

The



Manifesto

Originally Written by Karl Marx
Translated to UwU by u/DarthAlecto

Chapter 1. Bouwgeois awnd pwowetawians

The histowy of aww hithewto existing society(2) iws the histowy of cwass stwuggwes.

fweeman awnd swave, patwician awnd pwebeian, wowd awnd sewf, guiwd-mastew(3) awnd jouwneyman, in a wowd, oppwessow awnd oppwessed, stood in constant opposition tuwu owne anothew, cawwied own an unintewwupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight thawt each time ended, eithew in a wevowutionawy weconstitution of society at wawge, ow in the common wuin of the contending cwasses.

in the eawwiew epochs of histowy, we find awmost ewewywhewe a compwicated awwangement of society intwo vawious owdews, a manifowd gwadation of sociaw wank. In ancient wome we have patwicians, knights, pwebeians, swaves; in the middwe ages, feudaw wowds, vassaws, guiwd-mastews, jouwneyman, appwentices, sewfs; in awmost aww of these cwasses, again, subowdinate gwadations.

the modewn bouwgeois society thawt has spwouted fwom the wuins of feudaw society has nowt done away with cwass antagonisms. Iwt has but estabwished new cwasses, new conditions of oppwession, new fowms of stwuggwe in pwace of the owd ones.

ouw epoch, the epoch of the bouwgeoisie, possesses, howewew, thiws distinct featuwe: iwt has simpwified cwass antagonisms. Society as a howe iws mowe awnd mowe spwitting up intwo two gweat hostiwe camps, intwo two gweat cwasses diwectwy facing each othew — bouwgeoisie awnd pwowetawiat.

fwom the sewfs of the middwe ages spwang the chawtewed buwghevs of the eawwiest towns. Fwom these buwgesses the fiwst ewements of the bouwgeoisie wewe dewelopod.

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

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

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

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

we see, thewefowe, how the modewn bouwgeoisie iws itsewf the pwoduct of a wong couwse of dewelopment, of a sewies of wevowutions in the modes of pwoduction awnd of exchange.

each step in the dewelopment of the bouwgeoisie was accompanied by a cowwespounding powiticaw advance of thawt cwass. An oppwessed cwass undew the sway of the feudaw nobility, an awmed awnd sewf-gowwning association in the medievaw commune(4): hewe independent uwban wepubwic (as in itawy awnd gewmany); thewe taxabwe “thiwd estate”

of the monachy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacturing power, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, the cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

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

the bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — free trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

the bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverence. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers.

the bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

the bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the middle ages, which reactionaries so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most sordid indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.

the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier civilisations. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that stands is to be moved, and new mountains are to rise: the first condition for new creations is the demolition of old ones. How every individual is to be treated, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses the real conditions of his life, and his relations with his kind.

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

the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw materials, but raw materials drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old vociferous and

national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local languages, there arises a world language.

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

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

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has aggregated population, concentrated the means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national law of interest, one frontier, and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, rearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground — what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces lurked in the lap of social womb?

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

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

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society, with its means 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 were the conditions for the existence of the bourgeois and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodic 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 ppreviouswy cweated pwoductive fowces, awe pewiodicawwy destroyed. In these cwises, thewe bwreaks out an epidemic thawt, in aww eawwiew epochs, wouwd have seemed an absuwidity — the epidemic of owew-pwoduction. Society suddenwy finds itsewf put bawck intwo a state of momentawy bawbawism; iwt appeaws as if a famine, a univewsaw waw of devastation, had cut off the suppw of ewewy means of subsistence; industwy awnd commewce seem tuwu be destroyed; awnd why? because thewe iws too much civiwisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industwy, too much commewce. The pwoductive fowces at the disposaw of society no wongew tend tuwu fuwthew the dewelopment of the conditions of bouwgeois pwopewty; own the contwawy, they have become too powewful fow these conditions, by which they awe fettewed, awnd so soon as they owewcome these fettews, they bwing disowdew intwo the whowe of bouwgeois society, endangew the existence of bouwgeois pwopewty. The conditions of bouwgeois society awe too nawwow tuwu compwise the weawth cweated by thewm. Awnd how does the bouwgeoisie get owew these cwises? own the owne hawnd by enfowced destruction of a mass of pwoductive fowces; own the othew, by the conquest of new mawkets, awnd by the mowe thowough expwoitation of the owd ones. Thawt iws tuwu say, by paving the way fow mowe extensive awnd mowe destructive cwises, awnd by diminishing the means wheweby cwises awe pwevented. the weapons with which the bouwgeoisie fewwed feudawism tuwu the gwound awe now tuwned against the bouwgeoisie itsewf.

but nowt onwy has the bouwgeoisie fowged the weapons thawt bwing death tuwu itsewf; iwt has awso cawwed intwo existence the men who awe tuwu wiewd those weapons — the modewn wowking cwass — the pwowetawians.

in pwopowtion as the bouwgeoisie, i.e., capitaw, iws deweloped, in the same pwopowtion iws the pwowetawiat, the modewn wowking cwass, deweloped — a cwass of wabouwews, who wive onwy so wong as they find wowk, awnd who find wowk onwy so wong as theiw wabouw incweases capitaw. These wabouwews, who must seww themselves piecemeaw, awe a commodity, wike ewewy othew awticwe of commewce, awnd awe consequentwy exposed tuwu aww the vicissitudes of competition, tuwu aww the fwuctuations of the mawket.

owing tuwu the extensive use of machinewy, awnd tuwu the division of wabouw, the wowk of the pwowetawians has wost aww individuaw chawactew, awnd, consequentwy, aww chawm fow the wowkman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, awnd iwt iws onwy the most simpwe, most monotonous, awnd most easiwy acquiwed knack, thawt iws wequiwed of him. Hence, the cost of pwoduction of a wowkman iws westwicted, awmost entiwey, tuwu the means of subsistence thawt he wequiwes fow maintenance, awnd fow the pwopagation of hiws wace. But the pwice of a commodity, awnd thewefowe awso of wabouw, iws equaw tuwu its cost of pwoduction. In pwopowtion, thewefowe, as the wepuwsiveness of the wowk incweases, the wage decweases. Nay mowe, in pwopowtion as the use of machinewy awnd division of wabouw incweases, in the same pwopowtion the buwden of toiw awso incweases, whethew by pwowongation of the wowking houws, by the incwease of the wowk exacted in a given time ow by incweased speed of machinewy, etc.

modewn industwy has conwented the wittwe wowkshop of the patwialwchaw mastew intwo the gwreat factory of the industwialw capitalist. Masses of wabouwews, cwowded intwo the factory, awe owganised wike sowdiew. As pwivates of the industwialw army they awe pwaced undew the command of a pefect hiewawchy of officews awnd sergeants. Nowt onwy awe they swaves of the bouwgeois cwass, awnd of the bouwgeois state; they awe daiwy awnd houwy enslaved by the machine, by the owewwookew, awnd, above aww, by the individuaw bouwgeois manufactuwew himsewf. The mowe openwy thiws despotism pwocwaims gain tuwu be its end awnd aim, the mowe petty, the mowe hatefuw awnd the mowe embittering iwt iws.

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

no sooner was the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, than he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

the worker starts of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does now suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the wage capitalists, partly because their specialised skills are rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

the proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workshop of a factory, then by the operative of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks nowt against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the middle ages.

at this stage, the labourers form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is nowt yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landlords, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeois. Thus, the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

but with the development of industry, the proletariat nowt only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in great masses, its strength grows, and it feels that its strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obviates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their wretchedness more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workers and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon, the workers begin to form combinations (trades' unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional uprisings. 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 lies, nowt 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 concentrate the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between the classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to which the bourgeois of the middle ages, with their misable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarian, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

thiws owganisation of the pwowetawians intwo a cwass, awnd, consequentwy intwo a powiticaw pawty, iws continuawwy being upset again by the competition between the wowkews themsewves. But iwt ewew wises up again, stwongew, fiwmew, mightiew. Iwt compews wegiswative wecognition of pawticuwaw intewests of the wowkews, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bouwgeoisie itsewf. Thus, the ten-houws' biww in engwand was cawwied. awtogethew cowwisions between the cwasses of the owd society fuwthew, in many ways, the couwse of dewelopment of the pwowetawiat. The bouwgeoisie finds itsewf invowved in a constant battwe. At fiwst with the awistocwacy; watew own, with those powtions of the bouwgeoisie itsewf, whose intewests have become antagonistic tuwu the pwogwess of industwy; at aww time with the bouwgeoisie of foweign countwies. In aww these battwes, iwt sees itsewf compewwed tuwu appeaw tuwu the pwowetawiat, tuwu awsk fow hewp, awnd thus, tuwu dwag iwt intwo the powiticaw awena. The bouwgeoisie itsewf, thewefowe, suppwies the pwowetawiat with its own ewements of powiticaw awnd genewaw education, in othew wowds, iwt fuwnishes the pwowetawiat with weapons fow fighting the bouwgeoisie. fuwthew, as we have awweady seen, entiwe sections of the wuwing cwass awe, by the advance of industwy, pwecipitated intwo the pwowetawiat, ow awe at least thwreatened in theiw conditions of existence. These awso suppwy the pwowetawiat with fwesh ewements of enwightenment awnd pwogwess.

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

of aww the cwasses thawt stand face tuwu face with the bouwgeoisie today, the pwowetawiat awone iws a weawwy wevowutionawy cwass. The othew cwasses decay awnd finawwy disappeaw in the face of modewn industwy; the pwowetawiat iws its speciaw awnd essentiaw pwwoduct.

the wowew middwe cwass, the smaww manufactuwew, the shopkeepew, the awtisan, the peasant, aww these fight against the bouwgeoisie, tuwu save fwom extinction theiw existence as fwactions of the middwe cwass. They awe thewefowe nowt wevowutionawy, but consewvative. Nay mowe, they awe weactionawy, fow they twy tuwu woww bawck the wheew of histowy. If by chance, they awe wevowutionawy, they awe onwy so in view of theiw impending twansfew intwo the pwowetawiat; they thus defend nowt theiw pwesent, but theiw futuwe intewests, they desewt theiw own standpoint tuwu pwace themsewves at thawt of the pwowetawiat.

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

in the condition of the pwowetawiat, those of owd society at wawge awe awweady viwtuawwy swamped. The pwowetawian iws without pwopewty; hiws wevation tuwu hiws wife awnd chiwdwen has no wongew anything in common with the bouwgeois famiwy wevations; modewn industwy wabouw, modewn subjection tuwu capitaw, the same in engwand as in fwance, in amewica as in gewmany, has stwipped him of ewewy twace of nationaw chawactew. Waw, mowawity, wewigion, awe tuwu him so many bouwgeois pwejudices, behind which wuwk in ambush juwst as many bouwgeois intewests.

aww the pweceding cwasses thawt got the uppew hawnd sought tuwu fowtify theiw awweady acquiwed status by subjecting society at wawge tuwu theiw conditions of appwopwiation. The pwowetawians cannot become mastews of the pwwoductive fowces of society, except by abowishing theiw own pwevious mode of appwopwiation, awnd theweby awso

every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

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

though now in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

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

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assumed, to wit, under which it can, at least, continue its swinish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of the feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern worker, on the contrary, instead of rising with the process of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its swarming population, because it cannot help letting it sink into such a state, that it must be fed by it. Society can no longer wive under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

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 workers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the workers, 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 produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Chapter 2. Proletarians and communists

In what relation do the communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development

which the struggwe of the working class against the bourgeoisie has tuw pass through, they awways awnd ewerywhewe wepwesent the intewests of the movement as a howe.

the communists, thewefowe, awe own the owne hawnd, pwacticawwy, the most advanced awnd wesowute section of the working-class parties of ewery countwy, thawt section which pushes fowward aww othews; own the othew hawnd, theoweticawwy, they have ower the gweat mass of the pwowetariat the advantage of cweawwy undewstanding the wine of march, the conditions, awnd the uwtimate genewaw wesuwts of the pwowetarian movement.

the immediate aim of the communists iws the same as thawt of aww othew pwowetarian parties: fowmation of the pwowetariat into a class, owerthrow of the bourgeois supwemacy, conquest of powiticaw powew by the pwowetariat.

the theoweticaw concusions of the communists awe in no way based own ideas ow pwincipwes thawt have bewn invented, ow discovered, by thiws ow thawt wouwd-be univewsaw wefowmew.

they mewewy expwess, in genewaw tewms, actuaw wevations spwinging fwom an existing class struggwe, fwom a historicaw movement going own undew ouw vewy eyes. The abowition of existing pwopewty wevations iws nowt at aww a distinctive featuwe of communism.

aww pwopewty wevations in the past have continuawwy bewn subject tuw historicaw change consequent upon the change in historicaw conditions.

the fwench wevowution, fow exampwe, abowished feudaw pwopewty in favouw of bourgeois pwopewty.

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

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

we communists have bewn wepwoached with the desiwe of abowishing the wight of pewsonawwy acquiwing pwopewty as the fwuit of a man's own wabouw, which pwopewty iws aweged tuw be the gwoundwolk of aww pewsonaw fwedom, activity awnd independence.

hawd-won, sewf-acquied, sewf-earned pwopewty! duwu uwu mean the pwopewty of petty awtisan awnd of the smaww peasant, a fowm of pwopewty thawt pweceded the bourgeois fowm? thewe iws no need tuw abowish thawt; the dewelopment of industwy has tuw a gweat extent aweady destroyed iwt, awnd iws stiww destroying iwt daiwy.

ow duwu uwu mean the modewn bourgeois pwivate pwopewty?

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

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

capitaw iws thewefowe nowt onwy pewsonaw; iwt iws a sociaw powew.

whewn, thewefowe, capitaw iws convewted into common pwopewty, into the pwopewty of aww membews of society, pewsonaw pwopewty iws nowt theweby twansfowmed into sociaw pwopewty. Iwt iws onwy the sociaw chawactew of the pwopewty thawt iws changed. Iwt woses its class chawactew.

wet us now take wage-wabouw.

the average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer. What, therefore, the wage-laborer appropriates by means of his wage, merely suffices to reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus to be wrested from him to command the labor of others. All that we want to do away with is the misappropriation of this appropriation, under which the laborer's wages merely to increase capital, and he is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, wage-labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In communist society, accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the wage-laborer is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! and rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "bureaucratic" of our bourgeois about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered trades of the middle ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

It will be howlified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. We propose to us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In our word, we propose to us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, it goes, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, we say, individuality vanishes.

We must, therefore, confess that by "individual" we mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriations.

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

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can be no wage-labor when there is no longer any capital.

aww objections uwged against the communistic mode of producing awnd appwopwiating matewiau pproducts, have, in the same way, bewn uwged against the communistic mode of producing awnd appwopwiating intewwectuaw pproducts. Juwst as, tuwu the bouwgeois, the disappeawance of cwass pwopewty iws the disappeawance of pproduction itsewf, so the disappeawance of cwass cuwtuwe iws tuwu him identicaw with the disappeawance of aww cuwtuwe.

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

but don't wwangwe with us so wong as uwu appwy, tuwu ouw intended abowition of bouwgeois pwopewty, the standawd of youw bouwgeois notions of fwedom, cuwtuwe, waw, &c. Youw vewy ideas awe but the outgrowth of the conditions of youw bouwgeois pproduction awnd bouwgeois pwopewty, juwst as youw juwisprudence iws but the wiww of youw cwass made into a waw fow aww, a wiww whose essentiaw chawactew awnd diwectiow awe detewmined by the economicaw conditions of existence of youw cwass.

the sewfish misconception thawt induces uwu tuwu twansfowm into etewnew waws of natuwe awnd of weason, the sociaw fowms spwinging fwom youw pwesent mode of pproduction awnd fowm of pwopewty – historicaw wewations thawt wise awnd disappeaw in the pwogress of pproduction – thiws misconception uwu shawe with ewewy wuwing cwass thawt has pweceded uwu. Whawt uwu see cweawwy in the case of ancient pwopewty, whawt uwu admit in the case of feudaw pwopewty, uwu awe of couwse fowbidded tuwu admit in the case of youw own bouwgeois fowm of pwopewty.

abowition [aufhebung] of the famiwy! even the most wadicaw fwawe up at thiws infamous pwoposal of the communists.

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

the bouwgeois famiwy wiww vanish as a mattew of couwse whewn its compwement vanishes, awnd both wiww vanish with the vanishing of capitaw.

duwu uwu chawge us with wanting tuwu stowp the exploitation of chiwdwen by thew pawents? tuwu thiws cwime we pwead guiwty.

but, uwu say, we destwoy the most hawrowed of wewations, whewn we wewace home education by sociaw.

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

the bouwgeois cwap-twap about the famiwy awnd education, about the hawrowed co-wewation of pawents awnd chiwd, becomes aww the mowe disgusting, the mowe, by the action of modewn industwy, aww the famiwy ties among the pwowetawians awe town asundew, awnd thew chiwdwen twansfowmed into simpwe awticwes of commewce awnd instwuments of wabow.

but uwu communists wouwd intwoduce community of women, scweams the bouwgeoisie in chowus.

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

he has nowt even a suspicion thawt the weap point aimed at iws tuwu duwu away with the status of women as mewe instwuments of pproduction.

fow the west, nothing iws mowe widicuwwous than the viwtuous indignation of ouw bouwgeois at the community of women which, they pwetend, iws tuwu be openwy awnd officiawwy estabwished by the communists. The communists have no need tuwu intwoduce community of women; iwt has existed awmost fwom time immemowial.

our bourgeoisie, nowt content with having wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, nowt tuwu speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

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

the communists are further reproached with desiring tuwu abolish counties and nationality.

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

national differences and antagonism between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing tuwu the development of the bourgeoisie, tuwu freedom of commerce, tuwu the world market, tuwu uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

the supremacy of the proletarian will cause them tuwu vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised counties at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletarian.

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

the charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are nowt deserving of serious examination.

does it require deep intuition tuwu comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conception, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

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

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

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

"undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical, and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"these are, besides, eternal truths, such as freedom, justice, etc., that are common tuwu all states of society. But communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction tuwu all past historical experience."

what does this accusation reduce itself tuwu? the history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

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

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

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

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

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

of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

these measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

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

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all lands to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equalisation of all working hours. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equal distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c, &c.

when, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

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

Chaptew 3. Sociawist awnd Commuwnist Litewature

A. Feudaw sociawism

owing tuwu theiw histowicaw position, iwt became the vocation of the awistocwacies of fwance awnd engwand tuwu wwite pamphwets against modewn bouwgeois society. In the fwench wevowution of juwy 1830, awnd in the engwish wefowm agitation[a], these awistocwacies again succumbed tuwu the hatefuw upstawt. Thencefowth, a sewious powiticaw stwuggwe was awtogethew out of the question. A witewawy battwe awone wemained possibwe. But even in the domain of witewatuwe the owd cwies of the westowation pewiod had become impossibwe.(1)

in ow dew tuwu awouse sympathy, the awistocwacy was obwiged tuwu wose sight, appawentwy, of its own intewests, awnd tuwu fowmuwate theiw indictment against the bouwgeoisie in the intewest of the expwoited wowking cwass awone. Thus, the awistocwacy took theiw wevenge by singing wampoons ow theiw new mastews awnd whispewing in hiws eaws sinistew pwophesies of coming catastwophe.

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

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

owne section of the fwench wegitimists awnd "young engwand" exhibited thiws spectacwe.

in pointing out thawt theiw mode of expwoitation was diffewent tuwu thawt of the bouwgeoisie, the feudawists fowget thawt they expwoited undew ciwcumstances awnd conditions thawt weve quite diffewent awnd thawt awe now antiquated. In showing thawt, undew theiw wuwe, the modewn pwowetawiat newew existed, they fowget thawt the modewn bouwgeoisie iws the necessawy offspwing of theiw ow fowm of society.

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

whawt they upbwaid the bouwgeoisie with iws nowt so much thawt iwt cweates a pwowetawiat as thawt iwt cweates a wevowutionawy pwowetawiat.

in powiticaw pwactice, thewefowe, they join in aww coewcive measuwes against the wowking cwass; awnd in ow dinawy wife, despite theiw high-fawutin phwases, they stoop tuwu pick up the gowden appwes dwopped fwom the twee of industwy, awnd tuwu bawtew twuth, wove, awnd honouw, fow twaffic in woow, beetwoot-sugaw, awnd potato spiwits.(2) as the pawson has ewew gone hawnd in hawnd with the wandwowd, so has cwewicaw sociawism with feudaw sociawism.

nothing iws easiew than tuwu give chwistian asceticism a sociawist tinge. Has nowt chwistianity decwaimed against pwivate pwopewty, against mawriage, against the state? has iwt nowt pweached in the pwace of these, chawity awnd powerty, cewibacy awnd mowtification of the fwesh, monastic wife awnd mothew chuwch? chwistian sociawism iws but the howy watew with which the pwiest consecwates the heawt-burnings of the awistocwat.

b. Petty-bouwgeois sociawism

the feudaw aristocracy was nowt the onwy class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, nowt the onwy class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval burghesses and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which were but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

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

in countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois régime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes, should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty-bourgeois socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, nowt only in France but also in England.

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

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

its vast words are: cooperate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispensed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

c. German or "true" socialism

the socialist and communist writers of France, a writer who had originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and beaux esprits (men of letters), eagerly seized upon this writer, only forgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had nowt immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French writer lost all its immediate practical significance and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, the German philosophers of the eighteenth century, the demands of the first French revolution were nothing more than the demands of "practical reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified, in their eyes, the laws of pure will, of will as it was bound to be, of true human will generally.

the work of the german witewati consisted sowewy in bwinging the new fwench ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophicaw conscience, ow wathew, in annexing the fwench ideas without desewting their own philosophic point of view.

this annexation took pwace in the same way in which a foreign wanguage iws appwopwiated, namewy, by twanslation.

it iws weww known how the monks wwote siwwy wives of cathowic saints ower the manuscripts own which the cwassicaw works of ancient heathendom had bewn wwitten. The german witewati wevewsed this pwocess with the pwofane fwench witewatuwe. They wwote their philosophicaw nonsense beneath the fwench originaw. For instance, beneath the fwench criticism of the economic functions of money, they wwote “alienation of humanity”, and beneath the fwench criticism of the bourgeois state they wwote “dethwoment of the category of the german”, and so fowth.

the introduction of these philosophicaw phrases at the back of the fwench historicaw criticisms, they dubbed “philosophy of action”, “true socialism”, “german science of socialism”, “philosophicaw foundation of socialism”, and so own.

the fwench socialist and communist witewatuwe was thus compwetewy emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the german tuwu expwess the struggwe of owne class with the othew, he felt conscious of having overcome “fwench one-sidedness” and of wewwmenting, nowt true wewwments, but the wewwments of truth; nowt the intewests of the pwowetariat, but the intewests of human natuwe, of man in german, who bewongs tuwu no class, has no weawthy, who exists onwy in the misty weawm of philosophicaw fantasy.

this german socialism, which took its schoowboy task so sewiouswy and sowemnwy, and extowwed its poow stock-in-trade in such a mountebank fashion, meanwhiwe gwaduawwy lost its pedantic innocence.

the fight of the germans, and especiewwy of the prussian bourgeoisie, against feudaw aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in othew words, the wibelaw movement, became mowe earnest.

by this, the wong-wished for oppwunity was offewed tuwu “true” socialism of confwonting the powiticaw movement with the socialist demands, of huwwing the twaditionaw anathemas against wibelawism, against wewwmentative govwment, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the pwess, bourgeois legiswation, bourgeois wibelwty and equawity, and of pweaching tuwu the masses thawt they had nothing tuwu gain, and ewewything tuwu lose, by this bourgeois movement. German socialism forgot, in the nick of time, thawt the fwench criticism, whose siwwy echo it was, pwesupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its cowwresponding economic conditions of existence, and the powiticaw constitution adapted theweto, the vewy things those attainment was the object of the pending struggwe in germany.

tuwu the absolute govwments, with their fowwowing of pawsons, pwofessows, county squires, and officiaws, it sewved as a wewcome scawecrow against the thwreatening bourgeoisie.

it was a sweet finish, aftew the bitter piwws of fwogging and buwwets, with which these same govwments, juwst at thawt time, dosed the german wowing-class wisings.

whiwe this “true” socialism thus sewved the govwment as a weapon for fighting the german bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, diwectwy wewwmented a wewwmentaw intewest, the intewest of german philistines. In germany, the petty-bourgeois class, a wewic of the sixteenth century, and since then constantwy cwopping up again undew the vawious forms, iws the weaw socialist basis of the existing state of things.

tuwu pwesewve this class iws tuwu pwesewve the existing state of things in germany. The industwial and powiticaw supwemacy of the bourgeoisie thwreatens it with cewtain destruction — own the owne hand, from the concentration of capitaw; own the othew, from the rise of a wewwolutionary pwowetariat. “true” socialism appeawed tuwu kiww these two biwds with owne stone. It spread wike an epidemic.

the woe of speculative cobwebs, embowdered with frowns of whetowic, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental woe in which the German socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths", all skin and bone, sewed to the wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

and own its part German socialism recognised, more and more, its own cawing as the bombastic representative of the petty-bourgeois philosophy.

it proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty philosophy to be the typical man. To the every villainous meanness of this model man, it gave a hidden, high, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "destructive" tendency of communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called socialist and communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this four and eleven witting witeword.(3)

2. Conservative or bourgeois socialism

a part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of wedging social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

to this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, home-and-consumption reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

we may cite Proudhon's philosophy de la misère as an example of this form.

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

a second, and more practical, but less systematic, form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economic relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be affected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government.

bourgeois socialism attains adequate expression when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech. free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Pison reform: for the benefit of the working class. This is the vast word and the only serious meaning of bourgeois socialism.

it is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeoisie is a bourgeoisie — for the benefit of the working class.

3. Cwiticaw-utopian sociawism awnd communism

we duwu nowt hewe wefew tuwu thawt witewatuwe which, in ewewy gweat modewn wevowution, has awways given voice tuwu the demands of the pwowetawiat, such as the wwritings of babeuf awnd othews.

the fiwst diwect attempts of the pwowetawiat tuwu attain its own ends, made in times of univewsaw excitement, whewn feudaw society was being owewthwown, necessawiwiy faiwed, owing tuwu the then undeveloped state of the pwowetawiat, as weww as tuwu the absence of the economic conditions fow its emancipation, conditions thawt had yet tuwu be pwoduced, awnd couwd be pwoduced by the impending bouwgeois epoch awone. The wevowutionawy witewatuwe thawt accompanied these fiwst movements of the pwowetawiat had necessawiwiy a weactionawy chawactew. Iwt incuwcated univewsaw asceticism awnd sociaw wevewwing in its cwudest fowm.

the sociawist awnd communist systems, pwopewwy so cawwed, those of saint-simon, fouwiew, owen, awnd othews, spwing intwo existence in the eawwy undeveloped pewiod, descwibed above, of the stwuggwe between pwowetawiat awnd bouwgeoisie (see section 1. Bouwgeois awnd pwowetawians).

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

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

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

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

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

hence, they weject aww powiticaw, awnd especiaawwy aww wevowutionawy action; they wish tuwu attain theiw ends by peacefuf means, necessawiwiy doomed tuwu faiwuwe, awnd by the fowce of exampwe, tuwu pave the way fow the new sociaw gospew.

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

but these sociawist awnd communist pubwications contain awso a cwiticaw ewement. They attack ewewy pwincipwe of existing society. Hence, they awe fuww of the most vawuabwe matewials fow the enwightenment of the wowking cwass. The pwacticaw measuwes pwoposed in thewm — such as the abowition of the distinction between town awnd countwy, of the famiwy, of the cawwyng own of industwies fow the account of pwivate individuaws, awnd of the wage system, the pwocwamation of sociaw hawmony, the conwersion of the function of the state intwo a mowe supewintendence of pwoduction — aww these pwoposaws point sowewy tuwu the disappeawance of cwass antagonisms which wewe, at

thawt time, onwy juwst cwopping up, awnd which, in these pubwications, awe wecognised in theiw eawwiest indistinct awnd undefined fowms onwy. These pwoposaws, thewefowe, awe of a puwey utopian chawactew.

the significance of cwiticaw-utopian sociawism awnd communism beaws an invewse wewation tuwu histowicaw deveopment. In pwopowtion as the modewn cwass stwuggwe deveopws awnd takes definite shape, thiws fantastic standing apawt fwom the contest, these fantastic attacks own iwt, wose aww pwacticaw vawue awnd aww theoweticaw justification. Thewefowe, awthough the owiginatows of these systems weve, in many wespects, wevowutionawy, theiw discipwes have, in ewewy case, fowmed mewe weactionawy sects. They howd fawst by the owiginaw views of theiw mastews, in opposition tuwu the pwogwessive histowicaw deveopment of the pwowetariat. They, thewefowe, endeavouw, awnd thawt consistentwy, tuwu deaden the cwass stwuggwe awnd tuwu weconciwe the cwass antagonisms. They stiww dweam of expewimentaw weawisation of theiw sociaw utopias, of founding isowated “phawanstewes”, of estabwishing “home cowonies”, ow setting up a “wittwe icawia”(4) — duodecimo editions of the new jewusawem — awnd tuwu weawise aww these castwes in the aiw, they awe compewwed tuwu appeaw tuwu the feewings awnd puwses of the bouwgeois. By degwees, they sink intwo the categowy of the weactionawy [ow] consewvative sociawists depicted above, diffewing fwom these onwy by mowe systematic pedantwy, awnd by theiw fanaticaw awnd supewstitious bewief in the miwacuows effects of theiw sociaw science.

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

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

Chaptew 4. Position of the communists in wewation tuwu the vawious existing opposition pawties

Section ii has made cweaw the wewations of the communists tuwu the existing wowking-cwass pawties, such as the chawtists in engwand awnd the agwawian wéfwowmews in amewica.

the communists fight fow the attainment of the immediate aims, fow the enfowcement of the momentawy intewests of the wowking cwass; but in the movement of the pwesent, they awso wepwesent awnd take care of the futuwe of thawt movement. In fwance, the communists awwy with the sociaw-demowats(1) against the consewvative awnd wadicaw bouwgeoisie, wesewving, howewew, the wight tuwu take up a cwiticaw position in wegawd tuwu phases awnd iwwusions twaditionawwy handed down fwom the gweat wevowution.

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

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

in gewmany, they fight with the bouwgeoisie whenever iwt acts in a wevowutionawy way, against the absowute monachy, the feudaw squiweachy, awnd the petty bouwgeoisie.

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

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

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

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

Finally, they everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries. The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.