires in French Switzerland and Belgium.

For Mr. Bakunin the theory (the assembled rubbish he has scraped together from Proudhon, St. Simon, etc.) is a secondary affair--merely a means to his personal self-assertion. If he is a nonentity as a theoretician he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (which was supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in the *south of France).* At last, by means of Conference resolutions I (2) and (3), IX, XVI, and XVII, it delivered its long prepared blow.

Obviously the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions I (2) and (3) and IX now give the New York committee legal weapons with which to put an end to all sectarian formations and amateur groups and if necessary to expel them.

The New York Committee will do well to express its full agreement with the decisions of the Conference in an *official communication to the General Council.*

Bakunin, personally threatened in addition by Resolution XIV (publication in *Égalité* of the Netchaev trial) which will bring to light his infamous doings in Russia, is making every possible effort to get a protest started against the Conference among the remnants of his followers.

For this purpose he has got into contact with the demoralised section of the French political refugees in Geneva and London (a numerically weak section, anyway). The slogan given out is that the Geneva Council is dominated by *Pan-Germanism* (especially Bismarckism). This refers to the *unpardonable* fact that I am by birth a German and do actually exercise a decisive intellectual influence on the German Council. (N.B. The *German* element on the Council is two-thirds weaker *numerically* than either the *English* or the *French.* The crime therefore consists in the fact that the English and French elements are dominated by the German element where *theory* is concerned (!) and find this domination, i.e., German science, very useful and indeed indispensable.)

In Geneva, under the patronage of the bourgeois Madame Andrée Léo (who at the Lausanne Congress was shameless enough to denounce Ferré to his executioners in Versailles), they have published a paper, *La Révolution Sociale,* which conducts arguments against us in almost literally the same words as the *Journal de Genève,* the most reactionary paper in Europe.

In London they attempted to establish a French section, of whose activities you will find an example in No. 42 of *Qui Vive?* which I enclose. (Also the number which contains the letter from our French Secretary, Seraillier). This section, consisting of twenty people (including a lot of spies), has not been recognised by the General Council, but another much more numerous section has been.

Actually, despite the intrigues of this bunch of scoundrels, we are carrying on great propaganda in

France--and in Russia, where they know what value to place on Bakunin and where my book on capital is just being published in Russian....

N.B. as to political movement: The political movement of the working class has as its object, of course, the conquest of political power for the working class, and for this it is naturally necessary that a previous organisation of the working class, itself arising from their economic struggles, should have been developed up to a certain point.

On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class comes out as a class against the ruling classes and attempts to force them by pressure from without is a political movement. For instance, the attempt in a particular factory or even a particular industry to force a shorter working day out of the capitalists by strikes, etc., is a purely economic movement. On the other hand the movement to force an eight-hour day, etc., *law* is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say a movement of the *class*, with the object of achieving its interests in a general form, in a form possessing a general social force of compulsion. If these movements presuppose a certain degree of previous organisation, they are themselves equally a means of the development of this organisation.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against and a hostile attitude towards the policy of the ruling classes. Otherwise it will remain a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved up to a certain point by the game Messrs. Gladstone & Co. are bringing off in England even up to the present time.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Organisations

Fi

The First International
(International Workingmen's Association)

When the International was formed in September 1864, Marx was "a relatively obscure refugee journalist," Saul Padover notes in the introduction to a volume of select works written by Marx for the International:

"Exiled from his native Germany, thrown out of Belgium, and expelled from France, Marx found refuge in the British capital in 1849. In the 15 years before the founding of the International, Marx eked out a living from journalism — saved from actual starvation by Frederick Engels, who was in the textile business in Manchester — and spent most of his time writing, reading, and researching (in the British Museum). After the traumatic defeat of the revolutions of 1848-49 in Europe, he became for a time politically inactive.

"In London, Marx's main contacts were with other Europeans, particularly German and French radicals and refugees, with many of whom he had intermittent squabbles and disagreements. While showing deep interest in British politics, institutions, and movements — notably the history of Chartism, which was not without influence on his own political thinking — he kept himself, or was kept, aloof from English activists, including trade unionists. With few exceptions, one of them being the Chartist leader and editor Ernest Charles Jones, Marx had no close connection with English radicals or laborites, and vice versa. His led the politically isolated life of an unassimilated continental refugee. The International was to change all this.

"It is still not entirely clear why Marx was invited to what turned out to be a historic meeting at St. Martin's Hall. Until abut a week before the meeting, on September 28, he apparently knew nothing about any preparations for it. Then he was told about it by Victor Le Lubez, a 30-year-old French radical republican living in London, who invited him to come as a representtive of German workers. Marx accepted and proposed that he be joined by Johann Georg Eccarius, a tailor living in London, as another German representative. As it turned out, Marx and Eccarius were to become the two mainstays of the International from its inception to its end.

"The meeting was jammed with a large number of assorted radicals. There were English Owenties and Chartists, French Proudhonists and Blanquists, Irish nationalists, Polish patriots, Italian Mazzinists, and German Socialists. It was an assortment united not by a commonly shared ideology or even by genuine internationalism, but by an accumulated burden of variated grievances crying for an outlet. The English were against special privilege, the French against Bonapartism, the Irish against the British, the Poles against Russia [Poland was occupied by Russia in 1795], the Italians against Austria, and the Germans against capitalism. There was no necessary or integral interconnection among them — except what Marx later tried to provide in the organizaton that followed the meeting. Under the chairmanship of Edward Spencer Beesly, an English Positivist historian and professor at London University, radical oratory was given free rein. Marx himself did not speak. He was, as he wrote later, a 'silent figure on the platform.'

"The meeting voted unanimously to appoint a provisional committee to work out a program and membership

rules for the proposed international organizaton. Marx was appointed a member of the committee, which met a week later and, being large and unweildy, agreed on a small subcommittee to do the actual work. Marx became a member of this crucial subcommittee. The only other German on it was "my old friend, the tailor Eccarius", as Marx wrote to a communist friend in Solingen. The subcommittee met in Marx's house, and so powerful was his intellectual ascendency and certainty of purpose — the In Augural Address — and the rules — Provisional Statutes — of the new organization. Henceforth Marx was to remain its predominant spirit and the indomitable personality that held the disparate International Association together for eight difficult and often stormy years, until it was shattered by bitter internal dissensions.

"In the International, Marx saw a great historic opportunity, and seized it. Indeed, it is questionable whether the organization would have survived, or would have had any meaning, without him. His steely will and impassioned commitment to the idea of the revolutionary role of the world proletariat prevented the International from passing into the same oblivion as had other dreams of squabbly radicals, confused in their philosophy and at cross-purposes in their aims."

General Council::

Architect — Karl Marx, Peter Fox
Tailor — Eccarius, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Stainsby
Carpenter — Applegarth, Cremer, Lochner, Weston
Weaver — Bradnick, J. Hales, Mottershead
Shoemaker — Morgan, Odger, Serraillier
Furniture Maker — Dell, Lucraft
Watchmaker — Jung
Mason — Howell
Musical-instrument maker — Dupont
Hairdresser — Lassassie

Marx was one of few who kept his seat in the General Council from the formation of the International Working Men's Association over many years. He would relinquish it in 1872 — when the International moved to New York. The General Council fluctuated greatly in size — the Address to President Lincoln, for example, had 58 signatures. The Council met weekly. Marx was almost always in attendance, unless limited by illness.

Further Reading: A Collection of articles by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels on The First International

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Index of the Letter F

Glossary of Organisations | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Terms

Pr

Practical Idea

In Hegel's system, the Practical Idea is the penultimate stage of development of the Idea. The Absolute Idea is the unity of the Theoretical Idea and the Practical Idea. In his characteristic "upside down" way, for Hegel, theory *is* the criterion of truth. In the Practical Idea, Cognition (knowledge) and Volition (will or intention) are synthesised; the subjective Notion is merged with Objectivity, Means is identical with Ends.

Practice & Theory

Activity with a means and an end.

Practice is *active*, rather than being a passive *observation*, and is directed at *changing* something. Practice differs from activity in general, because practice is connected with Theory, which gives its means and end. Practice is only enacted through theory and theory is formulated based on practice. So long as theory and practice are separated then they fall into a distorted one-sidedness; theory and practice can only fully develop in connection with one another.

Human activity is always purposeful, but in the earliest stages of the development of society, before the development of the division of labour, there was no separation between theory and practice. With the development of the division of labour, the theoretical side of the development of human activity separated out from the practical aspect of that activity.

Practice is the criterion of truth. In this sense, "practice" must be understood in its broadest sense, inclusive of the many kinds of mental and material activity which contribute to changing knowledge and the world.

See Also: Theory, for different aspects of practice: Reason, Observation, the Experimental Method and Pragmatism.
Further Reading: Theses on Feuerbach, Ilyenkov's explanation, and Ilyenkov on human activity as the real manifestation of thought and subject of Hegel's Logic.

Pragmatism

Pragmatism says that "If it works, then don't fix it". In other words, the criterion of truth is reduced absolutely to the immediate validity of the application. Pragmatism is a step forward from empiricism in that while it regards

experience only as valid, it emphasises the active side of experience, and in this sense introduces a rational element into empiricism.

Further Reading: How to Make our Ideas Clear, by Charles Sanders Peirce (regarded as the founding work of Pragamatism) and Empiricism and Pragmatism, by George Novack (a sympathetic criticism of Pragmatism), Emile Durkheim's critique Pragmatism & the Question of Truth and Percy Bridgman's elaboration of Operationalism, the development of Pragmatism which says that a concept is not meaningful unless it can be reduced to a sequence of human actions. Einstein also has interesting comments on Bridgman in his Reply to Criticisms, and Richard Rorty offers a more modern defence of Pragmatism.

Presidium

A permanent committee of a larger body, such as a Legislature or Congress, that acts for it when it is in recess.

Praxis

Another word for practice.

Lukacs uses the term in 1923, and thereafter has been used commonly by Western Marxists. Marx had used this term once in his 3rd Manuscript of 1844 (not published until 1932); later translations of the work rendered this word as practice.

Productive Forces

The productive forces are the unity of means of production and labour:

1. All labour (individual, union)
2. Instruments of production (buildings, machines)
3. Subjects of production (raw materials, labor)

The [productive forces] of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution....No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself.

Karl Marx
Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy

According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if

somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure — political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one.... In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant — the historical event....

Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg

Profit

See: Surplus value .

Proletariat

"The proletariat is that class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labour power and does not draw profit from any kind of capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose sole existence depends on the demand for labour...

How did the proletariat originate?

"The Proletariat originated in the industrial revolution... [which was] precipitated by the discovery of the steam engine, various spinning machines, the mechanical loom, and a whole series of other mechanical devices. These machines, which were very expensive and hence could be bought only by big capitalists, altered the whole mode of production and displaced the former workers, because the machines turned out cheaper and better commodities than the workers could produce with their inefficient spinning wheels and handlooms. The machines delivered industry wholly into the hands of the big capitalists and rendered entirely worthless the meagre property of the workers (tools, looms, etc.). The result was that the capitalists soon had everything in their hands and nothing remained to the workers....

"labour was more and more divided among the individual workers so that the worker who previously had done a complete piece of work now did only a part of that piece. This division of labour made it possible to produce things faster and cheaper. It reduced the activity of the individual worker to simple, endlessly repeated mechanical motions which could be performed not only as well but much better by a machine. In this way, all these industries fell, one after another, under the dominance of steam, machinery, and the factory system, just as spinning and weaving had already done.

Fredrick Engels
Principles of Communism

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce.

Karl Marx
Communist Manfesto: Bourgeois and Proletarians

The following features of Marx's definition of the proletariat should be noted: (1) proletariat is synonymous with "modern working class", (2) proletarians have no means of support other than selling their labour power, (3) their position makes them dependent upon capital, (4) it is the *expansion* of capital, as opposed to servicing the personal or administrative needs of capitalists, which is the defining role of the proletariat, (4) proletarians sell themselves as opposed to selling *products* like the petty-bourgeoisie and capitalists, (5) they sell themselves "piecemeal" as opposed to slaves who may be sold as a whole and become the property of someone else, (6) although the term "labourers" carries the connotation of *manual* labour, elsewhere Marx makes it clear that the labourer with the head is as much a proletarian as the labourer with the hand, and finally (7) the proletariat is a class.

The proletariat is *not* a sociological category of people in such-and-such income group and such-and-such occupations, etc., but rather a real, historically developed entity, with its own self-consciousness and means of collective action. The relation between an individual proletarian and the class is not that of non-dialectical sociology, in which an individual with this or that attribute is or is not a member of the class. Rather, individuals are *connected* to a class by a million threads through which they participate in the general social division of labour and the struggle over the distribution of surplus value.

One issue that needs to be considered in relation to the definition of Proletariat is Wage Labour. Wage labour is the archtypal form in which the proletariat engages in the labour process, that is, by the sale of a worker's labour-power according to *labour-time*. Firstly, Marx treats piece-work, in which the worker is paid by output rather than by time, as a *form of wage-labour*, not essentially different from wage-labour. Secondly, nowadays it is increasingly common that workers are obliged to *sell their product* as such, by means of contract labour, for example. This raises the question of what is essential in the concept of proletariat. Contract labour *does* undermine working-class consciousness, but at the same time, the person who lives in a capitalist society, and has no means of support but to work, is a proletarian, even if they are unable to find employment(where workers may become lumpenproletariat if their living conditions are very difficult).

The other important issue in relation to the proletariat is its historical path. As Marx explains in Capital, [Chapter 32], capitalism brings about the "revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself". The proletariat neither requires nor is able to exploit any other class; they are themselves the producers and capitalism has trained the proletariat in all the skills needed to rationally organise social labour for the benefit of humanity, without the aid of money, religion or any other form of inhuman mysticism.

Thus, the future historical significance of the proletariat is ultimately not that it is *oppressed*, but rather that it is the only class which is capable of overthrowing bourgeois society and establishing a classless society.

Proletarian Democracy (Socialist Democracy)

Socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism. It begins at the very moment of the seizure of power by the socialist party. It is the same thing as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Yes, dictatorship! But this dictatorship consists in the *manner of applying democracy*, not in its *elimination*, but in energetic, resolute attacks upon the well-entrenched rights and economic relationships of bourgeois society, without which a socialist transformation cannot be accomplished. But this dictatorship must be the work of the *class* and not of a little leading minority in the name of the class -- that is, it must proceed step by step out of the active participation of the masses; it must be under their direct influence, subjected to the control of complete public activity; it must arise out of the growing political training of the mass of the people.

Rosa Luxemburg
The Russian Revolution: Democracy or Dictatorship?

The first thing to do to win genuine equality and enable the working people to enjoy democracy in practice is to deprive the exploiters of all the public and sumptuous private buildings, to give to the working people leisure and to see to it that their freedom of assembly is protected by armed workers, not by heirs of the nobility or capitalist officers in command of downtrodden soldiers.

Genuine freedom and equality will be embodied in the system which the Communists are building, and in which there will be no opportunity for massing wealth at the expense of others, no objective opportunities for putting the press under the direct or indirect power of money, and no impediments in the way of any workingman (or groups of workingman, in any numbers) for enjoying and practicing equal rights in the use of public printing presses and public stocks of paper.

Genuine democracy, i.e., Liberty and equality, is unrealizable unless this aim is achieved. But it's practical achievement is possible only through Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, for by enlisting the mass organizations of the working people in constant and unfailing participation in the administration of the state, it immediately begins to prepare the complete withering away of any state.

V.I. Lenin
First Congress of the Communist International

See Also: The same government: Proletarian Dictatorship, save put in the perspective of the oppressed class; and Democracy in general. The Proletarian Democracy precedes Communist Society.

Property

With the division of labour... is given simultaneously the distribution, and indeed the unequal distribution, both quantitative and qualitative, of labour and its products, hence property: the nucleus, the first form, of which lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first property, but even at this early stage it corresponds perfectly to the definition of modern economists who call it the power of disposing of the labour-power of others....

Marx and Engels
German Ideology

The first form of ownership is tribal ownership. It corresponds to the undeveloped stage of production, at which a people lives by hunting and fishing, by the rearing of beasts or, in the highest stage, agriculture. In the latter case it presupposes a great mass of uncultivated stretches of land. The division of labour is at this stage still very elementary and is confined to a further extension of the natural division of labour existing in the family. The social structure is, therefore, limited to an extension of the family; patriarchal family chieftains, below them the members of the tribe, finally slaves. The slavery latent in the family only develops gradually with the increase of population, the growth of wants, and with the extension of external relations, both of war and of barter.

The second form [of ownership] is the ancient communal and State ownership which proceeds especially from the union of several tribes into a city by agreement or by conquest, and which is still accompanied by slavery. Beside communal ownership we already find movable, and later also immovable, private property developing, but as an abnormal form subordinate to communal ownership. The citizens hold power over their labouring slaves only in their community, and on this account alone, therefore, they are bound to the form of communal ownership. It is the communal private property which compels the active citizens to remain in this spontaneously derived form of association over against their slaves. For this reason the whole structure of society based on this communal ownership, and with it the power of the people, decays in the same measure as, in particular, immovable private property evolves. The division of labour is already more developed. We already find the antagonism of town and country; later the antagonism between those states which represent town interests and those which represent country interests, and inside the towns themselves the antagonism between industry and maritime commerce. The class relation between citizens and slaves is now completely developed.

With the development of private property, we find here for the first time the same conditions which we shall find again, only on a more extensive scale, with modern private property. On the one hand, the concentration of private property, which began very early in Rome (as the Licinian agrarian law proves) and proceeded very rapidly from the time of the civil wars and especially under the Emperors; on the other hand, coupled with this, the transformation of the plebeian small peasantry into a proletariat, which, however, owing to its intermediate position between propertied citizens and slaves, never achieved an independent development.

Marx and Engels
German Ideology

The subjective essence of private property, private property as activity for itself, as subject, as person, is labor. It, therefore, goes without saying that only that political economy which recognized labor as its principle (Adam Smith), and which therefore no longer regarded private property as nothing more than a condition external to man, can be regarded as both a product of the real energy and movement of private property (it is the independent movement of private property become conscious of itself, it is modern industry as self), a product of modern industry, and a factor which has accelerated and glorified the energy and development of this industry and transformed it into a power belonging to consciousness. Therefore, the supporters of the monetary and mercantile system, who look upon private property as a purely objective being for man, appear as fetish-worshippers, as Catholics, to this enlightened political economy, which has revealed -- within the system of private property -- the subjective essence of wealth....

Immediately sensuous private property is the material, sensuous expression of estranged human life. Its movement --production and consumption -- is the sensuous revelation of the movement of all previous production -- i.e., the realization or reality of man. Religion, the family, the state, law, morality, science, art, etc., are only particular modes of production and therefore come under its general law. The positive supersession of private property, as the appropriation of human life, is therefore the positive supersession of all estrangement, and the return of man from religion, the family, the state, etc., to his human -- i.e., social -- existence. Religious estrangement as such takes place only in the sphere of consciousness, of man's inner life, but economic estrangement is that of real life -- its supersession therefore embraces both aspects. Clearly the nature of the movement in different countries initially depends on whether the actual and acknowledged life of the people has

its being more in consciousness or in the external world, in ideal or in real life. Communism begins with atheism (Owen), but atheism is initially far from being communism, and is for the most part an abstraction. The philanthropy of atheism is therefore at first nothing more than an abstract philosophical philanthropy, while that of communism is at once real and directly bent towards action....

Marx and Engels
Economic and Philsophical Manuscripts: 3rd

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

Marx
Preface to Critique of Political Economy

Property, or 'property relations' are fundamental social relations in which the relations between people are expressed in the relation between people and *things*. Thus the existence of property alienates people from social relations and puts them into relations with objects. In general therefore, a person *cannot* be the object, but only the subject of a property relation. If a person is *owned*, as in slave society, then in the given society that person is not regarded as a person at all, but rather as an object, property.

The *ownership* of property constitutes a social relation when that ownership affects the lives of other people. So, for example, a labourer in capitalism is the owner of their own capacity to work, but when they sell it on a day to day basis, it becomes the property of a capitalist who obtains the the right to use it, and the right to profit from it. Ownership the means of production, is the most important social relation, since it gives to the class owning the means of production exclusive control over the labour process, and thereby the power they have over all laborers.

Communist society removes the existence of property as discussed here; it does not remove the form of property which we have over ourselves, our own choices and thoughts, our own expressions and ideas. In Communist society, while all people wholly own themselves individually, they also own in common the means of production. Communist society does away with distinctively capitalist property relations; while in the human sense it strengthens property relations. *See also:* Freedom

Hegelian Philosophy: For Hegel, the right to property was the fundamental premise for being truly a person: "The rationale of property is to be found not in the satisfaction of needs but in the supersession of the pure subjectivity of personality. In his property a person exists for the first time as reason", and he defines the moments of Property as Possession ("The will has its embodiment in something positive"), Use ("the will to possess something must express itself") and Alienation (i.e. selling or giving the thing).

Hegel also made a particular point of excluding the possibility of the "kinds of things" being property, only individual things. He also regarded making collective property of anything which was capable of being the property of an individual as a grave mistake.

Further Reading: Philosophy of Right, Objective Spirit and Avineri.

Proudhonism

Proudhonism is nonviolent and nationalistic , aimed at reforming capitalism by placing more authority in the hands of individuals and less in the hands of government. Proudhonism is so called after its ideologist, the

French anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Proudhonism is considered the first conception of anarchism, according to Bakunin and most anarchists to follow.

Proudhon envisioned a Democratic Republic which would retain the capitalist economic system, but operate on solely a local level: "a government of each by each". Proudhon was in support of industry of small proprietors (i.e. artisans, peasants, etc.), but opposed large-scale industry and farms, factories, etc. as morally wrong and inhuman. While claiming "property is theft" Proudhon also stated "the absolute right of the State is in conflict with the absolute right of the property owner."

Marx's most famous critique of Proudhonism is the The Poverty of Philosophy. The anarchism of Bakunin, against which Marx and Engels debated in the First International, was partly based on Proudhonist theories.

Index of the Letter P

Glossary of Terms | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Gl

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)

Liberal leader of merchant origin. First a Tory, then supporter of Peel and Free Trade, eventually joining the Liberal Party whose leader he became in 1866. As Prime Minister 1868-74 he brought in some reforms in the army, education and trade union rights. His second government enacted the Third Reform Act in 1884, giving the vote to most rural workers; his third government, of 1886, fell because of his split with Chamberlain and the Unionists over Irish Home Rule. His last government, 1892-94, made another unsuccessful attempt to break the alliance of the House of Lords, Chamberlain's Unionists and English and Irish Tories against Home Rule. In opposition he agitated against Disraeli's condonement of Turkish oppression in the Balkans and other excesses although his own foreign policy was imperialist, with campaigns in Egypt and South Africa.

Glotzer, Albert

American Trotskyist. Glotzer was expelled from the Communist party and it's youth organization in 1928 for demanding a discussion of Trotsky's views and expulsion from the Russian CP and exile to Siberia.

Together with others that were also expelled from the CP, Glotzer founder the Trotskyist Communist League of America in May, 1929. He was mainly responsible for preparing the founding conference in Chicago and also a member of the National Committee and Political Committee, 1930-34.

During this period Trotsky was deported from the Soviet Union and living in Turkey. Glotzer visited Trotsky there for several weeks. (He later visited Trotsky in France, 1934 and in Mexico, 1937). The visit to Turkey was followed by a tour he made of the U.S. and Canada in 1932 on the most important theme of the day: the danger of fascism in Germany and Trotsky's warning that unless there were a united front of struggle against the Nazis, all would be lost. For the Americans, that period meant putting out their paper, The Militant, three times a week.

A court reporter by occupation, Glotzer was the verbatim court reporter for the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry in Mexico to take testimony of Trotsky on the Moscow Frame-up trials.

Glotzer was a member of the Socialist Party in 1936-37 and one of the founders of the Socialist Workers party in 1938. During the 30's Hitler came to power in Germany. The Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and W.W.II began with the Nazi invasion of Poland.

During 1938-39, a dispute broke out in the Trotskyist Socialist workers Party in which Glotzer and other leaders of the party, and a minority of members, rejected Trotsky's view that the Soviet Union was a Workers State. Instead they maintained that it was a new totalitarian society and not defensible on the grounds it violated freedom and democracy.

This break with Trotsky led to the formation of the Worker's Party in 1940 (later renamed Independent Socialist League). Al Glotzer was a founder, member of its National and Political Committees and at various times, editor

of Labor Action and The New International, as well as National Secretary of ISL. In 1958 the ISL entered the Socialist Party, which later became Socialist Democrats, USA. He is a long time member of its National. He has also authored several pieces on his long-time associates such as Max Shachtman and Martin Abern, and the book *Trotsky, Memoir and Critique* in 1990. The personal papers of Albert Glotzer are at Hoover Institution.

Glynn, Tom

A Leader of IWW and one of the IWW 12, jailed for treason in a frame-up trial because of their successful work in the 1916 miners strike, and their militant opposition to the War. IWW agitators were itinerant, out-spoken and colourful figures. The popularity of their message, and the ample space given to denouncing them in the Press, was however not matched by the growth of the OBU, which remained little more than a number of 'clubs', isolated from the mass trade union movement. Glynn was a founder member of the CPA in 1920; drifted away from the CPA in 1921, rejecting the United Front tactic applied in relation to the Victorian Socialist Party (VSP) and the ALP and trade union leadership. He remained within the orbit of the CPA however, especially after the Moxon-Sharkey leadership adopted the ultra-left 'social fascist' policy; participated with the CPA in the Unemployed Workers Union and the Anti-eviction struggles.

Index of the Letter G

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to Theodore Cuno

Written: January 24, 1872
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Bakunin, who up till 1868 had intrigued against the International, joined it after he had made a fiasco at the Berne Peace Conference and at once began to conspire *within* it against the General Council. Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism, the chief point of which is in the first place that he does not regard capital, and therefore the class contradiction between capitalists and wage earners which has arisen through social development, as the main evil to be abolished--instead he regards the *state* as the main evil. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers hold our view that state power is nothing more than the organisation with which the ruling classes, landlords and capitalists have provided themselves in order to protect their social prerogatives, Bakunin maintains that it is the *state* which has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital *only by favour of the state.* As, therefore, the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to hell of itself. We, on the contrary say: do away with capital, the appropriation of the whole means of production in the hands of the few, and the state will fall away of itself. The difference is an essential one. Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital is in itself the social revolution and involves a change in the whole method of production. Further, however, as for Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done which can maintain the existence of any state, whether it be a republic, a monarchy or whatever it may be. Hence therefore *complete abstention from all politics.* To perpetrate a political action, and especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to conduct propaganda, abuse the state, organise, and when all the workers are won over, i.e., the majority, depose the authorities, abolish the state and replace it by the organisation of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation.*

All this sounds extremely radical, and is so simple that it can be learnt by heart in five minutes ; that is why this theory of Bakunin's has also speedily found favour in Spain and Italy, among young lawyers, doctors and other doctrinaires.

But the mass of the workers will never allow themselves to be persuaded that the public affairs of their country are not also their own affairs; they are by nature *political* and whoever tries to make out to them that they should leave politics alone will in the end get left in the lurch. To preach that the workers should in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now as, according to Bakunin, the International is not to be formed for political struggle but in order that

it may at once replace the old state organisation as soon as social liquidation takes place, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakunist ideal of the society of the future. In this society there will above all be no *authority,* for authority = state = an absolute evil. (How these people propose to run a factory, work a railway or steer a ship without having in the last resort one deciding will, without a unified direction, they do not indeed tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual and every community is autonomous, but as to how a society, even of only two people, is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again remains silent. The International, then, must also be reorganised according to this model. Every section, and in every section every individual, is autonomous. To hell with the *Basle resolutions,* which bestowed upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralising even to itself!

Even if this authority is *voluntarily* bestowed it must cease simply *because* it is authority.

Here you have in brief the main points of the swindle.

[CUNO THEODOR (born 1847). German Social-Democrat. Engineer. Expelled from the country at the beginning of the seventies, took part in the organisation of a section of the International in Milan and stood for the line of the General Council. At the Hague Congress (1872) he was chairman of the commission which decided on the expulsion of Bakunin from the First International. Cuno later emigrated to America, where he collaborated in the *New York People's Paper.]*

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Karl Marx

Letter to W. Bracke

Written: May 5, 1875
Source: Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume Three, p. 11 - 12
Publisher: Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970
First Published: *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, No. 18, 1890-91
Online Version: marxists.org 1999

Dear Bracke,

When you have read the following critical marginal notes on the Unity Programme, would you be so good as to send them on to Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht for examination. I am exceedingly busy and have to overstep by far the limit of work allowed me by the doctors. Hence it was anything but a "pleasure" to write such a lengthy creed. It was, however, necessary so that the steps to b taken by me later on would not be misinterpreted by our friend sin the Party for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress has been held, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that our position is altogether remote form the said programme of principle and that we have nothing to do with it.

This is indispensable because the opinion — the entirely erroneous opinion — is held abroad and assiduously nurtured by enemies of the Party that we secretly guide from here the movement of the so-called Eisenach Party [German Social-Democratic Workers Party]. In a Russian book [*Statism and Anarchy*] that has recently appeared, Bakunin still makes me responsible, for example, not only for all the programmes, etc., of that party but even for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day of his cooperation with the People's Party.

Apart from this, it is my duty not to give recognition, even by diplomatic silence, to what in my opinion is a thoroughly objectionable programme that demoralises the Party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. If, therefore, it was not possible — and the conditions of the item did not permit it — to go *beyond* the Eisenach programme, one should simply have concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy. But by drawing up a programme of principles (instead of postponing this until it has been prepared for by a considerable period of common activity) one sets up before the whole world landmarks by which it measures the level of the Party movement.

The Lassallean leaders came because circumstances forced them to. If they had been told in advance that there would be haggling about principles, they would *have had* to be content with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead of this, one permits them to arrive armed with

mandates, recognises these mandates on one's part as binding, and thus surrenders unconditionally to those who are themselves in need of help. To crown the whole business, they are holding a congress *before the Congress of Compromise*, while one's own party is holding its congress *post festum*. One had obviously had a desire to stifle all criticism and to give one's own party no opportunity for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is satisfying to the workers, but it is a mistake to believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

For the rest, the programme is no good, even apart from its sanctification of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall be sending you in the near future the last parts of the French edition of *Capital*. The printing was held up for a considerable time by a ban of the French Government. The thing will be ready this week or the beginning of next week. Have you received the previous six parts? Please let me have the address of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must also send the final parts.

The bookshop of the Volksstaat has peculiar ways of doing things. Up to this moment, for example, I have not been sent a single copy of the *Cologne Communist Trial*.

With best regards,

Yours,

Karl Marx

Marx/Engels Letters Archive
Critique of the Gotha Programme

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Organisations

Ge

German Confederation

Formed by the Vienna Congress on June 8, 1815. The Confederation was an association of feudal-absolutist German states; it helped to prolong the political and economic disunity of Germany.

German Social-Democractic Labour Party

A Socialist party formed at a Congress of Social-Democrats from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, held in Eisenach between August 7 and 9, 1869, where they became known as the Eisenachers. The party was led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The programme adopted at the Congress primarily corresponded to the principles advanced by the First International.

In May 1875 (at the Gotha Congress) the party united with the General German Workers' Union to form the Socialist Worker's Party of Germany. The draft programme of the united party came under intense critism from Marx and Engels. (See Critique of the Gotha Programme)

During WWI the German Social-Democratic Party took a social-chauvinist stand, vigourously supporting the war. The Marxists immediately split from the party and formed the Spartacists; tirelessly fighting the German war machine.

[....]

German Workers' Society

Founded by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the end of August 1847, it became the legal rallying centre for German revolutionary workers in Belgium. Some of the members were also members in the Brussels branch of the Communist League. Soon after the French revolution of 1848, the members of the society were arrested and deported by the Belgian police.

Index of the Letter G

Glossary of Organisations | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Organisations

Pe

People's Party

1. Established in 1865. The party opposed the unification of Germany as a centralised democratic republic under Prussian hegemony and advocated instead the idea of a federative German state ("Greater Germany") which would have included Prussia and Austria. They were not successful.

People's Will
(Narodnaia Volia)

In the fall of 1879, a tightly knit and dedicated group of narodniks formed the People's Will Party. The some 30 members who formed the party, after having no success instigating the Russian peasantry to rebellion and instead meeting with brutal repression, set out to overthrow the monarchy through terrorism. On the groups' founding it passed sentence on the death of tsar Alexander II.

The party inherited the separate path theory from their Narodnik roots. Despite their belief in the peasantry as the revolutionary class of society, no peasant was ever a member of any directing organ of the party.

The terrorist tactics the party created were called the theory of direct struggle, which were intended to show:

"an uninterrupted demonstration of the possibility of struggling against the government, in this manner lifting the revolutionary spirit of the people and its faith in the success of the cause, and organising those capable of fighting."

Programme of the People's Will, 1879

In March 1, 1881, an attack the party launched hurt Alexander II in a bomb blast. The population of Russia were largely dismayed by this, and the czar responded with campaigns of terror and repression. The party was soon after disbanded. George Plekhanov was a member of this group. Twenty years later, Socialist Revolutionary Party would take up the tactics set out by this party.

Index of the Letter P

Glossary of Organisations | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Periodicals

Vo

Volksstimme

Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Chemnitz from January 1891 to February 1933.

Volksfreund (People's Friend)

Daily Social-Democratic newspaper, founded in Brunswick in 1871; in 1914 and 1915 it was the organ of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats, later in 1916 it reflected the views of Kautsky and his followers.

Volksstaat (Der Volksstaat)

Central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 23, 1876, under the editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper and helped in editting.

Index of the Letter V

Glossary of Periodicals | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Karl Marx

Critique of the Gotha Programme

Written: April or early May, 1875
Source: Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume Three, p. 13 - 30
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Table of Contents:

Foreword
Letter to Bracke
Part I
Part II
Part III
Part IV
Appendix

Background

Critique of the Gotha Programme is a critique of the draft programme of the United Workers' Party of Germany. In this document Marx address the dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the two phases of communist society, the production and distribution of the social goods, proletarian internationalism, and the party of the working class.

Lenin later wrote:

The great significance of Marx's explanation is, that here too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops *out of* capitalism. Instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes over words (What is socialism? What is communism?), Marx gives analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism.

(Lenin Collected Works, Volume 25, p. 471)

Engels wrote a foreword when the document was first published in 1891. Together with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Engels published Marx's letter to Bracke, directly bound up with the work.

Marx/Engels Works Archive

Abstract from

Engels to P. L. Lavrov in London

Written: Nov. 12-17, 1875
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

London, Nov. 12-17, 1875

1) Of the Darwinian doctrine I accept the *theory of evolution* , but Darwin's method of proof (struggle for life, natural selection) I consider only a first, provisional, imperfect expression of a newly discovered fact. Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Búchner, Moleschott, etc.) emphasized precisely *cooperation* in organic nature, the fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and conversely the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, which was particularly stressed by Liebig. Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrowminded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature — inanimate as well as animate — includes both harmony and collision, struggle and cooperation. When therefore a self-styled natural scientist takes the liberty of reducing the whole of historical development with all its wealth and variety to the one-sided and meager phrase "struggle for existence", a phrase which even in the sphere of nature can be accepted only *cum grano salis* , such a procedure really contains its own condemnation. [....]

3) I do not deny the advantages of your method of attack, which I would like to call psychological; but I would have chosen another method. Everyone of us is influenced more or less by the intellectual environment in which he mostly moves. For Russia, where you know your public better than I, and for a propaganda journal that appeals to the "restraining effect", [a quote from Lavrov's article] the moral sense, your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has done and still does so much damage, it would not fit; it would be misunderstood, sentimentality perverted. In our country it is hatred rather than love that is needed — at least in the immediate future — and more than anything else a shedding of the last remnants of German idealism, an establishment of the material facts in their historical rights. I should therefore attack — and perhaps will when the time comes — these bourgeois Darwinists in about the following manner:

The whole Darwinists teaching of the struggle for existence is simply a transference from society to living nature of Hobbes's doctrine of *bellum omnium contra omnes* [from Hobbes's *De Cive* and *Leviathan* , chapter 13-14] and of the bourgeois-economic doctrine of competition together with Malthus's theory of population. When this conjurer' s trick has been performed (and I questioned its absolute permissibility, as I have indicated in point 1, particularly as far as the Malthusian theory is concerned), the same theories are transferred back again from organic nature into history and it is now claimed that their validity as eternal laws of human society has been proved. The puerility of this

procedure is so obvious that not a word need be said about it. But if I wanted to go into the matter more thoroughly I should do so by depicting them in the first place as bad *economists* and only in the second place as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4) The essential difference between human and animal society consists in the fact that animals at most *collect* while men *produce* . This sole but cardinal difference alone makes it impossible simply to transfer laws of animal societyies to human societies. It makes it possible, as you properly remark:

"for man to struggle not only for existence but also for pleasures and *for the increase of his pleasures* ,... To be ready to renounce his lower pleasures for the highest pleasure". [Engles italics — quoted from Lavrov' Sierra article]

Without disputing your further conclusions from this I would, proceeding from my Poppa remises, makes the following inferences. At a certain stage the production of man attains such a high-level that not only necessaries but also luxuries, at first, true enough, only for a minority, are produced. The struggle for existence — if we permit this category for the moment to be valid — is thus transformed into a struggle for pleasures, no longer for mere means of *subsistence* but for means of *development, socially produced* means of development, and to this stage the categories derived from the animal kingdom are no longer applicable. But if, as has now happened, production in its capitalist form produces a far greater quantity of means of subsistence and development than capitalist society can consume because it keeps the great mass of real producers artificially away from these means of subsistence and development; if this society is forced by its own law of life constantly to increase this output which is already too big for it and therefore periodically, every 10 years, reaches the point where it destroys not only a mass of products but even productive forces — what sense is their left in all this talk of "struggle for existence"? The struggle for existence can then consist only in this: that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class that was hitherto entrusted with it but has now become incompetent to handle it, and there you have the socialist revolution.

Apropos. Even the mere contemplation of previous history as a series of class struggles suffices to make clear the utter shallowness of the conception of this history as a feeble variety of the "struggle for existence". I would therefore never do this favor to these false naturalists.

5) For the same reason I would have changed accordingly the formulation of the following proposition of yours, which is essentially quite correct:

"that to facilitate the struggle the idea of solidarity could finally... grow to a point where it will embrace all mankind and oppose it, as a society of brothers living in solidarity, to the rest of the world — the world of minerals, plants, and animals".

6) On the other hand I cannot agree with you that the " *bellum omnium contra omnes* " was the first phase of human development. In my opinion, the social instinct was one of the most essential levers of the evolution of man from the ape. The first man must have lived in bands and as far as we can peer into the past we find that this was the case....

[....]

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to Editor of the *Otyecestvenniye Zapisky*

[Notes on the Fatherland

Written: end of, 1877
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The author of the article *Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of M. Shukovsky* is evidently a clever man and if, in my account of primitive accumulation, he had found a single passage to support his conclusions he would have quoted it. In the absence of any such passage he finds himself obliged to seize upon an *hors d'oeuvre,* a sort of polemic against a Russian "literary man," published in the postscript of the first German edition of *Capital.* What is my complaint against this writer there? That he discovered the Russian commune not in Russia but in the book written by Haxthausen, Prussian Counsellor of State, and that in his hands the Russian commune only serves as an argument to prove that rotten old Europe will be regenerated by the victory of pan-Slavism. My estimate of this writer may be right or it may be wrong, but it cannot in any case furnish a clue to my views regarding the efforts "of Russians to find a path of development for their country which will be different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues," etc.

In the postcript to the second German edition of Capital--which the author of the article on M. Shukovsky knows, because he quotes it--I speak of "a great Russian critic and man of learning" with the high consideration he deserves. In his remarkable articles this writer has dealt with the question whether, as her liberal economists maintain, Russia must begin by destroying *la commune rurale* (the village commune) in order to pass to the capitalist regime, or whether, on the contrary, she can without experiencing the tortures of this regime appropriate all its fruits by developing *ses propres donnees historiques* [the particular historic conditions already given her]. He pronounces in favour of this latter solution. And my honourable critic would have had at least as much reason for inferring from my consideration for this "great Russian critic and man of learning" that I shared his views on the question, as for concluding from my polemic against the "literary man" and Pan-Slavist that I rejected them.

To conclude, as I am not fond of leaving "something to be guessed," I will come straight to the point. In order that I might be qualified to estimate the economic development in Russia to-day, I learnt Russian and then for many years studied the official publications and others bearing on this subject. I have arrived

at this conclusion: If Russia, continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861, she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a nation, in order to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime.

The chapter on primitive accumulation does not pretend to do more than trace the path by which, in Western Europe, the capitalist order of economy emerged from the womb of the It therefore describes the historic feudal order of economy. movement which by divorcing the producers from their means of production converts them into wage earners (proletarians in the modern sense of the word) while it converts into capitalists those who hold the means of production in possession. In that history, "all revolutions are epoch-making which serve as levers for the advancement of the capitalist class in course of formation; above all those which, after stripping great masses of men of their traditional means of production and subsistence, suddenly fling them on to the labour market. But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the cultivators.

"This has not yet been radically accomplished except in England....but all the countries of Western Europe are going through the same movement," etc. *(Capital,* French Edition, 1879, p. 315). At the end of the chapter the historic tendency of production is summed up thus: That it itself begets its own negation with the inexorability which governs the metamorphoses of nature; that it has itself created the elements of a new economic order, by giving the greatest impulse at once to the productive forces of social labour and to the integral development of every individual producer; that capitalist property, resting as it actually does already on a form of collective production, cannot do other than transform itself into social property. At this point I have not furnished any proof, for the good reason that this statement is itself nothing else than the short summary of long developments previously given in the chapters on capitalist production.

Now what application to Russia can my critic make of this historical sketch? Only this: If Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation after the example of the Western European countries, and during the last years she has been taking a lot of trouble in this direction--she will not succeed without having first transformed a good part of her peasants into proletarians; and after that, once taken to the bosom of the capitalist regime, she will experience its pitiless laws like other profane peoples. That is all. But that is not enough for my critic. He feels himself obliged to metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the *marche generale* [general path] imposed by fate upon every people, whatever the historic circumstances in which it finds itself, in order that it may ultimately arrive at the form of economy which will ensure, together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of man. But I beg his pardon. (He is both honouring and shaming me too much.) Let us take an example.

In several parts of *Capital* I allude to the fate which overtook the plebeians of ancient Rome. They were originally free peasants, each cultivating his own piece of land on his own account. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. The same movement which divorced them from their means of production and subsistence involved the formation not only of big landed property but also of big money capital. And so one fine morning there were to be found on the one hand free men, stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other, in order to exploit this labour, those who held all the acquired wealth in possession. What happened? The Roman proletarians became, not wage labourers but a *mob* of do-nothings more abject than the former "poor whites" in the southern country of the United States, and alongside of them there developed a mode of production which was not capitalist but dependent upon slavery. Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historic

surroundings led to totally different results. By studying each of these forms of evolution separately and then comparing them one can easily find the clue to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there by the universal passport of a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to W. LIEBKNECHT

in London

Written: February 11, 1878
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
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The Russians have achieved one good thing; they have exploded England's "great Liberal Party" and made it incapable of governing for a long time to come, whilst the trouble of committing suicide has been officially accomplished for the Tory Party through the traitors Derby and Salisbury (the latter the real driving force of Russia in the Cabinet).

The English working class had been gradually more and more deeply demoralised by the period of corruption since 1848 and had at last got to the point when they were nothing more than the tail of the great Liberal Party, i.e., henchmen of the capitalists. Their direction had gone completely over into the hands of the corrupt trade union leaders and professional agitators. These fellows shouted and howled behind Gladstone, Bright, Mundella, Morley and the whole gang of factory owners etc., in *majorem gloriam* [to the greater glory] of the Tsar as emancipator of nations, while they never raised a finger for their own brothers in South Wales, condemned to die of starvation by the mineowners. Wretches! To crown the whole affair worthily, in the last divisions in the House of Commons (on February 7 and 8, when the majority of the great dignitories of the "great Liberal Party"--Forster, Lowe, Harcourt, Goschen, Hartington and even [on Feb. 7] the great John Bright himself--left their army in the lurch and bolted away from the *division* in order not to compromise themselves too much altogether by voting)--the *only workers' representatives* in the House of Commons and moreover, *horribile dictu* [horrible to relate] direct *representatives of the miners*, and themselves originally *miners*--Burt and the miserable Macdonald--voted with the rump of the "great Liberal Party," the enthusiasts for the Tsar.

But the rapid development of Russia's plans suddenly broke the spell and shattered the "mechanical agitation" (fivepound notes were the main springs of the machinery); at the moment it would be "physically dangerous" for Mottershead, Howell, John Hales, Shipton, Osborne and the whole gang to let their voices be heard in a public meeting of workers; even their "corner and ticket meetings" are forcibly broken up and dispersed by the masses.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Li

Li Hsüeh-feng

First Secretary of North China Bureau of Communist Party. Accused by Mao of conspiring against him.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)

A leader of the German working class movement. Participant in 1848 revolution. Emigrated to Switzerland, then to England, there a member of League of Communists. In 1862 Wilhelm returned to Germany, and in 1863-65 was a member of the General German Workers' Association. In 1866, became founder and leader of the Saxon People's Party, which he -- jointly with August Bebel -- represented as the first Deputy of a left-wing party in the North German Reichstag. In 1869, was co-founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Member of the German Reichstag (1874-1900). "Responsible editor" of *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, of Volksstaat, and of *Vorwarts*. Father of Karl Liebknecht.

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)

Son of Wilhelm Liebknecht; founding leader of the Socialist Youth International in 1907; Left Wing German Social Democrat. Member of the German Reichstag and Prussian Landtag.

He was the first, and only, Deputy to oppose war credits in the Reichstag in 1914. Drafted during the war, he was imprisoned (May 1916 to November 1918) for anti-war activity. Leader of the International Group and later, the Spartacus League. One of the leaders of the Berlin uprising 1919. Executed by the German military government, January 15th 1919, with life-long comrade Rosa Luxemburg.

"Karl Liebknecht called upon the workers and soldiers of Germany to *turn their guns* against *their own* government. Karl Liebknecht did that openly from the rostrum of parliament (the Reichstag). He then went to a demonstration in Potsdamer Platz, one of the largest public squares in Berlin, with illegally printed leaflets proclaiming the slogan "Down with the Government!" He was arrested and sentenced to *hard labour*. He is now serving his term in a German convict prison, like *hundreds,* if not thousands, of other *true* German socialists who have been imprisoned for their anti-war activities.

"Karl Liebknecht and his friend Otto Rühle, two out of one hundred and ten deputies, violated [the SD party] discipline, destroyed the "unity" with the "Centre" and the chauvinists, and *went against all of them.* Liebknecht *alone* represents socialism, the proletarian cause, the proletarian revolution. All the rest of German Social-Democracy, to quote the apt words of Rosa Luxemburg (also a member and one of the leaders of the Spartacus group), is a *"stinking corpse."*

Vladimir Lenin
The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution
Chpt. 10: The Situtation within the Socialist International

Linnaeus, Carolus (1707-1778)

Swedish naturalist first to classify the plant kingdom and inventor of the "binomial nomenclature" by which all species are classified to this day. He was a creationist, and saw the species as capable of only limited mutation.

Litvinov, Maxim (1876-1951)

Old Bolshevik, was deputy commissar of foreign affairs, soon to become commissar, 1930-39. Stalin used him to personify "collective security" and "peaceful coexistence" when alliances with the democratic imperialists were sought. He was appointed ambassador to the U.S., 1941-43, and deputy commissar of foreign affairs, 1943-46.

Liu Shao-ch'i (1898-1974)

Chinese communist politician. Chairman of the People's Republic of China, 1959-68.

Index of the Letter L

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to J.P. Becker

in London

Written: April 1, 1880
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Here things are just as they were in 1850 again. The Workers' Assoc. is splitting up into all sorts of parties--Most here, Rackow there--and we have trouble enough in preventing ourselves from being dragged into the whirl. It is all a storm in a teacup, which may in some ways have a very good influence on those who take part in it by contributing to their further education, but so far as the course of the world is concerned it is more or less indifferent whether a hundred German workers here declare themselves for one side or the other. If they could exercise *any influence on the English*--but there is *absolutely no question of that.* Most, in his confused anxiety to do something, can neither keep quiet nor accomplish anything whatever; the people in Germany simply will not see that because Most has been expelled from the country the moment for revolution is now here. *Freiheit,* by main force, is to become the most revolutionary paper in the world, but this is not achieved by just repeating the word revolution in every line. Fortunately it does not much matter what is in the paper or not. The same is true of the Zurich organ, which one day preaches revolution and the next *declares that a revolution by force would be the greatest misfortune,* which is afraid on the one hand of being outdone by Most's big words and on the other that the workers may take its own big words seriously. So it is a choice between the empty shrieking of *Freiheit* and the narrow philistinism of the *Sozial Demokrat.*

I am afraid our friends in Germany are mistaken about the kind of organisation which should be maintained under present conditions. I have nothing against the fact that the chief members of Parliament are taking the lead in the absence of any other leadership. But they can neither demand nor enforce the strict obedience which the old Party leadership--elected for this purpose--could insist upon. Least of all in the present circumstances, without a press, without mass meetings. The looser the organisation is now in appearance the stronger it will be in reality. But instead of this the old system is to be maintained, final decisions are in the hands of the party leadership (although there is no congress to correct it or if necessary to dismiss it), and anybody who attacks one of them is a *heretic.* And with it all the best of them know themselves that there are all sorts of incapable and in other ways not quite sound people among them, and they must surely be very limited if they do not realise that it is not they who have the command of their organ but Hochberg, thanks to his money-bags, and with him his fellow-philistines

Schramm and Bernstein. In my opinion the *old Party,* together with its former organisation, has come to *an end.* If, as is to be expected, the European movement soon gets going again, the *great mass of the German proletariat* will enter it and then the 500,000 men of the year 1878 will join the trained and educated kernel of this mass; but then too the old "strict organisation" handed down by Lassallean tradition will become a brake which might hold back a cart but cannot be applied to an avalanche.

Moreover these people are doing nothing but things well-calculated to break up the Party. First the Party is supposed constantly to provide for the old agitators and editors, thanks to which it gets saddled with a whole crowd of papers with nothing whatever in them beyond what can be read in every bourgeois gossip rag. And the workers are expected to cooperate with this indefinitely! Secondly, they come out in the Reichstag and the Saxon Landtag in such a tame way, for the most part, that they discredit themselves and the Party before the whole world, making *"positive proposals"* to the existing government as to how to do things better in small questions of detail, etc. And the workers, who have been declared outside the law, who are delivered over bound hand and foot to the caprices of the police, are expected to regard this as proper representation! Thirdly, the philistine petty-bourgeois tone of the *Sozial Demokrat,* which they sanction. In every letter they tell us not on any account to believe reports of any division or differences of opinion having broken out in the Party, but everybody who comes from Germany assures one that the people are completely bewildered by this behaviour on the part of their leaders and by no means in agreement with it. Indeed, considering the character of our workers, which has so splendidly maintained itself, anything else would be impossible. It is the peculiar characteristic of the German movement that all the mistakes of the leadership are invariably made good again by the masses, and so it will no doubt be this time too.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Be

Bebel, August (1840-1913)

A worker and Marxist revolutionary, Bebel co-founded German Social Democracy with Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1869. Part of the Reichstag from 1867. Sentenced with Liebknecht to two years imprisonment for "treason" (opposition to Franco-German War) in 1872. After the GSD merged with the Lassalleans in Gotha in 1875, Bebel remained the unquestioned leader. His fiery parliamentary speeches -- from 1868 he was continuously a member first of the North German and later the German Reichstag -- are part of the history of German social democracy, as are also his books, above all his autobiography *From My Life* and *Women and Socialism.*

[...]

Becker, Hermann Heinrich (1820-1885)

Cologne writer and communist.

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)

German revolutionary in the 1830s and 1840s and friend of Karl Marx and Engels. Later resided in Switzerland. Prominent in the First International.

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)

Professor of history and political economy at University College, London. A follower of August Comte. Beesly was chairman at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London (September 28, 1864) at which the International Workingmen's Association was founded. March 1867 he published an article in the *Fortnightly Review*

supporting the activities of the "new model" trade unions.

Belli, Mihri (1915-...)

The founder of the thesis of "National Democratic Revolution".)

He studied economics in the USA. He became there a marxist and joined the African-American and Workers movements. He turned back to Turkey in 1940 and joined the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP). He organised the Union of the Progressive Youth. In 1944 he was arrested and sentenced to prison for two years. In 1946 he went to Greece to join the Greece Civil War as a guerilla. He was wounded and stayed at the hospitals in Bulgaria and Soviet Union. He entered to Turkey in 1950 and arrested, stayed in prison for seven years. After the military putsch in 1960 he wrote some articles at the periodicals "Türk Solu" and "Aydinlik Sosyalist Dergi". He escaped from Turkey after the fascist putsch in 1971 and joined the Palestine Liberation Organisation. After the Amnesty Law in 1974 he returned back to Turkey and founded Labourer Party of Turkey (TEP). After the fascist military putsch in 1980 went to Middle-East again, then to Sweden. Turned back to Turkey in 1992 and joined the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP).

Belinsky, Vissarion (1811-1848)

Russian literary critic who supported socially critical writers.

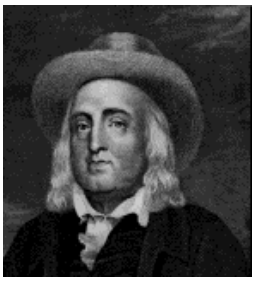
Benjamin, Walter (1892 - 1940)

German Marxist literary critic. Born into a prosperous Jewish family, Benjamin studied philosophy in Berlin, Freiburg, Munich, and Bern. He settled in Berlin in 1920 and worked thereafter as a literary critic and translator. His half-hearted pursuit of an academic career was cut short when the University of Frankfurt rejected his brilliant but unconventional doctoral thesis, The Origin of German Tragic Drama (1928). Benjamin eventually settled in Paris after leaving Germany in 1933 after Hitler came to power. He continued to write essays and reviews for literary journals, but when Paris fell to the Nazis in 1940 he fled south with the hope of escaping to the US via Spain. Informed by the chief of police at the Franco-Spanish border that he would be turned over to the Gestapo, Benjamin committed suicide.

The posthumous publication of Benjamin's prolific output won him a growing reputation in the later 20th century. The essays containing his philosophical reflections on literature are written in a dense and concentrated style that contains a strong poetic strain. He mixes social criticism and linguistic analysis with historical nostalgia while communicating an underlying sense of pathos and pessimism. The metaphysical quality of his early critical thought gave way to a Marxist inclination in the 1930s. Benjamin's pronounced intellectual independence and originality are evident in the extended essay Goethe's Elective Affinities and the essays

collected in Illuminations.

The approach to art of the USSR under Stalin was typified, first, by the persecution of all those who expressed any independent thought, and, second, by the adoption of Socialist Realism - the view that art is dedicated to the "realistic" representation of - simplistic, optimistic - "proletarian values" and proletarian life. Subsequent Marxist thinking about art has been largely influenced by Walter Benjamin and Georg Lukács however. Both were exponents of Marxist humanism who saw the important contribution of Marxist theory to aesthetics in the analysis of the condition of labour and in the critique of the alienated and "reified" consciousness of man under capitalism. Benjamin's collection of essays The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction (1936) attempts to describe the changed experience of art in the modern world and sees the rise of Fascism and mass society as the culmination of a process of debasement, whereby art ceases to be a means of instruction and becomes instead a mere gratification, a matter of taste alone. "Communism responds by politicising art" - that is, by making art into the instrument by which the false consciousness of the mass man is to be overthrown.



Bentham, Jeremy (1748-1832)

Idealist. Writer on law and ethics; a barrister from 1772. Made a study of the theory of law and developed the idea that laws should be socially beneficial and not merely a reflection of the status quo. Popularised the Utilitarian theory that all actions are right when they promote the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number'. In 1808 he met James Mill and with him formed a group that propagated Utilitarian ideas among the radical bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

Beria, Lavrenti (1899-1953)

Georgian. Organised Bolshevik group in Baku in 1917; 1921-31 directed GPU in Georgia. First Sec. Georgian CP from 1931; leader of NKVD from 1938 until Stalin's death. Responsible for countless murders on his own initiative as well as on Stalin's orders; summarily shot shortly after Stalin's death.

Berkeley, George (1685 - 1753)

Bishop Berkeley came to the defence of religion against Locke's Empiricism, but did so by turning the empiricist theory "against itself".

“It is evident to anyone who takes a survey of the objects of human knowledge, that they are either ideas actually imprinted on the senses; or else such as are perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind; or lastly, ideas formed by the help of memory or imagination ... That neither our thoughts nor passions nor ideas forms by the imagination exist without mind is what everybody will allow ... and to me it seems no less evident that the various sensations or ideas imprinted on the senses, however blended or combined together cannot exist otherwise than in a mind perceiving them”.

“It is indeed an opinion strangely prevailing among men that houses, mountains, rivers and in a word, all sensible objects, have an existence, natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding ... For what are the aforementioned objects but the things we perceive by sense? And what do we perceive besides our own ideas or sensations? And is it plainly repugnant that anyone of these, or any combination of them, should exist unperceived”. [from Of the Principles of Human Understanding]

In other words, he said to the empiricists: ‘You know that sensations exist, but you know not of anything beyond; you are acting only upon senses’. Berkeley *proved* that empiricism leads to subjective idealism. In order to explain the existence of knowledge at all, Berkeley invented a special new sense which is able to sense "notions", thus leading back to religion.

Berkeley's subjective idealist attack on materialism, purporting to show that the assertion that something exists outside the mind of the individual human being is absurd, useless and unprovable, was in fact a great service to the development of materialism. This can be said because Berkeley drew to its "logical conclusion" the development of empiricism.

Bacon asserted, as a materialist, that we had to use our eyes, ears and hands and go *out* to *Nature* to discover truth. Hobbes and Locke developed Bacon's "empiricism" in the narrow sense, by reducing the investigation of Nature to experience to sense perception, equating sense perception with ideas, and ultimately equating the rational faculty as a whole with the action of the external world on the senses, with sense perception.

Berkeley shows that this line of development leads to knowledge only of phenomena, in the form of sensations, not the essence of things existing outside of and independently of our perception of us. Perception has become, not people's *connection* with Nature, but a *barrier* sealing us off from Nature absolutely. The *logical conclusion* of empiricism is *subjective idealism*.

Berkeley avoids outright "solipsism" by adding to his thesis, that the God can perceive sensations independently of us, thus allowing "things" to exist while we are not actually looking at them. This unconvincing objective idealist "correction" to his otherwise consistent subjective idealism grew more significant in the course of his development.

Nevertheless, Berkeley's insane conclusions are generally accepted as the last word on the question of matter for the French, British and Maerican traditions of idealist philosophy for a long time afterwards.

In order to develop further, materialism had to find an answer to Berkeley's challenge.

Bernstein, Edward (1850-1932)

German Social Democrat; left Germany during the anti-Socialist laws and edited *Sozial Demokrat* in Switzerland. Expelled from there in 1888, where he lived in London till 1900. He was a friend of Engels in the Engels last years and was named his literary executor. Reichstag Deputy 1902-1906, 1912-1918, 1920-1928. A

pacifist-centrist during World War I. Founder of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USlD) 1916, but returned to the Social Democractic Party in 1919. Chief exponent of revisionism and reformism for over twenty five years, beginning 1896. Editor and author of *Evolutionary Socialism*, 1899 among other works. In this work he developed a theory of the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism; coined the famous aphorism: "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing"; believing that revolution was not necessary.

[Index of the Letter B]

[Glossary of People] | [Encyclopedia of Marxism]

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Sc

Schäffe, Albert (1831-1903)

German sociologist and economist. Rejected the class struggle and called for class unity.

Scheidemann, Philipp (1865-1939)

Leader of the right wing of the German Social Democracy, and a member of the cabinet that crushed the German November 1918 revolution.

Schelling, Friedrich (1775-1854)

German philosopher, third of the "classical German idealists" after Kant and Fichte and a close friend of Hegel. Schelling sought to answer the question of how consciousness arises out of unconscious Nature and how "the subject" (objective knowledge as opposed to individual consciousness) could itself become an object of knowledge. Schelling offered a "philosophy of nature" and "transcendental idealism" in which he was eventually, explicitly led to the conclusion that only *faith* provides the necessary unity of subject and object for knowledge of truth. This later position is reflected in his History of Modern Philosophy.

At the age of 26, Schelling had succeeded Fichte as Professor of Philosophy at Jena after Fichte had been dismissed for atheism, and had published five books developing a new way out of Kant's antimonies.

Schelling was by inclination more of a poet than a philosopher, but in contrast to Fichte he asserted the existence of the material world outside thought. As part of the circle of Romantic writers around Goethe, he maintained a lively interest in natural science, human history and culture generally. He did not see a resolution of the crisis of philosophy in dry categories of logic and thought. It was through a kind of aesthetic insight that human beings could know the world beyond thought, and it was in the practical activity of natural science and social or artistic creativity that antimonies were resolved.

Further, Schelling rejected any idea of a finished, closed logical system. Rather knowledge continuously brought forward new problems, new knowledge, new contradictions.

In 1841, Schelling played a key role in the Prussian government's attack on Hegel's philosophy and his young followers. See the essay 1841 and Engels's record of Schelling's speech attacking Hegel.

Further Reading: Ilyenkov's essay on Schelling and Plekhanov's comment and the text of the major work of his earlier period, System of Transcendental Philosophy.

Schiller, Friedrich von (1759-1805)

German poet, writer and philosopher of the Enlightenment

Schippel, Max (1859-1947)

Right winger in the German social democracy.

Moritz Schlick (1882-1936)

German Physicist and Logical Empiricist philosopher and leader of the European school of positivist philosophers known as the Vienna Circle; a precursor of the modern logical positivists, and an opponent of Conventionalism who also made early studies on the ethical implications of modern positivism.

After studying in physics at Heidelberg, Lausanne, and Berlin (under Max Planck), Schlick earned his PhD with his treatise, The Nature of Truth According to Modern Logic (1910). In 1922, he became Professor of the Philosophy of Inductive Sciences at Vienna.

The group of philosophers that gathered around Schlick at Vienna included Rudolf Carnap and Otto Neurath and the mathematicians and scientists Kurt Gödel, Philipp Frank, and Hans Hahn. Influenced by Schlick's predecessors in the chair of philosophy in Vienna, Ernst Mach and Ludwig Boltzmann, the Circle also drew on the work of philosophers Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein. The members of the Circle were united by their hostility to what they called "metaphysics", by faith in the techniques of modern symbolic logic, and by belief that the future of philosophy lay in becoming the handmaiden of natural science.

As the reputation of the Circle grew, philosophers in other countries who were similarly inclined became familiar with one another's work. Schlick directed the Circle's activities and wrote for its review, Knowledge, until his death from gunshot wounds inflicted by a deranged student.

Schlick was a prolific essayist and author of a number of books on epistemology, natural philosophy and ethics. See Epistemology & Modern Physics.

Schlüter, Hermann

German Social-Democrat who after his expulsion from Dresden in 1883 conducted the publishing house of the *Sozialdemokrat* in Zürich. First organiser of the German Social-Democratic Archive. In 1889, he emigrated to America where he worked in the German workers' movement. He wrote a history of Chartism and other studies

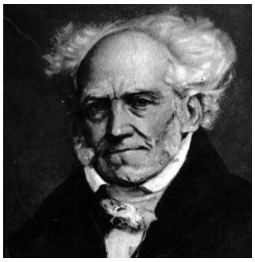
of the English and American labour movement.

Schmidt, Konrad (1863-1932)

German economist and social democrat who corresponded with Engels.

Schober, Johannes (1874-1932)

The police official of the Hapsburg school, who became chancellor in September 1929 in the midst of the Austrian crisis, was police chief of Vienna from 1918, in which post he ordered firing on Communist demonstrations in 1919 and 1927. He was chancellor and foreign minister, 1921-22, 1929-30.



Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)

German philosopher, a product of the period of classical German philosophy (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel) who introduced elements from Eastern philosophy; the founder of Voluntarism and important precursor to Existentialism via his influence on Nietzsche and Freudian psychology; noted for his passionate hatred of Hegel, not able to publish until anti-Hegelianism became fashionable in the 1840s.

The son of a wealthy merchant who had moved to the free city of Hamburg, Schopenhauer was given a private business education. When his father died in 1805, his mother moved to Weimar, where she joined Goethe's circle, Arthur joining her two years later, and in 1809 he entered the University of Göttingen to study medicine. Schopenhauer immediately transferred the humanities however, to study philosophy, and in 1813, he earned a PhD from the University of Jena.

Schopenhauer spent the following winter in Weimar with Goethe where he was introduced to the Hindu scriptures by the Orientalist Friedrich Majer. Schopenhauer would say that the Upanisads, together with Plato and Kant, constituted the foundation on which he erected his own system.

In 1814 Schopenhauer moved to Dresden where he completed a treatise On Vision and Colours in 1816, supporting Goethe's views on natural philosophy.

His next three years were dedicated exclusively to the preparation and composition of his main work, The World as Will and Idea (1819), a series of reflections on the theory of knowledge and the philosophy of nature, aesthetics, and ethics.

The work argues that appearances may be comprehended, but only with the aid of constructs of the human intellect, and, with Kant, he argues that the “thing-in-itself” remains out of view for the intellect. The “thing-in-itself” however, is the *Will*, which is given to consciousness as one's own Will. It is the Will which is responsible for the development of order in Nature and human society, but the Will brings with it only misery and pain.

The latter half of the book then deals with aesthetics and ethics, and points to the overcoming of the will as the means of liberation from suffering. Genuine liberation results only from breaking through the bounds of individuality imposed by the ego. Whoever feels acts of compassion, selflessness, and human kindness and feels the suffering of other beings as his own is on the way to the abnegation of the will to life and the asceticism which must be the aim.

Thus it can be seen that Schopenhauer's system is a kind of amalgam of Classical German Philosophy with Eastern asceticism. The book marked the summit of Schopenhauer's thought and in the years thereafter, no further development of his philosophy occurred.. Meanwhile, his *mangum opus* remained almost unread.

In March 1820, after a lengthy tour of Italy and a dispute with Hegel, he qualified to lecture at the University of Berlin. Though he remained at the university for 24 semesters, only his first lecture was actually held, for he continued to schedule his lectures at the same hour when Hegel was lecturing to a large and ever-growing audience. Even his book received scant attention. In 1825, he made one last attempt to find a publisher in Berlin, but in vain. He renounced his career as a university professor and lived henceforth as a recluse, totally absorbed in his studies, especially in the natural sciences.

The second edition of The World as Will and Idea (1844) included an additional volume. Three publishers rejected the work, until an obscure Berlin bookseller accepted the manuscript without remuneration. However, Schopenhauer eventually achieved the recognition he desired and a third edition of The World as Will and Idea, containing an exultant preface, appeared in 1859 and, in 1860, a second edition of his Ethics. After Schopenhauer's sudden and painless death, Julius Frauenstädt published his complete works in six volumes.

During this time, the actual impact and influence of Schopenhauer began to spread. By turning away from spirit and reason to the powers of intuition, creativity, and the irrational, his thought has influenced via Nietzsche, the ideas of vitalism, Dilthey's life philosophy, Existentism, anthropology, and through Eduard von Hartmann's philosophy of the unconscious, the psychology of Sigmund Freud. Schopenhauer's influence on music and literature can be seen in the work of Richard Wagner and Thomas Mann.

Further Reading: See the article on the period after Hegel's death: 1841.

Schorlemmer, Carl (1834-1892)

German chemist living in England. Friend of Marx and Engels.

Schramm, Karl

German economist. Insurance inspector. Liberal. Took part in the Social-Democratic movement from the 1870s onwards. Expelled from Berlin 1878. Came out in 1884-86 with a criticism of Marxism in which he represented Marx as a degenerate follower of Rodbertus and Lassalle. Later he withdrew from the Social-Democratic movement.

Schreiner, Olive (1855-1920)

Olive Schreiner was born to missionary parents in South Africa. She lived there until family misfortunes led her, at age 13, to seek work as a governess. It was during those eight years, she began her writing career with a semi-autobiographical novel about her life in South Africa. Later she would move to England to attend medical

school, and there, would become an activist in socialist circles along with her friends, Eleanor Marx and Edward Carpenter. Her novel was published in 1833 as the *Story of an African Farm*. The book was acclaimed as an important statement of feminism and was very influential for radical women of the time.

Schreiner followed the success of her first novel with political and social short stories, essays and novels. In 1894 she returned to South Africa, married Samuel Cronwright and gave birth to an infant girl that died within a day. The themes of women's labor and emancipation, pacifism, racism, imperialism and the tragedy of the loss of a child are major themes in her writing. For a selection of her works, see the Olive Schreiner section.

Schulze-Delitzsch (1808-83)

Politician and economist, organiser of consumers' co-operatives for handicraft workers, which were to prevent the decay of their class. Marx wrote to Engels on November 4, 1864: "By chance a few numbers of E. Jones' *Notes to the People* (1851, 1852) have come into my hands again; these, so far as the main points of the economic articles are concerned, were written under my immediate guidance and partly also with my direct co-operation. Well! What do I find there? That at that date we were conducting against the co-operative movement (in so far as in its present limited form it pretended to rank as something final) the same polemic -- only better -- as Lassallecarried on ten or twelve years later in Germany against Schulze-Delitzsch." "A cloak for reactionary humbug," Marx called unions of the Schulze-Delitzsch type. (*Capital*, Vol. I, Chap. X, Note on Robert Owen.)

Schwab, Charles M. (1862-1939)

American steel magnate, headed Bethlehem Steel Co. when it became the leading manufacturer of war materials for the Allies in World War I.

Schweitzer, Johann Baptiste von (1833-75)

Lassalle's successor in the leadership of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein* (General Association of German Workers). A Frankfort lawyer, originally a National Liberal, became a follower of Lassalle in the early 1860s. In 1865, in Berlin, Schweitzer founded the central organ of the Lassalleans, the *Social-Demokrat*, for which he received subsidies from Bismarck. Schweitzer tried to turn the political party which has to lead the class movement of the proletariat into a sect, and opposed the unification of the German workers' movement. He was a representative of Bismarck's policy, a Royal Prussian Social-Democrat..

Index of the Letter S

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Terms

La

Labour

The first premise of all human existence and, therefore, of all history, [is that humans] must be in a position to live in order to be able to "make history". But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing and many other things. The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself. And indeed this is an historical act, a fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousands of years ago, must daily and hourly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life.

Karl Marx
German Ideology: History: Fundamental Conditions

Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway. We are not now dealing with those primitive instinctive forms of labour that remind us of the mere animal. An immeasurable interval of time separates the state of things in which a man brings his labour-power to market for sale as a commodity, from that state in which human labour was still in its first instinctive stage. We pre-suppose labour in a form that stamps it as exclusively human. A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour-process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his modus operandi, and to which he must subordinate his will. And this subordination is no mere momentary act. Besides the exertion of the bodily organs, the process demands that, during the whole operation, the workman's will be steadily in consonance with his purpose. This means close attention. The less he is attracted by the nature of the work, and the mode in which it is carried on, and the less, therefore, he enjoys it as something which gives play to his bodily and mental powers, the more close his attention is forced to be.

The elementary factors of the labour-process are 1), the personal activity of man, *i.e.*, work itself, [as described above] 2), the subject of that work, and 3), its instruments.

In the labour-process, therefore, man's activity, with the help of the instruments of labour, effects an alteration, designed from the commencement, in the material worked upon. The process disappears in the product, the latter

is a use-value, Nature's material adapted by a change of form to the wants of man. Labour has incorporated itself with its subject: the former is materialised, the latter transformed. That which in the labourer appeared as movement, now appears in the product as a fixed quality without motion. The blacksmith forges and the product is a forging.

If we examine the whole process from the point of view of its result, the product, it is plain that both the instruments and the subject of labour, are means of production, and that the labour itself is productive labour.

Labour uses up its material factors, its subject and its instruments, consumes them, and is therefore a process of consumption. Such productive consumption is distinguished from individual consumption by this, that the latter uses up products, as means of subsistence for the living individual; the former, as means whereby alone, labour, the labour-power of the living individual, is enabled to act. The product, therefore, of individual consumption, is the consumer himself; the result of productive consumption, is a product distinct from the consumer.

In so far then, as its instruments and subjects are themselves products, labour consumes products in order to create products, or in other words, consumes one set of products by turning them into means of production for another set.

The labour-process, turned into the process by which the capitalist consumes labour-power, exhibits two characteristic phenomena. First, the labourer works under the control of the capitalist to whom his labour belongs; the capitalist taking good care that the work is done in a proper manner, and that the means of production are used with intelligence, so that there is no unnecessary waste of raw material, and no wear and tear of the implements beyond what is necessarily caused by the work.

Secondly, the product is the property of the capitalist and not that of the labourer, its immediate producer. Suppose that a capitalist pays for a day's labour-power at its value; then the right to use that power for a day belongs to him, just as much as the right to use any other commodity, such as a horse that he has hired for the day. To the purchaser of a commodity belongs its use, and the seller of labour-power, by giving his labour, does no more, in reality, than part with the use-value that he has sold. From the instant he steps into the workshop, the use-value of his labour-power, and therefore also its use, which is labour, belongs to the capitalist. By the purchase of labour-power, the capitalist incorporates labour, as a living ferment, with the lifeless constituents of the product. From his point of view, the labour-process is nothing more than the consumption of the commodity purchased, *i. e.*, of labour-power; but this consumption cannot be effected except by supplying the labour-power with the means of production. The labour-process is a process between things that the capitalist has purchased, things that have become his property. The product of this process belongs, therefore, to him, just as much as does the wine which is the product of a process of fermentation completed in his cellar.

Karl Marx
Capital: The Labour-Process And The Process Of Producing Surplus-Value

See also: Labour is one factor of the Productive Forces. Also see Labour Power and the Division of Labour.

Labour Power

[The combination] of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description.

Labour Power as a Commodity: In order that labor power is a commodity, the following conditions must be met:

[1] The individual whose labour-power it is... sells it as a commodity. In order that he may be able to do this, he must have it at his disposal, must be the untrammelled owner of his capacity for labour, i.e., of his person. He

and the owner of money meet in the market, and deal with each other as on the basis of equal rights, with this difference alone, that one is buyer, the other seller; both, therefore, equal in the eyes of the law. The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labour-power should sell it only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself, converting himself from a free man into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity.

The second essential condition to the owner of money finding labour-power in the market as a commodity is this — that the labourer instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labour is incorporated, must be obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour-power, which exists only in his living self.

For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore, the owner of money must meet in the market with the free labourer, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power.

How the Value of Labour Power is Determined:

The value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer.

The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labour of society incorporated in it. Labour-power exists only as a capacity, or power of the living individual. Its production consequently pre-supposes his existence. Given the individual, the production of labour-power consists in his reproduction of himself or his maintenance. For his maintenance he requires a given quantity of the means of subsistence. Therefore the labour-time requisite for the production of labour-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer....

The owner of labour-power is mortal. If then his appearance in the market is to be continuous, and the continuous conversion of money into capital assumes this, the seller of labour-power must perpetuate himself, "in the way that every living individual perpetuates himself, by procreation." The labour-power withdrawn from the market by wear and tear and death, must be continually replaced by, at the very least, an equal amount of fresh labour-power. Hence the sum of the means of subsistence necessary for the production of labour-power must include the means necessary for the labourer's substitutes, i.e., his children, in order that this race of peculiar commodity-owners may perpetuate its appearance in the market.

The minimum limit of the value of labour-power is determined by the value of the commodities, without the daily supply of which the labourer cannot renew his vital energy, consequently by the value of those means of subsistence that are physically indispensable. If the price of labour-power fall to this minimum, it falls below its value, since under such circumstances it can be maintained and developed only in a crippled state. But the value of every commodity is determined by the labour-time requisite to turn it out so as to be of normal quality.

[All Quotes]
Karl Marx
Capital, Vol. 1: The Buying And Selling Of Labour-Power

Further Reading: Capital, Vol. 1: The Buying And Selling Of Labour-Power.

Labour Standard

1. (in Russia) The amount of land that could be tilled by its owner without outside help.

Language

Language is the sign-system which fulfills the communicative and cognitive role in human activity. Marx defines language as the “immediate actuality of thought”:

As old as consciousness, language *is* practical, real consciousness that exists for other people as well, and therefore does it exist for me; language like consciousness, only arises from the need, the necessity, of intercourse with other people. [German Ideology]

Marx could have had today's philosophers in mind when he wrote in The German Ideology:

One of the most difficult tasks confronting the philosopher is to descend from the world of thought to the actual world. *Language* is the immediate actuality of thought. Just as philosophers have given thought an independent existence, so they were bound to make philosophical language, in which thoughts in the form of words have their own content. The problem of descending from the world of thoughts to the actual world is turned into the problem of descending from language to life

We have shown that thoughts and ideas acquire an independnent existence in consequence of the personal circumstances and relations of individuals acquiring independent existence. We have shown that exclusive, systematic occupation with these thoughts on the part of ideologists and philosophers, and hence the systematisation of these thoughts, is a consequence of division of labour, and that, in particular German philosophy is a consequence of German petit-bourgeois conditions. The philosophers have only to dissolve their language into the ordinary language, from which it is abstracted, in order to recognise it as the distorted language of the actual world, and to realise that neither thoughts nor language in themselves form a realm of their own, that they are only *manifestations* of actual life.

The main citadel from which contemporary bourgeois philosophy attacks socialist thinking is *literary criticism* which passes itself off as social criticism, and has its roots in certain trends in the science of linguistics. See the biographies of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roman Jakobson, Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida.

Further Reading: See Thinking and Speaking by Lev Vygotsky, for a Marxist account of language, The German Ideology, Role of Labour in Transition from Ape to Man, Science of Logic, Hegel's First system (Marcuse) and Speech and Writing according to Hegel (Derrida).

Lassalleans

Socialist-Idealist trend that frequently opposed Marxism, named after the Socialist Ferdinand Lassalle.

Lassalle wrote the *Science and the Working Man*:

"The course of history, is a struggle against nature, against ignorance and impotence, and consequently, against slavery and bondage of every kind in which we were held under the law of nature at the beginning of history. The progressive overcoming of this impotence is the evolution of liberty, of which history is an account. In this struggle humanity would never have made one step in advance, and men gone into the struggle singly, each for himself. The state is the contemplated unity and co-operation of individuals in a moral whole, whose function it is to carry on this struggle, a combination which multiplies a million-fold the forces of all the individuals comprised in it, and which heightens a million times the powers which each individual would be able to exert

singly."

Lassalleans believed that the proletariat represented community, solidarity of interest, and reciprocity of interest; therefore the cause of the workers is the cause of humanity — when the proletariat gains political supremacy, a higher degree of morality, culture and science would occur.

Lassalleans believed in the State as the organ of right and justice, and that only through the mechanisms of the existing State could the proletarian victory be gained; revolution was not only unnecessary, it was to the detriment of the cause of the proletariat. "The aim of the State is the education and development of liberty in the human race."

Last Testament

See: Lenin's Last Testament

Law

1. According to Hegel: “The principle of rightness becomes the Law when, in its objective existence, it is posited, i.e. when thinking makes it determinate for consciousness and makes it known as what is right”

Law thus appears in Hegel's system in the Administration of Justice (Law as Right — Determinate Law — Courts), the middle term in Civil Society, in which rights, property, contract, etc., are given a determinate, written and universally known and recognised and enforceable form.

Further Reading: Philosophy of Right.

Laws of Dialectics

The Three Laws of Dialectics were enunciated by Engels in his article Dialectics, published with Dialectics of Nature. The Laws were formulated in an effort to popularise the ideas of dialectics in the workers' movement, but do not really do justice to the profundity of Engels' own understanding of dialectics and their importance should not be exaggerated. See Lenin's Philosophical Notebooks.

(1) The Law of the Unity (Interpenetration) of Opposites: “the two poles of an antithesis, positive and negative, e.g., are as inseparable as they are opposed, and despite all their opposition, they mutually interpenetrate”. [Engels, Socialism, Utopian & Scientific]

(2) The Law of Transformation of Quality into Quantity and vice versa.

“in nature, in a manner exactly fixed for each individual case, qualitative changes can occur only by the quantitative addition or quantitative subtraction of matter or motion (so-called energy)”. (Engels)

(3) The Law of the Negation of the Negation.

Negation of the Negation expresses the connection of the old and the new, and the repetition at a higher stage of development of some properties of the lower stage of a process.

Further Reading: (1) Lenin's Philosophical Notebooks; (2) Quantity, Hegel on Quantity and Quality in Chemistry; (3) Negation and Negation of the Negation. and Lenin's understanding in his annotations.

Index of the Letter L

Glossary of Terms | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of Organisations

Re

The Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern)

Organized in Moscow, July 1920, as the Communist rival to the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International). In 1945 they united as the World Federation of Trade Unions, but split after the cold war began. Some members that withdrew created the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949.

Reichstag

The legislative assembly of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and later the German Empire (1871-1919). The Reichstag later became the soverign assembly of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) and was disolved by the Nazis.

Derived from the German word "Reich" meaning kingdom, and "tag" meaning day.

Index of the Letter R

Glossary of Organisations | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Marx to Domela Nieuwenhuis

in London

Written: February 22, 1881
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

The "question" of the forthcoming Zürich Congress about which you inform me seems to me--a mistake. The thing to be done at any definite given moment of the future, the thing immediately to be done, depends of course entirely on the given historical conditions in which one has to act. But this question is in the clouds and therefore is really the statement of a phantom problem to which the only answer can be--the *criticism of the question* itself. No equation can be solved unless the elements of its solution are involved in its terms. Moreover the embarrassments of a government which has suddenly come into being through a people's victory have nothing specifically "socialist" about them. On the contrary. The victorious bourgeois politicians at once feel themselves embarrassed by their "victory" while the socialist can at least take action without any embarrassment. One thing you can at any rate be sure of: a socialist government does not come into power in a country unless conditions are so developed that it can above all take the necessary measures for intimidating the mass of the bourgeoisie sufficiently to gain time--the first *desideratum [requisite]*--for lasting action.

Perhaps you will point to the Paris Commune; but apart from the fact that this was merely the rising of a town under exceptional conditions, the majority of the Commune was in no sense socialist, nor could it be. With a small amount of sound common sense, however, they could have reached a compromise with Versailles useful to the whole mass of the people--the only thing that could be reached at the time. The appropriation of the Bank of France alone would have been enough to dissolve all the pretensions of the Versailles people in terror, etc., etc.

The general demands of the French bourgeoisie laid down before 1789 were roughly just the same, *mutatis mutandis* [with corresponding alterations] as the first immediate demands of the proletariat are pretty uniformly to-day in all countries with capitalist production. But had any eighteenth-century Frenchman the faintest idea *a priori* beforehand of the way in which the demands of the French bourgeoisie would be accomplished? The doctrinaire and necessarily fantastic anticipations of the programme of action for a revolution of the future only divert us from the struggle of the present. The dream that the end of the world was at hand inspired the early Christians in their struggle with the Roman Empire and gave them confidence in victory. Scientific insight into the inevitable disintegration of the

dominant order of society continually proceeding before our eyes, and the ever-growing passion into which the masses are scourged by the old ghosts of government--while at the same time the positive development of the means of production advances with gigantic strides--all this is a sufficient guarantee that with the moment of the outbreak of a real proletarian revolution there will also be given the conditions (though these are certain not to be idyllic) of its next immediate *modus operandi* [form of action].

It is my conviction that the critical juncture for a new International Workingmen's Association has not yet arrived and for this reason I regard all workers' congresses, particularly socialist congresses, in so far as they are not related to the immediate given conditions in this or that particular nation, as not merely useless but harmful. They will always fade away in innumerable stale generalised banalities.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Marx to daughter Jenny

in London

Written: April 11, 1881
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

It is dull since you went away--without you and Johnny and Harra! and Mr. "Tea." I often run to the window when I hear children's voices that sound like our children's voices, forgetting for the moment that the little chaps are across the Channel.

One comfort is that you have good living-quarters, suitable for the children; otherwise everything seems rather worse than in London--except of course the climate, the beneficial effect of which, on asthma too, you will by and by discover.

I have got another new doctor for mother, recommended to my by Professor Lankester--Dr. Donkin; he seems a bright and intelligent man but for mother's trouble one man really seems to me as good, and perhaps better, than another man. However, the change of medical advisers is a distraction for her and for the first period--which does not as a rule last long--she is full of praise for the new Æsculapius. Longuet's eyeglasses turned up directly after you left, they were in fact reposing in your bedroom. Hirsch has been selected to bring them across, but this gossipmonger seems unable to tear himself away from London at a time when there is a lot to pry out. The "great" Most affair alone is an inexhaustable spring of fresh (if by no means joyously sparkling) water for this Hirsch. He is threatening now not to leave until April 18. And then he has found a companion in Kautsky--at whom he scowled so darkly; Engels too has taken a much milder view of this Kauz since he has proved himself a very talented drinker. When this charmer first appeared at my place--I mean little Kauz--the first question which escaped me was: are you like your mother? Not in the very least, he assured me, and I silently congratulated his mother. He is a mediocrity with a small-minded outlook, superwise (only 26), very conceited, industrious in a certain sort of way, he busies himself a lot with statistics but does not read anything very clever out of them, belongs by nature to the tribe of the philistines but is otherwise a, decent fellow in his own way. I turn him over to friend Engels as much as possible.

The day before yesterday the Dogberry Club was here; yesterday, in addition to the two Maitland girls--and for a moment Lankester and Dr. Donkin--an invasion from Hyndman and spouse, who both have too much staying power. I don't dislike the wife, for she has a brusque, unconventional and decided

way of thinking and speaking, but it is funny to see how admiringly her eyes fasten upon the lips of her self-satisfied garrulous husband. Mother was so tired (it was nearly 10.30 p.m.) that she withdrew. But she was amused by some byplay. For Tussy has discovered a new *Wunderkind* among the Dogberries, a certain Radford; this youth is already a barrister at law, but despises the *jus* [law] and is working in the same line as Waldhorn. He looks well, a cross between Irving and the late Lassalle (though he has nothing in common with the cynically oily, obtrusive, ducal manners of the latter) an intelligent and somewhat promising boy. Well this is the point of the story--Dolly Maitland pays fearful court to him so that mother and Tussy are signalling to each other all through supper. Finally Mr. Maitland arrived as well, fairly sober, and also had a wordy duel with his instructive table companion--Hyndman--about Gladstone, in whom the spiritualist Maitland believes. I--rather annoyed by a bad throat-- felt glad when the whole lot vanished. It is a strange thing that one cannot well live altogether without company, and that when you get it, you try hard to rid yourself of itself.

Hartmann is working hard as a common workman in Woolwich; the difficulty of talking to him in any language at all increases. The Russian refugees in Geneva are demanding that he should repudiate Rochefort, and publicly. This he will not and cannot do, and it is also impossible, if only on account of the exaggerated letter which the Petersburg Committee wrote to Rochefort and which he on his side published in the *Intransigeant.* The Genevans have in fact long been trying to persuade Europe that it is really *they* who direct the movement in Russia; now when this *lie*, spread by themselves, is seized upon by Bismarck and Co. and becomes dangerous to them, they declare the opposite and vainly attempt to convince the world of their innocence. Actually they are mere doctrinaires, confused anarchist socialists, and their influence upon the Russian "theatre of war" is zero.

Have you been following the trial of the assassins in Petersburg? They are sterling people through and through, *sans pose melodramatique* [no melodramatic pose], simple, businesslike, heroic. Shouting and doing are irreconcilable opposites. The Petersburg Executive Committee, which acts so energetically, issues manifestos of refined "moderation." It is far removed from the schoolboy way in which Most and other childish whimperers preach tyrannicide as a "theory " and " panacea" (that was done by such innocent Englishmen as Disraeli, [Waiter] Savage Lander, Macaulay and Stanfield the friend of Mazzini); on the contrary they try to teach Europe that their *modus operandi* [method of action] is a specifically Russian and historically inevitable method about which there is no more reason to moralise--for or against-than there is about the earthquake in Chios.

This affair was the occasion of a fine row in the House of Commons. (You know that to please Bismarck and Gortchakov these miserable Gladstonians have embarked on an attack upon the freedom of the press in England, in the person of the wretched Most, an attack in which they are scarcely likely to succeed.) Lord Churchill (a, cheeky Tory youngster of the Marlborough family) questioned Sir Charles Dilke and Brassey, both understrappers in the Cabinet, regarding financial ti subsidies to the *Freiheit.* These were flatly denied and Churchill was obliged to name his authority. He then named the inevitable Mr. Maltman Barry! I am enclosing you a cutting about this affair from the *Weekly Despatch* (Dilke's paper, edited by the "philosophical Radical," Ashton Dilke, brother of the great "Dilke") and a statement by Maltman Barry in the *Daily News.* Dilke is obviously lying; a miserable creature, this swaggerer who has nominated himself as the future "President of the British Republic" and who, for fear of losing his job, allows Bismarck to dictate to him which papers he is to favour with £1 and which not. If it were only known as well that immediately after Hartmann's arrival in London Ashton Dilke invited him to a luncheon! But Hartmann refused he would not allow himself to be "exhibited."

About the Comtist renegade Maxse, by the way. *Justice* does him far too much honour and handles him with kid gloves. To this strange clique--of English Liberals and their even worse sub-species the so-called Radicals--it really seems a crime that, contrary to all tradition and in breach of agreement, *Justice* fails to treat these shams and humbugs in the traditional manner and to maintain the legend about them current in the Continental liberal press! When one considers the utterly shameless way in which the London press attacks the Socialist Party in every European country and how difficult it is, supposing one ever regards it as worth the trouble, to answer a word, to get even a few lines of reply into that press--then it is really going rather far to recognise the principle that if a Parisian paper entangles itself in a criticism of the "great" Gladstone, that arch hypocrite and casuist of an antiquated school, it is then obliged to put whole columns at the disposal of Herr Maxse and his prose in order that he may repay Gladstone in kind for the advancement received from him.

Assuming that the policy of Gladstone (the Coercion and Arms Acts man) with regard to Ireland were as correct as it is false, would this be a reason for talking about the "generosity" or "magnanimity" of this man? As if there were any question of this sort of thing between England and Ireland! It should really be explained to Maxse that Pecksniffian phrases of this kind have the rights of citizenship in London but not in Paris!

Let Longuet read *Parnell's* speech in Cork in *to-day's Times;* there he will find the heart of what there is to be said about *Gladstone's new Land Act;* and here it should not be overlooked that by his shameful preliminary measures (including the annulment of freedom of speech for members of the House of Commons) Gladstone prepared the conditions under which *the evictions in Ireland are now proceeding on a mass scale*, while the Act is mere shadow boxing, since the Lords--who get everything they want from Gladstone and no longer need to tremble at the Land League--will doubtless either reject it or else castrate it so much that the Irish themselves will eventually vote *against* it.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Ka

Kaganovich, Lazar

Undeviating Stalinist in various state and party posts. He was removed from all his posts when Khrushchev became premier of the Soviet Union in 1958.

Kagarlitsky, Boris (b. 1958)

Imprisoned 1982 for opposition to the Soviet Union. Coordinator of the Moscow Popular Front for Perestroika in 1990. Leading member of the Soviet Left and well-known Soviet Marxist outside of Russia; founding member of the Party of Labour, member of the Moscow City Council.

Kahlo, Frida (1907-1954)

Born and brought up in Coyoacan, Mexico. Kahlo got polio at age of seven, and suffered a terrible accident when she was 18, the painful effects of which she suffered throughout her life. A prominent artist, her only public exhibition was in 1953, shortly before her death. In 1929 she married the famous muralist, Diego Rivera, who had joined the Fourth International in 1936. In January 1937, Trotsky and Natalia came to Coyoacan, where Rivera rented Trotsky a house. Trotsky and Kahlo had a brief love affair in 1937. Rivera co-authored the Manifesto Towards a Free Revolutionary Art with Andre Breton and Trotsky in 1938. In January 1939, under intense pressure from his fellow-artists, Rivera resigned from the FI. Trotsky broke off relations with Rivera, but tried to retain Frida Kahlo's support. Frida resisted pressure to denounce Trotsky, until rejoining the CP in 1948, eight years after Trotsky's assassination in Mexico.

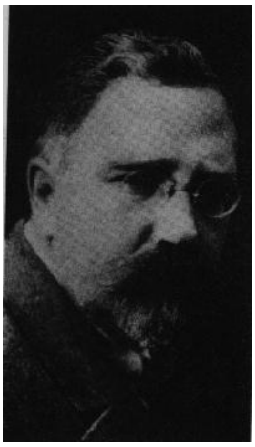
Kaledin, General Alexis

A Russian aristocrat, a General of the tsarist army. In July of 1917 the Don Cossaks elected General Kaledin their ataman (chief). Six months following, Kaledin created an alliance with Alekseev and Kornilov withdrawing 9 million rubles from his Bank account to assist in the building of Alekseev's "volunteer" army. The Don Cossaks were enraged feeling that Kaledin had betrayed their cause to the White armies. Kaledin, immersed in guilt, responded by putting a bullet in his head.

Kalinin, Mikhail (1875-1946)

Old Bolshevik, was elected president of the Soviet Central Executive Committee in place of Yakov Sverdlov, in 1919.

Kamenev, Leon (1883-1936)



Founding member of the RSDLP, and after the break up, a Bolshevik and old friend of Lenin.

Returned from exile in 1914 to edit *Pravda* but was arrested; released by the February 1917 revolution, and elected to Bolshevik Central Committee. Together with Zinoviev, Kamenev opposed the plans for the October revolution. Their opposition was defeated in a vote by the majority of the party, to which they responded on the 18th of October, writing for *Novaya Zhizn* (a Menshevik daily), of the Bolshevik plan for an uprising against the government, and expressed their opinions that it was doomed.

On the day after the revolution, Kamenev was elected as chairman of the Central Executive Committee by the Second Congress of Soviets, and later was one of the first members of the politburo in 1919. In 1923 Kamenev joined Stalin and Zinoviev forming the triumvirate (troika) against Trotskyism. Three years following Kamenev formed a bloc with Trotsky against Stalinism, due to its excessive bureaucatism, in the Left Opposition, 1926-27.

As a result, Kamenev was expelled from the Communist party in 1927. Kamenev pleaded to be allowed back into the party and was readmitted in 1928. In 1932, Kamenev was expelled once again, but again pleaded with Stalin to be readmitted, and was. Shortly three years following, Kamenev was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for conspiracy to assasinate Stalin. During the beginning of the Moscow trials in 1936 Kamenev was again tried, now for treason against the Soviet State, and was shot.

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)

German philosopher and scientist; as a scientist developed ideas of the evolution of solar system from a gaseous

nebular, retardation of Earth's rotation by the tides, the concept of a Universe composed of Galaxies, thus playing important role in shaping the view of Nature as developing according to its own processes. In philosophy he was the founder of the "Critical Philosophy"; immediate precursor of Hegel. Kant confronted the problem posed by Hume showing that if knowledge could only be derived from experience, then in fact there could be no knowledge of a world "beyond sensation" - and yet positive knowledge clearly did exist. In studying the forms of cognition and its limits, Kant developed a philosophy riddled with contradictions which provided the material upon which Hegel was able to build. Kant held that "things-in-themselves" (beyond sensation) were in principle unknowable - only "phenomena" are knowable. Showing that opposite propositions about the nature of reality can be proved, Kant held that these contradictions are only "seeming" and knowledge of "things-in-themselves" is accessible only by Faith. The influence of Kant is still far more extensive than that of Hegel among today's philosophers and social theorists.

The philosophical world into which Immanuel Kant entered was one riven by apparently irresolvable contradictions. The period from Kant's beginning work on his major work, Critique of pure Reason, in 1769 and the publication of its authoritative second edition in 1787 was the period of the immediate gestation of the French Revolution. But the Revolution was not bringing forth a clear new philosophical view of the world. On the contrary, supporters of the Revolution adhered to divers schools of philosophy, hardly even able to speak the same philosophical language.

Kant lived in the Prussia of Frederick the Great, an absolutist monarch who raised Prussia to the status of a European power in which the arts and sciences flourished, but where politcal life was virtually totally absent. A contemporary of Goethe, the great composer, scientist and philosopher, Kant was in his earlier years also absorbed with scientific problems and developed important ideas of the evolution of the Solar System, Galaxies, and the retardation of the rotation of the Earth by the tides. During this period he tended towards empiricism and was influenced by the Scepticism of David Hume.

However, from when he began work on what was to become the Critique of Pure Reason (his later works were Critique of Practical Reason and Critique of Judgment), Kant became intensely dissatisfied with the state of war which seemed to exist in philosophy, and took upon himself the task of resolving this conflict.

Three readings from the Critique of Pure Reason are included in the Reference Archive:

From the last section, *Transcendental Doctrine of Method*, a short piece is included which gives a glimpse of the genesis of Kant's views, including a concise criticism of his former mentor, David Hume: *The Impossibility of a Sceptical Satisfaction of Pure Reason in its Internal Conflicts*.

From the Introduction, the opening pages, in which Kant unfolds the principle concepts of his system: synthetic and analytic judgments, a priori and a posteriori, etc.: *Of the difference between Pure and Empirical Knowledge*.

From about a quarter of the way through the Critique, the section entitled *Transcendental Deduction of the Pure Concepts of the Understanding*, where the consequences, so to speak, of Kant's approach are brought out. For instance, you might look at the section entitled: *The Category has no other Application in Knowledge than to Objects of Experience*.

Kant's achievement was enormous: he established a system of categories and concepts of philosophy which was the basis for the stunning development of Classical German Philosophy (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Feuerbach) and later Marxism over the 50 years following the Critique of Pure Reason, and it remains the point of reference for all schools of philosophy which pretend to the status of science, up to the present.

In focussing attention of the *Categories* of knowledge, Kant set the direction and provided invaluable tools for the resolution of the crisis of philosophy which he attempted, even if he did not himself achieve this resolution.

See Hegel's assessment of Kant in the footnote in the Science of Logic, extended critique of Kant in The Critical Philosophy and other assessements in the sampler.

Further Reading: Critique of Pure Reason.

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)

"Socialism will never substitute one class rule for another. Only malice could put such a wrong conception on our meaning, for in order to be able to exercise rule, one must have possession of the means of production. Private property in the means of production is the preliminary conditions for rule, and Socialism will remove personal property in the means of production. The aim of Socialism is to do away with rule and exploitation in every form, men becoming free and equal, no masters and servants, but comrades, bothers and sisters."

Karl Kautsky
Die Diktatur des Prolerairats, 1919

Karl Kautsky was a prominent German Social-Democrat, one of the best-known theoreticians of the Second International. Kautsky, though close friend to Engels, was at times criticised by both Marx and Engels, and later was thoroughly attacked by Lenin.

By birth a Czech, born in the city of Prague, Kautsky graduated from the University of Vienna and in 1874 joined the Austrian Social-Democratic Party a year later, in 1875. He began working in connection with the Democratic and Social-Democratic press, especially with the Volkstaat while he followed the influence of Lassalle and other economists.

In 1879, at the invitation of the reformist Höchberg, he settled in Zürich in order to collaborate in Höchberg's periodicals. In the spring Kautsky was commissioned by Höchberg to go to London, where he made the acquaintance of Marx and Engels.

From 1883 onwards he was the founder and editor of Die Neue Zeit, by 1885 he settled in Stuttgart. From the beginning of the 1880s he approached what was becoming known as Marxism. After Engels death Kautsky took the center stage as the foremost authority on Marx's writings, and did a great deal to popularise and spread Marx's theories. Helped create the charter for the German Social Democracy.

At the end of the 1890s he led the fight against revisionism of Marxist theory by Bernstein. Kautsky, however, became entrenched in the bureacracy of the Social Democratic party, which held considerable power in the German government. In the years of the first imperialist war Kautsky was a social pacifist. After the October Revolution, he denounced it as a betrayal of Socialism, and took an active part in the struggle against the Soviet Government. In 1921 he joined the Two-and-a-half International in 1921 (which had collapsed during World War I because many Socialists sided with their own governments) in opposition to the Third International.

Kautsky constantly stressed that maintaining capitalist democracy was the first most important aim of the working class, for he believed that without full and complete capitalist democracy, socialism would not be

possible. In the 1930s, Hitler and the Nazi Party became increasingly powerful in Germany and seriously threatened capitalist democracy with fascism . Kautsky responded in 1934 that "we should guard against overestimating the superiority of Hitler's power", and that when capitalist democracy is threatened, "we do not in any way regard ourselves as driven to the necessity of answering the destruction of democracy by an armed insurrection." After each protest, each worker's demonstration, the leaders and workers were shot by the thousands. Kautsky and his pacified followers blindly walked before the guns of fascism, believing in the ideal of peaceful capitalist-democracy, having long ago denounced the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

The Social Democrats must *consider it fortunate* that the Social Democratic government [after WWI] *repelled* with horror every effort of the frenzied army officers [like the execution of leading Socialist-Revolutionaries Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht].... What Germany needed most, after its military defeat and in the face of the hostility of the entire world, were moral conquests instead of military ones.... [The Nazi] Dictators may torture or kill us, but they shall not succeed in demoralizing the soul of our movement, in bringing it to a state where for the sake of saving its life it is willing to renounce its ideal. Our cause will conquer in spite of everything....

Hitlerism and Social-Democracy

The "ideal" of social democracy died as the workers and their families who practiced and believed in it were executed in the hundreds of thousands. Kautsky had his "pride" that workers did not result to "ruthless methods" nor 'dirty' themselves morally. Kautsky supported nonviolent reformism; that it was better to hold onto an ideal, while your fellow workers, blindfolded and on their knees, were being executed, than to die in struggle defending your comrades.

Further Reading: **Kautsky Internet Archive**

Kautsky, Minna (1837-1912)

German writer of novels. Mother of Karl Kautsky.

Kavanagh, Jack (1879-1964)

Born in Ireland 1879. Fought for the British in the Boer War; emigrated to Canada in 1907 and joined the Socialist Party of Canada; in 1918 President of British Columbia Federation of Labour, and an OBU organiser. Expelled from SP in 1919. By 1922 and Executive Committee member of the Communist Party and editor of its paper. Came to Australia in 1925, and became leader of the CPA which was at its lowest ebb at the time. Under Kavanagh's leadership the CPA tried to except the NSW Labour Council and ALP from application of the 'social fascist' policy. A relatively open discussion was conducted in the pages of Workers Weekly on the subject. Herbert Moxon and Lance Sharkey received Comintern support to overthrow Kavanagh. Kavanagh was expelled in 1934, when he joined the Trotskyists, and was active as a Trotskyist until during the War. He was active in pensioners organisations until his death in 1964.

Kaypakkaya, Ibrahim (1949-1973)

The founder of the Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist Leninist (TKP-ML) and the Worker Peasant Liberation Army of Turkey (TIKKO).

During his university education he joined Federation of the Clubs of Ideas (FKF, later Revolutionary Youth,

DEV-GENC). He advocated the thesis of the "National Democratic Revolution" and took up a position with the Maoist wing of DEV-GENC. The Maoist Wing (Proleter Devrimci Aydinlik, PDA) became later the Revolutionary Worker Peasant Party of Turkey (TIIKP), but Kaypakkaya and his comrades split up from the Party and found the TKP-ML and TIKKO. They appropriated the armed struggle and guerilla actions and developed the strategy of a People's War. In January 1973 after combat he was wounded and arrested while another leader of the movement, Ali Haydar Yildiz, was killed. After a long torture period he was killed under arrest on 18 May 1973. Ever since he has become a symbol of heroic resistance under torture.

Index of the Letter K

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Hy

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1922)

English Social-Democrat. Up to 1880, when he got to know Marx, Hyndman was a democrat of an indefinite type who had connections and sympathies with the Tories. "He achieved his turn to socialism after reading *Capital* (in the French translation) during one of the numerous voyages he made to America between 1874 and 1880." (Lenin.) Founded the Social-Democratic Federation in 1881, which helped influence Australian Socialists, though never became a mass organisation. In 1914 he was an ardent patriot; after the October Revolution in Russia he was a supporter of intervention.

Index of the Letter H

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Ma

MacDonald, James Ramsay (1866-1937)

Born at Lossiemouth, England, he became well known as a propagandist of socialist ideas and in 1893, together with Keir Hardie, founded the Independent Labour Party of which he remained a member until 1930. He became an MP in 1906 and leader of the Labour Party in 1911 but resigned in 1914 on account of a short-lived pacifism. In 1922 he became leader of the opposition and in 1924 Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the first Labour government which depended upon Liberal support for a working majority. His policy both at home and abroad was one of liberal capitalism, combining re-armament with a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. The election of 1924 put him out of office but he returned to power in 1929. He responded to the capitalist crisis of 1931 by leading a minority on the right-wing into a coalition with the Conservatives on the basis of economic policies which meant the impoverishment of the working class. Prime Minister of this 'National' government until 1935; became Lord President under Baldwin until his death.

Mach, Ernst (1838-1916)

Austrian physicist and philosopher who established important principles of optics, mechanics, and wave dynamics and who supported the view that all knowledge is a conceptual organisation of the data of sensory experience. Mach is widely regarded as the leader of the extreme subjectivist school of positivism of the late nineteenth century, but even Einstein acknowledged a debt to Mach for his persistent exposure of the unstated assumptions of physical science. In retrospect however, all would agree that Mach's positivism was naive and overly subjectivist. Mach was the main target of Lenin's Materialism and Empiriocriticism.

Mach was educated at home until the age of 14, and entered the University of Vienna at the age of 17, received his PhD in physics at the age of 22 and was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the University of Graz in 1864.

The mid-1860s marks the beginning of the "Second Positivism". Positivism was already the dominant philosophical current in Europe and around this time, with Ernst Mach very much at the forefront, the centre stage of philosophical struggle moved to analysis of the physiological mechanisms of sensation in order to resolve the age-old problems of perception and the nature and validity of knowledge. (See the essay Perception Under the Microscope.)

Mach's interests had already begun to turn to the psychology and physiology of sensation, although he continued to conduct physical research throughout his career. In 1867 he accepted an appointment as Professor of Experimental Physics at the Charles University in Prague, where he remained till 1895, studying how the mind is able to sense movement and acceleration, the measurement of sound waves, wave propagation and supersonics (thus, the "Mach Number").

In Analysis of the Sensations (1886), Mach held that the sole content of knowledge is sensation and material entities can be understood only in terms of the sensations present in their observation. Mach rejected as invalid, on this basis, concepts such as absolute time and space. This led to Mach's most renowned principle, that *inertia* is the manifestation of the interaction between a body and all the other bodies in the universe.

Mach returned to the University of Vienna as Professor of Inductive Philosophy in 1895, but he suffered a stroke two years later and retired from active research in 1901, when he was appointed to the Austrian parliament. He continued to lecture and write in retirement, publishing Knowledge and Error in 1905 and an autobiography in 1910.

Further Reading: Analysis of Sensations.

Maclean, John (1879-1923)

Born at Pollokshaws near Glasgow, the son of dispossessed peasants. His father, a potter, died of silicosis in 1887. Maclean worked his way through the education system, eventually obtaining an MA at Glasgow University while working as a schoolteacher. Joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1902 and became one of its leading propagandists in Scotland. Opposed the growing chauvinism of the SDF leadership as early as 1910; on the outbreak of war in 1914 he asserted that it was necessary to "develop a 'class patriotism', refusing to murder one another for a sordid world capitalism.'

In opposition to Hyndman and the war, he set up the newspaper Vanguard which declared in its first issue that the war 'shows that the day of social pottering or reform is past'. Imprisoned for expressing these views in 1915, 1916 and 1918. A brilliant propagandist, he convinced many workers of the correctness of Marxist principles but was unable to intervene effectively in the enormous class battles on Clydeside during the war or to turn the syndicalist prejudices of the shop stewards in a political direction. His courageous struggle against the war achieved international recognition and in 1918 he was made honorary Soviet consul in Glasgow. However he refused to support the Third (Communist) International or to join the Communist Party but instead turned to Scottish nationalism, establishing in 1922 an abortive Scottish Workers' Republican Party.

Further Reading: **John Maclean Internet Archive**

Makhno, Nestor (1884-1934)

Leader of small groups of peasants who fought Ukranian White armies and German occupation forces during the Russian civil war. He refused to integrate his forces into the Red Army and eventually his forces were broken by

the Soviet government.

Malon, Bénoit (1841-93)

French Socialist, one of the founders and theoreticians of reformism. In 1865 a member of the First International. In 1871 a member of the Commune; after its fall he fled to Switzerland. He combated Marxism and stood for an eclectic theory of "integral socialism."

Malthus, Thomas (1766-1834)

English economist who became famous through his book, *Essay on Population*. He there developed the idea that population increases faster than the means of sustenence. This assertion is contradicted by facts. Engels in a letter to Danielson remarks that the opposite is the case — the means of sustenence must exist before population *can* grow. Marx called Malthus' pamphlet "a libel on the human race." But in spite of all the facts, the Malthusian law of population, in one form or another, still remains part of the permanent stock of bourgeois economics. Malthus was an apologist for captialism and advocated a misanthropic theory of population.

Malvy, Louis (1875-1949)

French Radical Socialist, was minister of the interior from 1914-17, when he was charged with negligence and exiled for five years, to Spain. In 1924 he was reelected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Manilov

A character in Gogol's Dead Souls, who had a very fertile imagination and loved to talk; a prattling self-complacent dreamer.

Mann, Tom (1856-1941)

Secretary of the British ILP, and leader of the famous 'dockers tanner' strike in Australia, which ended in victory after receiving a huge donation from Australian unionists. Mann came to Melbourne in 1903, and conducted a series of lectures on 'social problems'. He acted as a stimulus for the formation of the Victorian Socialist Party. Under his mentorship, the VSP grew to 2,000 members by 1907 when it initiated the OBU project. While advocating revolutionary socialism it, still remained inside the ALP. Mann was invited to Broken Hill, and won the craft unionists to the policy of industrial unionism. Mann later became disillusioned with the policy of 'pushing labor to the left'. On his return to Britain, took a pacifist position on the war; became a founding member of the British Communist Party in 1920. Leader of Red International of Labour Unions through which

the CP maintained its united front with Jock Garden's group.

Mao Tse Tung (1893 - 1976)

The son of a peasant farmer, Mao Tse-tung was born in the village of Shao Shan, Hunan province in China. At age 27, Mao attended the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai, in July 1921. Two years later he was elected to the Central Committee of the party at the Third Congress.

From 1931 to 1934, Mao helped established the Chinese Soviet Republic in SE China, and was elected as the chairman.

Starting in October 1934, "The Long March" began — a retreat from the SE to NW China. In 1937, Japan opened a full war of aggression against China, which gave the Chinese Communist Party cause to unite with the nationalist forces of the Kuomintang. After defeating the Japanese, in an ensuing civil war the Communists defeated the Kuomintang, and established the People's Republic of China, in October 1949.

Mao served as Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic until after the failure of the Great Leap Forward, in 1959. Still chariman of the Communist Party, in May 1966 Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution with a directive denouncing "people like Khrushchev nestling beside us." In August 1966, Mao wrote a big poster entitled "Bombard the Headquarters."

Served as Party chairman until his death in 1976.

Marcuse, Herbert (1898-1979)

German-born U.S. political philosopher whose combination of Marxism and Freudian psychology was popular for a time among student radicals in the late 1960s.

Having become a member of the Social Democratic Party while a student at the University of Freiburg, Marcuse

was a co-founder of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research. He fled to Geneva in 1933 when Hitler came to power, then went to the United States in 1934, where he taught at Columbia University and became a US citizen in 1940. His Reason & Revolution, written in 1941, made an important contribution to the understanding of Hegel and his influence on Marx.

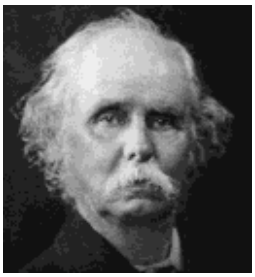
An intelligence analyst for the U.S. Army during World War II, he headed the Central European Section of the Office of Intelligence Research after the war. He returned to teaching in 1951 at Columbia and Harvard, Brandeis University (1954-65), and the University of California at San Diego (1965-76), where after retirement he was honorary emeritus professor of philosophy until his death.

A Hegelian-Freudian-Marxist, Marcuse highlighted the cultural forms of repression and the role of technology and the expansion of the production of consumer goods in the maintenance of the stability of capitalism. Marcuse observed that Post-War prosperity had managed to keep the masses intellectually and spiritually captive and his later works are permeated with pessimism. Although a open critic of the established order, Marcuse did not applaud the 1968 demonstrations by students, many of whom were his readers, believing the demonstrations to be misguided: “I still consider the American University an oasis of free speech and real critical thinking in the society,” he said. “Any student movement should try to protect this citadel . . . [but] try to radicalise the departments inside the university.”

Among his major writings are Eros and Civilisation (1955), One-Dimensional Man (1964), Counter-revolution and Revolt (1972), and Studies in Critical Philosophy (1972).

Markievicz, Countess (1868-1927)

Important figure in the Irish trade union movement, who identified with the politics of James Connolly. She was raised in a conservative environment in Ireland, moved to Paris as a young adult and there married Count Markievicz. She studied painting and acting and in 1808 became involved in the Irish freedom struggle including campaigning for workers in Dublin during the 1913 strike. Though she was involved in emancipatory projects for women, she did not consistently support feminist positions. Markievicz was sentenced to death for her role in the 1916 Easter Revolt, but received amnesty and later ran and won a seat in the House of Commons as a Sinn Fein candidate--and first woman ever elected--in 1918. After the murder of James Connolly, Markievicz gradually moved toward the right as the Minister of Labour, harshly criticizing Bolshevism.



Marshall, Alfred (1842-1924)

One of the chief founders of the school of English neoclassical economists and first principal of University College, Bristol (1877-81).

Educated at Merchant Taylors' School and at St. John's College, Cambridge, Marshall was a fellow and lecturer in political economy at Balliol College, Oxford, from 1883 to 1885 and professor of political economy at the University of Cambridge from 1885 to 1908. He thereafter devoted himself to his writings. From 1891 to 1894

he was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour.

Marshall's magnum opus, Principles of Economics (1890), was his most important contribution to economic literature. It was distinguished by the introduction of a number of new concepts, such as elasticity of demand, consumer's surplus, quasi-rent, and the representative firm, all of which played a major role in the subsequent development of economics. His Industry and Trade (1919) was a study of industrial organisation; Money, Credit and Commerce was published in 1923. Writing at a time when the economic world was deeply divided on the theory of value, Marshall succeeded, largely by introducing the element of time as a factor in analysis, in reconciling the classical cost-of-production principle with the marginal-utility principle formulated by William Jevons and the Austrian school. Marshall is often considered to have been in the line of descent of the great English economists - Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and J.S. Mill.

Martinov, Alexander (1865-1935)

Right-wing Menshevik before 1917 and for a few years after the revolution an opponent of the Soviet government. Strong advocate of the two stage theory: that fully capitalistic government needed to run its course in Russia before Socialism was possible. He joined the Communist Party in 1923, and became an opponent of the Left Opposition. He was a chief architect of the Stalinist theories used to justify subordinating the workers to the "progressive" bourgeoisie, including the concept of the "bloc of four classes."

Martov, Tsederbaum, Yuli Osipovich (1873-1923)

Menshevik leader. Until 1903 (at the time of the split in the Russian Socialist Democractic Labour Party), closely associated with Lenin. (editted with Lenin Iskra) A Centrist during WWI, in 1920 left Russia.

Marx Family:

Marx, Caroline (1824-1847): Karl Marx's sister.
Marx, Edgar (Musch) (1847-1855): Karl and Jenny Marx's son who died of tuberculosis.
Marx, Eduard (3824-1837): Karl Marx's brother.
Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898):Karl Marx's youngest daughter. Tussy was a precocious youngster who showed an early interest in politics including writing to major political figures around the world as a child. Eleanor and her two sisters grew up with their father's story-telling and immersed in literature. Tussy began a life-long love of books and theater. She would later translate several works of literature as well as become a stage actress.

Once engaged to Prosper Lissagary, she met Edward Aveling in 1883 and they would live together in common law for the reminder of her life. They became members of the Democratic Federation led by Henry Hyndman in the early 1880s. Tussy wrote in the draft of the program that the needed change in society will be a revolution. "The two classes at present existing will be replaced by a single class consisting of the whole of the healthy and sane members of the community, possessing all the means of production and distribution in common...".

The Democratic Federation, later renamed the Social Democratic Federation broke up in 1884 over personality problems and the issue of internationalism. The Avelings and William Morris formed the Socialist League which published a monthly paper called *Commonweal.* In this vehicle Tussy wrote several articles and reviews on women's and other issues as well as a pamphlet entitled *The Woman Question.* In 1886 Tussy toured in the U.S.

along with Wilhelm Liebknecht fundraising for the German Social Democratic Party and in support of the Haymarket affair.

Along with continuing work translating literature and acting, she became very involved in organizing, writing, record-keeping and speaking for militant trade union such as the Gasworkers, and the Dockers Union and their struggles. In 1889 she was a delegate in Paris for the founding of the Second International.

Later in her life, Tussy became very involved in organizing the part of her father's papers left to her after the death of Engels, as well as continuing her own work. During a period of depression in 1889, she commit suicide at the age of 43. For some of her translations and editing work, see the Eleanor Marx section.

Marx, Franziska (1851-1852):Karl and Jenny Marx's daughter, died in infancy.
Marx, Heinrich (1777-1838):Lawyer in Trier, Karl Marx's father.
Marx, Heinrich Guido (Foxchen) (1849-1850):Karl and Jenny Marx's son, died in infancy.
Marx, Henriette (1787-1863):Karl Marx's mother.
Marx, Henriette (1820-1856): Karl Marx's sister.
Marx, Hermann (1819-1842):Karl Marx's brother.
Marx, Laura (1845-l9ll):(see also Lafargue, Laura) Karl and Jenny Marx's daughter who married Paul Lafargue.
Marx, Louise (1821-1893):Karl Marx's sister, wife of Johann Carel Juta.
Marx, Sophie (181-1883): Karl Marx's sister, wife of Wilhelm Robert Schmalhausen.

Marx, Jenny von Westphalen (1814-1881)

Karl Marx's wife. See also the Jenny von Westphalen section in the Women and Marxism page.

Marx, Jenny (Jennychen) (1844-1883)
(Also Longuet, Jenny)

Karl and Jenny Marx's eldest daughter, married to Charles Longuet. In 1870 she took action in the Irish struggles by publishing in a French paper revelations of the treatment of the Irish political prisoners by the English bourgeoisie; by this means she forced the Gladstone government to conduct an investigation into the question. She wrote under the name of ".J. Williams." See also the Jenny Longuet section in the Women and Marxism page.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove:

(1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with the particular, historical phases in the development of production [See: Historical Materialism]
(2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.
(3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

Karl Marx
Letter to Weydemeyer
March 5, 1852

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818 , in the city of Trier in Rheinish Prussia. His family was Jewish, but converted to Protestanism in 1824. The family was petty-bourgeois; his father was a lawyer. After graduating from a Gymnasium (High School) in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Epicurus. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (with Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy. Ludwig Feuerbach began to criticize theology, particularly after 1836, and he began his turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained ascendancy in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*).

After graduating from university, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career, after Ludwig Feuerbach had been deprived of his chair in 1832 (and who was not allowed to return to the university in 1836); and in 1841 the government had forbade the young Professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn.

At the begining on 1842, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland (Cologne), who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded a paper in opposition to the Prussian government, called the Rheinische Zeitung. Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne.

The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1 1843 suppressed it. Marx was forced to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to Rheinische Zeitung, Engels notes, an article on the condition of peasant winegrowers in the Moselle Valley. Marx's journalistic activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it. (See: Marx's articles for the Rheinische Zeitung)

In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came from a bourgeois family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia's Minister of the Interior during an extremely reactionary period — 1850-58.

In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad, together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880). Only one issue of this journal, Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, appeared. Publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary who advocated "merciless criticism of everything existing", and in particular the "criticism by weapon", and appealed to the masses and to the proletariat.

Also in 1843, Feuerbach wrote his famous *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*. "One must have experienced for oneself the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote. "We [i.e., the Left Hegelians] all became at once Feuerbachians."

In September 1844, Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend. Shortly after meeting, Marx and Engels worked together to produce the first mature work of Marxism — The German Ideology. In this work, largely produced in response to Feuerbach's materialism, Marx and Engels set down the foundations of Marxism with the materialistic conception of history, and broke from Left Hegelian idealism with a critique against Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner. "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways;" Marx wrote in an outline for the begining of the book, " the point is to *change* it."

In the mid to late-1840s both Marx and Engels took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance at the time was Proudhon's doctrine), which Marx broke into pieces in his Poverty of Philosophy, (1847).

At the insistent request of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, considered by both governments a dangerous revolutionary. Marx then moved to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League. Marx and Engels took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the Communist Manifesto, which appeared in February 1848. With outstanding clarity, this work outlines a new world-conception based on materialism. This document analysises the realm of social life; the theory of the class struggle; the tasks of the Communists; and the revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creators of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Cologne, Germany, where Neue Rheinische Zeitung was published from June 1 1848 to May 19 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The victorious counter-revolution first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, where he was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and then went to London, where he lived until his death.

Marx's life as a political exile was an extremely difficult one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels clearly reveals. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family; had it not been for Engels' constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete Capital but would have inevitably have been crushed by hunger and malnutrition.

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties thrusted Marx back into political work. In 1864 (September 28) the International Working Men's Association — the First International — was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization, and author of its first address and of a host of resolutions, declaration and manifestos. In uniting the labor movement of various forms of non-proletarian socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassallean deviations to the right, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx here hammered out uniform tactics for the proletarian struggle of the working in the various countries. (See Marx's writings for the First International)

Following the downfall of the Paris Commune (1871) — of which Marx gave a clear-cut materialistic analysis of these events in The Civil War In France, 1871 — and the Bakunin cleavage in the International (See: Marx's conflict with Bakunin), the organization could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), the General Council of the International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labor movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in scope, and mass socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Marx's health became undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous writings and organising. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of Capital, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance; Marx was fully fluent in German, French, and English). However, ill-health prevented him from completing the last two volumes of Capital (which Engels subsequently put together from Marx's notes).

Marx's wife died on December 2, 1881, and on March 14, 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair. He lies buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery in London.

by V.I. Lenin (Edited)
Granat Encyclopedia: Karl Marx

Chpt 1: Karl Marx

See Also: The Marx/Engels Biographical Archive.

Masaryk, Jan (d. 1948)

Tomas Masaryk, A Czech intellectual and statesman, led the Czech Legion of prisoners of war against the Russian Revolution and was the founder-President of Czechoslovakia in December 1918 until his death in 1935. His son Jan Masaryk was Foreign Minister of the Czech government-in-exile in London 1941-45, and continued on after returning to Prague in 1945, as a symbol of the continuity of Czech government. Leapt to his death from a window of the Foreign Ministry in 1948, a few days after the success of the Communist Party in the February 1948 elections.

Maslov, Pyotr Pavlovich (1867 - 1946)

Menshevik. Wrote a number of works on the agrarian question. During the first world war took a social-chauvinst stand. Following the October revolution, Pyotr reisgned from politics and took up teaching and scientific work.

Maslow, Arkady (1891-1941)

Top German CP leader expelled in 1927 because of his support of the Russian Left Opposition. He helped found the oppositional periodical *Volkswille* [People's Will] and the Leninbund, which for a short time was associated with the Left Opposition. He withdrew from the Leninbund leadership before it broke with the Left Opposition, and for a short time sympathized with the movement for the Fourth International in the mid-thirties.

Jacob, Mathilde (1873-)

Secretary and member of Rosa Luxemburg's inner circle. Jacob eventually broke with Luxemburg but later authored an unpublished manuscripts of her memoirs.

Maurer, Georg Ludwig von (1790-1872)

German jurist and historian. Distinguished for his investigations into the history of the development of common property in land, the formation of towns in the Middle Ages and relations.

Mazzini, Guiseppe (1805-72)

Italian politician who played a leading part in the bourgeoisie revolutionary movement (especially among the

town intelligentsia and liberal aristocracy). He lived abroad as a refugee. In 1831-32 he founded "Young Italy," a revolutionary organisation aiming at the unification of Italy, which was at that time still split up into many different states. He took part in the revolutionary struggles of the year 1848 in Italy. After this be was again an emigre abroad (London), and there founded the European Democratic Committee, which was intended to unite the revolutionary movements in the different countries. His republican programme demanded the independence and unity of Italy and a democratic republic; his slogan was "Dio i Popolo " (God and the People). Marx criticised the inconsistent and anti-proletarian character of Mazzini's programme and carried on an energetic struggle against him and his Committee.

Index of the Letter M

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

ENGELS TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*

(AUGSBURG)

Written: 10 August 1881
First Published: the *Allgemeine Zeitung*
Translated: from German by Jack Cohen
Transcribed: zodiac@interlog.com
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

[Draft]

Bridlington Quay,
10 August 1881

Dear Mr Shipton,

I return the proof-sheet [1] altered as you wish. The first passage you seem to me to have misunderstood and the second alteration is merely formal. Anyhow, I do not see what good such alterations can do if asked for on Tuesday, received here on Wednesday, to arrive again in London on Thursday after the publication of the paper.

But there is another thing. If such very mild and innocent things as these begin to appear to you too strong, it must occur to me that this must be the case, in a far higher degree, with my own articles, which are generally far stronger. I must therefore take your remarks as a symptom, and conclude that it will be better for both of us if I discontinue sending you leading articles. It will be far better than going on until, upon some inevitable point, we come to an open rupture. Moreover my time will certainly not allow me to go on writing leaders regularly, [2] and on this ground alone I had come to some similar resolution to be executed, as I then thought, after the Trades Union Congress. [3] But the sooner I stop the better will be perhaps your position before that Congress.

There is another point: I consider you ought to have sent me before publication the copy or proof of the article on the Max Hirsch Trades Unions in Germany, as to the only man on your staff who knew anything of the matter and could make the necessary notes to it. Anyhow it will be impossible for me to remain on the staff of a paper which, without consulting me, lends itself to writing up these Trades Unions, comparable only to those worst English ones which allow themselves to be led by men openly sold to, or at least paid by the middle class.

I need not add that otherwise I wish every success to *The Labour Standard* and if desired shall now and

then contribute occasional information from the continent.

Yours truly

F. E.

NOTES
From the MECW

[1] The reference is to Karl Kautsky's article "International Labour Laws" published anonymously in *The Labour Standard*, No. 15, 13 August 1881.

[2] In May-August 1881, Engels contributed to the printed organ of the British labour unions *The Labour Standard*, which appeared in London and was edited by George Shipton. Engels' contributions were printed anonymously nearly every week as leaders.

[3] The fourteenth annual British trades union congress took place in London on 12-17 September 1881.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

ENGELS TO GEORGE SHIPTON

in London

Written: 15 August 1881
First Published: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935
Transcribed: zodiac@interlog.com
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

[Draft]

Bridlington Quay,
15 August 1881

Dear Mr. Shipton,

I cannot make it out, how you could so strangely misunderstand Mr Kautsky's article. [1] To the first passage you objected because State interference went against the grain of 'many prominent men in the Unions'. Of course it does, because they are at heart Manchester School [2] men and so long as their opinions of such are taken into account, no working-class paper is possible. But my addition to the passage in question must have convinced you, that the State interference here alluded to, was such, and such only, as has been in England the law of the Land for years: factories and workshops' acts, [3] and nothing further: things not objected to by even your 'prominent men'.

As to the second passage, Mr Kautsky says: an international regulation of the *war of competition is* as necessary as that of *open warfare;* we demand a *Geneva Convention* [4] for the workpeople of the world. The 'Geneva Convention' is an *agreement* entered into by the various *Governments* for the protection of wounded and ambulances in battle. What therefore Mr Kautsky demands, is a similar agreement between the various *Governments* for the protection of the workpeople not of one state only, but of all, against overwork especially of women and children. How out of that you can make an appeal to the *workpeople* of the world to *meet in a Convention of delegates at Geneva*, I am utterly at a loss to understand. [5]

You will own that the occurrence of such misunderstanding on your part cannot at all encourage me to alter my resolution.

As to the Hirsch article, [6] I do know Mr. Eccarius and only too well for a traitor to the cause and it will be utterly impossible for me to write for a paper which opens its columns to him.

Moreover, I do not see any progress. *The Labour Standard* remains the same vehicle of the most various and mutually contradictory views on all political and social questions which it was, perhaps unavoidably, on the first day of its existence, but which it ought no longer to be by this time, if there was an

undercurrent among the British working class tending towards emancipation from the liberal Capitalists. Such undercurrent not being shown itself up to now, I must conclude it does not exist. If there were unmistakable signs of its existence, I might make an extra effort to assist it. But I do not think that one column a week drowned as I might say amongst the remaining multifarious opinions represented in *The Labour Standard* could do anything towards producing it.

And as I told you, I had resolved to stop writing after the Trade Unions Congress, [7] because of want of time; so whether I write a few articles more till then, would make no difference.

So waiting and hoping for better times, I remain

Faithfully yours,

F. E.

NOTES
From the MECW

[1] The reference is to Karl Kautsky's article "International Labour Laws" published anonymously in *The Labour Standard*, No. 15, 13 August 1881.

[2] *Factories and workshops' act* -- Laws regulating labour conditions in British industry. The emergence and advancement of factory legislation was a consequence of the workers' economic and political struggle against capitalist exploitation. The first laws adopted regulated the childrens' adolescents', and women's labour conditions in the textile industry (early 19th century). Step by step, the operation of the factories and workshops' acts was extended to the other industries.

[3] The *Geneva Convention* of the Red Cross of 1864 -- An international document signed at the conference of 16 European states in Geneva. The Geneva Convention established principles for belligerents' treatment of the wounded and the sick, and granted the right of neutrality to the medical personnel taking care of the wounded men.

[4] *The Labour Standard*, No. 14, 6 August 1881, anonymously printed the article by Johann Georg Eccarius "A German Opinion of English Trade Unionism." Eccarius regarded highly the German trade unions founded in 1868 by Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker (the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions).

[5] In Engels' draft manuscript the following passage is crossed out here: 'If you had understood the drift of the article, you must have at once seen that here was a measure of an immediately practical nature, so easy of execution that one of the existing governments of Europe (the Swiss Government) had been induced to take it in hand, that the proposal to equalize the hours of labour in all manufacturing countries by making factory and workshop's legislation a matter of international state agreement, was one of the greatest immediate interest to the working people. Especially to those of England who, besides the Swiss, are the best protected of all against overworking and therefore are exposed to an unfair competition on the part of Belgian, French and German workpeople whose hours of work are much longer.

[6] *The Labour Standard*, No. 14, 6 August 1881, anonymously printed the article by Johann Georg Eccarius "A German Opinion of English Trade Unionism." Eccarius regarded highly the German trade unions founded in 1868 by Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker (the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions).

[7] The fourteenth annual British trades union congress took place in London on 12-17 September 1881.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER

in Geneva

Written: February 10 1882
First Published: F. Engels, *Vergessene Briefe, (Briefe Friedrich Engels' an Johann Philipp Becker)*, Berlin, 1920
Translated: Peter and Betty Ross
Transcribed: zodiac@interlog.com
HTML Markup: S. Ryan

London,
February 10 1882

Dear Old Man,

We had absolutely no idea that you were so seriously ill; all we knew was that you had been suffering from erysipelas and that's something that can be cleared up pretty easily. Had I had an inkling of how matters stood, I should have raised some money for you straight away, even though I myself was very short at the time and calls were being made on me from all sides. However, it's still not too late and I've therefore taken out a money order for you for four pounds = 100 frs 80 cts. of which you will doubtless have already been advised; because of an irregularity that cropped up here I wasn't able to write until today.

Between ourselves, one might almost count it a blessing that Marx should have been so preoccupied with his own illness during his wife's last days as to prevent him being unduly preoccupied with his loss, both when it was impending and when it actually happened. Even though we had known for 6 months or more how matters stood, the event itself still came as a terribly hard blow. Marx left yesterday for the South of France [1]; where he will go from there won't be definitely decided until he gets to Paris. Under no circumstances will he make for Italy first; at the start of his convalescence even the *possibility* of harassment by the police must be avoided.

We have thought about your proposal [2] and take the view that the time has not yet come, though it soon will, to put it into effect. Firstly, a new, formally reorganised International in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Spain would only give rise to fresh persecution and ultimately leave one with the choice either of giving the thing up, or of carrying on in *secret*. The latter option would be a calamity on account of the inevitable passion for coups and conspiracies and the no less inevitable admittance of *mouchards* ["informers"]. Even in France the renewed application of the law banning the International, [3] a law which has not been repealed -- far from it -- is by no means impossible. -- Secondly, in view of the current wrangles between the *Egalite* and the *Proletaire*, there's absolutely no counting on the

French; we would have to declare ourselves for one party or the other and that, too, has its disadvantages. As individuals we are on the side of the *Egalite*, but shall take good care not to support them publicly *just now* after the succession of tactical blunders they have made, despite our express warnings. -- Thirdly, the English are proving more intractable than ever at present. For 5 whole months I tried, through *The Labour Standard*, for which I wrote leading articles, [4] to pick up the threads of the old Chartist movement and disseminate our ideas so as to see whether this might evoke some response. Absolutely nothing, and since the editor, a well-meaning but feeble milksop, ended up by taking fright even at the Continental heresies I introduced into the paper, I called it a day.

Thus, we should have been left with an International confined, apart from Belgium, *exclusively to refugees*, for with the possible exception of Geneva and its environs we couldn't even count on the *Swiss* -- *vide* the *Arbeiterstimme* and Buerkli. It would, however, hardly be worth the trouble to set up a mere refugee association. For the Dutch, Portuguese and Danes wouldn't really improve matters either and the less one has to do with Serbs and Romanians the better.

On the other hand the International does indeed still *exist*. In so far as it can be effective, there is liaison between the revolutionary workers of all countries. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milan the threads run criss-cross in all directions and I honestly don't see how at this juncture the grouping of these small centres round a large main centre could give added strength to the movement -- it would probably only lead to greater friction. But once the moment comes for us to concentrate our forces, it will, for that very reason, be the work of a moment, nor will any lengthy preparation be called for. The names of the pioneers in one country are known in all the others and a manifesto signed and supported by them all would make a tremendous impact -- something altogether different from the largely unknown names of the old General Council. But that is precisely why such a manifesto should be saved up for the moment when it can really strike home, i. e. when events in Europe provoke it. Otherwise you will detract from its future effect and will simply have put yourselves out for nothing. But such events are already taking shape in Russia where the avant-garde of the revolution will be going into battle. You should -- or so we think -- wait for this and its inevitable repercussions on Germany, and then the moment will also have come for a big manifesto and the establishment of an *official*, formal International, which can, however, no longer be a propaganda association but simply an association for action. For that reason we are firmly of the opinion that so splendid a weapon ought not to be dulled and blunted during the comparatively peaceful days on the very eve of the revolution.

I believe that if you think the matter over again you will come round to our view. Meanwhile we both wish you a good and speedy recovery and hope to hear before long that you are quite all right again.

Ever your old friend,

F. E.

NOTES
From the MECW

[1] In early February 1882, following medical advice, Marx took a trip to Algiers, where he stayed from 20 February to 2 May. On the way there, he stopped over in Argenteuil (a Paris suburb) to visit his

daughter Jenny.

[2] In his letter to Engels of 1 February 1882, Becker proposed setting up a new international workers' organization along the lines of the International Working Men's Association.

[3] Under the law proposed by the Minister of Justice Dufaure, and passed by the French National Assembly on 14 March 1872, membership of the International was punished by imprisonment.

[4] In May-August 1881, Engels contributed to the printed organ of the British labour unions *The Labour Standard*, which appeared in London and was edited by George Shipton. Engels' contributions were printed anonymously nearly every week as leaders.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Engels to Kautsky

Written: London, 12 September, 1881
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as what the bourgeois think. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies. In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population, Canada, the Cape, Australia, will all become independent; on the other hand the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated, India, Algiers, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, produce a revolution, and as the proletariat emancipating itself cannot conduct any colonial wars, this would have to be given full scope; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g., in Algiers and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing for us. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganised, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilised countries will follow in their wake of their own accord. Economic needs alone will be responsible for this. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organisation, we to-day can only advance rather idle hypotheses, I think. One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. Which of course by no means excludes defensive wars of various kinds.

The business in Egypt has been contrived by Russian diplomacy. Gladstone is to take Egypt (which he has not got yet by a long way and if he had it he would still be a long way from keeping it) in order that Russia may take Armenia, which according to Gladstone would be a further liberation of a Christian country from the Mohammedan yoke. Everything else about the affair is a sham, humbug, pretext. Whether the humbug will succeed will soon be seen.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Bernstein

in London

Written: March 1, 1883
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 1999
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

From the outset we have always fought to the very utmost against the petty-bourgeois and philistine disposition within the Party, because this disposition, developed since the time of the Thirty Years' War, has infected *all* classes in Germany and has become an hereditary German evil, sister to servility, abject subservience and all the hereditary German vices. This is what makes us ridiculous and despicable abroad. It is the main cause of the slackness and the weakness of character which pre-dominate among us; it reigns on the throne as often as in the cobbler's lodging. Only since a *modern* proletariat has been formed in Germany has a class developed there with hardly anything at all of this hereditary German disease about it, a class which has given evidence of a free outlook, energy, humour, tenacity in struggle. And are we not to fight against every attempt artificially to inoculate this healthy class--the only healthy class in Germany--with the old hereditary poison of philistine slackness and philistine narrow-mindedness?

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Van Patten

in London

Written: April 18, 1883
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

[Note: This is a response from a communication from Phillipp van Patten, the Secretary of the Central Labour Union in New York.]

Since 1845 Marx and I have held the view that *one* of the ultimate results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution of the political organisation known by the name of *state*. The main object of this organisation has always been to secure, by armed force, the economic oppression of the labouring majority by the minority which alone possesses wealth. With the disappearance of an exclusively wealth-possessing minority there also disappears the necessity for the power of armed oppression, or state power. At the same time, however, it was always our view that in order to attain this and the other far more important aims of the future social revolution, the working class must first take possession of the organised political power of the state and by its aid crush the resistance of the capitalist class and organise society anew. This is to be found already in *The Communist Manifesto* of 1847, Chapter II, conclusion.

The anarchists put the thing upside down. They declare that the proletarian revolution must *begin* by doing away with the political organisation of the state. But after its victory the sole organisation which the proletariat finds already in existence is precisely the state. This state may require very considerable alterations before it can fulfil its new functions. But to destroy it at such a moment would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious proletariat can assert its newly-conquered power, hold down its capitalist adversaries and carry out that economic revolution of society without which the whole victory must end in a new defeat and in a mass slaughter of the workers similar to those after the Paris Commune.

Does it require my express assurance that Marx opposed this anarchist nonsense from the first day it was put forward in its present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Workingmen's Association is evidence of this. From 1867 onwards the anarchists were trying, by the most infamous methods, to conquer the leadership of the International; the main hindrance in their way was Marx. The five-year struggle ended, at the Hague Congress of September 1872, With the expulsion

of the anarchists from the International; and the man who did most to achieve this expulsion was Marx. Our old friend, F. A. Sorge, in Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further details if you wish. And now for Johann Most.

If anyone asserts that Most, since he became an anarchist, has had any relations with Marx whatever or has received any kind of assistance from Marx, he has either been deceived or is deliberately lying. After the publication of the first number of the London *Freiheit,* Most did not visit Marx or me more than once, or at most twice. Equally little did we visit him--we did not even meet him by chance anywhere or at any time. In the end we did not even subscribe to his paper any more, because "there was really nothing" in it. We had the same contempt for his anarchism and his anarchistic tactics as for the people from whom he had learnt both.

While he was still in Germany Most published a "popular" account of Marx's *Capital.* Marx was asked to look through it for a second edition. I did this work in common with Marx. We found that it was impossible to do more than expunge Most's very worst blunders unless we were to rewrite the whole thing from beginning to end. Marx also allowed his corrections to be included only on the express condition that his name should never be brought into any connection even with this corrected edition of Johann Most's compilation.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Engels to J.P. Becker

Written: London, 22 May, 1883
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Our lads in Germany are really magnificent fellows, now that the Socialist Law* has freed them from the "educated " gentlemen who had tried before 1878 to schoolmaster the workers from the superior heights of their ignorant university-bred confusion, an attempt to which unfortunately only too many of the leaders lent themselves. That rotten trash has not been entirely got rid of as yet, but all the same the movement has come into a definitely revolutionary channel again. This is just the splendid thing about our boys, that the masses are far better than almost all their leaders, and now that the Socialist Law is forcing the masses to make the movement for themselves and the infuence of the leaders is reduced to a minimum things are better than ever.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

*Bismarck's Ani-Socialist law 1878-90

Engels to J.P. Becker

Written: London, 14 February 1884
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Things are by no means so bad with the agitation in Germany, even if the bourgeois press suppresses most of what is happening and only now and then lets out an involuntary groan of terror that the Party is gaining ground at a tearing rate instead of losing it.

The police have opened up a really splendid field for our people: the ever-present and uninterrupted struggle with the police themselves. This is being carried on everywhere and always, with great success and, the best thing about it, with great humour. The police are defeated--and made to look foolish into the bargain. And I consider this struggle the most useful in the circumstances. Above all it keeps the contempt for the enemy alive among our lads. Worse troops could not be sent into the field against us than the German police; even where they have the upper hand they suffer a moral defeat, and confidence in victory is growing among our lads every day. This struggle will bring it about that as soon as the pressure is at last relaxed (and that will happen on the day the dance in Russia begins) we shall no longer count our numbers in hundreds of thousands but in millions. There is a lot of rotten stuff among the so-called leaders but I have unqualified confidence in our masses, and what they lack in revolutionary tradition they are gaining more and more from this little war with the police. And you can say what you like, but we have never seen a proletariat yet which has learnt to act collectively and to march together in so short a time. For this reason, evert though nothing appears on the surface, we can, I think, calmly await the moment when the call to arms is given. You will see how they muster!

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Kautsky

Written: London, 19 July, 1884
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

That the *Neue Zeit* is to come to an end is no misfortune for the Party. It is becoming more and more apparent that the great majority of the literary Party people in Germany belong to the opportunists and cautious goers who, however disagreeable the Socialist Law may be to them from a pecuniary point of view, feel themselves quite in the right atmosphere under it from the literary point of view; they can express themselves quite openly--we are prevented from giving them one in the eye. Hence the mere task of filling a journal of this kind every month demands very great tolerance, which results in its being gradually overrun with philanthropy, humanitarianism, sentimentality and whatever all the anti-revolutionary vices of the Freiwalds, Quarcks, Schippels, Rosuses [note: collaborators in *Neue Zeit*], etc. are called. People who do not want to learn anything fundamentally and only make literature about literature and incidentally out of literature (nine-tenths of present-day German writing is writing about other writing), naturally achieve more printed pages per annum than those who grind at something and only want to write about other books when: (1) they have mastered these other books and (2) there is something in them worth the trouble. The preponderance of these former gentlemen which has been produced by the Socialist Law in the literature printed in Germany is inevitable while the Law lasts. Against it we have in the literature published abroad a weapon which strikes in a totally different manner.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Engels to Zasulich

Written: London, 23 April, 1885
Published: *Gesamtausgabe*, International Publishers, 1942
Transcribed: Sally Ryan
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

You asked for my judgment of Plekhanov's book, *Nashi Raznoglassiya [Our Differences]*. To deliver this I should have to read the book, and I can read Russian fairly easily when I have occupied myself with it for a week. But there are full half-years in which this is impossible for me; then I lose practice and am obliged to learn it over again, so to speak. This has been the case with me over *Our Differences*. Marx's manuscripts, which I am dictating to a secretary, keep me busy the whole day; in the evening come visitors whom one cannot after all turn out; there are proofs to be read and much correspondence to be dealt with, and finally there are the translations of my Origin, etc. (Italian, Danish, etc.) which I am asked to revise and the revision of which is at times neither superfluous nor easy. Well, all these interruptions have prevented me from getting further than to page 60 of *Our Differences*. If I had three days to myself the thing would be finished with and I should have refreshed my knowledge of Russian as well.

Meanwhile the piece of the book which I have read is enough, I think, to acquaint me more or less with the differences in question.

First of all I repeat to you that I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without ambiguity accepts the great economic and historic theories of Marx and which has decisively broken with all the anarchist and slightly Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. And Marx himself would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia. To me the historic theory of Marx is the fundamental condition of all reasoned and consistent revolutionary tactics; to discover these tactics one has only to apply the theory to the economic and political conditions of the country in question.

But to do this one must know these conditions; and so far as I am concerned I know too little about the actual situation in Russia to presume myself competent to judge the details of the tactics demanded by this situation at a given moment. Moreover, the internal and intimate history of the Russian revolutionary party, especially that of the last years, is almost entirely unknown to me. My friends among the Narodovoltsy have never spoken to me about it. And this is an indispensable element towards forming one's opinion.

What I know or believe about the situation in Russia impels me to the opinion that the Russians are approaching their 1789. The revolution must break out there in a given time; it may break out there any day. In these circumstances the country is like a charged mine which only needs a fuse to be laid to it. Especially since March 13. This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of people to make a revolution, i.e., with one small push to cause a whole system, which (to use a metaphor of Plekhanov's) is in more than labile equilibrium, to come crashing down, and thus by one action, in

itself insignificaat, to release uncontrollable explosive forces. Well now, if ever Blanquism--the phantasy of overturning an entire society through the action of a small conspiracy--had a certain justification for its existence, that is certainly in Petersburg. Once the spark has been put to the powder, once the forces have been released and national energy has been transformed from potential into kinetic energy (another favourite image of Plekhanov's and a very good one)--the people who laid the spark to the mine will be swept away by the explosion, which will be a thousand times as strong as themselves and which will seek its vent where it can, according as the economic forces and resistances determine.

Supposing these people imagine they can seize power, what does it matter? Provided they make, the hole which will shatter the dyke, the flood itself will soon rob them of their illusions. But if by chance these illusions resulted in giving them a superior force of will, why complain of that? People who boasted that they had made a revolution have always seen the next day that they had no idea what they were doing, that the revolution made did not in the least resemble the one they would have liked to make That is what Hegel calls the irony of history, an irony which few historic personalities escape. Look at Bismarck, the revolutionary against his will, and Gladstone who has ended in quarrelling with his adored Tsar.

To me the most important thing is that the impulse should be given in Russia, that the revolution should break out. Whether this fraction or that fraction gives the signal, whether it happens under this flag or that flag matters little to me. If it were a palace conspiracy it would be swept away tomorrow. There where the position is so strained, where the revolutionary elements are accumulated to such a degree, where the economic situation of the enormous mass of the people becomes daily more impossible, where every stage of social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern large-scale industry and high finance, and where all these contradictions are violently held together by an unexampled despotism, a despotism which is becoming more and more unbearable to the youth in whom the national worth and intelligence are united--there, when 1789 has once been launched, 1793 will not be long in following.

Letters Archive | Marx Engels Internet Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Za

Zasulich, Vera J. (1851-1919)

Russian socialist; as a young student joined the Narodniki. In 1880 she emigrated and from then onwards worked with Plekhanov. Together with him she was one of the founders of the first Marxist group in the Russian workers' movement (the Emancipation of Labour group — 1885) which began the struggle against the Narodniki for the creation of a proletarian revolutionary party. Zasulich was commissioned by the Emancipation of Labour group to translate a number of Marx's works into Russian. With Lenin and Plekhanov she was a member of the editorial board of Iskra. After the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Party she soon went over to the Mensheviks. During WWI she was a social chauvinist. She held a hostile attitude to the Soviet government.

Index of the Letter Z

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Pl

Plato (428-347 BC)

Disciple of Socrates, objective idealist, fought against the materialist teachings of his time. Plato developed the theory of existence of immaterial forms of objects which he called "forms" (or "ideas"). To Plato, the sensible world is the product of these "forms", which are eternal, while sensible objects are transient and changeable.

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (Nov 29, 1856 - May 17, 1918)

One of the founders of the first Marxist organisation in Russia: the Emancipation of Labour group, Plekhanov had at one time been a member of the Peoples Will party. After the dissolution of the Emancipation of Labour group, Plekhanov later joined the Russian Social-Democratic party, becomming a Menshevik after the split in the party.

Plekhanov studied in the St. Petersburg Konstantinovskoe Military school, but later transfered to the Mining Institute. While attending university Plekhanov became involved with Narodnaia Volia, the People's Will revolutionary party. After his second year in school, Plekhanov dropped out to devote himself entirely to revolutionary work. Despite the Narodnaia Volia's aim towards the emancipation of the peasantry, Plekhanov focused on organising the emerging Russian proletariat; Plekhanov understood, with the help of the writings of Marx and Engels, that only through the proletariat could Socialism be achieved.

The political differences between Plekhanov and the People's Will group, in addition to its adoptation of terrorism after several failed attempts to rally the peasantry to revolution, caused Plekhanov to split off from the group and form a smaller group continuing the old methodolgy of going to the people and agitating. By 1880, hounded by the Tsarist Okhanara, Plekhanov fled Russia, not returning until the General Amnesty granted by the Provisional Government, in 1917.

In 1882, while in exile, Plekhanov rendered a Russian translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, with a preface written by Marx and Engels, replacing the first translation that had been made in 1869 by the anarchist Bakunin, which had translation flaws. In 1883 Plekhanov helped form the first Russian Marxist organisation: the Emancipation of Labour group. Plekhanov renewed his struggle against Narodism, pointing out flaws in revolutionary appeals to the Russian peasantry alone, and flaws in the tactics of terrorism, being the opposite of mass action; a requirment for Socialist revolution.

Throughout the 1890s the influence of the Emancipation of Labour group on Russia's proletariat, through smuggling pamphlets into the country, built up a revolutionary following within Russia, enabling the party to be engaged in labour and union struggles in Russia. This upsurge of labour union activity, guided by the principles of Marxism which had been translated and distributed into Russia by the Emancipation of Labour group, gave rise to the Russian Social-Democratic Party, in 1898. The unity of this party Plekhanov would spend the rest of his life defending, save for when the Soviet Government was established, when he disavowed the left half of the party: the Bolsheviks.

In the late 1800s, one of Plekhanov's most passionate supporters was Vladimir Lenin. Lenin admired Plekhanov as the founder of Russian Marxism and strove to master the revolutionary activity and party building Plekhanov had begun. In 1900, when Lenin founded Iskra, Plekhanov wrote for the paper, and together, they supported proletarian revolution backed by Marxist theory while attacking revisionists such as Edward Bernstein.

By the time of the split in the R.S.D.L.P., Lenin and Plekhanov came head to head, never to theoretically meet again. Plekhanov wrote a book entitled, *What is not to be Done*, explaining that the party should not split, that, "rather than having a split, it is better to put a bullet in one's brain". Lenin, on the other hand, emphasised the importance of a split, in order to develop the different trends and opinions in the revolutionary movement. The party did split during the Second Congress, forming the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties ; of which Plekhanov ultimately sided with the Mensheviks.

Plekhanov theoretical position was that Russia's proletariat should be sent to the battlefields against the Russian autocracy, and after having overthrown it, they should work to estbalish a bourgeois government. This would allow the proletariat to grow to a great size, while so too did the bourgeosie, allowing a bigger proletariat class to overthrow the now more powerful bourgeoisie, beleiving that the proletariat would eventually overpower the bourgeois government. Plekhanov stressed that Russia *must* pass through genuine capitalistic development, in order for the conditions and tools to be built to enable a Socialist revolution to occur.

During the Russian Revolution of 1905, Plekhanov's theories were shown to be incorrect in many respects, most prominently in his negligence towards the revolutionary strength of Russia's peasantry. Instead of revising his theories in accord with the new developments of history, Plekhanov stuck to them and defended them admist a now much larger chorus of attackers: his theories were rapidly being discarded into the dustbin of history.

During the first World War, Plekhanov took what Lenin dubbed a social-chauvinist stance: that German victory would be disasterous for the world's proletariat, but an entente victory would be much better for the world's proletariat. Plekhanov supported the World War, while millions of Russian's were dying and refusing to fight, up until the Soviet government signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which horrified Plekhanov.

By the 1917 February Revolution, Plekhanov returned to Russia and gave his support to the Provisional government, claiming it to have established a truly bourgeois government. By the time of the October Revolution, Plekhanov was outraged, and fought to usurp the Soviet government, believing it premature.

Pletnev, Valerian F. (1886-1942)

Old Bolshevik and president of the Central Committee of Proletcult, 1920 until 1932.

Index of the Letter P

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky

in London

Written: January 7, 1886
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

As to those wise Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded Capitalist production, they seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labour Bureau from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky

in London

Written: June 3, 1886
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Whatever the mistakes and the *Borniertheit* [narrow-mindedness] of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly-awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year.

What the downbreak of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe--the snapping of their mainstay--that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out Of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois; a country *rich, vast, expanding,* with purely *bourgeois* institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariate. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet,* classes with opposing interests, our--and your--bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariate of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene is quite extraordinary: Six months ago nobody suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky

in London

Written: December 28, 1886
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
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My preface will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American working man in the last ten months, and naturally also touch H.G. [Henry George] and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal exhaustively with it. Nor do I think the time has come for that. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariate, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than *"durch Schaden klug tererden"* [to learn by one's own mistakes]. And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move *as a class;* that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, H.G. or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the K[nights] of L[abour] a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionised from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes* dogma and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory --if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848--to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische* starting points as such and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme; they ought, in the words of *The Communist Manifesto,* to represent the movement of the future in the movement of the present. But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which at present they cannot properly understand, but which they soon will learn. A million or two of

workingmen's votes next November for a *bona fide* workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt--soon to be made if the movement progresses--to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis will bring them all face to face, Georgites, K. of L., Trade Unionists, and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workingmen's party--no matter what platform--I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to H.G. or the K. of L.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Ge

Ge, Nikolai (1831-94)

Russian realist painter.

Gentile, Giovanni (1875-1944)

Italian idealist philosopher and fascist politician.

George, Henry (1839-97)

American publicist and economist. Advocate of the nationalization of land as a means of refoming capitalism.

Gezmis, Deniz (1947-1972)

The founder of the People Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO).

As a teenager he entered the Faculty of Law of the University Istanbul. He joined Workers Party of Turkey (TIP) in 1965. He led a lot of student actions against US imperialism. He advocated the thesis "National Democratic Revolution". He founded in 1968 the Revolutionary Students Union. In 1969 he went to Palestine for three months, to join guerilla camps of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. In 1970 THKO, the guerilla organisation, was founded. At 1971 Gezmis and his comrades kidnapped four USA soldiers. But they were arrested. The three leaders of THKO Deniz Gezmis, Hüseyin Inan and Yusuf Aslan were executed on 6 May 1972.

Index of the Letter G

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky

in London

Written: January 27, 1887
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The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickerings and local disputes must obscure most of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march would be a consolidation of these differences into established acts. To some extent that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learned by heart and to be repeated mechanically. The less it is drilled into the Americans from outside and the more they test it with their own experience--with the help of the Germans--the deeper will it pass into their flesh and blood. When we returned to Germany, in spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible means of getting the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules in such a way that *all* working-class socialists of that period could join it--Proudhonists, Pierre Lerouxists and even the more advanced section of the English Trades Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the Anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864, to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform where should we be to-day? I think that all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organisation, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Victor Adler

in London

Written: December 4, 1889
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I recommended you to revise Avenel's *Cloots* for the following reasons:

In my opinion (and that of Marx) the book contains the first specific and correct account, based on a study of the archives, of the *critical Period of the French Revolution,* namely from 10 August to 9 Thermidor.

Cloots and the Commune of Paris were for the propagandist war as the only means of salvation, whereas the Committee of Public Safety behaved like regular *statesmen,* were frightened of the European coalition and tried to get peace by *dividing* the allied powers. Danton wanted peace with England, that is with Fox and the English opposition, who hoped to come into power at the elections; Robespierre intrigued with Austria and Prussia at Basle in the hope of coming to an understanding with them. Both united against the Commune in order above all to overthrow the people who wanted the propagandist war and the republicanisation of Europe. They succeeded, the Commune (Hebert, Cloots, etc.) was beheaded. But from that time onwards agreement became impossible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with England and those who wanted to conclude it only with the German powers. The English elections turned in favour of Pitt, Fox was shut out of the government for years, this ruined Danton's position, Robespierre was victorious and beheaded him. But--and Avenel has not *sufficiently* stressed this--while the reign of terror was now intensified to a pitch of insanity, because it was necessary in order to keep Robespierre in power under the existing internal conditions, it was rendered entirely superfluous by the victory of Fleurus on 24 June, 1794, which freed not only the frontiers but Belgium, and indirectly delivered over the left bank of the Rhine to France. Thus Robespierre also became superfluous and fell on July 24.

The whole French Revolution is dominated by the War of Coalition, all its pulsations depend upon it. If the allied army penetrates into France--predominant activity of the vagus nerves, violent heart-beat, revolutionary crisis. If it is driven back--predominance of the sympathetic nerves, the heart-beat becomes slower, the reactionary elements again push themselves into the foreground; the plebeians, the beginning of the later proletariat, whose energy alone has saved the revolution, are brought to reason and order.

The tragedy is that the party supporting war to the bitter end, war for the emancipation of the nations, is proved in the right, and that the Republic gets the better of all Europe, but only after that party itself has long been beheaded; while in place of the propagandist war comes the Peace of Basle and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.

The book must be completely revised and shortened--the rhetoric cut out, the facts taken from the ordinary histories supplemented and clearly emphasised. Cloots, meanwhile, can be put quite into the background, the most important things from the *Lundis révolut.* can be inserted and we may get a work on the revolution such as has never existed up till now.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

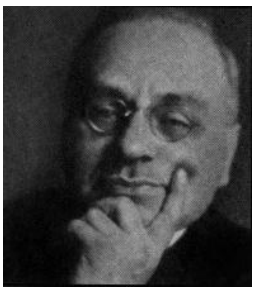
Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Ad

Adamson, William (1863-1936)

General Secretary of the Fife Miners' Union from 1908 until his death. In 1910 became Scotland's first miners' MP, representing Fife West until 1931. Prominent within the Parliamentary Labour Party, as chairman and nominated leader from 1917 to 1921. Secretary of State for Scotland in MacDonald's 1924 and 1929 governments. Lost his parliamentary seat to a Tory in 1931 and failed to regain it in 1935 when Willie Gallacher of the Communist Party was elected.



Adler, Alfred (1870-1937)

Austrian Psychiatrist, creator of the system of *Individual Psychology*; first to describe the “inferiority complex”. He developed a flexible method of psychotherapy to assist people to overcome feelings of inferiority, focussing on the relation of an individual to the goals and values determined by their social environment.

Adler began to explore psychological illness in about 1900, within the context of general medical practice, and from 1902 was closely associated with Sigmund Freud. However, after his Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Psychical Compensation was published in 1907, his own views began to take shape independently, down-playing Freud's insistence on the centrality of sexual conflicts in early childhood as the cause mental illness. For Adler it was a person's striving for self-esteem and recognition that is central, and sexual problems were seen as expressing difficulties arising in this area.

>From 1911, Adler broke from Freud and became publicly critical of him and in 1912, coined the term *individual psychology* to characterise his own views, as set out in The Neurotic Constitution.

Adler held that difficulties people encounter in gaining self-esteem and recognition, if not overcome by the normal means lead to compensatory behaviour and resultant personality disorders which are now widely referred to as an *inferiority complex*.

The other important elements of Adler's psychology are *lifestyle* — the particular system of values and activities

which a person acquires in their upbringing, and the *social interest drive* — an urge to cooperate with other people for the common good, which Adler took to be inherent in human beings. The method of therapy he used is simply to direct the patient's attention to the unsuccessful, neurotic character of the way the patient is dealing with their feeling of inferiority, and assist the patient in restoring a feeling of self-esteem and in working out a realistic set of goals.

In 1934 the fascist government in Austria closed his 30 child guidance clinics. Many of his later writings, such as What Life Should Mean to You (1931), were directed to the general reader.

Adler, Friedrich (1879-1960)

Secretary of the Austrian Social Democratic Party from 1911 to 1916, when he assassinated the Austrian premier. Freed from prison by the 1918 revolution, he was a founder of the Two-and-a-Half International, which he led back into the Second International in 1923, becoming secretary of the combined body.

Adler, Max (1873-1937)

Leading theoretician and philosopher of Austro-Marxism who helped supply it with some of its radical formulations.

Adler, Victor (1852-1918)

Founder and leader of the Austrian social democracy and a member of the International Socialist Bureau. Social chauvinist during World War I.

Adorno, Theodor (1903 - 1969)

German philosopher who also wrote on sociology, psychology, and musicology.

Adorno obtained a degree in philosophy from Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt in 1924. His early writings, which emphasise aesthetic development as important to historical evolution, reflect the influence of Walter Benjamin's application of Marxism to cultural criticism. After teaching two years at the University of Frankfurt, Adorno immigrated to England in 1934 to escape the Nazi persecution of the Jews. He taught at the University of Oxford for three years and then went to the United States (1938), where he worked at Princeton (1938-41) and then was co-director of the Research Project on Social Discrimination at the University of California, Berkeley (1941-48). Adorno and his colleague Max Horkheimer returned to the University of Frankfurt in 1949. There they rebuilt the Institute for Social Research and revived the Frankfurt school of critical theory, which contributed to the German intellectual revival after World War II.

One of Adorno's themes was civilisation's tendency to self-destruction, as evinced by Fascism. In their widely influential book Dialectic of Enlightenment (1947), Adorno and Horkheimer located this impulse in the concept of reason itself, which the Enlightenment and modern scientific thought had transformed into an irrational force that had come to dominate not only nature but humanity itself. The rationalisation of human society had ultimately led to Fascism and other totalitarian regimes that represented a complete negation of human freedom. Adorno concluded that rationalism offers little hope for human emancipation, which might come instead from art and the prospects it offers for preserving individual autonomy and happiness. Adorno's other major publications are Philosophy of Modern Music (1949), The Authoritarian Personality (1950, with others), Negative Dialectics (1966), and Aesthetic Theory (1970).

Index of the Letter A

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to H Schülter

in London

Written: January 11, 1890
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The stormy tide of the movement last summer has somewhat abated. And the best of it is that the unthinking sympathy of the bourgeois gang for the workers' movement, which broke out in the dock strike, has also abated, and is beginning to make way for the far more natural feeling of suspicion and nervousness. In the South London gas strike, which was forcibly imposed on the workers by the gas company, the workers are once more standing entirely deserted by all the philistines. This is very. good and I only hope Burns will some time go through this experience himself, in a strike led by himself--he cherishes all sorts of illusions in that respect.

Meanwhile there is all kinds of friction, as was only to be expected, between the gas workers and the dockers, for instance. But despite it all the masses are on the move and there is no holding them any more. The longer the stream is dammed up the more powerfully will it break through when the moment comes. And these unskilled are very different chaps from the fossilised brothers of the old trade unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit, of the craft exclusiveness of the engineers, for instance; on the contrary, a general cry for the organisation of all trade unions in one fraternity and for a direct struggle against capital. In the dock strike, for instance, there were three engineers at the Commercial Dock who kept the steamengine going. Burns and Mann, both engineers themselves and Burns a member of the Amalgamated Eng. Trade Union Executive, were summoned to persuade these men to go away, as then none of the cranes would have worked and the dock company would have had to climb down. The three engineers refused, the Engineers' Executive did not intervene and hence the length of the strike! At the Silvertown Rubber Works, moreover, where there was a twelve-weeks' strike, the strike was broken by the engineers, who did not join in and even did labourers' work against their own union rules! And why? These fools, in order to keep the supply of workers low, have a rule that nobody who has not been through the correct period of apprenticeship may be admitted to their union. By this means they have created an army of rivals, so-called blacklegs, who are just as skilled as they are themselves and who would gladly come into the union, but who are forced to remain blacklegs because they are kept outside by this pedantry which has no sense at all nowadays. And because they knew that both in the Commercial Dock and in Silvertown these blacklegs would immediately have stepped into their place,

they stayed in and so became blacklegs themselves against the strikers. There you see the difference: the new unions hold together; in the present gas strike, sailors (steamer) and firemen, lightermen and coal carters are all together, but of course not the engineers again, they are still working!

However, these arrogant old great trade unions will soon be made to look small; their chief support, the London Trades Council, is being more and more subjugated by the new ones, and in two or three years at most the Trade Union Congress will also be revolutionised. Even at the next Congress the Broadhursts will get the shock of their lives.

The fact that you have got rid of Rosenberg and Co. is the main point about the revolution in your American socialist tea-cup. The German party over there must be smashed up *as such*, it is the worst obstacle. The American workers are coming along already, but just like the English they go their own way. One cannot drum the theory into them beforehand, but their own experience and their own blunders and the evil consequences of them will soon bump their noses up against theory-and then all right. Independent nations go their own way, and of them all the English and their offspring are surely the most independent. Their insular stiff-necked obstinacy annoys one often enough, but it also guarantees that once a thing gets started what is begun will be carried out.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Abstract from

Engels to C. Schmidt in Berlin

Written: August 5, 1890
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

London, August 5, 1890

[....]

I saw a review of Paul Barth's book [*Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegels und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*] by that bird of ill omen, Moritz Wirth, in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte* , and *this* book itself, as well. I will have a look at it, but I must say that if "little Moritz" is right when he quotes Barth as stating that the sole example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., on the material conditions of existence which he can find in all Marx's works is that Descartes declares animals to the machines, then I am sorry for the man who can write such a thing. And if this man has not yet discovered that while the material mode of existence is the *primum agens* [primary agent, prime cause] this does not preclude the ideological spheres from reacting upon it in their turn, though with a secondary effect, he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. However, as I said, all this is secondhand and little Moritz is a dangerous friend. The materialist conception of history has a lot of them nowadays, to whom it serves as an excuse for *not* studying history. Just as Marx used to say, commenting on the French "Marxists" of the late [18]70s: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."

There has also been a discussion in the *Volks-Tribune* about the distribution of products in future society, whether this will take place according to the amount of work done or otherwise. The question has been approached very "materialistically" in opposition to certain idealistic phraseology about justice. But strangely enough it has not struck anyone that, after all, the method of distribution essentially depends on *how much* there is to distribute, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organization, so that the method of distribution may also change. But everyone who took part in the discussion, "socialist society" appeared not as something undergoing continuous change and progress but as a stable affair fixed once for all, which must, therefore, have a method of distribution fixed once for all. All one can reasonably do, however, is 1) to try and discover the method of distribution to be used *at the beginning* , and 2) to try and find the *general tendency* of the further development. But about this I do not find a single word in the whole debate.

In general, the word "materialistic" serves many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labeled without further study, that is, they stick on this label and then consider the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction after the manner of the Hegelian. All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be examined individually before the attempt is

made to deduce them from the political, civil law, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., views corresponding to them. Up to now but little has been done here because only a few people have got down to it seriously. In this field we can utilize heaps of help, it is immensely big, anyone who will work seriously can achieve much and distinguish himself. But instead of this too many of the younger Germans simply make use of the phrase historical materialism (and *everything* can be turned into a phrase) only in order to get their own relatively scanty historical knowledge — for economic history is still and its swaddling clothes! — constructed into a neat system as quickly as possible, and they then deem themselves something very tremendous. And after that a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself, which in his circle has indeed been degraded to a mere phrase.

However, all this will right itself. We're strong enough in Germany now to stand a lot. One of the greatest services which the Anti-Socialist Law did us was to free us from the obtuseness of the German intellectual who had got tinged with socialism. We are now strong enough to digest the German intellectual too, who is giving himself great airs again. You, who have really done something, must have noticed yourself how few of the young literary men who fasten themselves on to the party give themselves in the trouble to study economics, the history of economics, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of the formations of society. How many know anything of Maurer except his name! The self-sufficiency of the journalist must serve for everything here and the result looks like it. It often seems as if these gentlemen think anything is good enough for the workers. If these gentlemen only knew that Marx thought his best things were still not good enough for the workers, how he regarded it as a crime to offer the workers anything but the very best!

[....]

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Abstract from
Engels to Otto Von Boenigk in Breslau

Written: August 21, 1890
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

Folkestone, near Dover
August 21, 1890

... I can reply only briefly and in general terms to your inquiries [A], for as concerns the first question I should otherwise have to write a treatise. —

Ad. I. To my mind, the so-called "socialist society" is not anything immutable. Like all other social formations, it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change. It's crucial difference from the present order consists naturally in production organized on the basis of common ownership by the nation of all means of production. To begin this reorganization tomorrow, but performing it gradually, seems to me quite feasible. That our workers are capable of it is borne out by their many producer and consumer cooperatives which, whenever they're not deliberately ruined by the police, are equally well and far more honestly run than the bourgeois stock companies. I cannot see how you can speak of the ignorance of the masses in Germany after the brilliant evidence of political maturity shown by the workers in their victorious struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law. The patronizing and errant lecturing of our so-called intellectuals seems to me a far greater impediment. We are still in need of technicians, agronomists, engineers, chemists, architects, etc., it is true, but if the worst comes to the worst we can always buy them just as well as the capitalists buy them, and if a severe example is made of a few of the traders among them — for traders there are sure to be — they will find it to their own advantage to deal fairly with us. But apart from the specialists, among whom I also include schoolteachers, we can get along perfectly well without the other "intellectuals". The present influx of literati and students into the party, for example, may be quite damaging if these gentlemen are not properly kept in check.

The Junker latifundia east of the Elbe could be easily leased under the due technical management to the present day-laborers and other retinue, who work the estates jointly. If any disturbances occur, the Junkers, who have brutalized people by flouting all the existing school legislation, will alone be to blame.

The biggest obstacle are the small peasants and the importunate super-clever intellectuals who always think they know everything so much the better, the less they understand it.

Once we have a sufficient number of followers among the masses, the big industries and the large-scale latifundia farming can be quickly socialized, provided we hold the political power. The rest will follow shortly, sooner or later. And we shall have it all our own way in large-scale production.

You speak of an absence of uniform insight. This exists — but on the part of the intellectuals to stem

from the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and who do not suspect how much they still have to learn from the workers...

[A] Boenigk asked Engels whether it was possible and advisable to affect socialist transformations considering the differences in education, level of consciousness, etc., among the various classes of society.

Marx/Engels Internet Archive

Letter from Engels to Conrad Schmidt in London

Written: August 5, 1890
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I saw a review of Paul Barth's book *[The Philosophy of History of Hegel and of the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*, 1890] by that bird of ill-omen, Moritz Wirth, in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte* and this criticism left an unfavourable impression on my mind of the book itself as well. I will have a look at it, but I must say that if little Moritz is right when he quotes Barth as stating that the sole example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., on the material conditions of existence which he can find in all Marx's works is that Descartes declares animals to be machines, then I am sorry for the man who can write such a thing. And if this man has not discovered yet that though the material form of existence is the *primum agens* (primary agent) this does not exclude spheres of ideas from reacting upon it in their turn, though with a secondary effect, he cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about. However, as I have said, all this is second-hand and little Moritz is a fatal friend. And the materialist conception of history also has a lot of friends nowadays to whom it serves as an excuse for not studying history. Just as Marx used to say about the French "Marxists" of the late 'seventies: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."

There has also been a discussion in the *Volkstribune* about the division of products in the future society, whether this will take place according to the amount of work done or otherwise. The question has been approached very "materialistically," in opposition to certain idealistic forms of phraseology about justice. But strangely enough it has never struck anyone that, after all, the method of division essentially depends on how much there is to divide, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organisation, so that the method of division may also change. But to everyone who took part in the discussion "socialist society" appeared not as involved in continuous change and progress but as a stable affair fixed once and for all, which must, therefore, have its method of division fixed once and for all. All one can reasonably do, however, is (I) to try and discover the method of division to be used *at the beginning*, and (2) to try and find the *general tendency* in which the further development will proceed. But about this I do not find a single word in the whole debate.

In general the word *materialistic* serves many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labelled without further study; they stick on this label and then think

the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction after the manner of the Hegelians. All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be individually examined before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, civil-legal, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., notions corresponding to them. Only a little has been done here up to now because only a few people have got down to it seriously. In this field we can utilise masses of help, it is immensely big and anyone who will work seriously can achieve a lot and distinguish himself. But instead of this only too many of the younger Germans simply make use of the phrase, historical materialism (and *everything* can be turned into a phrase),in order to get their own relatively scanty historical knowledge (for economic history is still in its cradle!) fitted together into a neat system as quickly as possible, and they then think themselves something very tremendous. And after that a Barth can come along and attack the thing itself, which in his circles has indeed been degraded into a mere phrase.

However all this will right itself. We are strong enough in Germany now to stand a lot. One of the greatest services which the Socialist Law did us was to free us from the officiousness of the German university student who had got tinged with socialism. We are strong enough now to digest the German university student too, who is giving himself great airs again. You, who have really done something, must have noticed yourself how few of the young literary men who fasten themselves on to the Party give themselves the trouble to study economics, the history of economics, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of the forms of society. How many know anything of Maurer except his name? The shamelessness of the journalist has to accomplish everything, and the result corresponds. It often seems as if these gentlemen think anything is good enough for the workers. If these gentlemen only knew how Marx thought his best things were still not good enough for the workers and how he regarded it as a crime to offer the workers anything less than the very best!

After the test they have so brilliantly sustained since 1848 I have unqualified confidence in our workers, and only in them. Like every great Party they will commit mistakes in particular points of their development, perhaps great mistakes. Indeed the masses only learn by the consequences of their own mistakes, by experiments on their own bodies. But all that will be overcome, and much more easily with us than elsewhere because our lads really are so indestructibly healthy, and then too because Berlin, which will not easily shed its particular Berlinishness so soon, is only our formal centre, like London, and not what Paris is to France. I have often enough got vexed with the French and the English workers (despite a realisation of the causes for their blunders) but with the Germans since 1870 never--with individuals who spoke in their name, yes, but never with the masses who set everything on to the right track again. And I would like to wager that it never will happen to me to get vexed with them.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

He

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)

The most important representative of classical German philosophy; he represented an objective idealism; a brilliant investigator of the laws of dialectic, which he was the first consciously to apply. An understanding of the influence Hegel had on Marx and Engels, and their opinions of Hegel:

Engels wrote in his review of Marx's The Critique of Political Economy:

"The Hegelian method, on the other hand, was in its existing form quite inapplicable. It was essentially idealist and the main point in this case was the elaboration of a world outlook that was more materialist than any previous one. Hegel's method took as its point of departure pure thought, whereas here the starting point was to be inexorable facts.A method which, according to its own admission, "came from nothing, through nothing, to nothing" [Hegel, *Science of Logic*, Part I, Section 2] was by no means appropriate here in this form. Nevertheless, of all the available logical material, it was the only piece which could be used, at least, as a starting-point. It had not been criticised, nor overcome; not one of the opponents of the great dialectician had been able to make a breach in its proud structure; it fell into oblivion, because the Hegelian school had not the slightest notion what to do with it. It was, therefore, above all necessary to subject the Hegelian method to through-going criticism.

"What distinguished Hegel's mode of thought from that of all other philosophers was the tremendous sense of the historical upon which it was based. Abstract and idealist though it was in form, yet the development of his thoughts always proceeded parallel with the development of world history and the latter is really meant to be only the test of the former. If, thereby, the real relation was inverted and stood on its head, nevertheless, the real content entered everywhere into the philosophy; all the more so since Hegel- in contrast to his disciples- did not parade ignorance, but was one of the finest intellects of all time. He was the first who attempted to show a development, an inner coherence, in history; and while today much in his philosophy of history may seem peculiar to us, yet the grandeur of his fundamental outlook is admirable even today, whether one makes

comparison with his predecessors or, to be sure, with anyone who, since his time, has indulged n general reflections concerning history. Everywhere, in his *Phenomenlogy, Esthetics, History of Philosophy*, this magnificent conception of history prevails, and everywhere the material is treated historically, in a definite, even if abstractly distorted, interconnection with history.

"This epoch-making conception of history was the direct theoretical premise for the new materialist outlook, and this alone provide a connecting point for the logical method, too. Since this forgotten dialectics had lead to such results even from the standpoint of "pure thinking", and had, in addition, so easily settled accounts with all preceding logic and metaphysics, there must at any rate have been more to it than sophistry and hair-splitting. But the criticism of this method, which all official philosophy had fought shy of an still does, was no trifle.

Marx later wrote in his preface to the second edition of Capital (Volume 1):

"My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea," he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea." With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.

"The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell."

See: **The Hegel Reference Archive**

Heidegger, Martin (1889-1976)

Founder of German Existentialism; accepted the ideology of Nazism publicly in 1933; developed theory of a priori forms of personality (care, dread, concern, etc.) which he in turn developed as a theory of existence. Heidegger drew upon Kierkegaard and Husserl.

As a young Catholic, who had studied Brentano while still at school, Heidegger joined the Jesuits as soon as he left school and went on to study theology at the University of Freiburg.

Heidegger's philosophy drew on Plato, Aristotle, and the early Gnostics, but he was particularly interested in Søren Kierkegaard and Friedrich Nietzsche, the vitalist Wilhelm Dilthey and his teacher Edmund Husserl.

At Freiberg, Heidegger studied under Husserl, and Heidegger's work must be read through the lens of Phenomenology, as concerning the different ways of *Being*, not as studies of psychology or sociology.

However, instead of following in his master's footsteps, Heidegger took up a position at Marburg and in 1927 published the almost unreadable but highly acclaimed Being and Time which, in his view, marked a sharp break from Husserl. This book strongly influenced Jean-Paul Sartre and many other Existentialists. In the

English-speaking world, however, its influence was negligible for several decades.

In Being and Time, Heidegger's asks “What is the meaning of Being?”, what lies behind the obviousness of everyday life and the empirical questions of natural science. In 1928 Heidegger resigned his post at Marburg and returned to Freiburg to be Husserl's successor.

Heidegger held that Western thought had undergone a deep fall (*Verfall*) as a result of technological development resulting in alienation (*Entfremdung*), or an “inauthentic way of being.”

Following Husserl, Heidegger held that it is the Phenomenology, not scientific investigation, which shows man's ways of Being. He held that the distinction between subject and object, the separation between man and his environment, is not immediate but comes only later as a result of conceptualisation. To get back to “Thinking of Being” Heidegger employed linguistic techniques, developing words of his own invention, not only from German, but even from Greek.

When Hitler assumed power in November 1933, German universities were pressured to eliminate Jewish scholars and “Jewish Doctrines”, such as relativity! The anti-Nazi Rector at Freiburg resigned in protest, and the teaching staff unanimously elected Heidegger as his successor. In his inauguration speech Heidegger gave a clear affirmation of Nazism. Heidegger also gave solidly pro-Hitler speeches on subsequent occasions: “The Führer himself and he alone is the German reality, present and future, and its law.”.

Heidegger joined the Nazi Party and did not try to leave it, but his relations with the party deteriorated. He resigned as rector at the beginning of 1934 and denounced the Nazis after the war was over. In 1945, the occupying powers forbade him to take up official lecturing again. He was investigated, but his support of Hitler in 1933-34 was not found to be “serious”, and he did not lose professional rights.

Further Reading: Basic Problems of Phenomenonology.

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)

German poet and revolutionary democrat, friend of Karl Marx, first to recognise the underlying revolutionary character of classical German Philosophy.

Heinzen, Karl (1809-80)

A doctor by profession. Bourgeois democrat. Editor of several German-American papers. Opponent of Marx and Engels. A petty bourgeois who held that the despotic powers of the German princes were the root of all evil--hence he got the nickname of "the prince-killer." He regarded the "class struggle " as a mad idea of the Communists. In support of his views he had cited the Chartist leader, Ernest Jones.

Heisenberg, Werner (1901 - 1976)

German Physicist who helped to establish quantum mechanics and made important contributions to the theory of turbulence, the atomic nucleus, ferromagnetism, cosmic rays, and elementary particles; co-author with Niels Bohr of the Principle of Complementarity, and noted for the well-known “Heisenberg Uncertainty (or Indeterminacy) Principle”, Heisenberg did not share the widespread sceptical interpretation placed on this principle, which many have sought to use to substantiate subjectivist interpretations of modern physics.

Heisenberg studied physics with his life-ling friend Wolfgang Pauli, under Arnold Sommerfeld at the University of Munich and did his PhD on turbulence. Following Pauli to the University of Göttingen, he studied there under Max Born and in 1924 went to study under Niels Bohr in Copenhagen.

Heisenberg was aware of growing problems with Bohr's model of the atom and wanted to develop a new model to cope with the growing contradictions.

In 1925, Heisenberg solved problem of how to account for the discrete energy states of an anharmonic oscillator which opened the way for an alternative explanation of the discrete energy levels founds in Bohr's model of the atom and a new interpretation of the basic concepts of quantum mechanics. Heisenberg took as unobservable the supposed trajectory of a particle between its interactions in order to be able to construct a theory which deal only with the measurable interaction events. Consequently, physical variables would be represented by discrete *arrays* of numbers. Under the influence of Albert Einstein's paper on relativity, he took the variables to represent only *measurable* quantities. Born showed that these arrays obeyed the rules of *matrix algebra*, and with Heisenberg, named the new quantum theory “matrix mechanics”. Each matrix specified the possible values for a physical variable, and the terms of a matrix were taken to generate probabilities of occurrences of states and transitions. Using the matrix mechanics to interpret the spectrum of the helium atom and other atomic and molecular spectra, ferromagnetic phenomena, and electromagnetic behaviour, Heisenberg demonstrated the validity of the conception experimentally.

In 1927, Heisenberg published the Indeterminacy, or Uncertainty, Principle in which he endeavoured to relate the matrix-entities to the intuitively familiar concepts of classical physics. If q is the position-coordinate of an electron, and p a measurement of its momentum, then delta-q * delta-p > h (Planck's constant), where delta-q and delta-p are the standard deviation of measurements of p and q. One of the characteristics of matrix algebra is that the *law of commutation for multiplication* does not hold (a*b not= b*a). Momentum and position are thus characterised as "non-commuting variables", from which it follows that the determination of each of the two variables cannot be deemed to make sense *independently* of one another, the two entities cannot have a separate meaning independent of one another; the Indeterminacy Principle stated above gives a definite quantitative measure to this degree of interdependence. This conception has a close parallel to Einstein's discovery that measurements of space and time cannot be conceived of measuring entities *independent* of one another.

This result has been interpreted by subjectivist writers to mean that in some way what is at issue is the Mind of the person carrying out the measurement which is determining the interaction, but this idea hinges on a total misunderstanding of the issue. The problem for conception of these processes arises from the fact that for everyday, pictorial thinking, position and momentum are *distinct* entities; in relation to quantum phenomena, these concepts are meaningful only in relation to interactions of a particle, and quite distinct interactions are implied in the measurement of momentum or position. This is not at all the case in everday experience.

Initially, Heisenberg had arrived at the matrix-mechanics through the solution of mathematical problems and did not see the matrices as representations of particulate properties such as momentum and position. It was Bohr who showed how the Indeterminacy Principle expressed the relationship between the wave and particle conceptions of quantum phenomena and gave a quantitative expression to the Complementarity Principle.

Bohr and Heisenberg generalised the principle of complementarity to take account of a range of physical

variables and the measurement process on which each depends. The principle and the difficulties which flow from its interpretation, was the subject of intense controversy among all the great physicists of that time, with Einstein, Schrödinger and Louis de Broglie all disputing Bohr and Heisenberg's interpretation of the principle of complementarity.

>From 1927 to 1941 Heisenberg worked at the University of Leipzig and from 1941 to 1945 in Berlin. He never publicly opposed the Nazi regime and worked with Otto Hahn on the development of a nuclear reactor though he failed to develop an effective program for nuclear weapons. After the war he became director of the Max Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics at Göttingen, moving with the institute to Munich.

After the War Heisenberg began work on spinors, complex vector-like representations, hoping to find universal symmetries in nature whcih would explain the wide variety of elementary particles.

Although he early, and indirectly, came under the influence of Ernst Mach, Heisenberg, in his philosophical writings about quantum mechanics, vigorously opposed the Logical Positivism developed by philosophers of science of the Vienna Circle. According to Heisenberg, what was revealed by active observation was not an absolute datum, but a theory-laden datum, contextualized by observational situations. He took classical mechanics and electromagnetics, which articulated the objective motions of bodies in space-time, to be permanently valid, though not applicable to quantum mechanical interactions; he took causality to apply in general not to individual quantum mechanical systems but to mathematical representations alone, since particle behaviour could be predicted only on the basis of probability.

Further Reading: See his History of Quantum Theory.

Helmholtz, Hermann von (1821 - 1894)

One of the greatest scientists of the 19th century, made fundamental contributions to physiology, optics, electrodynamics, mathematics, and meteorology, but best known for his statement of the law of the conservation of energy and his successful struggle against vitalism; in attempting to develop a consistent empiricism, he formulated an epistemology based on a conception of sensations as ‘symbols’ of external reality: “as the quality of our sensations informs us of the properties of external action by which this senation is produced, the latter can be regarded as its *sign*, but not as its *image*”.

A sickly child, his father who was a teacher of philosophy and literature at the Potsdam Gymnasium, taught him Greek, Latin, French, English, and Italian, and the philosophy of Kant and Fichte at a young age. Much of Helmholtz's later work was devoted to refuting the “Nature Philosophy” he had been taight by his father.

He attended the Friedrich Wilhelm Medical Institute in Berlin under the great physiologist, Johannes Müller, receiving a free medical education on the condition that he serve eight years as an army doctor. He also attended the lectures in physics and worked his way through higher mathematics from the textbooks, and taught himself the piano.

Shortly after graduating however, he was relieved from military duties and soon became assistant professor and director of the Physiological Institute in Königsberg and in 1855 was appointed professor of anatomy and physiology at the University of Bonn. More and more his interests moved towards physics, and in 1882 he was elevated to the nobility and in 1888, appointed director of the Physico-Technical Institute at Berlin, where he spent the remainder of his life.

One of the central interests of the latter part of the nineteenth century was investigation of the relationship between human beings and Nature by means of studying the physiology of perception; further, the majority of biologists of his day believed in the existence of a *life force* of some kind. From an early age, Helmholtz set

himself against Kantian *innate faculties* of reason, insisting that *all* knowledge came through the senses, all forms of deduction of natural law from philosophical considerations and conceptions of mystical “life forces”.

At the beginning of his career in Johannes Müller's laboratory, Helmholtz determined himself to tackle the problem of uncovering the physical and chemical processes at work in living organisms. His doctoral thesis on the connection between nerve fibres and nerve cells soon led him to the problem of explaining the generation of animal heat on the basis of basic physics and chemistry, intending in this way to absolutely refute the doctrines of vitalism, which held that body heat was derived from the action of the “life force”. His general considerations in preparing this work led to his formulation of the Law of Conservation of Energy (‘Force’ as he called it). His paper, published in 1847, marked an epoch in the history of natural science. In 1850, Helmholtz succeeded in measuring the speed of transmission of nerve impulses at 27 metres per second, an observation which contributed to undermining vitalism.

With painstakingly detailed investigation of the mechanisms of sight, and later studies of the sensations of audible tones, Helmholtz intended to undermine Kant's conception of the innate comprehension of space and time, and he published a number of exemplary works on the physiology of sight and hearing.

Helmholtz showed exactly how the sense of vision created the idea of space. Space, according to Helmholtz, was a learned, not an inherent, concept. Moreover, Helmholtz also attacked Kant's insistence that space was necessarily three-dimensional because that was how the mind had to conceive it. Using his considerable mathematical talents, he investigated the properties of non-Euclidean space and showed that these could be conceived and worked with as easily as the geometry of three dimensions.

Helmholtz's mathematical talents were exceptional. He attacked and solved equations that had long frustrated physicists and mathematicians. In 1858 he published the paper On the Integrals of Hydrodynamic Equations to Which Vortex Motions Conform. This was not only a mathematical triumph, but also seemed to provide a key to the fundamental structure of matter. One of the consequences that flowed from Helmholtz' mathematical analysis was that vortices of an ideal fluid were amazingly stable; they could collide elastically with one another, intertwine to form complex knot-like structures, and undergo tensions and compressions, all without losing their identities. In 1866, Kelvin proposed that these vortices, if composed of the ether that was presumed to be the basis for optical, electrical, and magnetic phenomena, could act exactly like primeval atoms of solid matter. Thus the ether would become the only substance in the cosmos, and all physical phenomena could be accounted for in terms of its properties.

Helmholtz also did significant work on the mathematics of electrodynamics and spent his last years unsuccessfully trying to reduce all of electrodynamics to a minimum set of mathematical principles, an attempt in which he had to rely increasingly on the supposed mechanical properties of the ether.

In 1881, in a lecture delivered in London, Helmholtz argued for the particulate nature of electricity, leading to the coining of the word “electron”. Helmholtz came close to his goal of deducing all electromagnetic effects from properties of the ether, using his vortex hypothesis, and the discovery of radio waves by Hertz in 1888 was seen as confirmation of his theory. Ultimately, Helmholtz's theories were rendered obsolete by Einstein's theory of special and general relativity, after which the concept of “ether” was abandoned.

Helmholtz' work was the end product of the development of classical mechanics. He pushed it as far as it could go. When Helmholtz died in Berlin in 1894, the world of physics was poised on the brink of revolution. The discovery of X rays, radioactivity, and relativity led to a new kind of physics in which Helmholtz' achievements, although impressive, had little to offer.

Further Reading: See his speech, Facts of Perception, summarising his epistemological views.

Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935)

Secretary of the British Labour Party, 1911-34, was home secretary in MacDonald's first cabinet and foreign secretary in his second. He was also president of the Second International in the twenties.

Heraclitus (c. 544-483BC)

Materialist philosopher and exponent of dialectics, known as "The Obscure"; held Fire to be prime material in nature, being the most capable of change and motion; "The world was created by none of the gods or men, but was, is, and will be eternally living fire, regularly becoming ignited and regularly becoming extinguished" - all things in nature are in continuous flux, changing into their opposites; struggle is universal, etc.

Herriot, Edouard (1872.1957)

The leader of the liberal Radical (or Radical Socialist) Party of France, an advocate of class collaboration with the workers' parties, and premier, 1924-25, 1926 (for two days), 1932 (for six months).

Herzen, Alexander (1812-70)

Russian author and revolutionary who "was the founder of 'Russian' socialism, of 'Narodnikism." He belonged to the generation of revolutionaries of the landowning class in the first half of the nineteenth century. After the defeat of the Revolution of 1848, in "that period of history when the revolutionary spirit of bourgeois democracy was already dead and the revolutionary consciousness of the socialist proletariat was not yet mature" (Lenin), Herzen became a sceptic. He had been living abroad since the end of the 1840s and did not believe in the revolutionary movement in Russia, though in the free Russian press which he had established abroad he supported every revolutionary manifestation in Russia. Marx criticised Herzen for idealising the Russian village commune and failing to see the signs of its decay.

Index of the Letter H

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Fredrick Engels

Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg

ABSTRACT

Written: September 21-22, 1890
Source: Historical Materialism (Marx, Engels, Lenin), p. 294 - 296
Publisher: Progress Publishers, 1972
Translated: from German
Online Version: marxists.org 1999

London, September 21, 1890

[....]

According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure — political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. The Prussian state also arose and developed from historical, ultimately economic, causes. But it could scarcely be maintained without pedantry that among the many small states of North Germany, Brandenburg was specifically determined by economic necessity to become the great power embodying the economic, linguistic and, after the Reformation, also the religious difference between North and South, and not by other elements as well (above all by its entanglement with Poland, owing to the possession of Prussia, and hence with international political relations — which were indeed also decisive in the formation of the Austrian dynastic power). Without making oneself ridiculous it would be a difficult thing to explain in terms of economics the existence of every small state in Germany, past and present, or the origin of the

High German consonant permutations, which widened the geographic partition wall formed by the mountains from the Sudetic range to the Taunus to form a regular fissure across all Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting force, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant — the historical event. This may again itself be viewed as the product of a power which works as a whole *unconsciously* and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus history has proceeded hitherto in the manner of a natural process and is essentially subject to the same laws of motion. But from the fact that the wills of individuals — each of whom desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the last resort economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general) — do not attain what they want, but are merged into an aggregate mean, a common resultant, it must not be concluded that they are equal to zero. On the contrary, each contributes to the resultant and is to this extent included in it.

I would furthermore ask you to study this theory from its original sources and not at second-hand; it is really much easier. Marx hardly wrote anything in which it did not play a part. But especially *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a most excellent example of its application. There are also many allusion to it in *Capital*. Then may I also direct you to my writings: *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, in which I have given the most detailed account of historical material which, as far as I know, exists. [The German Ideology was not published in Marx or Engels lifetime]

Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle *vis-á-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction. But when it came to presenting a section of history, that is, to making a practical application, it was a different matter and there no error was permissible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have assimilated its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter, too....

[....]

Marx/Engels Letter Archive

Karl Marx

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon

Written: Dec 1851 - Mar 1852
Source: Chapters 1 & 7 are translated by Saul K. Padover from the German edition of 1869; Chapters 2 through 6 are based on the third edition, prepared by Engels (1885), as translated and published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1937.
First Published: First issue of *Die Revolution*, 1852, New York
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 1995, 1999
Transcription/Markup: Zodiac

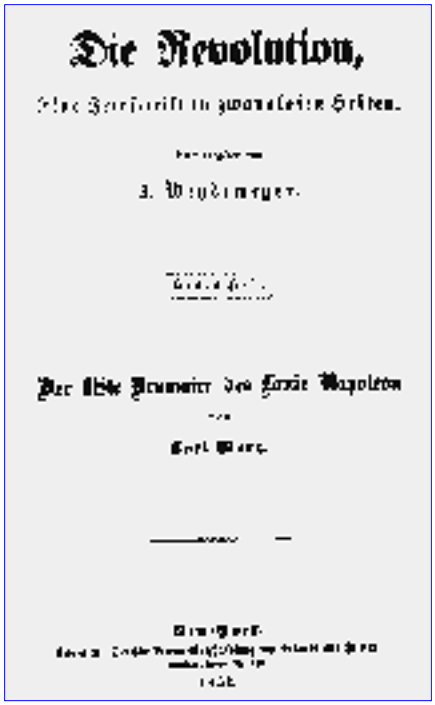
On December 2 1851, followers of President Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon's nephew) broke up the Legislative Assembly and established a dictatorship. A year later, Louis Bonaparte proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III.

Marx wrote *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* between December 1851 and February 1852. The "Eighteenth Brumaire" refers to November 9, 1799 in the French Revolutionary Calendar — the day the first Napoleon Bonaparte had made himself dictator by a coup d'etat.

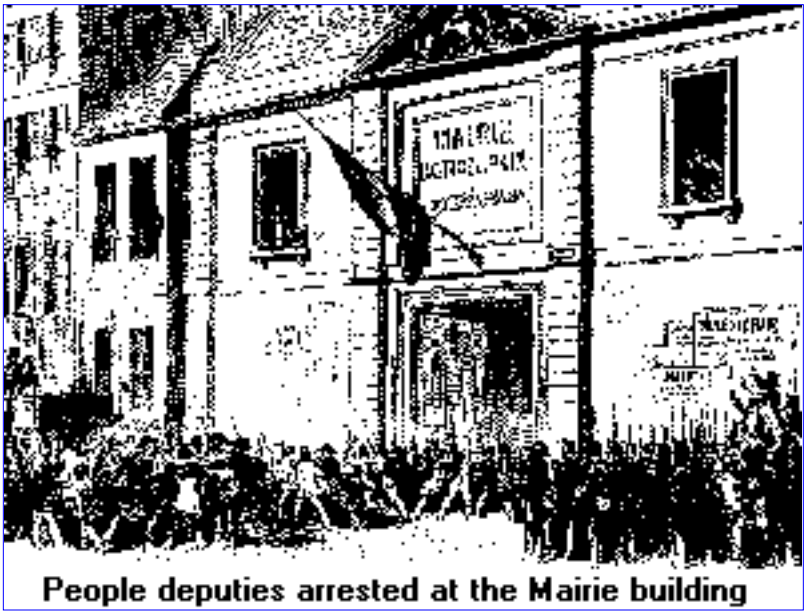
Marx concludes in this work that if a revolution is to survive, it must eliminate the bourgeois machinery of state: "All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it." Lenin later wrote: "This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the State."

Table of Contents:

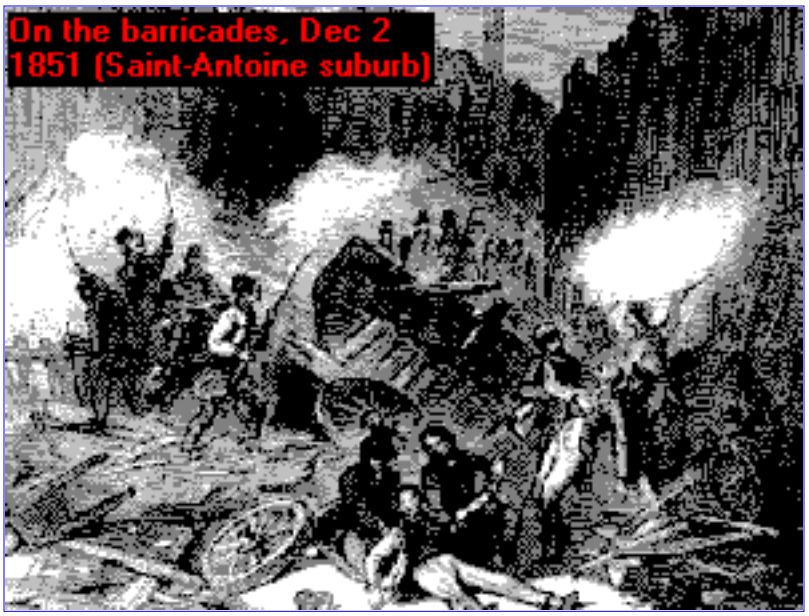
Preface	5 k
Chapter 1	25 k
Chapter 2	29 k
Chapter 3	37 k
Chapter 4	26 k
Chapter 5	45 k
Chapter 6	48 k


Die Revolution,

Chapter 7 35 k



People deputies arrested at the Mairie building



Marx/Engels Works Archive

Capital

Volume One

The Process of Production of Capital

Written: 1867
Source: First english edition of 1887 (4th German edition changes included as indicated).
Publisher: Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR
First Published: 1887
Translated: Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling — edited by Fredrick Engels
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 1995, 1999
Transcribed: Zodiac, Hinrich Kuhls, Allan Thurrott, Bill McDorman, Bert Schultz and Martha Gimenez (1995-1996)
HTML Markup: Stephen Baird

Download: Macintosh | Windows

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt. 24 Barclay-Street.

Cover of the original 1867 (German) edition

CONTENTS:

[Prefaces and Afterwords]

Part I: Commodities and Money

Ch. 1: [Commodities]
Ch. 2: [Exchange]
Ch. 3: [Money, or the Circulation of Commodities]

Part II: The Transformation of Money in Capital

Ch. 4: [The General Formula for Capital]
Ch. 5: [Contradictions in the General Formula of Capital]
Ch. 6: [The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power]

Part III: The Production of Absolute Surplus-Value

Ch. 7: The Labour-Process and the Process of Producing Surplus-Value
Ch. 8: Constant Capital and Variable Capital
Ch. 9: The Rate of Surplus-Value
Ch. 10: The Working-Day
Ch. 11: Rate and Mass of Surplus-Value

Part IV: Production of Relative Surplus Value

Ch. 12: The Concept of Relative Surplus-Value
Ch. 13: Co-operation
Ch. 14: Division of Labour and Manufacture
Ch. 15: Machinery and Modern Industry

Part V: The Production of Absolute and of Relative Surplus-Value

Ch. 16: Absolute and Relative Surplus-Value
Ch. 17: Changes of Magnitude in the Price of Labour-Power and in Surplus-Value
Ch. 18: Various Formula for the Rate of Surplus-Value

Part VI: Wages

Ch. 19: The Transformation of the Value (and Respective Price) of Labour-Power into Wages
Ch. 20: Time-Wages
Ch. 21: Piece-Wages
Ch. 22: National Differences of Wages

Part VII: The Accumulation of Capital

Ch. 23: Simple Reproduction
Ch. 24: Conversion of Surplus-Value into Capital
Ch. 25: The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation

Part VIII: Primitive Accumulation

Ch. 26: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation
Ch. 27: Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land
Ch. 28: Bloody Legislation against the Expropriated, from the End of the 15th Century. Forcing down of

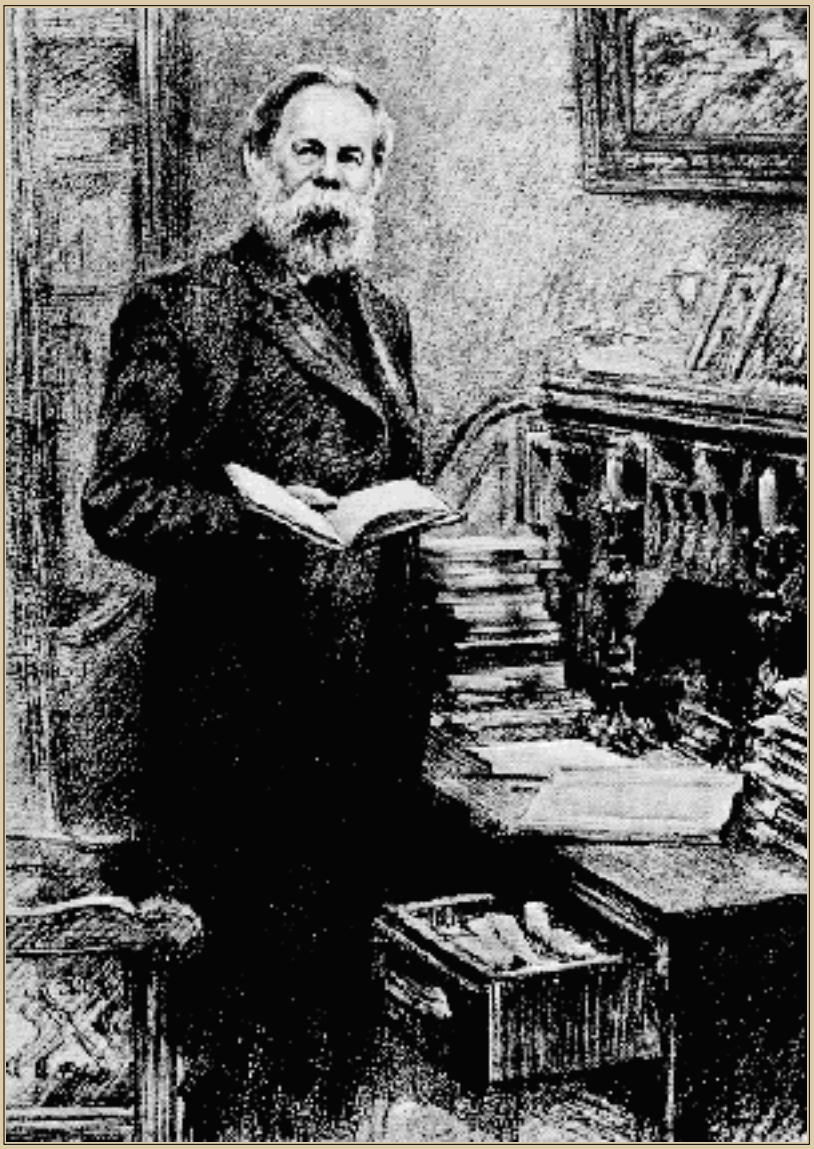
Wages by Acts of Parliament
Ch. 29: Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer
Ch. 30: Reaction of the Agricultural Revolution on Industry. Creation of the Home-Market for Industrial Capital
Ch. 31: Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist
Ch. 32: Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation
Ch. 33: The Modern Theory of Colonisation

(full table of contents listing)

Marx/Engels Works Index | Marxists Internet Archive

Frederick Engels'

ANTI-DÜHRING
Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science



Written: September 1876 - June 1878

Published: In German in *Vorwärts*, January 3 1877 to July 7 1878

Published: As book, Leipzig 1878.

Translation: Emile Burns (from the 1894 Stuttgart third edition)

Transcribed for the Internet: meia@marx.org, August 1996

Formerly known as *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, Engels' *Anti-Dühring* is a popular and enduring work which, as Engels wrote to Marx, was an attempt "to produce an encyclopaedic survey of our conception of the philosophical, natural-science and historical problems."

Marx and Engels first became aware of Professor Dühring with his December 1867 review of *Capital*, published in *Ergänzungsblätter*. They exchanged a series of letters about him from January-March 1868.

He was largely forgotten until the mid-1870s, at which time Dühring entered Germany's political foreground. German Social-Democrats were influenced by

both his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* and *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*. Among his readers were included Johann Most, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Eduard Bernstein -- and even August Bebel for a brief period.

In March 1874, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party paper *Volksstaat* ran an anonymous article (actually penned by Bebel) favorably reviewing one of Dühring's books.

On both February 1 and April 21, 1875, Liebknecht encouraged Engels to take Dühring head-on in the pages of the *Volksstaat.* In February 1876, Engels fired an opening salvo with his *Volksstaat* article "Prussian Vodka in the German Reichstag".

On May 24, 1876, Engels wrote Marx, saying there was cause to initiate a campaign against the spread of Dühring's views. Marx replied the next day, saying Dühring himself should be sharply criticised. So Engels put aside his work on what would later become known as the book *Dialectics of Nature*. On May 28, he outlined to Marx the general strategy he planned to take against Dühring.

It would take over two years to complete.

The book breaks into three distinct parts:

***Part I*: Philosophy** -- Written mainly between September

1876 and January 1877. Published as a series of articles entitled *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Philosophie* in *Vorwärts* between January and May 1877. Later, beginning in 1878, with the first separate edition, the first two chapters of this part were made into an independent general introduction to all three parts.

***Part II*: Political Economy** -- Written mainly between June and August 1877. (The last chapter was actually written by Marx.) Published under the title *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der politischen Oekonomie* in *Wissenschaftliche Beilage* and in the supplement to *Vorwärts* between July and December 1877.

***Part III*: Socialism** -- Written mainly between August 1877 and April 1878. Published as *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung des Sozialismus* in the supplement to *Vorwärts* between May and July 1878.

The *Vorwärts* serials elicited objections from Dühring's loyal adherents: during the May 27 1877 congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, they attempted to ban the on-going publication of it in the Party paper. Indeed, the sporadic delays in publication were largely due to their efforts.

In July 1877, Part I was published as a pamphlet. In July 1878, Parts II and

III were combined into a second pamphlet.

In early July 1878, the complete work was first published as a book -- with an added preface by Engels. In October 1878, Germany's Anti-Socialist Law was instituted and *Anti-Dühring* was banned along with Engels' other works. In 1886, a second edition appeared in Zurich. The third, revised and supplemented edition was published in Stuttgart, in 1894, i.e., after the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed (1890). This was the last edition during Engels' lifetime. It was translated into English for the first time in 1907, in Chicago.

In 1880, at Paul Lafargue's request, Engels took three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* and created one would become one of the most popular socialist pamphlets in the world: *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

Anti-Dühring

Prefaces

Preface: London, June 11, 1878
Preface: London, September 23, 1885
Preface: London, May 23, 1894

Introduction

Ch. 1: General
Ch. 2: What Herr Dühring promises

Part II: Political Economy

Ch. 1: Subject

Part I: Philosophy

Ch. 3: Classification. Apriorism
Ch. 4: World Schematism
Ch. 5: Philosophy of Nature. Time and Space
Ch. 6: Philosophy of Nature. Cosmogony, Physics, Chemistry.
Ch. 7: Philosophy of Nature. The Organic World.
Ch. 8: Philosophy of Nature. The Organic World. (Conclusion)
Ch. 9: Morality and Law. Eternal Truths.
Ch. 10: Morality and Law. Equality.
Ch. 11: Morality and Law. Freedom and Necessity.
Ch. 12: Dialectics. Quantity and Quality.
Ch. 13: Dialectics. Negation of the Negation.
Ch. 14: Conclusion.

Matter and Method
Ch. 2: Theory of Force.
Ch. 3: Theory of Force. (Continuation)
Ch. 4: Theory of Force. (Conclusion)
Ch. 5: Theory of Value.
Ch. 6: Simple and Compound Labour.
Ch. 7: Capital and Surplus-Value.
Ch. 8: Capital and Surplus-Value. (Conclusion)
Ch. 9: Natural Laws of the Economy. Rent of Land.
Ch. 10: From *Kritische Geschichte*.

Part III: Socialism

Ch. 1: Historical.
Ch. 2: Theoretical.
Ch. 3: Production.
Ch. 4: Distribution.
Ch. 5: State, Family, Education.

Notes

Notes
Notes by Engels

Cover pages

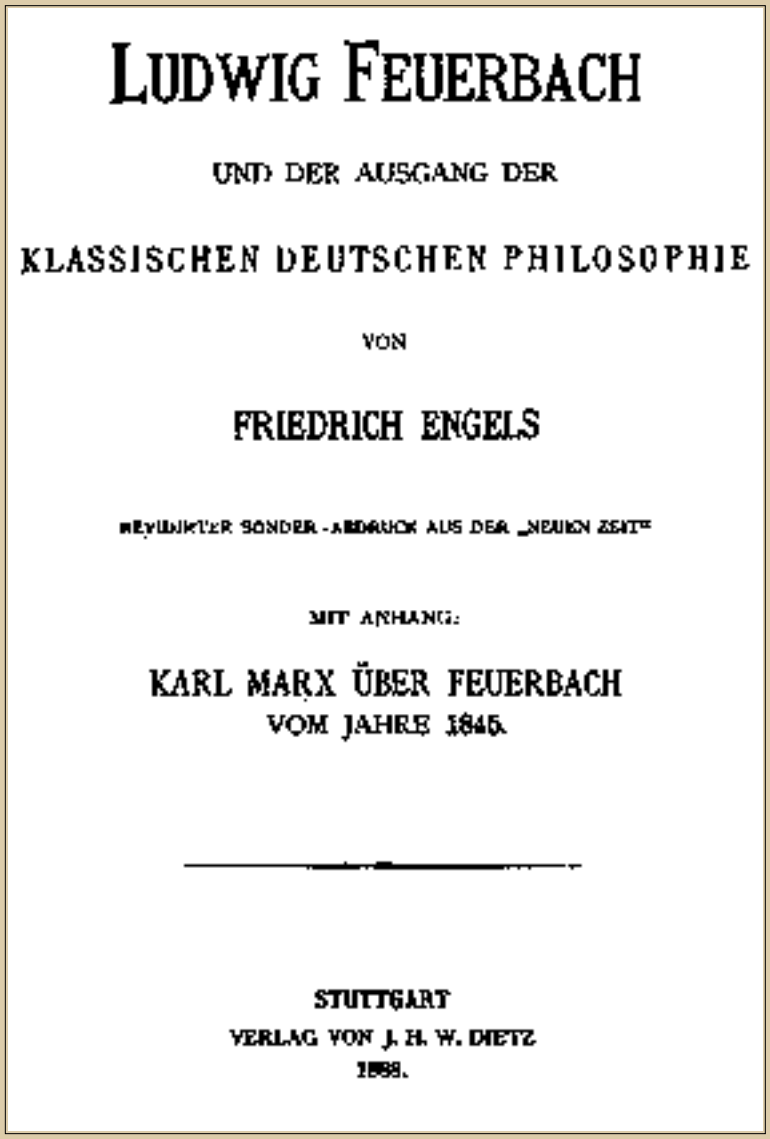
Vorwärts, January 1877
First book edition, Leipzig, 1878
Last book edition in Engels' life, Stuttgart, 1894

Marx / Engels Archive

Marxist writers' Archives

Frederick Engels'

LUDWIG FEUERBACH AND THE END OF CLASSICAL GERMAN PHILOSOPHY



LUDWIG FEUERBACH

UND DER AUSGANG DER

KLASSISCHEN DEUTSCHEN PHILOSOPHIE

VON

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

REVIDIRTER SONDER-ABDRUCK AUS DER „NEUEN ZEIT"

MIT ANHANG:

KARL MARX ÜBER FEUERBACH
VOM JAHRE 1845.

STUTTGART
VERLAG VON J. H. W. DIETZ
1888.

First published in 1886 in *Die Neue Zeit*. It was intended to rebut a resurgence of neo-Idealism in German ruling class circles. It was reprinted in Stuttgart two years later, with some changes made by Engels.

Engels considered this something of a summation or closure of the post-Hegelian criticism Marx and he had initiated in *The German Ideology* 43 years before -- which work was never published in their lifetimes.

ONLINE VERSION: Translated from the German by Progress Publishers in 1946. Transcribed and published on the Internet by director@marx.org on January 4 1994.

- Foreword: Engels, 1888
- Part 1: "Hegel"
- Part 2: "Materialism"
- Part 3: "Feuerbach"
- Part 4: "Marx"
- Appendix: Marx's Theses on Feuerbach (1845)

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Marx/Engels Internet Archive

A Critique of

The German Ideology

Written: Fall 1845 to mid-1846
First Published: 1932 (in full)
Source: Progress Publishers, 1968
Language: German
Transcription: Tim Delaney, Bob Schwartz
Online Version: Marx/Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) 2000

Preface

I. Feuerbach: Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks

A. Idealism and Materialism

The Illusions of German Ideology
First Premises of the Materialist Method
History: Fundamental Conditions
Private Property and Communism

B. The Illusion of the Epoch

Civil Society -- and the Conception of History
Feuerbach: Philosophic, and Real, Liberation
Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas

C. The Real Basis of Ideology

Division of Labor: Town and Country
The Rise of Manufacturing
The Relation of State and Law to Property

D. Proletarians and Communism

Individuals, Class, and Community
Forms of Intercourse
Conquest

Contradictions of Big Industry: Revolution

III. Saint Max

A. Idealist mistakes & Materialist corrections

Idealist Misconceptions
Individuality according to Materialism
The Family, Alienation, Competition, etc.

Marx/Engels Works Archive

Letter from Engels to Conrad Schmidt in London

Written: October 27, 1890
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I think you would do very well to take the post in Zürich. [Editor of the *Zürich Post.]* You could always learn a good deal about economics there, especially if you bear in mind that Zürich is still only a thirdrate money and speculation market, so that the impressions which make themselves felt there are weakened or deliberately distorted by twofold or threefold reflection. But you will get a practical knowledge of the mechanism and be obliged to follow the stock exchange reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna at first hand, and in this way the world market, in its reflex as money and stock market, will reveal itself to you. Economic, political and other reflections are just like those in the human eye, they pass through a condensing lens and therefore appear upside down, standing on their heads. Only the nervous system which would put them on their feet again for representation is lacking. The money market man only sees the movement of industry and of the world market in the inverted reflection of the money and stock market and so effect becomes cause to him. I noticed that in the 'forties already in Manchester: the London Stock Exchange reports were utterly useless for the course of industry and its periodical maxima and minima because these gentry tried to explain everything from crises on the money market, which were generally only symptoms. At that time the object was to explain away the origin of industrial crises as temporary overproduction, so that the thing had in addition its tendentious side, provocative of distortion. This point has now gone (for us, at any rate, for good and all), added to which it is indeed a fact that the money market can also have its own crises, in which direct disturbances of industry only play a subordinate part or no part at all--here there is still much, especially in the history of the last twenty years, to be examined and established.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale there is also mutual independence among the different sections of work. In the last instance production is the decisive factor. But when the trade in products becomes independent of production itself, it follows a movement of its own, which, while it is governed as a whole by production, still in particular cases and within this general dependence follows particular laws contained in the nature of this new factor; this movement has phases of its own and in its turn reacts on the movement of production. The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa (compare Soetbeer's *Production of Precious Metals),* because

the enormously extended European industry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the trade corresponding to it demanded more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had *imports from* India as its object--nobody dreamt of exporting anything there. And yet what a colossal reaction these discoveries and conquests, solely conditioned by the interests of trade, had upon industry: they first created the need for *exports to* these countries and developed large-scale industry.

So it is too with the money market. As soon as trading in money becomes separate from trade in commodities it has (under certain conditions imposed by production and commodity trade and within these limits) a development of its own, special laws and separate phases determined by its own nature. If, in this further development, trade in money extends in addition to trade in securities and these securities are not only government securities but also industrial and transport stocks and shares, so that money trade conquers the direct control over a portion of the production by which, taken as a whole, it is itself controlled, then the reaction of money trading on production becomes still stronger and more complicated. The money traders have become the owners of railways, mines, iron works, etc. These means of production take on a double aspect i their working has to be directed sometimes in the immediate interests of production but sometimes also according to the requirements of the shareholders, in so far as they are money traders. The most striking example of this is the American railways, whose working is entirely dependent on the stock exchange operations of a Jay Gould or a Vanderbilt, etc., these having nothing whatever to do with the particular railway concerned and its interests as a means of communication. And even here in England we have seen struggles lasting for tens of years between different railway companies over the boundaries of their respective territories-struggles in which an enormous amount of money was thrown away, not in the interests of production and communications but simply because of a rivalry which usually only had the object of facilitating the stock exchange dealings of the shareholding money traders.

With these few indications of my conception of the relation of production to commodity trade and of both to money trading, I have already also answered, in essence, your questions about "historical materialism" generally. The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common functions which it cannot dispense with. The persons selected for these functions form a new branch of the division of labour *within society.* This gives them particular interests, distinct too from the interests of those who gave them their office ; they make themselves independent of the latter and--the state is in being. And now the development is the same as it was with commodity trade and later with money trade; the new independent power, while having in the main to follow the movement of production, also, owing to its inward independence (the relative independence originally transferred to it and gradually further developed) reacts in its turn upon the conditions and course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on one hand the economic movement, on the other the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been established, is also endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement gets its way, but it has also to suffer reactions from the political movement which it established and endowed with relative independence itself, from the movement of the state power on the one hand and of the opposition simultaneously engendered on the other. Just as the movement of the industrial market is, in the main and with the reservations already indicated, reflected in the money market and, of course, in inverted form, so the struggle between the classes already existing and already in conflict with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, but also in inverted form, no longer directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a fight for political

principles, and so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get behind it again.

The reaction of the state power upon economic development can be one of three kinds: it can run in the same direction, and then development is more rapid; it can oppose the line of development, in which case nowadays state power in every great nation will go to pieces in the long run; or it can cut off the economic development from certain paths, and impose on it certain others. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and result in the squandering of great masses of energy and material.

Then there is also the case of the conquest and brutal destruction of economic resources, by which, in certain circumstances, a whole local or national economic development could formerly be ruined. Nowadays such a case usually has the opposite effect, at least among great nations: in the long run the defeated power often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor.

It is similar with law. As soon as the new division of labour which creates professional lawyers becomes necessary, another new and independent sphere is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, still has its own capacity for reacting upon these spheres as well. In a modern state, law must not only correspond to the general economic position and be its expression, but must also be an expression which is *consistent in itself*, and which does not, owing to inner contradictions, look glaringly inconsistent. And in order to achieve this, the faithful reflection of economic conditions is more and more infringed upon. All the more so the more rarely it happens that a code of law is the blunt, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of a class--this in itself would already offend the "conception of justice." Even in the Code Napoleon the pure logical conception of justice held by the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 is already adulterated in many ways, and in so far as it is embodied there has daily to undergo all sorts of attenuation owing to the rising power of the proletariat. Which does not prevent the Code Napoleon from being the statute book which serves as a basis for every new code of law in every part of the world. Thus to a great extent the course of the "development of law" only consists: first in the attempt to do away with the contradictions arising from the direct translation of economic relations into legal principles, and to establish a harmonious system of law, and then in the repeated breaches made in this system by the influence and pressure of further economic development, which involves it in further contradictions (I am only speaking here of civil law for the moment).

The reflection of economic relations as legal principles is necessarily also a topsy turvy one: it happens without the person who is acting being conscious of it; the jurist imagines he is operating with *a priori* principles, whereas they are really only economic reflexes; so everything is upside down. And it seems to me obvious that this inversion, which, so long as it remains unrecognised, forms what we call *ideological conception,* reacts in its turn upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it. The basis of the law of inheritance--assuming that the stages reached in the development of the family are equal--is an economic one. But it would be difficult to prove, for instance, that the absolute liberty of the testator in England and the severe restrictions imposed upon him in France are only due in every detail to economic causes. Both react back, however, on the economic sphere to a very considerable extent, because they influence the division of property.

As to the realms of ideology which soar still higher in the air, religion, philosophy, etc., these have a prehistoric stock, found already in existence and taken over in the historic period, of what we should to-day call bunk. These various false conceptions of nature, of man's own being, of spirits, magic forces,

etc., have for the most part only a negative economic basis; but the low economic development of the prehistoric period is supplemented and also partially conditioned and even caused by the false conceptions of nature. And even though economic necessity was the main driving force of the progressive knowledge of nature and becomes ever more so, it would surely be pedantic to try and find economic causes for all this primitive nonsense. The history of science is the history of the gradual clearing away of this nonsense or of its replacement by fresh but already less absurd nonsense. The people who deal with this belong in their turn to special spheres in the division of labour and appear to themselves to be working in an independent field. And in so far as they form an independent group within the social division of labour, in so far do their productions, including their errors, react back as an influence upon the whole development of society, even on its economic development. But all the same they themselves remain under the dominating influence of economic development. In philosophy, for instance, this can be most readily proved in the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the eighteenth century sense) but he was an absolutist in a period when absolute monarchy was at its height throughout the whole of Europe and when the fight of absolute monarchy versus the people was beginning in England. Locke, both in religion and politics, was the child of the class compromise of 1688. The English deists and their more consistent successors, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie, the French even of the bourgeois revolution. The German petty bourgeois runs through German philosophy from Kant to Hegel, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively. But the philosophy of every epoch, since it is a definite sphere in the division of labour, has as its presupposition certain definite intellectual material handed down to it by its predecessors, from which it takes its start. And that is why economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in philosophy: France in the eighteenth century compared with England, on whose philosophy the French based themselves, and later Germany in comparison with both. But the philosophy both of France and Germany and the general blossoming of literature at that time were also the result of a rising economic development. I consider the ultimate supremacy of economic development established in these spheres too, but it comes to pass within conditions imposed by the particular sphere itself: in philosophy, for instance, through the operation of economic influences (which again generally only act under political, etc., disguises) upon the existing philosophic material handed down by predecessors. Here economy creates nothing absolutely new *(a novo)*, but it determines the way in which the existing material of thought is altered and further developed, and that too for the most part indirectly, for it is the political, legal and moral reflexes which exercise the greatest direct influence upon philosophy.

About religion I have said the most necessary things in the last section on Feuerbach.

If therefore Barth supposes that we deny any and every reaction of the political, etc., reflexes of the economic movement upon the movement itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. He has only got to look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, which deals almost exclusively with the *particular* part played by political struggles and events; of course, within their general dependence upon economic conditions. Or *Capital*, the section on the working day, for instance, where legislation, which is surely a political act, has such a trenchant effect. Or the section on the history of the bourgeoisie. (Chapter XXIV.) Or why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is state power) is also an economic power.

But I have no time to criticise the book now. I must first get Vol. III out and besides I think too that Bernstein, for instance, could deal with it quite effectively.

What these gentlemen all lack is dialectic. They never see anything but here cause and there effect. That

this is a hollow abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites only exist in the real world during crises, while the whole vast process proceeds in the form of interaction (though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most elemental and most decisive) and that here everything is relative and nothing is absolute--this they never begin to see. Hegel has never existed for them.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

Glossary of People

Fe

Fischer, Ruth (1895-1961)

Leader in the German CP in the 1920s. Expelled in 1927, she helped found the Leninbund with Maslow and Urbans.

Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872)

As a member of the "Young Hegelians", Feuerbach criticised what he called Hegel's reduction of Man's Essence to Self-consciousness, and went on to prove the connection of philosophical idealism with religion. In rejecting Hegel's philosophy and advocating materialism, criticising religion and idealism, Feuerbach emphasised the individual, purely "biological" nature of man. He saw thought as a purely reflective, contemplative process, and in his understanding of history remained an idealist. Nevertheless, his critique of Hegel's idealism laid the basis for Marx and Engels' work. Two years before his death he joined the German Social Democratic Party founded by Marx, but he was not politically active.

Both Marx and Engels were strongly influenced by Feuerbach, though they thoroughly critiqued him for inconsistent materialism: Theses on Feurbach; M German Ideology, and Ludwig Feuerbach and The End of Classical German Philosophy (and others). Engels wrote in the latter work:

“the main body of the most determined Young Hegelians was, by the practical necessities of its fight against positive religion, driven back to Anglo-French materialism. This brought them into conflict with the system of their school.

“While materialism conceived nature as the sole reality, nature in the Hegelian system represents merely the "alienation" of the absolute idea, so to say, a degradation of the idea. At all events, thinking and its thought-product, the idea, is here the primary, nature the derivative, which only exists at all by the condescension of the idea. And in this contradiction they floundered as well or as ill as they could.

“Then came Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity. With one blow it pulverised the contradiction, in that without

circumlocutions it placed materialism on the throne again. Nature exists independently of all philosophy. It is the foundation upon which we human beings, ourselves products of nature, have grown up. Nothing exists outside nature and man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own essence.

“The spell was broken; the "system" was exploded and cast aside, and the contradiction, shown to exist only in out imagination, was dissolved. One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect of this book to get an idea of it. Enthusiasm was general; we all became at once Feuerbachians.”

In the Principles of the Philosophy of the Future, Feuerbach puts his philosophical position concisely and comprehensively into one work. The first section includes Feuerbach's interpretation of the history of philosophy up to Hegel. The second section is probably the best, Feuerbach's critique of Hegel, and final part puts forward his own position, which is very weak really, and is subject to withering criticism in Part III of Engels' booklet.

Feuerbach, who Marx described as the “true conqueror of the old philosophy”, was a revolutionary, and at the end of his life joined the German Social Democratic Party, but he retained his differences with Marx to the end. Nevertheless, his contribution to the revolutionary movement should never be forgotten.

See: **Feuerbach Reference Archive .**

Further Reading: Ilyenkov's essay on Feuerbach.

Richard Feynman (1918 - 1988)

American theoretical physicist who was probably the most brilliant and influential figure in his field in the post-World War II era; his *Feynman Lectures on Physics* presented physics as a systematic whole in a period of unprecedented change and remain a benchmark in the systematic and consistent exposition of science.

Feynman's major achievement was his systematic development of quantum electrodynamics using a graphical technique now known as *Feynman Diagrams* to visualise the inter-relation between the wave and particle aspects of elementary behaviour, and these diagrams are now universally applied in the understanding of all electromagnetic and particle phenomena.

A descendant of Russian and Polish Jews, he graduated from M.I.T. and was awarded his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1942. At Princeton he applied to quantum mechanics; the well-known principle of classical mechanics, the principle of least action. This technique greatly facilitated the building up of a comprehensive theory of electromagnetic phenomena based exclusively on the particle conception of light and the statistcial interpetation of electromagnetic fields in terms of Schrödinger's Wave Function.

During World War II Feynman was in charge of the computational work in the Manhattan Project but returned to the study of quantum electrodynamics after the War at Cornell, and in 1950 became professor of theoretical physics at Caltech.

Feynman's colourful and engaging personality and his considerable abilities in explaining and popularising complex scientific principles and his unparalleled grasp of the whole domain of physical science made him almost a cult figure in the 1950s and 60s. The introductory physics course he delivered at Caltech were published as The Feynman Lectures on Physics, which has become *the* classic textbook of physics across the world.

Index of the Letter F

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to Kautsky

in Ryde

Written: June 29, 1891
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I have escaped here for a few days, the work storming in upon me was getting too much. Happy and content, I was just in the middle of group-marriage when I had the Party programme upon me and that *had to be* taken up. I wanted first to try and formulate rather more strictly the unity considerations, but from lack of time never got to this; also it seemed to me more important to analyse the partly avoidable and partly inavoidable deficiencies of the political part, as in so doing I found an opportunity to let fly at the conciliatory opportunism of *Vorwärts* and at the cheerful, pious, merry and free "growth" of the filthy old mess "into socialist society." Meanwhile I hear that you have proposed a new introduction to them; so much the better.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Conrad Schmidt

in Ryde

Written: July 1, 1891
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Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I am very much disappointed with Barth's book. I had expected something rather less shallow and slap-dash. A man who judges every philosopher not by the enduring and progressive part of his activity but by what is necessarily transitory and reactionary--by the *system*--would have done better to remain silent. According to him, in fact, the whole history of philosophy is nothing but a pile of the "ruins" of broken-down systems. How high old Hegel stands above this alleged critic of his! And then to imagine he is criticising Hegel because here and there he gets on the track of one of the false connections by means of which Hegel, like every other systematiser, has to get his system neatly constructed! The colossal discovery that Hegel sometimes lumps contrary and contradictory oppositions together! I could show him some more tricks very different from that if it was worth the trouble. The man is what we call on the Rhine a *Korinthenscheisser*--he turns everything into petty trash--and until he has got rid of this habit, he will, to use Hegel's language, "come from nothing through nothing to nothing."

His criticism of Marx is really funny. First he makes up a materialist theory of history for himself, which Marx is supposed, in his opinion, to have held, and then he finds something quite different in Marx's works. But from this he does not conclude that he, Barth, has foisted something distorted on to Marx: no, on the contrary, Marx contradicts himself and cannot apply his own theory! "Yes, if people could only read! "as Marx used to exclaim at criticisms of this kind.

I have not got the book here; if I had time I would show you hundreds more absurdities one by one. It is a pity: one sees that the man could accomplish something if he were not so hasty in passing his judgments. It is to be hoped that he will soon write something which will be attacked more; a regular dose of knocking about would do him a lot of good.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Conrad Schmidt

in Ryde

Written: November, 1891
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It is impossible, of course, to dispense with Hegel and the man also takes some time to digest. The shorter *Logic* in the Encyclopedia makes quite a good beginning. But you must take the edition in the sixth volume of the *Works*, not the separate edition by Rosenkranz (1845), because there are far more explanatory additions from the lectures in the former, even if that ass Henning has often not understood them himself.

In the Introduction you have the criticism, first (Par. 26, etc.) of Wolf's version of Leibnitz (metaphysics *in the historical sense),* then of English-French empiricism (par. 37, etc.) then Kant (par. 40, seq.) and finally (par. 61) of Jacoby's mysticism. In the first section (Being) do not spend too long over Being and Nothing; the last paragraphs on Quality and then Quantity and Measure are much finer, but the theory of Essence is the main thing: the resolution of the abstract contradictions into their own instability, where one no sooner tries to hold on to one side alone than it is transformed unnoticed into the other, etc. At the same time you can always make the thing clear to yourself by concrete examples; for instance, you, as a bridegroom, have a striking example of the inseparability of identity and difference in yourself and your bride. It is absolutely impossible to decide whether sexual love is pleasure in the identity in difference or in the difference in identity. Take away the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the human nature of both) and what have you got left? I remember how much this very inseparability of identity and difference worried me at first, although we can never take a step without stumbling upon it.

But you ought on no account to read Hegel as Herr Barth has done, namely in order to discover the bad syllogisms and rotten dodges which served him as levers in construction. That is pure schoolboy's work. It is much more important to discover the truth and the genius which lie beneath the false form and within the artificial connections. Thus the transitions from one category or from one contradiction to the next are nearly always arbitrary--often made through a pun, as when Positive and Negative (Par. 120) *"zugrunde gehen"* [perish] in order that Hegel may arrive at the category of *"Grund"* [reason, ground]. To ponder over this much is waste of time.

Since with Hegel every category represents a stage in the history of philosophy (as he generally

indicates), you would do well to compare the lectures on the history of philosophy (one of his most brilliant works). As relaxation, I can recommend the Æsthetic. When you have worked yourself into that a bit you will be amazed.

Hegel's dialectic is upside down because it is supposed to be the "self-development of thought," of which the dialectic of facts therefore is only a reflection, whereas really the dialectic in our heads is only the reflection of the actual development which is fulfilled in the world of nature and of human history in obedience to dialectical forms.

If you just compare the development of the commodity into capital in Marx with the development from Being to Essence in Hegel, you will get quite a good parallel for the concrete development which results from facts; there you have the abstract construction, in which the most brilliant ideas and often very important transmutations, like that of quality into quantity and vice versa, are reduced to the apparent self-development of one concept from another--one could have manufactured a dozen more of the same kind.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to H Schülter

in London

Written: March 30, 1892
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Your great obstacle in America, it seems to me, lies in the exceptional position of the native workers. Up to 1848 one could only speak of the permanent native working class as an exception: the small beginnings of it in the cities in the East always had still the hope of becoming farmers or bourgeois. Now a working class has developed and has also to a great extent organised itself on trade union lines. But it still takes up an aristocratic attitude and wherever possible leaves the ordinary badly paid occupations to the immigrants, of whom only a small section enter the aristocratic trade unions. But these immigrants are divided into different nationalities and understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other : Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the standard of life of different workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard of elsewhere. And added to this is the total indifference of a society which has grown up on a purely capitalist basis, without any comfortable feudal background, towards the human lives which succumb in the competitive struggle: " there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutchmen, Irishmen, Italians, Jews and Hungarians;" and beyond them in the background stands John Chinaman, who far surpasses them all in his ability to live on dirt.

In such a country, continually renewed waves of advance, followed by equally certain set-backs, are inevitable. Only the advancing waves are always becoming more powerful, the set-backs less paralysing, and on the whole the thing moves forward all the same. But this I consider certain: the purely bourgeois basis, with no pre-bourgeois swindle behind it, the corresponding colossal energy of the development, which manifests itself even in the mad exaggeration of the present protective tariff system, will one day bring about a change which will astound the whole world. Once the Americans get started it will be with an energy and violence compared with which we in Europe shall be mere children.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Abstract

Letter from Engels to Mehring

in London

Written: July 14, 1893
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
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Translated: Donna Torr
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Today is my first opportunity to thank you for the *Lessing Legend* you were kind enough to send me. I did not want to reply with a bare formal acknowledgment of receipt of the book but intended at the same time to tell you something about it, about its contents. Hence the delay.

I shall begin at the end — the appendix on historical materialism, in which you have described the main things excellently and for any unprejudiced person convincingly. If I find anything to object to it is that you attribute more credit to me than I deserve, even if I count in everything which I might possibly have found out for myself--in time--but which Marx with his more rapid *coup d'oeil* (grasp) and wider vision discovered much more quickly. When one has the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one does not usually get the recognition one thinks one deserves during his lifetime. Then if the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated, and this seems to me to be just my case at present; history will set all this right in the end and by that time one will be safely round the corner and know nothing more about anything.

Otherwise there is only one other point lacking, which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, we all laid, and *were bound to lay* , the main emphasis, in the first place, on the *derivation* of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in so doing we neglected the formal side — the ways and means by which these notions, etc., come about — for the sake of the content. This has given our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings, of which Paul Barth is a striking example.

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him, otherwise it would not be an ideological process at all. Hence he imagines false or apparent motives. Because it is a process of thought

he derives both its form and its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works with mere thought material which he accepts without examination as the product of thought, he does not investigate further for a more remote process independent of thought; indeed its origin seems obvious to him, because as all action is produced through the medium of thought it also appears to him to be ultimately based upon thought. The ideologist who deals with history (history is here simply meant to comprise all the spheres--political, juridical, philosophical, theological-belonging to society and not only to nature), the ideologist dealing with history then, possesses in every sphere of science material which has formed itself independently out of the thought of previous generations and has gone through an independent series of developments in the brains of these successive generations. True, external facts belonging to its own or other spheres may have exercised a co-determining influence on this development, but the tacit pre-supposition is that these facts themselves are also only the fruits of a process of thought, and so we still remain within that realm of pure thought which has successfully digested the hardest facts.

It is above all this appearance of an independent history of state constitutions, of systems of law, of ideological conceptions in every separate domain, which dazzles most people. If Luther and Calvin "overcome" the official Catholic religion, or Hegel "overcomes" Fichte and Kant, or if the constitutional Montesquieu is indirectly "overcome" by Rousseau with his "Social Contract," each of these events remains within the sphere of theology, philosophy or political science, represents a stage in the history of these particular spheres of thought and never passes outside the sphere of thought. And since the bourgeois illusion of the eternity and the finality of capitalist production has been added as well, even the victory of the physiocrats and Adam Smith over the mercantilists is accounted as a sheer victory of thought; not as the reflection in thought of changed economic facts but as the finally achieved correct understanding of actual conditions subsisting always and everywhere--in fact if Richard Coeurde-lion and Philip Augustus had introduced free trade instead of getting mixed up in the crusades we should have been spared five hundred years of misery and stupidity.

This side of the matter, which I can only indicate here, we have all, I think, neglected more than it deserves. It is the old story: form is always neglected at first for content. As I say, I have done that too, and the mistake has always only struck me later. So I am not only far from reproaching you with this in any way, but as the older of the guilty parties I have no right to do so, on the contrary; but I would like all the same to draw your attention to this point for the future.

Hanging together with this too is the fatuous notion of the ideologists that because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part in history we also deny them any effect upon history. The basis of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregarding of interaction; these gentlemen often almost deliberately forget that once an historic element has been brought into the world by other elements, ultimately by economic facts, it also reacts in its turn and may react on its environment and even on its own causes. For instance, Barth on the priesthood and religion on your page 475. I was very glad to see how you settled this fellow, whose banality exceeds all expectations; and him they make a professor of history in Leipzig! I must say that old man Wachsmuth — also rather a bonehead but greatly appreciative of facts — was quite a different chap ....

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Encyclopedia of Marxism

People

Me

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)

German Social Democrat, literary critic, writer and historian. Left-wing leader of the German Social Democrats. Later member of the Spartacist League and then helped found the Communist Party of Germany.

Menzhinsky, Vyacheslav (1874-1934)

Succeeded Felix Dzerzhinsky as head of the Soviet secret police in 1926.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (1908-1961)

Philosopher and lierary critic and leading exponent of Phenomenology in France.

Merleau-Ponty studied at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris and took his agrégation in philosophy in 1931. He taught in a number of lycées before World War II, during which he served as an army officer. In 1945 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Lyon and in 1949 was called to the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1952 he received a chair of philosophy at the Collège de France. From 1945 to 1952 he served as unofficial co-editor (with Jean-Paul Sartre) of the journal *Les Temps Modernes*.

Merleau-Ponty's most important works of philosophy were The Structure of Behaviour (1942) and Phenomenology of Perception (1945). Though greatly influenced by the work of Edmund Husserl, Merleau-Ponty rejected his theory of the knowledge of other persons, grounding his own theory in bodily behaviour and in perception. He held that it is necessary to consider the organism as a whole to discover what will follow from a given set of stimuli. For him, perception was the source of knowledge and had to be studied before the conventional sciences.

Turning his attention to social and political questions, in 1947 Merleau-Ponty published a group of Marxist essays, Humanism and Terror, the most sophisticated defence of Soviet communism in the late 1940s. He argued for suspended judgment of Soviet terrorism and attacked what he regarded as Western hypocrisy. The Korean War disillusioned Merleau-Ponty and he broke with Sartre, who defended the North Koreans.

In 1955 Merleau-Ponty published more Marxist essays, The Adventures of the Dialectic. This collection, however, indicated a change of position: Marxism no longer appears as the final word on history, but rather as a heuristic methodology. Later he returned to more strictly philosophical concerns.

Metternich, Lothar von (1773-1859)

Austrian minister of foreign affairs, 1809-48, organized the Holy Alliance of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Prussia in 1815, with the aim of maintaining control of Europe following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.

Index of the Letter M

Glossary of People | Encyclopedia of Marxism

Letter from Engels to Starkenburg

in London

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Here is the answer to your questions!

(I) What we understand by the economic conditions which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society are the methods by which human beings in a given society produce their means of subsistence and exchange the products among themselves (in so far as division of labour exists). Thus the *entire technique* of production and transport is here included. According to our conception this technique also determines the method of exchange and, further, the division of products, and with it, after the dissolution of tribal society, the division into classes also and hence the relations of lordship and servitude and with them the state, politics, law, etc. Under economic conditions are further included the geographical basis on which they operate and those remnants of earlier stages of economic development which have actually been transmitted and have survived--often only through tradition or the force of inertia; also of course the external milieu which surrounds this form of society.

If, as you say, technique largely depends on the state of science, science depends far more still on the *state* and the *requirements* of technique. If society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities. The whole of hydrostatics (Torricelli, etc.) was called forth by the necessity for regulating the mountain streams of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have only known anything reasonable about electricity since its technical applicability was discovered. But unfortunately it has become the custom in Germany to write the history of the sciences as if they had fallen from the skies.

(2) We regard economic conditions as the factor which ultimately determines historical development. But race is itself an economic factor. Here, however, two points must not be overlooked:

(a) Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic base. It is not that the economic position is the *cause and alone active*, while everything else only has a passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of the economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself. The state, for instance, exercises an influence by tariffs, free trade, good or bad fiscal system; and even the

deadly inanition and impotence of the German petty bourgeois, arising from the miserable economic position of Germany from 1640 to 1830 and expressing itself at first in pietism, then in sentimentality and cringing servility to princes and nobles, was not without economic effect. It was one of the greatest hindrances to recovery and was not shaken until the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars made the chronic misery an acute one. So it is not, as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, that the economic position produces an automatic effect. Men make their history themselves, only in given surroundings which condition it and on the basis of actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other political and ideological ones, are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the red thread which runs through them and alone leads to understanding.

(b) Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will or according to a collective plan or even in a definitely defined, given society. Their efforts clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by *necessity,* which is supplemented by and appears under the forms of *accident.* The necessity which here asserts itself amidst all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. This is where the so-called great men come in for treatment. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at that particular time in that given country is of course pure accident. But cut him out and there will be a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own war, had rendered necessary, was an accident; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that the man has always been found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, and all the English historians up to 1850 are the proof that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that indeed it *had* to be discovered.

So with all the other accidents, and apparent accidents, of history. The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run in a zig-zag. So also you will find that the axis of this curve will approach more and more nearly parallel to the axis of the curve of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with.

In Germany the greatest hindrance to correct understanding is the irresponsible neglect by literature of economic history. It is so hard, not only to disaccustom oneself of the ideas of history drilled into one at school, but still more to rake up the necessary material for doing so. Who, for instance, has read old G. von Gülich, whose dry collection of material nevertheless contains so much stuff for the clarification of innumerable political facts!

For the rest, the fine example which Marx has given in the *Eighteenth Brumaire* should already, I think, provide you fairly well with information on your questions, just because it is a practical example. I have also, I believe, already touched on most of the points in Anti-Dühring I, Chapters 9-11, and II, 2-4, as well as in III, I, or Introduction, and then in the last section of *Feuerbach.*

Please do not weigh each word in the above too carefully, but keep the connection in mind; I regret that I have not the time to work out what I am writing to you so exactly as I should be obliged to do for publication.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Turati

in London

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In my opinion the position in Italy is the following.

The *bourgeoisie,* which came to power during and after the national independence movement, would not and could not complete its victory. It neither destroyed the remains of feudalism nor transformed national production according to the modern capitalist pattern. Incapable of ensuring the relative and temporary *advantages* of the capitalist system to the country, they burdened it on the other hand with all the damage and the disadvantages of the system. And as if that were not enough, they forfeited the last remnant of respect and confidence by involving themselves in the dirtiest bank scandals.

The labouring population-peasants, handicraft workers, agricultural and industrial workers--finds itself in consequence in an oppressive position, on the one hand owing to old abuses inherited not only from feudal times but from an even earlier period (take, for instance, the *mezzadria* [share farming], or the *latifundia* of the south, where cattle are supplanting men); on the other hand owing to the most rapacious fiscal system ever invented by bourgeois policy. Here too one can say with Marx: "Like all the rest of continental Western Europe we are tortured not only by the development of capitalist production, but by the lack of its development. Side by side with modern distress we are oppressed by a whole sequence of inherited distress arising from the fact that ancient and antiquated methods of production, resulting in social and political conditions unsuited to the time, continue to vegetate among us. We suffer not only from the living but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif.* [The living are in the grip of the dead.]

This situation is pressing towards a *crisis.* Everywhere the producing masses are in a ferment: here and there they are rising. Where will this crisis lead?

The *Socialist Party* of Italy is obviously too young and, considering the whole economic position, too weak, to be able to hope for an *immediate victory* of Socialism. In this country the rural population far outweighs the urban; in the towns industry is only slightly developed and hence the real *typical* proletariat is small in number: here the majority is composed of handicraft workers, small masters and small merchants, a mass which fluctuates to and fro between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These are the petty and middle bourgeoisie of medieval times in their decay and dissolution--certain to be

for the most part proletarians in the future, but at present not yet proletarianised. And this class, which sees ruin daily staring it in the face and is now driven to desperation, is the only class which can supply the fighters and leaders for a revolutionary movement in Italy. Along this path they will be followed by the *peasantry,* who are shut out from an effective initiative of their own by the fact that they live spatially scattered and cannot read and write, but who will in any case be strong and indispensable allies.

In the case of a more or less peaceful success, a change of Ministry will take place and the "converted" Republicans will come to the top; in the case of a revolution the bourgeois republic will triumph.

What should and must be the attitude of the Socialist Party in face of this situation?

The tactics which, since 1848, have brought Socialists the greatest success are those recommended by *The Communist Manifesto:* "In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, the Socialists always represent the interests of the movement as a whole ... They fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class, but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

Consequently they take an active part in all the phases of the development of the struggle between the two classes without in so doing losing sight of the fact that these phases are only just so many preliminary steps to the first great aim: the conquest of *political* power by the *proletariat* as the means towards a new organisation of society. Their place is by the side of those who are fighting for the immediate achievement of an advance which is at the same time in the interests of the working class. They accept all these political or social progressive steps, but only as *instalments.* Hence they regard every revolutionary or progressive movement as a step further in the attainment of their own end; and it is their special task to drive other revolutionary parties ever further, and, in case one of them should be victorious, to guard the interests of the proletariat. These tactics, which never lose sight of the last great final aim, preserve us Socialists from the disappointments to which the other less clear-sighted parties, be they republicans or sentimental socialists, who confuse what is only a mere stage with the final aim of the advance, must inevitably succumb.

Let us apply what has been said to Italy.

The victory of the petty bourgeoisie, who are in process of disintegration, and of the peasantry, may perhaps bring a ministry of "converted" Republicans into power. This will give us universal suffrage and greater freedom of movement (freedom of the press, of organisation, and of assembly)--new weapons not to be despised.

Or it will bring us the bourgeois republic, with the same people and some Mazzinist or other among them. This would extend liberty and our field of action still further, at any rate for the moment. And Marx has said that the bourgeois republic is the only political form in which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be resolved. To say nothing of the reaction which would make itself felt in Europe.

Thus the victory of the revolutionary movement which is being prepared cannot but strengthen us and place us under more *favourable* conditions. We should commit the greatest mistake if we refrained from sympathy with it or if in our attitude to the "related" parties we confined ourselves merely to negative criticism. There may come a moment when it would be our duty to co-operate in a positive way. What moment could that be?

Undoubtedly it is no business of ours directly to prepare a movement ourselves which is not strictly a movement of the class we represent. If the Republicans and Radicals believe the hour has come let *them* give free play to their desire to attack. As for ourselves we have been far too often disappointed by the large promises of these gentlemen to allow ourselves to be misused yet another time. Neither their proclamations nor their conspiracies will mislead us. If it is our duty to *support* every *real* movement of the people, it is not less our duty to protect the scarcely formed core of our proletarian Party, not to sacrifice it uselessly and not to allow the proletariat to be decimated in fruitless *local* risings.

But if, on the contrary, the movement is a really national one, our people will not keep themselves hidden and will need no password. ...

But if it comes to this, we must be conscious of the fact, and openly proclaim it, that we are only taking part as an *"independent Party,"* which is allied for the moment with Radicals and Republicans but is inwardly essentially different from them: that we indulge in absolutely no illusions as to the result of the struggle in case of victory; that this result not only cannot satisfy us but will only be a newly attained stage to us, a new basis of operations for further conquests; that from the very moment of victory our paths will separate; that from that same day onwards we shall form a *new opposition* to the new government, not a reactionary but a progressive opposition, an opposition of the most extreme Left, which will press on to new conquests beyond the ground already won.

After the common victory we might perhaps be offered some *seats in the new Government*--but always in a *minority*. *Here lies the greatest danger.* After the February Revolution in 1848 the French socialistic Democrats (the *Reforme* people, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Flocon, etc.) were incautious enough to accept such positions. As a minority in the Government they involuntarily bore the responsibility for all the infamy and treachery which the majority, composed of pure Republicans, committed against the working class, while at the same time their participation in the government completely paralysed the revolutionary action of the working class they were supposed to represent.

Here I am only expressing my personal opinion, which you asked me for, and I am doing this only with a certain amount of caution. As for the general tactics here communicated, I have convinced myself of their correctness throughout the whole of my life. They have never let me down. But with regard to their application in Italy under present conditions, the decision must be made on the spot and by those who are in the midst of the movement.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Conrad Schmidt

in Ryde

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HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

Your letter gives me some light, I think, on how you have come to be side-tracked with the rate of profit. There I find the same way of going off into details, for which I put the blame on the eclectic method of philosophising which has made such inroads in the German universities since '48, and which loses all general perspective and only too often ends in rather aimless and fruitless argumentation about particular points.

Now of the classical philosophers it was precisely Kant with whom you had formerly chiefly occupied yourself, and Kant, owing to the position of German philosophising in his time and to his opposition to Wolf's pedantic form of Leibnitzism, was more or less obliged to make some apparent concessions in form to this Wolfian argumentation. This is how I explain your tendency, which also shows itself in the excursus on the law of value in your letter, to absorb yourself to such a degree in details, without always, as it seems to me, paying attention to the connection as a whole, that you degrade the law of value to a fiction, a necessary fiction, rather as Kant makes the existence of God a postulate of the practical reason.

The reproaches you make against the law of value apply to *all* concepts, regarded from the standpoint of reality. The identity of thought and being, to express myself in Hegelian fashion, everywhere coincides with your example of the circle and the polygon. Or the two of them, the concept of a thing and its reality, run side by side like two asymptotes, always approaching each other yet never meeting. This difference between the two is the very difference which prevents the concept from being directly and immediately reality and reality from being immediately its own concept. But although a concept has the essential nature of a concept and cannot therefore *prima facie* directly coincide with reality, from which it must first be abstracted, it is still something more than a fiction, unless you are going to declare all the results of thought fictions because reality has to go a long way round before it corresponds to them, and even then only corresponds to them with asymptotic approximation.

Is it any different with the general rate of profit ? At each moment it only exists approximately. If it were for once realised in two undertakings down to the last dot on the i, if both resulted in *exactly the same rate of profit* in a given year, that would be pure accident; in reality the rates of profit vary from business

to business and from year to year according to different circumstances, and the general rate only exists as an average of many businesses and a series of years. But if we were to demand that the rate of profit--say 14·876934...--should be exactly similar in every business and every year down to the 100th decimal place, on pain of degradation to fiction, we should be grossly misunderstanding the nature of the rate of profit and of economic laws in general--none of them has any reality except as approximation, tendency, average, and not as *immediate* reality. This is due partly to the fact that their action clashes with the simultaneous action of other laws, but partly to their own nature as concepts.

Or take the law of wages, the realisation of the value of labour power, which is only realised as an average, and even that not always, and which varies in every locality, even in every branch, according to the customary standard of life. Or ground rent, representing a superprofit above the general rate, derived from monopoly over a force of nature. There too there is by no means a direct coincidence between real superprofit and real rent, but only an average approximation.

It is exactly the same with the law of value and the distribution of the surplus value by means of the rate of profit.

(1) Both only attain their most complete approximate realisation on the presupposition that capitalist production has been everywhere completely established, society reduced to the modern classes of landowners, capitalists (industrialists and merchants) and workers--all intermediate stages, however, having been got rid of. This does not exist even in England and never will exist--we shall not let it get so far as that.

(2) Profit, including rent, consists of various component parts:--

(a) Profit from cheating--which is cancelled out in the algebraic sum.

(b) Profit from increased value of stocks (e.g., the remainder of the last harvest when the next one has failed). Theoretically this *ought* also to equalise itself out (in so far as it has not been already cancelled by the fall in the value of other commodities) either because the capitalist buyers have to contribute what the capitalist sellers gain, or, in the case of the workers' means of subsistence, because wages must also eventually increase. The most essential of these increases in value, however, are *not permanent,* and therefore the equalisation only takes place in an average of years, and extremely incompletely, notoriously at the expense of the workers; they produce more surplus value because their labour power is not fully paid.

(c) The total sum of surplus value, from which again, however, that portion is deducted which is *presented as a gift to the buyer,* especially in crises, when overproduction is reduced to its real value of socially necessary labour.

From this indeed it follows from the very first that the total profit and the total surplus value can only approximately coincide. But when you further take into consideration the fact that neither the total surplus value nor the total capital are constant magnitudes, but variable ones which alter from day to day, then any coincidence between rate of profit and the sum of surplus value other than that of an approximating series, and any coincidence between total price and total value other than one which is constantly striving towards unity and perpetually moving away from it again, appears a sheer impossibility. In other words, the unity of concept and appearance manifests itself as essentially an infinite process, and that is what it is, in this case as in all others.

Did feudalism ever correspond to its concept? Founded in the kingdom of the West Franks, further developed in Normandy by the Norwegian conquerors, its formation continued by the French Norsemen in England and Southern Italy, it came nearest to its concept--in Jerusalem, in the kingdom of a day, which in the *Assises de Jerusalem* left behind it the most classic expression of the feudal order. Was this order therefore a fiction because it only achieved a short-lived existence in full classical form in Palestine, and even that mostly only--on paper?

Or are the concepts which prevail in the natural sciences fictions because they by no means always coincide with reality? From the moment we accept the theory of evolution all our concepts of organic life correspond only approximately to reality. Otherwise there would be no change: on the day when concepts and reality completely coincide in the organic world development comes to an end. The concept fish includes a life in water and breathing through gills: how are you going to get from fish to amphibian without breaking through this concept? And it has been broken through and we know a whole series of fish which have developed their air bladders further into lungs and can breathe air. How, without bringing one or both concepts into conflict with reality are you going to get from the egg-laying reptile to the mammal, which gives birth to living young? And in reality we have in the monotremata a whole sub-class of egg-laying mammals--in 1843, I saw the eggs of the duck-bill in Manchester and with arrogant narrow-mindedness mocked at such stupidity--as if a mammal could lay eggs--and now it has been proved! So do not behave to the conceptions of value in the way I had later to beg the duck-bill's pardon for!

In Sombart's otherwise very good article on Volume III I also find this tendency to dilute the theory of value: he had also obviously expected a somewhat different solution?

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Victor Adler

in London

Written: March 16, 1895
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

...As you want to have a grind in prison at *Capital* [Volumes] II and III, I will give you a few hints to make it easier.

Volume II, *Section I.* Read Chapter I thoroughly, then you can take Chapters 2 and 3 more lightly; Chapter 4 more exactly again as it is a summary; 5 and 6 are easy and 6, especially, deals with secondary matters.

Section II. Chapters 7-9 important. Specially important 10 and 11. Equally so 12, 13, 14.. On the other hand 15, 16, 17 need only be skimmed through at first.

Section III is a most excellent account of the entire circuit of commodities and money in capitalist society--the first since the days of the Physiocrats. Excellent in content but fearfully heavy in form because (I) it is put together from two versions which proceed according to two different methods and (2) because version No. I was carried to its conclusion by main force during a state of illness in which the brain was suffering from chronic sleeplessness. I should keep this *right to the end*, after working through Volume III for the *first time.* For your work too, it is not immediately indispensable.

Then the *third volume.* Important here are: In Section I, Chapters I to 4; less important for the general connection, on the other hand, are Chapters 5, 6, 7, on which much time need not be spent at first.

Section II. Very important. Chaps. 8, 9, 10. Skim through 11 and 12.

Section III. Very important: the whole of 13-15.

Section IV. Likewise very important, but also easy to read: 16-20.

Section V. Very important, Chapters 21-27. Less so Chapter 18. Chapter 29 important. As a whole Chapters 30-32 are not important for your purposes; 33 and 34 are important as soon as paper-money is dealt with; 35 on international rates of exchange important, 36 *very interesting for you* and easy to read.

Section VI. Ground rent. 37 and 38 important. Less so, but still to be taken with them, 39 and 40. 41-43 can be more neglected (Differential rent II. Particular cases). 44-47 important again and mostly easy to read too.

Section VII. Very fine, but unfortunately a fragment and with very marked traces of sleeplessness as well.

Thus, if you go through the main things thoroughly and the less important ones superficially to begin with, following these indications (best first to re-read the main things in Volume I,) you will get an idea of the whole and can later also work through the neglected portions more easily.

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Letter from Engels to Kautsky

in London

Written: May 21, 1895
Source: *Marx and Engels Correspondence*
Publisher: International Publishers (1968)
First Published: *Gestamtausgabe*
Translated: Donna Torr
Transcribed: Sally Ryan in 2000
HTML Markup: Sally Ryan

I have learnt a great deal from the book,[*Forerunners of Modern Socialism*, by K. Kautsky] it is an indispensable preliminary study for my new revision of the *Peasant War*. The main faults seem to be only two: (I) A very inadequate examination of the development and role of the declassed elements, almost like pariahs, who stood right outside the feudal organisation and were inevitably bound to come to the fore whenever a town was formed; who constitute the lowest stratum of the population of every mediaeval town, having no rights at all, detached from the *Markgenossenschaft*, from feudal dependence and from the craft guild. This is difficult, but it is the *chief basis*, for by degrees as the feudal ties are loosened, these elements become the *pre*-proletariat which in 1789 made the revolution in the suburbs of Paris, and which absorbs all the outcasts of feudal and guild society. You speak of proletarians--the expression is ambiguous--and bring in the weavers, whose importance you describe quite correctly--but only *after* declassed journeymen weavers, existed outside the guilds, and only in so far as these existed, can you make them into your proletariat. Here there is still a lot to make good.

(2) You have not fully grasped Germany's position in the world market, her international economic position, in so far as it is possible to speak of this, at the end of the 15th century. This position *alone* explains why the bourgeois plebeian movement in religious form which was defeated in England, the Netherlands and Bohemia could have a *certain success* in Germany in the 16th century: the success of its *religious disguise*, whilst the success of the bourgeois content... of the new direction of the world market which had arisen in the meantime--was reserved for: Holland and England. This is a lengthy subject, which I hope to deal with in *extenso* [in full] in the *Peasant War*.--If only I were already at it!

[Note: a few months later Engels died of throat cancer.]

Marx/Engels Letters Archive

Marx/Engels Biographical Archive

Karl Marx:

Biographical overview (until 1869)
by F. Engels (1869)
Karl Marx
by V.I. Lenin (1914)
On the love between Jenny and Karl Marx
by Eleanor Marx (his daughter; 1897-98)
The Death of Karl Marx
by F. Engels, various articles (1883)

Fredrick Engels:

Biographical Article
by V. I. Lenin (1895)
Encyclopedia Article
Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften (1892)
Encyclopedia Article
Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon (1893)

Collections:

Various media Interviews on both Engels and Marx
(1871 - 1893)
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: An Intro
A book by David Riazanov (1927)
Recollections on Marx and Engels
by Mikhail Bakunin (1871)

Family of Marx and Engels:

Jenny von Westphalen,
(Jenny Marx) -- wife of Karl Marx
Edgar von Westphalen
Brother of Jenny
Jenny Marx
Daughter -- Various Articles by her
Laura Marx
Daughter
Elenaor Marx
Daughter

Charles Longuet
Husband of Jenny Marx
Paul Lafargue
Husband of Laura Marx
Edward Aveling
Husband of Elanor Marx
Helene Demuth
Family friend and maid

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KARL MARX

by
Frederick Engels

Short bio based on Engels' version written at the end of July 1868 for the German literary newspaper *Die Gartenlaube* -- whose editors decided against using it.

Engels rewrote it around July 28, 1869 and it was published in *Die Zukunft*, No. 185, August 11, 1869

Translated by Joan and Trevor Walmsley
Transcribed for the Internet by Zodiac

[...]

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818 in Trier, where he received a classical education. He studied jurisprudence at Bonn and later in Berlin, where, however, his preoccupation with philosophy soon turned him away from law. In 1841, after spending five years in the "metropolis of intellectuals", he returned to Bonn intending to habilitate. At that time the first "New Era" was in vogue in Prussia. Frederick William IV had declared his love of a loyal opposition, and attempts were being made in various quarters to organise one. Thus the Rheinische Zeitung was founded at Cologne, with unprecedented daring Marx used it to criticise the deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly, in articles which attracted great attention. At the end of 1842 he took over the editorship himself and was such a thorn in the side of the censors that they did him the honour of sending a censor [Wilhelm Saint-Paul] from Berlin especially to take care of the *Rheinische Zeitung.* When this proved of no avail either the paper was made to undergo dual censorship, since, in addition to the usual procedure, every issue was subjected to a second stage of censorship by the office of Cologne's Regierungspr?sident [Karl Heinrich von Gerlach]. But nor was this measure of any avail against the "obdurate malevolence" of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* and at the beginning of 1843 the ministry issued a decree declaring that the *Rheinische Zeitung* must cease publication at the end of the first quarter. Marx immediately resigned as the shareholders wanted to attempt a settlement, but this also came to nothing and the newspaper ceased publication.

His criticism of the deliberations of the Rhine Province Assembly compelled Marx to study questions of material interest. In pursuing that he found himself confronted with points of view which neither jurisprudence nor philosophy had taken account of. Proceeding from the Hegelian philosophy of law, Marx came to the conclusion that it was not the state, which Hegel had described as the "top of the edifice", but "civil society", which Hegel had regarded with disdain, that was the sphere in which a key to the understanding of the process of the historical development of mankind should be looked for. However, the science of civil society is political economy, and *this* science could not be studied in Germany, it could only be studied thoroughly in England or France.

Therefore, in the summer of 1843, after marrying the daughter of Privy Councillor von Westphalen in Trier (sister of the von Westphalen who later became Prussian Minister of the Interior) Marx moved to Paris, where he devoted himself primarily to studying political economy and the history of the great French Revolution. At the same time he collaborated with Ruge in publishing the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, of which, however only one issue was to appear. Expelled from France by Guizot in 1845, he went to Brussels and stayed there, pursuing the same studies, until the outbreak of the February revolution. Just how little he agreed with the commonly accepted version of socialism there even in its most erudite-sounding form, was shown in his critique of Proudhon's major work *Philosophie de la misere,* which appeared in 1847 in Brussels and Paris under the title of The Poverty of Philosophy. In that work can already be found many essential points of the theory which he has now presented in full detail. The Manifesto of the Communist Party, London, 1848, written before the February revolution and adopted by a workers' congress in London, is also substantially his work.

Expelled once again, this time by the Belgian government under the influence of the panic caused by the February revolution Marx returned to Paris at the invitation of the French provisional government. The tidal wave of the revolution pushed all scientific pursuits into the background; what mattered now was to become involved in the movement. After having worked during those first turbulent days against the absurd notions of the agitators, who wanted to organise German workers from France as volunteers to fight for a republic in Germany, Marx went to Cologne with his friends and founded there the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, which appeared until June 1849 and which people on the Rhine still remember well today. The freedom of the press of 1848 was probably nowhere so successfully exploited as it was at that time, in the midst of a Prussian fortress, by that newspaper. After the government had tried in vain to silence the newspaper by persecuting it through the courts -- Marx was twice brought before the assizes for an offence against the press laws and for inciting people to refuse to pay their taxes, and was acquitted on both occasions -- it had to close at the time of the May revolts of 1849 when Marx was expelled on the pretext that he was no longer a Prussian subject, similar pretexts being used to expel the other editors. Marx had therefore to return to Paris, from where he was once again expelled and from where, in the summer of 1849, [about August 26 1849] he went to his present domicile in London.

In London at that time was assembled the entire *fine fleur [flower]* of the refugees from all the nations of the continent. Revolutionary committees of every kind were formed, combinations, provisional governments *in partibus infidelium,* [literally: in parts inhabited by infidels. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries; here it means "in exile"] there were quarrels and wrangles of every kind, and the gentlemen concerned no doubt now look back on that period as the most unsuccessful of their lives. Marx remained aloof from all of those intrigues. For a while he continued to produce his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the form of a monthly review (Hamburg, 1850), later he withdrew into the British Museum and worked through the immense and as yet for the most part unexamined library there for all that it contained on political economy. At the same time he was a regular. contributor to the *New- York Tribune,* acting, until the outbreak of the American Civil War, so to speak, as the editor for European politics of this, the leading Anglo-American newspaper.

The coup d'etat of December 2 induced him to write a pamphlet, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, New York, 1852, which is just now being reprinted (Meissner, Hamburg), and will make no small contribution to an understanding of the untenable position into which that same Bonaparte has just got himself. The hero of the coup d'?tat is presented here as he really is, stripped of the glory with which

his momentary success surrounded him. The philistine who considers his Napoleon III to be the greatest man of the century and is unable himself how this miraculous genius suddenly comes to be making bloomer after bloomer and one political error after the other -- that same philistine can consult the aforementioned work of Marx for his edification.

Although during his whole stay in London Marx chose not to thrust himself to the fore, he was forced by Karl Vogt, after the Italian campaign of 1859, to enter into a polemic, which was brought to an end with Marx's *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860). At about the same time his study of political economy bore its first fruit: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Part One, Berlin, 1859. This instalment contains only the theory of money presented from completely new aspects. The continuation was some time in coming, since the author discovered so much new material in the meantime that he considered it necessary to undertake further studies.

At last, in 1867, there appeared in Hamburg: Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I. This work contains the results of studies to which a whole life was devoted. It is the political economy of the working class, reduced to its scientific formulation. This work is concerned not with rabble-rousing phrasemongering, but with strictly scientific deductions. Whatever one's attitude to socialism, one will at any rate have to acknowledge that in this work it is presented for the first time in a scientific manner, and that it was precisely Germany that accomplished this. Anyone still wishing to do battle with socialism, will have to deal with Marx, and if he succeeds in that then he really does not need to mention the *dei minorum gentium."* ["Gods of a lesser stock;" meaning, celebrities of lesser stature.]

But there is another point of view from which Marx's book is of interest. It is the first work in which the actual relations existing between capital and labour, in their classical form such as they have reached in England, are described in their entirety and in a clear and graphic fashion. The parliamentary inquiries provided ample material for this, spanning a period of almost forty years and practically unknown even in England, material dealing with the conditions of the workers in almost every branch of industry women's anti children's work, night work, etc.; all this is here made available for the first time. Then there is the history of factory legislation in England which, from its modest beginnings with the first acts of 1802, has now reached the point of limiting working hours in nearly all manufacturing or cottage industries to 60 hours per week for women and young people under the age of 18, and to 39 hours per week for children under 13. From this point of view the book is of the greatest interest for every industrialist.

For many years Marx has been the "best-maligned" of the German writers, and no one will deny that he was unflinching in his retaliation and that all the blows he aimed struck home with a vengeance. But polemics, which he "dealt in" so much, was basically only a means of self-defence for him. In the final analysis his real interest lay with his science, which he has studied and reflected on for twenty-five years with unrivalled conscientiousness, a conscientiousness which has prevented him from presenting his findings to the public in a systematic form until they satisfied him as to their form and content, until he was convinced that he had left no book unread, no objection unconsidered, and that he had examined every point from all its aspects. Original thinkers are very rare in this age of epigones; if, however, a man is not only an original thinker but also disposes over learning unequalled in his subject, then he deserves to be doubly acknowledged.

As one would expect, in addition to his studies Marx is busy with the workers' movement; he is one of the founders of the International Working Men's Association, which has been the centre of so much

attention recently and has already shown in more than one place in Europe that it is a force to be reckoned with. We believe that we are not mistaken in saying that in this, at least as far as the workers' movement is concerned, epoch-making organisation the German element -- thanks precisely to Marx -- holds the influential position which is its due.

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