FREDERICK ENGELS

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A BIOGRAPHY

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

Фридрих Энгельс

БИОГРАФИЯ

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ
МОСКВА

Frederick Engels

A BIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

Frederick Engels, friend and close associate of Karl Marx and one of the founders of scientific communism, ranks among the outstanding scholars and revolutionaries of all time.

He started his life's work when Western Europe was on the threshold of bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, the bourgeoisie, no longer a revolutionary class, was becoming a politically reactionary force, while the independent actions of the workers served notice that a new revolutionary class was coming forward.

The labour movement, however, was largely spontaneous, unorganised and lacking a clear goal. The workers were not yet conscious of their class interests. Though the utopian socialist doctrines denounced the evils of capitalism, they were blind to the forces behind social development, did not link up with the workers' struggles. They portrayed the working class as a downtrodden and suffering mass incapable of delivering itself from oppression and exploitation.

To understand the class struggle and find the right, realistic way to socialism, required knowledge of the laws governing the development of society and of the force that could destroy exploitation and win real equality.

A fervent wish to help the workers was not enough, for the wish alone could not bring out the implications of the class struggle. Nor could this be accomplished in the seclusion of the scholar's study by purely theoretical exercise. It required men actively involved in the fight for emancipation and in command of scientific methods of defining the objective laws of social development and the place and role in history of social classes. Marx and Engels were just such men. Using the attainments of social science—principally classical German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism, they set off a revolution in men's views on society and created a new vision of the world—dialectical and historical materialism.

the theoretical basis of the workers' struggle for emancipation. Each in his own way, they recognised the historic mission of the working class, in substantiating which Engels holds a place of distinction.

"Engels," Lenin wrote, was the *first* to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself*. The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to realise that their only salvation lies in socialism. On the other hand, socialism will become a force only when it becomes the aim of the *political* struggle of the working *class*."[1]

Meeting in mind and spirit, Engels and Marx worked together in harmony for forty years to shape the scientific socialist theory, organising and enlightening the more advanced sections of the working class.

Many of their works on scientific communism were written jointly, and many of Engels' investigations were projections of ideas that arose from his long and faithful association with Marx. Marx, too, relied in many ways on Engels' help—when writing his *Capital*, for example, or other works. He admired Engels' encyclopaedic mind, retentive memory, range of vision and diversity of intellectual pursuits.

Engels was most conspicuously productive in history, philosophy, natural science, military science, and the strategy and tactics of the class struggle. His contribution to dialectical and historical materialism was very great. He wrote classical works in which many of the key propositions of the Marxist philosophy were first formulated in systematic form.

He was the first to apply materialist dialectics to the knowledge of nature. Generalising the newest discoveries of natural science, he defined their underlying purport and philosophical meaning, proving thereby that dialectical materialism is the methodological foundation of natural and social science alike. He anticipated the principal trends in natural science and scientific-technical progress, predicting that coming generations would witness especially significant scientific advances at the junctions of different disciplines, specifically physics and chemistry, chemistry and biology, and the like. And in all the main points modern natural science has borne him out.

Engels made an invaluable contribution to the science of history. He and Marx laid the foundation of Marxist historiography, leaving an indelible mark on the method of historical research and the specific studies of different countries and epochs.

Engels was the first military theorist of the working class and

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23.

a prominent historian of the art of war. His was the first valid materialist explanation of the origin and essence of war in the different stages of history, showing the relation between military art, the productive forces and social relations.

He would not bow to dogma, never made an absolute of scientific formulas and worked tirelessly to advance the theory of revolution. New experience and all changes in social life, he held, required continuous and exhaustive study, and he was always the living model of a scholar dedicated to unremitting search. He was sharply critical of those who would make a dogma of Marx's and his own doctrine, turning it into an aggregate of immutable formulas, of those who ignored the advances of science, newly arising conditions and social requirements. Never did he lack the courage of reassessing his own views in the light of new facts or changing conditions, or when the realities set new problems.

Like Marx, he devoted his indomitable energy, brilliant mind and ardent spirit to the grand revolutionary aim of transforming the world, and to the proletarian party, to the founding and consolidation of which he gave all his strength. Though he came from a bourgeois milieu, he did not hesitate to break with his class and fight for the worker's cause.

His extraordinary courage and tactical intuition, ability to find his bearings in rapidly changing situations and knowledge of the specifics of different countries made Engels an outstanding revolutionary and, alongside Marx, a recognised and revered leader of the international working-class movement.

His gifts as strategist and tactician came into evidence during the revolutions of 1848-49, the time of the First International, and during the Paris Commune. With Marx, he worked untiringly for the unity of the International, against reformist and sectarian trends (propounded by followers of Proudhon and Lassalle, the trade-unionists and Bakuninists), condemning plots and conspiracies and schismatic tendencies couched in strident "Left" rhetoric, and defending the great revolutionary principles of consistent class policy and proletarian internationalism.

Like Marx, Engels stood by at the birth of German Social-Democracy, which, in the main, accepted the Marxist revolutionary principles. He kept himself informed of all its developments, influenced its activity, gave guidance to its press, had close relations with its revolutionary leaders, and took an uncompromising stand against Right and "Left" opportunism in its ranks. He gave invaluable help to the socialists of France, Austria, Hungary, Britain, Poland, Spain, Italy, Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Holland, and other countries. "They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age," Lenin wrote on this score.[1] In brief, Engels'

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

work contributed immensely to Marxism's ideological victory in the international working-class movement.

He won the affection and respect of many distinguished contemporaries. The sharp mind, far-ranging knowledge and vivid talent of the great scholar and revolutionary, complemented by his vivacity, kindness and responsiveness, evoked genuine admiration.

His splendid qualities were particularly evident in his relationship with Marx and his family. The loyal and touching friendship of the two great men has no parallel for its fruitful results. But Engels was also unfailingly kind and helpful to anyone in need. He responded to the wants of hundreds of men and women of kindred spirit, and devoted to the working class.

Not surprisingly, Engels' impressive figure rouses the interest of investigators. Among the first printed biographies of Engels was an essay by Marx, who shortly before his death described him as one of the most outstanding exponents of modern socialism.[1] Several biographies appeared at the end of the past century. As a rule, they were small books containing a general account of his life and of the more important and best known of his works.

Prominent among these biographical works is Lenin's article, "Frederick Engels", writen in the autumn of 1895. This, and Lenin's many other references to Engels, to various aspects of his revolutionary activity, to his works, are of fundamental significance for all students of Engels.

Also important are the works of Franz Mehring, eminent German historian and co-founder of the Communist Party of Germany, especially his *History of German Social-Democracy* and biography of Karl Marx, completed in 1918.

The two-volume biography by Gustav Mayer,[2] the progressive German historian, was a welcome addition, for he was able to marshal a vast collection of biographical facts still unpublished in the 1920s and early 1930s: the correspondence between Marx and Engels, their correspondence with other associates, various memoirs and other documents. He presented Engels' life against the setting of historical events and introduced new, highly relevant facts.

Soviet authors, too, have produced a number of Engels' biographies. V. A. Bystryansky, V. N. Sarabyanov, Y. Yaroslavsky and a few others published popular accounts in the twenties. The short biography by Yevgenia Stepanova has been widely read. M. V. Serebryakov has worked assiduously and usefully, especially on the early Engels. Other investigators have devoted works to various periods in his life.

Marxist historians in the German Democratic Republic, France, Bulgaria and other countries, too, have worked on Engels' biography.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, S. 181-85.
[2] Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Bd. I-II, Haag, 1934.

The multi-volume biography of Marx and Engels by Auguste Cornu, which covers the early period of their activity, is of interest.

As a rule, bourgeois and reformist authors give a distorted picture of the relationship between Marx and Engels, putting a wrong construction on Engels' role in developing the Marxist philosophy and in the international working-class movement. With the ill-concealed, often even frankly admitted, intention of disrupting Marxism and perverting its essence and history, Engels is frequently contrasted to Marx.

To produce a truly scholarly biography of Frederick Engels is not an easy undertaking. The story of his life is the glorious story of the workers' struggles against capitalism—from the first isolated, often spontaneous actions to the workers' growth into a formidable political force. It is the story of how the scientific theory of the workers' emancipation movement came into being, how it grew from the creed of a handful of advanced revolutionaries into the universally recognised theoretical foundation of the mass struggle for the reconstruction of society.

To tell this story is the purpose of this book. Its authors have tried to present the life and work of Frederick Engels as exhaustively as possible, shedding light on aspects in his life that have not been given due study in other literature—the specific aspects in the evolution of his materialistic and communist views, his role in founding the Communist League, his part in the First International, his work after Marx's death, his contribution to Marxist political economy, philosophy and historiography, etc.

A large number of sources has been used, and especially the works and letters of Marx and Engels in the Russian-language second edition of their *Works*, the most complete so far, which includes materials published in their lifetime and those that reached us in manuscripts, some unfinished, and the vast legacy of letters. Use was also made of writings not included in the *Works* and published in the volumes of the *Marx-Engels Archives*, and other publications. Working on the book, the authors took guidance in Lenin's recorded oral and written references to Engels and his works.

Another source were published documents relating to the history of the Communist League and the First International, various memoirs and reminiscences, and letters to Engels from prominent personalities in the international labour movement—August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke, Paul Lafargue, V k or Adler, Vera Zasulich, Georgy Plekhanov, Antonio Labriola, and others. Also used were passages from 19th-century periodicals with information about Engels and reviews of his works.

Some previously unpublished materials were taken from the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. Illustrations were selected from the Archives and the Marx and Engels Museum.

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Chapter One

THE MAKING OF THE PROLETARIAN THINKER AND FIGHTER

...Let us fight for freedom as long as we are young and full of glowing vigour.

Frederick Engels

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Frederick Engels was born on November 28, 1820 in Barmen,[1] Rhine Province, Prussia, into the family of a wealthy cotton-spinner. Like all Barmen industrialists, his father, a strong-minded man of energy and enterprise, was fiercely religious and conservative in political outlook.

Enge s' mother, Elizabeth, née van Haar, came from an intellectual family. She was sensitive, kind, vivacious, with a sense of humour and a liking for books and art, and exercised a lasting influence on Frederick, her first-born, of whom she seemed to have been the fondest and in whom she reposed her expectations. Engels reciprocated with a deep affection.

His g andfather on the distaff side, Gerhard Bernhard van Haar, a linguist and once rector of the Hamm Gymnasium, who acquainted his inquisitive grandson with the myths of Ancient Greece and with German folklore, also had a beneficial influence on the boy. From him the boy learned of Theseus and the hundred-eyed Argus, Ariadne and the monster Minotaur, the Argonauts and their search for the Golden Fleece, and of the indomitable Heracles, and of the personages of the German epics. Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied* was the boy's favourite hero, a symbol of manly exploits and the German youth's courageous stand against conservatism, philistinism and reaction.[2]

Frederick had eight brothers and sisters, of whom he was closest to his sister Marie. His brothers fo lowed their father into the textile

[1] Barmen—textile centre on the Wupper. A part of the Wupper valley, including Barmen and the neighbouring town of Elberfeld, was known as Wuppertal. In 1930 the two towns were formally merged and became the city of Wuppertal.

[2] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 108. (Where the source of a quotation from the works of Marx and Engels is unavailable in published English translation, the reader is referred to Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin.)

industry and his sisters married men of a similar milieu. Frederick was the only one to choose a different way. "Probably no son born in such a family ever struck so entirely different a path from it," wrote Eleanor, Marx's daughter, in 1890. "Frederick must have been considered by his family as the 'ugly duckling'. Perhaps they still do not understand that the 'duckling' was in reality a 'swan'."[1]

Engels' milieu provided him with ample reasons for rumination.

His land—Rhenish Prussia—was economically and politically the most highly developed part of Germany. In 1795-1815, when the left bank of the Rhine was part of France (most of it was returned to Prussia by the Vienna Congress in 1815), liberal democratic sentiment was enduringly implanted among its people. More than any other part of Germany did it experience the influence of the French bourgeois revolution of the late 18th century. Whereas in most of the country semi-feudal relations still reigned in the 1840s, with guilds and cottage manufacture dominant, Rhenish Prussia already had factories. The Rhine, considerable deposits of iron ore and coal, and the more progressive bourgeois legislation (Code Napoléon) instituted under the French, were major factors impelling its rapid capitalist development.

Yet for the working people capitalism was a source of misery and ruthless exploitation. With the introduction of machinery cheap female and child labour began to be used extensively. Exhausting work, extremely low wages and appalling housing became the common lot of the workers.

Growing up in one of the biggest Rhenish industrial centres, Engels saw the hopeless poverty of the working man. To survive factory competition, craftsmen and artisans laboured from dawn to dusk, many seeking oblivion in schnaps. "I still remember all too well," Engels wrote in 1876, "how an over-abundance of cheap schnaps suddenly afflicted the Lower Rhine industrial area at the end of the 1820s. Particularly in Berg, and most particularly in Elberfeld-Barmen, most working men took to drink. From nine in the evening, arms linked, taking up the width of the street, 'drunken men' staggered from tavern to tavern in bands, howling tunelessly."[2]

Religion exercised a no less stultifying influence on the Wuppertal populace. Pietism, the most fanatical of Lutheran trends, had strong roots in this part of Prussia. Its exponents were intolerant and narrow-minded, and branded as "sinful" all non-religious literature, the theatre and other entertainment.

Wherever he looked—at home, in school, in the gymnasium and in "respectable society"—Engels encountered obdurate religious bigotry, which aroused his sense of protest.

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, p. 183.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 40.

From an early age, Engels displayed an independent disposition. His father's admonitions and threats of punishment would not reduce him to blind obedience.

He attended the town school in Barmen until he was 14. The school atmosphere was stuffy, the religious spirit over-shadowed everything else. When a boy once asked, "Who was Goethe?", Engels later recalled, the teacher replied unhesitatingly: "A godless man." The school was run by a narrow-minded and tight-fisted board of trustees, which recruited teachers chiefly from among religious fanatics. All the same, Engels managed to acquire a solid grounding in physics and chemistry, and displayed his extraordinary linguistic gifts.

In October 1834, he was transferred to the gymnasium in Elberfeld, regarded as one of the best in Prussia. It was run by the Reformation community, and its board of trustees selected teachers, who, as Engels later described them, were highly skilled book-keepers, but had not the slightest notion of Greek or Latin, or mathematics. The board was unconcerned about the needs of the gymnasium and its students, and religious intolerance reigned just as it did in the Barmen school.

The director of the gymnasium, also a trustee of the Evangelical boarding-school in Lower Barmen, advised Engels' father to give him custody of the boy. The father agreed, hoping that the "secluded way of life" in the boarding-school and the mentorship of the pious director would lead Frederick to "a certain degree of independence" and help him overcome "a disturbing thoughtlessness and lack of character".

Among his classmates Engels stood out as a boy of extraordinary endowments. He studied history, the ancient languages and German classical literature with rapt interest. His still extant history exercise-book contains coloured pictures of the environs of Carthage, Jerusalem, Pytho (Delphi) and the Pass of Thermopylae, ink-drawings of pyramids, the Sphinx near Cairo and the Lion Gate in Mycenae. On the margins are sketches of Babylonian warriors and Hindu and Greek columns. Many years later Engels gratefully recalled his history teacher, Herr Dr. Johann Clausen.

He made eminent progress in Greek and Latin, reading and translating fluently from the works of Homer, Euripides, Virgil, Horace, Livy and Cicero In Greek he even wrote a poem, *The Single Combat of Eteocles and Polynices*, which he recited at a gymnasium function in September 1837. His school report said he had shown a deep interest in the history of German literature and in the German classics, had a good knowledge of mathematics and physics, and was a modest, open-hearted and friendly boy with the commendable intention of getting a comprehensive education.

In his gymnasium years, Engels' interests ranged far afield. He frequented a circle where boys read their own poetry and prose and performed their own musical compositions. A few of Engels'

poems have come down to us, and so has his *A Pirate Tale* expressing solidarity with the Greek independence fighters. He wrote short musical compositions and made witty drawings of his classmates and teachers, affording his friends much pleasure.

The religious intolerance in the gymnasium, coupled with tight discipline, was deeply resented by the lively and enterprising boy. "Prisons" was how he described the German schools of his time.[1]

Rebelling against the despotism of his father and tutors and the religious dogma that exacted absolute obedience and decorum, Engels sought "salvation" in a puerile "communion with God", substituting religion of the senses for dogmatic worship. But this mood did not last; it was contrary to his inquisitive and vivacious nature.

Engels was in sympathy with peoples fighting for national independence and, to quote Lenin, "had come to hate autocracy and the tyranny of bureaucrats while still at high school".[2] Here he was influenced by the sentiments of opposition to Prussian absolutism widespread along the Rhine.

A GO AT COMMERCE

The gymnasium period ended abruptly. Engels had been planning to study economy and law, but his father insisted that as the eldest son he should go into the family business. In 1837, he took Frederick out of the gymnasium and made him enter on an apprenticeship in his office.

This held no attractions for young Frederick, but happily left him the leisure to study history, philosophy, literature and linguistics, and to write poetry, to which he was greatly drawn. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of Ferdinand Freiligrath, a Barmen office worker and well-known poet. This liking for literature Engels retained to the end of his life. True, he soon became critical of his own writing, especially verse, though his early literary preoccupation doubtless made a deep mark on his later scientific and publicistic activity: his writing was always lively, vivid, imaginative and clear.

He learned the ways of commerce reluctantly in his father's office, and in July 1838 was sent to Bremen to serve in the large trading establishment of Heinrich Leupold.

Bremen, a major port city trading with all the world, broadened Frederick's outlook. The young man became acquainted with foreign literature and the press, devoting his leisure to fiction and political books. Also, he continued to learn languages and wrote multilingual letters to his sister Marie and his former classmates, in which German alternated with Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, etc.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 108.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 21.

His interest in music did not diminish. He was a regular member of a choral group and frequented concert halls and the theatre. He studied the theory of music and tried his hand at composing and at writing chorals. Strongly attracted to Beethoven's dramatic compositions, he regarded them as the apex of German music. The *Sinfonia Eroica* and *Fifth Symphony* were his favourites. Of the latter he wrote to his sister Marie on March 11, 1841: "What a symphony it was last night! You have heard nothing until you have heard this magnificent piece. What despairing discord in the first movement, what elegiac melancholy, what a tender lover's lament in the *adagio*, what a tremendous youthful, jubilant celebration of freedom by the trombone in the third and fourth movements!"[1]

In Bremen Engels became an enthusiastic horseman, swimmer, swordsman and skater, referring with contempt to those who "shun cold water like rabid dogs, who put on three or four layers of clothing when the weather is the least bit frosty, who make it a point of honour to obtain exemption from military service on grounds of physical weakness".[2]

However, the young man's main interests lay in literature and publicism. His writing and correspondence of 1838-42 show the evolution of his revolutionary-democratic outlook under the influence of the germinating bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany.

THE GERMANY OF THE 1840s

In the 1840s, Germany was a politically disunited land. It comprised 38 independent states, only formally aligned in a German confederation. This was an obstacle to economic and political growth, making the country dependent on the big European powers. Survivals of feudal relations, too, impeded the socio-political development of the German people. In Prussia and Austria especially, power was concentrated in the nobility and top bureaucracy. The all-powerful bureaucrats suppressed every evidence of freedom. Chancellor Klemens Metternich, co-founder of the Holy Alliance and proponent of reaction in Europe and Germany, ruled Austria with a heavy hand. Friedrich Wilhelm IV, advocate of unlimited royal power and eager to perpetuate the survivals of feudalism, who ascended the Prussian throne in 1840, was obsessed with mystico-religious ideas, suppressing free thought by ferocious censorship.

Due to the country's economic backwardness and political disunity, the German bourgeoisie was much less equipped and much less resolute in fighting feudalism than had been the bourgeoisie of Britain and France. But in Germany, too, the economic weight

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 482-83.
[2] Ibid., S. 119.

of the bourgeoisie steadily increased. As capitalist relations developed, an opposition movement grew. The German bourgeoisie wished to remove the obstacles presented by autocracy, which impeded capitalist growth, and to break its way to political power.

The bourgeois-liberal and other more radical trends manifested themselves chiefly in philosophy and the letters. In the authoritarian police state where all progressive political action was fiercely suppressed, literature and philosophy proved to be havens of free thought, permitting at least a token resistance to reaction.

The July 1830 revolution in France gave impetus to the German liberal and democratic movement; so did the revolutionary national liberation movements in Poland, Italy and Belgium, which also unfolded under its impact.

In Rhine Province, where the autocratic Prussian regime was deeply resented, the liberal and democratic movement was especially active. And Engels, like all the progressive German youth, became deeply involved.

FOUNT OF REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

Young Engels' sentiments, his protest against reaction, bigotry and obscurantism, are displayed in his letters from Bremen to his friends and former classmates, the brothers Wilhelm and Friedrich Graeber. Incensed by the behaviour of Friedrich Wilhelm III, the Prussian monarch, he wrote to Friedrich Graeber on February 1, 1840: "The same king who in A. D. 1815, when he was feeling afraid promised his subjects in a cabinet decree that if they got him out of the mess they should have a constitution, this same shabby, rotten, god-damned king now has it announced ... that nobody is going to get a constitution from him.... I hate him with a mortal hatred and if I did not despise the scoundrel so, I would hate him still more.... There never was a time richer in royal crimes than that of 1816-30; almost every prince then ruling deserved the death penalty."[1]

Engels revelled in the opposition literature exposing reaction in Germany. The criticism of the Prussian order in Jakob Venedey's book, *Preussen und Preussenthum*, captured his imagination. He listed the more typical attributes of Prussian policy: protection of the propertied aristocracy to the detriment of the poor, and maintenance of autocracy by "suppressing political intelligence, keeping the majority of the people in ignorance, and utilising religion".[2] He sent his friends banned books published in Switzerland and France, and wrote on this score: "I am now a large-scale importer of banned books into Prussia."[3]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 442-43.
[2] Ibid., S. 430.
[3] Ibid., S. 434.

Two outstanding writers and publicists, Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne, were popular among opponents of the Prussian regime. Börne's ideas strongly influenced Engels. He read Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* (Letters from Paris), *Menzel, der Franzosenfresser* (Menger, the French-eater), and other works, and held him in esteem as a political practitioner, "the great fighter for freedom and justice",[1] drawing inspiration from his call to fight against feudalism and absolutism, obscurantism and servility.

Engels gravitated towards the Young Germany literary group of writers professing allegiance to Börne and Heine, and in March 1839 contacted Karl Gutzkow, a leading Young German. He became a contributor, first anonymously and from November as Friedrich Oswald, to the Hamburg *Telegraph für Deutschland*, of which Gutzkow was editor.

Engels was attracted by the Young Germans' avowed wish to bring modern ideas to the people: the necessity of political freedom, destruction of religious compulsion, etc. "I cannot sleep at night, all because of the ideas of the century," he wrote in a letter to Friedrich Graeber in April 1839. "When I am at the post office and look at the Prussian coat of arms, I am seized with the spirit of freedom. Every time I look at a newspaper I hunt for advances of freedom. They get into my poems and mock at the obscurantists in monk's cowls and in ermine."[2] Yet he would not accept the Young Germans' "rhetoric about *Weltschmerz*, the world-historic, the Judean sorrow, and the like".[3] He ranged himself with writers who saw the close connection between literature and life, expressing the irrepressible spirit of the times.

Engels' opposition was reflected in his poetry. His first published poem, *The Bedouin*, was directed in substance against August Kotzebue, the reactionary dramatist. His poem *An Evening*, published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland*, was consummate, sensitive and imbued with a love of freedom:

> The radiance in the West is almost gone.
> Patience! A new day waits us—Freedom's day!
> The sun shall mount his ever-shining throne
> And Night's black cares be banished far away.
> New flowers shall grow, but not in nursery beds
> We raked ourselves and sowed with chosen seeds:
> All earth shall be their garden full of light;
> All plants shall flourish in far alien lands.
> The Palm of Peace shall grace the Northern strands,
> The Rose of Love shall crown the frozen wight,
> The sturdy Oak shall seek the Southern shore
> To make the club that strikes the despot down....[4]

[1] Ibid., S. 395.
[2] Ibid., S. 367.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., S. 89-90.

Engels aligned himself with the bards of freedom, who, like the birds in the forest, greet the sunrise with a song:

I, too, am one of Freedom's minstrel band.
'Twas to the boughs of *Börne*'s great oak tree
I soared, when in the vales the despot's hand
Tightened the strangling chains round Germany.[1]

An Evening was written under the influence of Shelley, the English revolutionary romantic poet, whose verse Engels was translating at the time.

To his heroes Engels imparted in his early poetry features kindred to his own: a craving for freedom, a thirst for active involvement and a desire to influence the pattern of life. Siegfried, the hero of his unfinished tragicomedy, *Horned Siegfried* (1839), says of himself:

Swift through the forest's wild ravine
The boisterous mountain torrent roars;
And, laying low the helpless pine,
He cuts himself his lonely course.
'Like to that mountain stream I'll be,
Taking my course alone and free.[2]

Young Engels also liked folklore and popular tales. He collected legends in old editions, studied the colourful speech of commoners and in imaginative literature appreciated those of its elements which it drew from the living source of the people's art. Youthfully uninhibited, Engels wrote an impassioned article, "German *Volksbücher*", printed in November 1839, against the reactionary romanticists (Josef von Görres, and others), accusing them of distorting the nature of folklore by presenting it as an embodiment of the "medieval spirit" and thus adapting it to the interests of reaction.

"If, generally speaking, the qualities which can fairly be demanded of a popular book are rich poetic content, robust humour, moral purity, ... we are also entitled to demand that it should be in keeping with its age, or cease to be a book for the people,"[3] he wrote, adding that a popular book should serve the cause of freedom, "but on no account should it encourage servility and toadying to the aristocracy or pietism."[4]

"LETTERS FROM WUPPERTAL". CRITICISM OF RELIGION

In March-April 1839 two unsigned articles by Engels entitled "Letters from Wuppertal" were published in the *Telegraph für Deutschland*.

The 18-year-old Engels attacked the pietistic bigotry reigning in his native city, the obscurantism, fanaticism and mysticism of the

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 90-91.
[2] Ibid., S. 375.
[3] Ibid., S. 13.
[4] Ibid.

pietists and especially the principal Wuppertal zealot, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher.

But most important in the "Letters" was their criticism of social relations in Barmen. Their young writer's insight and knowledge is amazing. The suffering of the workers, the contrast between their lives and the prosperity of the factory owners and merchants roused Engels' sense of protest and fortified his determination to fight against injustice. He stigmatised the manufacturers as merciless exploiters who spared not even children. "Terrible poverty prevails among the lower classes," he wrote, "particularly the factory workers in Wuppertal; syphilis and lung diseases are so widespread as to be barely credible; in Elberfeld alone, out of 2,500 children of school age 1,200 are deprived of education and grow up in the factories."[1]

Engels tore down the "god-fearing" Wuppertal manufacturers' mask of piety. "... The wealthy manufacturers," he wrote, "have a flexible conscience, and causing the death of one child more or one less does not doom a pietist's soul to hell, especially if he goes to church twice every Sunday. For it is a fact that the pietists among the factory owners treat their workers worst of all."[2] He ridiculed the philistine mores of the Barmen industrialists and merchants, their ignorance of everything outside their commercial interests, their shallowness.

The "Letters from Wuppertal" created a sensation in Barmen and Elberfeld. The issues of the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in which they were printed, one of his Elberfeld friends informed him, were instantly sold out. A storm of indignation erupted among the Wuppertal burghers. They wondered who had written the "outrageous" articles. The *Elberfelder Zeitung* took the side of the factory owners and pietists, while the young writer rejoiced at having struck the target so accurately.

Engels' early articles show his final rupture with traditional religious notions. He could not stomach the "Wuppertal faith", which denied man all creative faculties, regarding him as a congenitally impotent and sinful creature. His sense of protest and wish to shake off the religious traditions were strongly evident in his early articles published, among others, in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, and especially in his letters to the Graebers. Letter by letter, the intensive working of his mind revealed his soul-searching and gradual deliverance from the thrall of religion.

Instrumental in arousing Engels' doubts was David Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (Life of Jesus), a book which appeared in 1835-36 showing that the Gospel was not the product of divine inspiration but a collection of myths that originated in the early Christian communities. It undermined the faith in the evangelic miracles and showed

[1] Ibid., Bd. 1, S. 418.
[2] Ibid.

the fatuousness of Christian orthodoxy. Engels also learned of Friedrich Schleiermacher's doctrine, claiming that sensation alone, and ecstasy, revealed to man the trueness of religious faith. At first, Engels thought the two ways of thought were in harmony. But a closer study of Strauss' book, especially his essay on Schleiermacher, impelled him to accept Strauss' point of view. In a letter to Wilhelm Graeber, on October 8, 1839, he said: "I am now a devout follower of Strauss."[1] Reading Strauss, Engels acquired an interest in the philosophical background to religious controversies.

Shedding the influence of church, milieu and family, departing more and more from the traditional notions of his childhood friends, uncertain and hesitant at times, Engels moved gradually to atheism. Eager to understand the world, he turned from Strauss to Hegelian philosophy.

REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC CONCLUSIONS FROM HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY

At the end of 1839 Engels occupied himself with the works of Hegel. An idealistic philosophy, Hegel's included, lodges the laws of the development of the world not in nature and human society, but outside them—in the supreme creator, the absolute idea, and the like. At the root of the world, Hegel averred, lay the absolute idea which as it developed became embodied in nature, the human consciousness, history. His doctrine misrepresented and distorted reality. Its rational element was its dialectical method, though Hegel's idealism prevented him from applying it consistently to the concepts of nature and society, the laws of which bore for him an aura of mysticism. As Lenin remarked, Hegel merely divined the dialectics of things in the dialectics of concepts.

Hegel's *Philosophy of History* attracted Engels; he was fascinated by the idea of the ascendant movement of man to higher, more mature social forms. Its influence is visible in Engels' writing dating to 1840-41. His article "Retrograde Signs of the Times" in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in February 1840 contained an exposition of the process of history, presenting it as a hand-drawn spiral, "the turns of which are not too precisely executed".[2] Where the reactionaries, the "mandarins of retrogression",[3] saw nothing but a repetition of the old, nothing but stagnation, history really moved forward. Old ideas, Engels wrote, will be crushed "under the adamantine foot of the forward moving time".[4] Engels wanted to align Börne's

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 419.
[2] Ibid., S. 27.
[3] Ibid., S. 28.
[4] Ibid.

radical political views with Hegel's dialectics, to establish the interaction of "science and life, philosophy and the modern trends".[1]

A dialectical approach to world history and social development became increasingly evident in Engels' writing, his criticism of the German socio-political order. Not ready yet to disparage Hegel's philosophy, he edged away from the conservative principles of Hegel's socio-political outlook.

While accepting Hegel's view of world history as a development of the freedom concept, Engels arrived at quite different, radical political conclusions.

In his article, "Requiem for the German *Adelszeitung*", in April 1840, he ridiculed the political concepts of that newspaper of the nobility. "The foreword teaches us," he writes, "that world history exists ... solely to prove that there must exist three estates: the nobility, which has to fight, the burghers—to think, and the peasants—to plough."[2] Unlike Hegel, who regarded the division of society into estates as immutable, Engels considered it meaningless. He rejected all outdated institutions and opposed the estate system, the autocracy, the cult of the nobility and the apotheosis of war.

He tried to apply Hegel's dialectics to social life. In an article, "Ernst Moritz Arndt", in January 1841, he condemned the German nobility's endeavours to cultivate strait-laced chauvinism, contempt for other nations and hatred of the democratic principles of the French bourgeois revolution. The Germanophile sentiment running high after the victory over Napoleon, he wrote, was out and out reactionary, its purpose being to take the nation back to the German Middle Ages. The outlook of the Germanophiles, he wrote, "was philosophically without foundation since it held that the entire world was created for the sake of the Germans, and the Germans themselves had long since arrived at the highest stage of evolution."[3]

Also, he showed that cosmopolitan liberalism, the antipode of chauvinism, was barren because blind to national disparities and far removed from reality. What was needed, he said, was mutual understanding among the European nations, and in Germany a striving for national unity.

He defined the task of national development in Germany as a revolutionary democrat. The state should have no governing and governed estates and should be "a great, united, nation with equal rights".[4] "So long as our fatherland remains split we shall be politically null," he wrote, "and public life, developed constitutionalism, freedom of the press, and all else that we demand will be mere pious wishes always only half-fulfilled."[5]

[1] Ibid., S. 30.
[2] Ibid., S. 64.
[3] Ibid., S. 121.
[4] Ibid., S. 127.
[5] Ibid., S. 131.

Engels' radical beliefs naturally caused friction with his former schoolmates, who tried in vain to "bring him to his senses". "You in particular should be ashamed to inveigh against my political truths, you political sleepyhead," he wrote to Wilhelm Graeber on November 20, 1840. "If you are left to sit quietly in your rural parsonage, for you will hardly expect a higher position, and to go out for a walk every evening with Frau Pastor and eventually with the young little Pastors and nobody fires off a cannon-ball under your nose, you are blissfully happy and don't trouble yourself about the sinful F. Engels who argues against the established order. Oh you heroes! But you will yet be drawn into politics, the current of the times will come flooding over your idyllic household, and then you will stand like the oxen before the mountain. Activity, life, youthful spirit, that is the real thing!"[1]

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS MATERIALISM

At the end of March 1841, with his term of employment in Bremen over, Engels returned to Barmen. But life in his father's home was not to his taste. His former schoolmates, country walks and sports could not quite occupy his time. He read avidly, meditated, and wrote. Once again he had come to a crossroads and had to choose between submitting to his father's wish and becoming a merchant, or following his inclinations, studying, dedicating himself to more spiritual pursuits.

It was useless to ask for his father's support. He decided to go to Berlin and volunteer for a term in the army. Like the sons of other rich families, he could, at a price, have evaded conscription. He hoped, however, that his military service would not interfere with his studies in science and literature, for which there could be no more suitable place than the famous Berlin University.

But first he went to Switzerland and Northern Italy. The splendour of the Alps stimulated him, who had shortly experienced the agony of unrequited love. "So I did ... stand there ... with a heart that only a month ago had been filled with infinite bliss and now was torn and desolate. And what pain has more right to speak out in the presence of the beauty of nature than the noblest and most profound of all personal sorrows, the sorrow of love?"[2]

In September 1841 Engels joined an artillery brigade quartered in Berlin's Kupfergraben near the university. He soon became an expert bombardier and acquired a good military grounding, which later served him in very good stead. He made the most of his stay in the Prussian capital to fill in the gaps in his education, attending

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 465.
[2] Ibid., S. 153.

university lectures as an external student, taking a philosophy course and participating in Professor Benary's seminar on the history of religion.

The split among Hegel's followers turned the Prussian capital into a battleground for the different philosophical schools. The Right Hegelians Hermann Hinrichs, Georg Gabler, Karl Göschel, and others, who conceived their teacher's system in the spirit of Christian orthodoxy, were zealous religionists and supported the existing political order. The most radical of the philosophical trends was the Left wing of the Hegelian school, the so-called Young Hegelians—David Strauss, Bruno and Edgar Bauer, Arnold Ruge, Karl Köppen, Ludwig Buhl, Max Stirner, and others, and, for a time, also Karl Marx, who had left Berlin shortly before Engels came there.

The Young Hegelians drew from Hegel's philosophy atheistic and radical inferences. "While the more advanced section of his followers," Engels wrote later, "subjected every religious belief to the ordeal of a rigorous criticism, and shook to its foundation the ancient fabric of Christianity, they at the same time brought forward bolder political principles than hitherto it had been the fate of German ears to hear expounded."[1]

For the Young Hegelians the point of departure was Hegel's dialectical postulate that all things changed continuously and that by virtue of intrinsic development every existing form, including the social, was eventually and necessarily supplanted by a new, more rational one. From this they inferred the need to eliminate the outdated order in Germany, which they considered irrational and transient. In papers published chiefly in *Hallische Jahrbücher* and the journal *Athenäum*, the Young Hegelians maintained that man's reason possessed the right of criticising the political system and the church. A social order or institution, they argued, had to be vindicated by the judgment of reason before it won the right to exist.

In the history of philosophy, the bridge the Young Hegelians began crossing from criticising religion to criticising the politics and ideology of Prussian autocracy identifies them as the ideologues of the German radical bourgeoisie. Their approach had weaknesses, which limited their influence on the masses aspiring to independent action: their idealistic view of history and their wholly insufficient appreciation of the people's practical activity, of the role of the masses in making history.

But their daring criticism of religious and philosophical dogma, and the radical political convictions expressed by many of them, evoked a warm response in Engels. He joined the Berlin group of Young Hegelians and plunged into the then unfolding ideological battle.

From the autumn of 1841 he attended Friedrich Schelling's lectures in Berlin University. That this eminent philosopher, once Hegel's

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 309.

comrade but now an irreconcilable critic of the progressive elements in Hegel's system, should head the philosophy chair would, so the reactionary diehards held, counteract the growing popularity of the Young Hegelians. Engels perceived that Schelling's "philosophy of revelation" was a rejection of the principles of reason and science, an attempt to justify the reactionary order in Germany, to lay chains on free thought and replace it with blind obedience and slavish devotion to the monarchy. Schelling's philosophy, he observed, was conceived "to serve the King of Prussia".[1] It was politically necessary, he said, to challenge this "latest attempt of reaction against the free philosophy"[2], and between the end of 1841 and early 1842 he wrote an article, "Schelling on Hegel", and the pamphlets, *Schelling and Revelation* and *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ*, defying that apostle of reactionary philosophy.

He was still essentially in accord with the Hegelian viewpoint and defended the progressive element in Hegel's doctrine against Schelling's attacks.

For example, arguing against Schelling's contention that the rational was but possible and potential, he defended Hegel's postulate that everything rational was real and everything real was rational. Hegel's postulate, Engels pointed out, showed that the world was rational, and hence also philosophy, signifying that reality conformed to objective laws and that philosophy was therefore highly significant for man's practical activity. "Up to now," Engels wrote, "all philosophy has made it its task to understand the world as rational. What is rational is, of course, also necessary, and what is necessary must be, or at least become, real. This is the bridge to the great practical results of modern philosophy."[3] Schelling, however, with his "pure science of reason", he pointed out, endeavoured to show the absence in the world of natural, law-governed connections, and, consequently, the impotence of human reason and of the conscious activity of man in general.

In contrast to Schelling, Engels argued for the unity of the world, the idea of profound intrinsic necessity and regularity. The necessity governing the world, he maintained, did not rule out human freedom. He criticised Schelling for identifying freedom and crass licentiousness. True freedom, he wrote, was not arbitrary but conscious activity flowing from the knowledge of the existing necessity. Giving credit to Hegelian dialectics, Engels formulated an important postulate: "Only *that* freedom is genuine which contains necessity."[4]

Championing the idea of the unity of the world, Engels reached the conclusion that a profound connection existed between thinking and being, between reason and things. Unlike Schelling, who dissociated reason from sensation, from experience, Engels saw them as closely connected, stressing that reason and experience complemented each other, that reason could apprehend the "necessity of the existing" solely from experience.

Engels' criticism of Schelling showed that he had a good command of Hegelian dialectics, which he described as a powerful, never resting mover of thought.[1]

He defined his attitude to Hegel and the Young Hegelians. He approached Hegel's philosophy as a revolutionary democrat, tracing the contradictions in Hegel's system—the inconsistency between the basic philosophical idea and the moderate, conservative conclusions—to "the limits within which Hegel himself had confined the powerful, youthfully impetuous flood of conclusions from his teaching".[2] The principles of Hegel's philosophy, Engels noted, were sacrificed to the philosopher's socio-political views. "Thus his philosophy of religion and of law would undoubtedly have turned out very differently if he had abstracted himself more from the positive elements which were present in him as a product of his time, and had proceeded instead from pure thought. All inconsistencies and contradictions in Hegel can be reduced to that. Everything which in the philosophy of religion appears too orthodox, and in the philosophy of law too pseudo-historical, is to be understood from this point of view. The principles are throughout independent and free-minded, the conclusions—no one denies it—sometimes cautious, even illiberal."[3] In the preceding passage, Engels pointed out that Hegel's "political views, his teaching on the state, which had been developed in reference to England, bear unmistakably the stamp of the Restoration, nor did the world historical necessity of the July revolution ever become clear to him".[4] What attracted Engels in Hegel's philosophy was principally that which could be used in the battle against the existing reality and religion.

Engels' papers on Schelling bear the mark of the materialistic views of Ludwig Feuerbach, "the liberating effect" of whose book, *The Essence of Christianity* (published in 1841), he experienced at this time.[5]

Though he then still regarded Feuerbach as an exponent of Young Hegelianism and saw no fundamental difference between him and Hegel, taking his ideas to be merely a complement of Hegel's philosophical principles, Engels' first step to a materialist conception of consciousness, the relation of reason and spirit to nature, which he made in his papers on Schelling, was definitely traceable to Feuerbach's influence. "The conclusion of modern philosophy ... of which

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 179.
[2] Ibid., S. 173.
[3] Ibid., S. 180.
[4] Ibid., S. 217.

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., S. 176.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 344.

Feuerbach first made us conscious in all its sharpness," he wrote, "is that reason cannot possibly exist except as mind, and that mind can only exist in and with nature, and does not somehow lead a life apart, in separateness from it, God knows where."[1] Schelling, however, interpreted reason abstractly, taking it to be something that could also exist outside the "world body".

The withering materialistic criticism of religion in Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* made a strong impression on Engels. In his pamphlets against Schelling he was among the first Young Hegelians to take up the defence of atheism.

Blending the Young Hegelians' radical philosophical ideas with a revolutionary-democratic view of social and political matters, Engels called for action and expressed deep faith in the ultimate victory of progress over reaction. "Let us fight and bleed, look undismayed into the grim eyes of the enemy and hold out to the end!... The day of great decision, of the battle of the nations, is approaching, and victory must be ours!"[2] This is how he concluded his *Schelling and Revelation*.

His criticism of Schelling elicited a violent response in the conservative press. The *Elberfelder Zeitung* and Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, among others, ferociously attacked the anonymous author of *Schelling, Philosopher in Christ*, while progressive periodicals were loud in their praise. Among them were the *Rheinische Zeitung* and *Hamburger Neue Zeitung*. Arnold Ruge's *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, the Young Hegelian journal, applauded *Schelling and Revelation*. Learning of its author, Ruge wrote Engels a letter, addressing him as Doctor of Philosophy and expressing regret that the splendid pamphlet had not appeared in his journal. In a reply on June 15, 1842, Engels wrote, in part: "Apart from all this, I am not a Doctor and cannot ever become one. I am only a merchant and a Royal Prussian artillerist, so kindly spare me that title."[3]

There was no trace of self-indulgence in Engels. Letting Ruge know of his decision "to abandon all literary work for a while" in a letter on July 26, 1842, he listed the following reasons: "I am young and self-taught in philosophy. I have learnt enough to form my own viewpoint and, when necessary, to defend it, but not enough to be able to work for it with success and in the proper way. All the greater demands will be made on me because I am a 'travelling agent' in philosophy and have not earned the right to philosophise by getting a doctor's degree. I hope to be able to satisfy these demands once I start writing again—and under my own name."[4]

His audacious writing attracted attention abroad. An article by Vasily Botkin in the January 1843 issue of the St. Petersburg *Otechestvenniye zapiski* (Fatherland Notes), entitled "German Literature", contained a précis and translated passages from *Schelling and Revelation*. Edward Dembowski, a Polish democrat, praised the pamphlet in an article, "Schelling's Berlin Lectures", published in the October 1842 issue of *Przegląd naukowy*, of which he was editor. The same journal printed an anonymous article, "Philosophy", in its 15th, 16th and 17th numbers for 1844. In the guise of a book review, the article, describing Engels as an outstanding contemporary philosopher, presented an abridged translation of his pamphlet.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 190.
[2] Ibid., S. 221.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 404.
[4] Ibid., S. 408.

PARTING OF THE WAYS WITH YOUNG GERMANY. ENGELS AND THE FREE

Engels' revolutionary democratism and his search for a philosophical substantiation of a revolutionary socio-political programme brought about his final break with the Young Germany group. He had seen through the ornate rhetoric of some of the Young Germany writers when he was still in Bremen in 1839-40, apprehending their indecision and incapacity for action. Later, in Berlin, he saw that Börne's radical republican influence on the group was far less than he had thought. He saw that Young Germany clung to its inconsistent liberal political line in defiance of the new developments; as a result "this trend lost all the ideological content it had once possessed".[1]

In the summer of 1842 Engels ruptured his ties with Young Germany once and for all. In June he set forth his standpoint in an article, "Alexander Jung, *Lectures on Modern German Literature*", in which he criticised the Young Germans for shutting themselves up in an exclusively literary milieu and ignoring politics and progressive philosophy. "...The battle over principles," he wrote, "is at its height, it is a question of life or death, Christianity is at stake, the political movement embraces everything, and yet the good Jung still cherishes the naive belief that 'the nation' has nothing better to do than wait agog for a new play by Gutzkow, a novel promised by Mundt, an oddity to be expected from Laube. At a time when the cry of battle resounds throughout Germany, when the new principles are being debated at his very feet, Herr Jung sits in his study, chews his pen and ruminates over the concept of the 'modern'."[2]

Censuring the Young Germany writers for their lack of principle and for supporting Schelling, Engels turned away from them. "It is to be hoped," he wrote, "that he [Jung] has now realised that we are neither inclined nor able to fraternise with him. Such miserable amphibians and double-dealers are useless for the struggle, which

[1] Ibid., Bd. 1, S. 440.
[2] Ibid., S. 434.

was started by resolute people and can be carried through only by men of character."[1]

Some years later, in 1851, Engels was to describe the Young Germans as a clique of self-enamoured writers in whom "elements of political opposition were adulterated by ill-digested university recollections of German philosophy, and misinterpreted gleanings from French socialism, particularly Saint-Simonism".[2]

This was the beginning of Engels' fight against "golden mean" liberalism.

The "golden mean" ideology was then also opposed by other Young Hegelians, particularly the Bauer brothers, who formed a circle of The Free which included a few of their Berlin friends. But their criticism of liberalism was abstract: they ignored the concrete conditions and objectives of the political struggles in Germany, concentrating on atheistic propaganda.

Though for a time an ally of The Free, Engels saw the necessity of participating in the political movement and fighting for political freedom and democracy. A satirical poem, *The Insolently Threatened Yet Miraculously Rescued Bible*, which he wrote with the cooperation of Edgar Bauer in the summer of 1842, contains his views on this score. It showed the Young Hegelians coming to grips with the champions of religion, the foes of Hegel's philosophy. Also, it ridiculed the Young Hegelians and The Free for spouting revolutionary rhetoric while sitting on their hands and taking no practical action. One of the personages in the poem, Arnold Ruge, for example, tells his associates:

> Our actions are just words, and long they so shall be.
> After Abstraction, Practice follows of itself.[3]

And another personage, "furious Köppen, stems the flood, but most humanely takes good care to shed no blood."[4]

Engels described the peaceable Köppen with his passion for order, and Buhl, who only outwardly resembled a *sans culotte*, as Girondists. Max Stirner, who loved parading his radicalism, Engels was sure, would take no risks during the hour of decision. He rebuked Feuerbach, "a one-man host of Atheists fanatical", as he put it,[5] for exaggerating individual ability and belittling collective action.

Of himself Engels wrote that he was "right on the very left", a Montagnard, "dyed in the wool and hard":

> Day in, day out, he plays upon the guillotine a
> Single solitary tune and that's a cavatina,
> The same old devil-song; he bellows the refrain:
> *Formez vos bataillons! Aux armes, citoyens!*[6]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 445.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 309.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 303.
[4] Ibid., S. 311.
[5] Ibid., S. 302.
[6] Ibid., S. 300.

Subsequently, his determination to work in the political movement against reaction brought Engels to a parting of the ways with The Free, who ignored the facts and disdained the country's progress, were of no real danger to the government, and only compromised the democratic movement.

He moved farther from The Free—who, with their philosophy of self-understanding, were backtracking from Hegel to Fichte, to subjective idealism—as his philosophic views advanced to a creative synthesis of Feuerbach's materialistic ideas with the dialectical principles of Hegel's philosophy.

ASSOCIATION WITH THE *RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

Engels' association with the *Rheinische Zeitung* began in the spring of 1842. On April 12 the newspaper, founded by the bourgeois opposition in Rhine Province in active collaboration with the Young Hegelians, published his article, "The North German and South German Liberalism". Under Marx, who became its editor in October 1842, the *Rheinische Zeitung* became more and more a herald of revolutionary democracy.

From the accounts of his friends and the evidence of the *Rheinische Zeitung* Engels knew Marx as a staunch and courageous political fighter. In *The Miraculously Rescued Bible* he described him as:

> A swarthy chap of *Trier*, a *marked* monstrosity.
> He neither hops nor skips, but moves in leaps and bounds
> Raving aloud. As if to seize and then pull down
> To Earth the spacious tent of Heaven up on high,
> He opens wide his arms and reaches for the sky.[1]

In his articles of 1842 in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and other radical publications Engels, like Marx, advocated advanced political ideas, defended the freedom of the press against the Prussian censorship and the reactionaries' designs to perpetuate the feudal order. He sensed the approach of a revolutionary storm. The situation in Prussia reminded him of France on the eve of the 1789 revolution.

His awareness of the profoundly conflicting nature of Germany's social and political order stimulated his interest in theories outlining the future society. Naturally, he was attracted to the then widely circulated communist ideas.

Immersed in ideological battles, he followed the socialist and communist thought developing in the European countries and delved into the various theories of utopian socialism and communism. Towards the end of his stay in Berlin he became convinced that

[1] Ibid., S. 301.

nothing but communism could provide an effective solution for the social question.

His military service ended on October 8, 1842. On his way to Barmen he stopped in Cologne to visit the *Rheinische Zeitung* office. His conversation with a member of the editorial staff, Moses Hess, dealt with the philosophico-political questions occupying Engels at the time. Hess' impression of him was that of a "zealous Communist".[1] A year later Engels wrote that several Young Hegelians had adopted the communist outlook in the autumn of 1842. Doubtless, he also meant himself.[2]

The communism he referred to was worlds removed from scientific communism. Largely utopian, it was attractive only in so far as it criticised the existing order. Yet his truly revolutionary spirit and deep interest in the condition and struggle of the working class put Engels apart from the other exponents of communist ideas.

ENGELS MEETS MARX. LEARNING LIFE IN ENGLAND

After the year in Berlin, Engels came back to dreary Barmen. But he did not remain long in his parents' home. At the end of November 1842 he went to Manchester to learn commerce and management in the spinnery of Ermen & Engels, of which his father was a co-owner. More than mere concern for his son's future occupation moved his father to send him to England. The young man's revolutionary outlook was no longer a secret for the family. His father was determined to keep him as far away as possible from Germany and the escalating ideological battles.

On the way to England Engels again stopped in Cologne, where he first met Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Their views were kindred in many ways. But Marx's negative view of The Free, with whom Engels was still connected, predetermined the nature of their encounter. In 1895 Engels recalled it as having been "rather frigid".

"Marx," he wrote, "had meanwhile gone against the Bauers, i.e., opposed the idea that the *Rheinische Zeitung* should be chiefly a vehicle of *theological* propaganda, atheism, etc., instead of one of political discussion and action. He also opposed the phrase-mongering communism of Edgar Bauer, based on the wish 'to go farthest of all'.... And inasmuch as I corresponded with the Bauers I was regarded as their ally, while I, too, had been made suspicious of Marx by them."[3]

[1] Hess to Auerbach, June 19, 1843, in M. Hess, *Briefwechsel*, S-Gravenhage, 1959, S. 103.
[2] *The New Moral World*, November 18, 1843.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 473.

Engels was in England for almost two years. His stay there stimulated the development of his social, political and philosophical views, his ultimate shift to materialism and proletarian communism. "It was not until he came to England that Engels became a socialist," wrote Lenin.[1]

The articles he wrote in England and published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in December 1842, such as "The English View of the Internal Crises", "The Internal Crises", "The Position of the Political Parties", "The Condition of the Working Class in England" and "The Corn Laws", showed that the contradictions racking British society did not escape his sharp eye. His analysis of social relations shows that he saw the division into three main classes—the landed gentry, industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat. He saw the main contradiction of capitalist society—between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The emergence of the proletariat, a class of "unpropertied, absolutely poor people",[2] Engels described as the result of industrial development. The contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, he wrote, could not be eliminated any more than the proletariat itself, because "it can never acquire stable possession of property".[3]

Engels deduced that behind the struggle of political parties was a struggle of classes. The three political parties active on the British scene, he showed, represented the interests of different classes: the Tories those of landowners, the Whigs those of the industrial bourgeoisie, and the Chartists, the radical democrats, those of the proletariat. And their attitudes depended on the material interests of the classes they represented.

True, as one who had not yet accomplished a complete break with the views of the Young Hegelians, Engels held that "the so-called material interests can never operate in history as independent, guiding aims, but always, consciously or unconsciously, serve a principle which controls the threads of historical progress".[4] Making his first analysis of the material interest, which, as he saw it, determined England's development, Engels took it for an exclusively English thing, a nationally English approach.[5] Yet his admission that it was not "principles", not thoughts, that directed "the interests", but that conversely principles developed from interests, is an extremely important landmark in the evolution of his materialist view of history.

Here he first spelled out his idea of a social revolution. That it was inevitable he inferred from the contradictions in the country's industrial development. And as its bearer he named the English proletariat.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 23.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 459.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., S. 456-57.
[5] Ibid., S. 456.

It was his first acquaintance with a developed working-class movement. Chartism, as Lenin described it, was "the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement".[1]

When Engels came to England the effects of the Chartist movement of the summer of 1842 were still very much in evidence. The economic crisis of 1841-42, which had sharply worsened the condition of working men, had redoubled their militancy. Economic strikes swept the north of England; those in Lancashire were of a great scale. Industrial Manchester was the scene of sharp class battles. The Chartists imparted a political element to the manifestations and again, as in 1838-39, called on the workers to demand that Parliament pass the People's Charter. They agitated for a general political strike (the so-called Holy Month), but were forcibly suppressed by the government.

In Manchester, where he arrived in December 1842, Engels met some of the men directly involved in the movement, and was able to gain a fairly conclusive idea of the nature of the recent class conflicts. He described the events at some length in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The summer's unrest, he wrote, showed that the English workers were becoming aware of their strength. But he also spotted their weaknesses, the reasons for their failure—lack of proper preparation and poor organisation, lack of a united leadership and of a clearly defined aim. The Chartists, he held, had assumed the lead somewhat late, and their slogan—passage of the People's Charter—could no longer lead to success. Describing their idea of "revolution by legal means" as "a contradiction, a practical impossibility",[2] Engels said the main lesson of the 1842 movement was "the realisation that a revolution by peaceful means is impossible and that only a forcible abolition of the existing unnatural conditions, a radical overthrow of the nobility and industrial aristocracy can improve the material position of the proletarians"[3].

The five articles from England were Engels' last for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Towards the end of 1842 the newspaper, now a militant revolutionary-democratic organ, was put under a double censorship; in January 1843 a third censor was added and the Prussian government announced its total suspension as of April 1.

Until the middle of May 1843, Engels made no appearances in print. He devoted all his free time to studying the life of the English proletariat.

Manchester, with a population of more than 400,000, was the biggest city in southern Lancashire, the cradle of Britain's textile industry, and the social contradictions there were of the sharpest. A large section of the old town, with narrow, twisting lanes, consisted of

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 309.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 460.
[3] Ibid.

workers' quarters, and beside them, in straight and wide streets lived the middle classes, while the big bourgeoisie inhabited luxurious country mansions.

Presenting himself at the Southgate Road office for the required number of hours, Engels went to working-class districts in the evenings and on Sundays, visiting workers in their wretched quarters and questioning them about their life. Frequently, he was accompanied by Mary Burns, an Irish girl employed in the factory where he was a clerk. She often took him to the part of Manchester known as Irishtown or Little Ireland, populated chiefly by Irish workers.

Engels had met Mary Burns, a lively, sharp-witted young woman known for her good nature, in 1843. Over the years their friendship grew into a deep attachment and love. Mary became Engels' wife.

Georg Weerth, the German poet whom Engels met in December 1843 and who was then the agent of a German firm in Bradford, soon also became a companion on his visits to the workers' districts. Engels visited him in Bradford from time to time, and Weerth was a frequent visitor to Manchester. Weerth's sympathy lay with revolution and his interest in the English workers' lot was easily aroused by Engels. In time, he became one of Engels' and Marx's closest friends and associates.

In an essay, "Proletarians in England", for the *Rheinische Jahrbücher* in 1845, Weerth referred warmly to Engels, then writing his book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*:

"I am happy that one of Germany's outstanding philosophical minds is now writing a book about the life of the English workers," Weerth wrote. "It will be of inestimable significance. In any case, its author will present the facts in their true light better than I, for thanks to his long stay in Manchester, the cradle of the proletariat, he has had more opportunities than I to study the workers."[1]

Engels had observed the condition and struggle of the workers for nearly two years. There was not the slightest trace in his approach to them of the sentimentality and charity typical of bourgeois reformists and petty-bourgeois socialists. He saw the English workers not as sufferers only, but also as a fighting class whose revolutionary activity would eventually mould the future.

He was justified, therefore, in saying the following in the address, "To the Working-Classes of Great Britain", which opens his book.

"I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them—I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe

[1] *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, Erster Band, Darmstadt, 1845, S. 326.

you in your everyday life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champaign of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working-Men; I am both glad and proud of having done so.... Proud, because thus I got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men."[1]

Eager to contact the men directly involved in the English workers' struggle, Engels became acquainted with one of the prominent Manchester members of the Chartist movement, James Leach, who had been a farm labourer and became a factory worker. From him Engels learned much about the Chartists and the British working class. Leach's pamphlet, "Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative", written in 1844, earned Engels' praise and was liberally quoted in *The Condition of the Working Class in England.*

Engels attended Chartist meetings and subscribed to Chartist newspapers and journals. In the summer of 1843 he went to Leeds, where the Chartists were putting out their newspaper, *The Northern Star*, to meet the revolutionary Chartist leaders, and made friends with George Julian Harney, an outstanding member of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement.

Years later, recalling his first meeting with Engels, Harney wrote: "It was in 1843 that he came over from Bradford to Leeds and enquired for me at *The Northern Star* office. A tall, handsome young man, with a countenance of almost boyish youthfulness, whose English, in spite of his German birth and education, was even then remarkable for its accuracy. He told me he was a constant reader of *The Northern Star* and took a keen interest in the Chartist movement. Thus began our friendship over fifty years ago."[2]

Engels became a regular contributor to the Chartist press. Deeply involved in the activity of the Chartist party, he regarded himself as its member.

He also made connections with the followers of Robert Owen, the utopian socialist. Among these was John Watts, "tailor and doctor of philosophy",[3] then leader of the Manchester socialists. It was evidently through him that Engels learned so much about the Owenites. He went to their Sunday meetings in the Hall of Science and took an interest in their atheist and socialist agitation.

His knowledge of the Chartist movement and socialist agitation in England enabled Engels to define their role in his "Letters from London" (May-June 1843) to the progressive Zurich journal, *Schweizerischer Republikaner*, more accurately than in earlier articles.

[1] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 336.
[2] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 192
[3] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 231.

"Taking its strength from the working men, from proletarians",[1] he wrote, Chartism was making impressive headway, the influence of the National Charter Association among workers was increasing and it was becoming a powerful counterweight to the various organisations of the bourgeoisie.

Engels had nothing but praise for the socialists, who had done "so incredibly much to enlighten the working classes in England".[2] He commended them especially for having disseminated among the workers the ideas and works of the French 18th-century educators, Rousseau, Holbach and Voltaire.

Engels' "Letters from London" show that his six months in England had not been wasted. They had helped shape his materialist and communist revolutionary outlook. They were an important landmark in his political development and his understanding of the mechanics and motive forces of the class struggle.

Soon he discovered that the Chartists and socialists knew very little about the social movement on the continent. And since his own interest in it was great and he followed the growth of the communist movement in European countries with close attention, it occurred to him that he should acquaint Chartists and Owenites alike with the socialist and communist trends in France, Switzerland and Germany. He wrote an article, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent", which appeared in *The New Moral World*, organ of the English socialists, in November 1843.

Engels begins the article with an important observation, the result of his study of the socialist and communist movement in Europe: "...The three great and civilised countries of Europe—England, France, and Germany, have all come to the conclusion, that a thorough revolution of social arrangements, based on community of property, has now become an urgent and unavoidable necessity. This result is the more striking, as it was arrived at by each of the above nations independently of the others; a fact, than which there can be no stronger proof, that Communism is not the consequence of the particular position of the English, or any other nation, but that it is a necessary conclusion, which cannot be avoided to be drawn from the premises given in the general facts of modern civilisation."[3] And hence, Engels concludes, the three nations "should understand each other, should know how far they agree, and how far they disagree".[4]

Describing the spread of communist ideas in France, Switzerland and Germany, Engels notes the positive aspects of the various schools of utopian socialism and communism, and the faults due to which they were so short-lived.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 468.
[2] Ibid., S. 475.
[3] *The New Moral World*, November 4, 1843.
[4] Ibid.

Engels traces the rise of communist and socialist ideas in France to Gracchus Babeuf, and examines Henri Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Etienne Cabet. He describes the shell of mysticism enveloping Saint-Simon's teaching as the source of its weakness and draws attention to the vulnerability of its economic principles. Fourier's doctrine he regards as one of a much higher order. He praises Fourier for his social philosophy, singling out the theory of free labour as its most important element. Yet he charges Fourier with inconsistency for his suggested solution of the private property problem. He deplores the apolitical approach of both Saint-Simon and Fourier, which he considers their basic weakness. "Saint-Simon and Fourier," he writes, "did not touch politics at all, and their schemes, therefore, became not the common property of the nation, but only subjects of private discussion."[1]

Engels paid tribute to the French petty-bourgeois socialist P. J. Proudhon's book, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, for its analysis of private property and its consequences—competition, immorality and poverty. True, delving more deeply into political economy, Engels soon perceived the petty-bourgeois nature of Proudhon's criticism of capitalist society and the utopian nature of his quasi-revolutionary projects.

He made a thorough examination of the situation in Germany and Switzerland, and particularly of the activity of Wilhelm Weitling, the utopian socialist whom he described as "the founder of German communism".[2] Of the philosophical communism of the Young Hegelians he said it was "a *necessary* consequence of New Hegelian philosophy".[3] As early as autumn 1842, he wrote, "some of the party contended for the insufficiency of political change, and declared their opinion to be, that a *Social* revolution based upon common property, was the only state of mankind agreeing with their abstract principles".[4] Among the exponents of communism in Germany he listed Hess, Ruge, Herwegh, Marx and himself.

Some of the ideas set out in "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" showed that Engels had not yet discarded his utopian notions. For one thing, he exaggerated the impact of the philosophy of the Enlighteners and the progressive ideals of utopian socialism and communism on the educated segment of the German propertied classes, thinking they would forgo their material interest in the name of "principle".

The article was well received by the English socialists and Chartists, and parts of it were reprinted in *The Northern Star* in 1843. Fleming, editor of *The New Moral World*, referred to it in glowing terms at an international democratic meeting on Weitling's arrival

[1] *The New Moral World*, November 4, 1843.
[2] Ibid., November 18, 1843.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

in London in 1844. "The first introduction of that Reformer to the notice of the British reader," he said, "was through the medium of *The New Moral World* at the latter end of last year, in a series of well written papers on 'Continental Socialism', by a young German gentleman resident in this country.... These papers created a deep interest in the movement ... and especially in that of its disinterested and determined originator and leader Mr. Weitling."[1]

In the spring of 1843, apparently in May, Engels met the London leaders of the League of the Just,[2] the secret organisation of German communist workers—compositor Karl Schapper, shoemaker Heinrich Bauer and watchmaker Joseph Moll. "I came to know all three of them in London in 1843," Engels wrote years later. "They were the first revolutionary proletarians whom I met, and however far apart our views were at that time in details—for I still owned, as against their narrow-minded equalitarian communism, a goodly dose of just as narrow-minded philosophical arrogance—I shall never forget the deep impression that these three real men made upon me, who was then still only wanting to become a man."[3]

The League of the Just leaders suggested that Engels should join their organisation. But he declined. The differences of opinion were too great. He disagreed with their equalitarian communism and disapproved of their conspiratorial methods.

FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF MATERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

His stay in England helped Engels cast off idealistic views; his studies and experience made of him a staunch materialist. His articles for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, of which Marx and Ruge were joint founders and editors, were an important phase in his development. Recruiting contributors for their journal, Marx and Ruge had also approached Engels. It appears that their offer was passed on to him in Ostende in September 1843, when he met the poet Herwegh, who had helped organise the journal.

For the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* Engels wrote four articles: "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy", "The Position of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle", "The Position of England. The Eighteenth Century" and "The Position of England. The British Constitution". The first two appeared in February 1844, and the latter two in August-October 1844 in *Vorwärts!*, a Paris

[1] *The New Moral World*, September 28, 1844.
[2] Formed in 1836 following the split of the petty-bourgeois secret society, Outlaws' League.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 175.

newspaper with which Marx was associated, after the *Jahrbücher* suspended publication.

The idea that production and economic relations were the basis of society, which Engels conceived in England, and the wish to analyse the consequences of private capitalist ownership, prompted him to study bourgeois political economy. The most significant result of this was his "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy", in which he made what was, in effect, the first attempt at a dialectico-materialist criticism of bourgeois economics and examined from the socialist standpoint what Lenin described as "the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order".[1] He explored the bourgeois social system and bourgeois economic thought, and assailed both fiercely.

Engels was the first socialist to use the dialectical method in analysing the economic relations of bourgeois society, and did so with extraordinary skill. He held all economic phenomena to be connected and interdependent in their dynamics, showing that unity and struggle of opposites was the basis of their development. The prime and central target of his criticism was private capitalist property and the system of bourgeois relations resting upon it. This gave Engels a tremendous advantage over bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theorists. While bourgeois political economy, even as conceived by its foremost exponents, declared private capitalist property and the corresponding mode of production as rational and eternal, Engels discovered in the accumulation of its intrinsic contradictions and the inevitable exacerbation of social antagonisms in the capitalist world the impellent of a social revolution that would sweep out the imperfect old system and build a new world of justice. While Proudhon, petty-bourgeois socialist that he was, merely branded private capitalist property as theft, totally immoral and even inconceivable, producing utopian projects for defeating it, Engels explained its historical necessity and impermanence, and showed how it could be abolished. His was not a way of petty partial reforms, as in Proudhon's case, but of a fundamental and deep-going revolution.

Engels showed the contradictions between large- and small-scale production. In industry, he showed, large-scale production was displacing small-scale manufacture; the numerous petty bourgeoisie of the "good old days" was disappearing, replaced by wealthy capitalists, on the one hand, and indigent proletarians, on the other. In agriculture, too, large estates were devouring the small farms. For Engels this "centralisation of possession" was a law "equally as immanent in private property as all the others".[2]

Engels' persuasive analysis of the contradictions of bourgeois

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 522.

society rested in many respects on the scathing criticism of this society by the utopian socialists. But Engels went farther than they, adding new theoretical propositions and drawing his own conclusions. At times, it is true, he experienced bursts of rage: dealing with, say, the character of capitalist commerce, he denounced it in terms even more searing than Fourier—completely, lock, stock and barrel, seeing but its negative aspects, its dirt, lies and lack of scruples, and denying it positive significance of any kind for human progress.

The economists and socialist authors of the time were immersed in a controversy over the various forms of monopoly—of property, power, commerce. Bourgeois economists hailed monopoly as a remedy for the evils of competition.

Engels responded by developing the remarkable idea that competition and monopoly were dialectically interconnected and interrelated. Following from the nature of private capitalist property, competition was for him the category that typified all aspects of bourgeois society, the system as a whole. Grinding competition, he showed, was the materialisation of jungle law, the stronger being the victor and the weaker being doomed. So long as the capitalist form of property existed, monopolies would not end competition; it would go on and on—between small and large production, between producers of commodities, between consumers, between workers and capitalists, and in the midst of wage labourers. Private property and competition led to centralisation of capital, to wholesale poverty, to continuously recurring crises. For Engels crises were the most conclusive evidence of the instability of bourgeois society. The demand could not coincide with the supply, because people were disunited, society was atomised, no one knew what the other was doing. Just as competition bred monopoly, so did monopoly breed and sharpen competition. To abolish competition one had to abolish private property.

Society, as Engels saw it, was not a disorderly agglomeration of chance events. His analysis established definite objective and natural laws of social development independent of man's will or reason and rooted in private capitalist property—the laws of competition, the centralisation of capital, wholesale ruin and impoverishment, supply and demand, and of crises of overproduction. These laws, he showed, would not cease to operate until the form of property that bred them was demolished.

Engels' materialist interpretation of economic laws, the stress he laid on their historical character, hinted at the only possible and realistic way out of the vicious circle of capitalist contradictions. And that was an important scientific discovery.

Criticising capitalism as a system, Engels also criticised its apologists—the bourgeois economists and various old and new schools of bourgeois political economy.

In a concise historical survey he traced the evolution of political economy—the birth of which was a natural consequence of the growth of industry and commerce—to the emergence of capitalism. He characterised the mercantilist system and its balance of trade theory, and described as a "ridiculous illusion"[1] the mercantilist concept of the substance of the wealth of nations, ostensibly derived from gold and silver bullion. The views of Adam Smith and David Ricardo he held to be a step forward, yet demonstrated their bourgeois limitations. He censured the liberal trend they represented in economics for its hypocritical endeavour to prove the morality of commerce, its blessings for humankind and its humane nature. In fact, Engels said, the substance had not changed. What had changed was but the form. The medieval law of the jungle and outright robbery had given place to what only appeared to be respectable transactions, but were really a subterfuge whereby the weak were robbed by the strong. The old restrictions and monopolies had gone, only to be replaced by other restrictions and monopolies. Briefly, a concealed cynicism had been substituted for barefaced cynicism.

In his criticism of bourgeois economists of the modern times Engels did not differentiate between Smith and Ricardo, who had contributed conspicuously to political economy, and such vulgar economists as Jean Say and John McCulloch, whose mark in economics, if any, had been negative. He was not yet ready to put credence in the theory of labour value, for he held that with private property dominant there could be neither abstract nor real value, and that if any value existed, it was merely exchange value, the differences and fluctuations of market prices depending solely on the relation of demand to supply, with profit resulting from mutual trickery by seller and buyer. More, Engels regarded the Smith and Ricardo theory of value as a deliberate mystification designed to conceal the immorality of commerce and preserve "at least a trace of the appearance that price is in some way connected with value".[2]

His criticism of Malthusianism is scientifically mature. Thomas Malthus held that "overpopulation", poverty and hunger stemmed from "eternal laws" of nature—the population growing in geometrical progression while the productive powers of the land and the means of subsistence grew in arithmetical progression. He placed the responsibility for the plight of the workers on the workers. "Overpopulation", as he saw it, could, among other things, be eliminated by wars.

Engels branded the Malthusian "theory" as an "infamous, vile doctrine" and a "loathsome blasphemy against nature and humanity".[3] He showed that "overpopulation" was traceable not to any biological law, but to the capitalist's irrepressible lust for wealth.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 500.
[2] Ibid., S. 508.
[3] Ibid., S. 518.

Engels' article attracted public attention. The Berlin physician, Julius Waldeck, wrote to the prominent democrat, Johann Jacoby, in Königsberg: "Engels has accomplished a miracle if one weighs the matureness and manliness of his ideas and style against his last year's writing."[1]

The "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" caught Marx's eye. In a way, it stimulated his study of political economy begun in the autumn of 1843. Marx made a précis of the "Outlines" and referred to it repeatedly. Years later, as a mature economist, in the preface to the first part of his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), he described the article as a "brilliant sketch on the criticism of the economic categories".[2] The publication of "Outlines" marked the beginning of a "constant exchange of ideas by correspondence"[3] between Marx and Engels.

Engels, however, referred very modestly to his "Outlines" in years to come. In a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht, April 13, 1871, he said that it was outdated, written with a Hegelian flourish and now purely of historical interest.[4]

These first politico-economic essays by Engels did, indeed, bear the stamp of utopian socialist ethical conceptions and of Ludwig Feuerbach's abstract humanism. They did not go deeply enough into the essence of the main economic theories. This explains some of Engels' later amendments. Yet they reveal their author's amazing grasp of the connection between real economy and economic theory, the influence they exercise on each other. Engels pinpointed private capitalist property as the basis of all material and spiritual life in bourgeois society. And that was an immense achievement in its own right. One cannot help admiring the consistency and depth of Engels' deduction of the inevitability of socialism from the development of the immanent contradictions of capitalist production.

In his article, "The Position of England. *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle", in effect a review of the book by the British writer and historian, Engels took a generally materialist stand. There was no abstract force of any kind behind the historical process, he wrote, but the concrete activity of people, their arduous but successful battle against nature "to a point of finally achieving free, human consciousness, a clear understanding of the unity of man and nature, the free, independent creation of a new world resting on purely human, moral, vital relationships".[5]

Engels rejected Carlyle's idealistic views and Hegel's panlogism. To these he opposed Feuerbach's materialist philosophy. He was

[1] Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels, Eine Biographie*, Bd. I, Haag, 1934, S. 171.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 504.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 208.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 1, S. 546.

critical of Carlyle's religious outlook, his abstract idealistic view of social development, his romantic attachment to feudal England and his cult of outstanding personalities. Engels was intolerant of subjective idealism, of scepticism and denial of man's ability to know and resolve the profound contradictions of society.

His criticism of Carlyle's social views, too, was very sharp. To Carlyle's treatment of the workers as merely a suffering mass, and of the ruling classes as their natural sovereigns, Engels contrasted his faith in the workers' mission in history. "None but the workers, the pariahs of England, the poor, are really respectable...," he wrote. "From them will come England's salvation; they alone are still usable stuff; they have no education, but also no prejudices; they still have strength to expend in some grand national exploit, they still have a future."[1]

Engels' view of the state as expounded in his articles of 1843-44 shows that he was already aware that property relations are its basis; he saw the connection between the state and the economic system, the class nature of the state, and understood its immense ideological and political role.

The articles Engels wrote for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* were the fruit of a most important formative period, the evidence of his immense spiritual growth, his development to manhood. They reflected his final and complete passage from idealism to materialism, from revolutionary democratism to communism.

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[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, S. 526.

Chapter Two

THE PILLARS OF A SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK

> Old legends contain various moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship.
>
> *V. I. Lenin*

PORTENTOUS MEETING

At the end of August 1844 Engels' "social apprenticeship" in England ended. On the way home from Manchester he stopped in Paris to see Marx.

By that time Marx and Engels had arrived at similar scientific conclusions, though in somewhat different ways.

Karl Marx, who was two and a half years older, was born on May 5, 1818, in Rhine Province, where Engels, too, was born and raised. On leaving the gymnasium in Trier, the town of his birth, Marx entered Bonn University, then transferred to Berlin University to continue his legal education. He studied law and history, and showed a keen interest in philosophy.

Leaving university in 1841, Marx intended to teach philosophy in Bonn. But his plan was not destined to materialise. Instead of the liberal policy the opposition in Prussia had expected from the new king, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, his government engaged in new acts of repression. University faculties were closed to progressive teachers, and Marx had to change his plans. He became first a contributor, then the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. Under him the paper became militantly revolutionary-democratic. In January 1843 the government issued an order for its suppression as from April 1, meanwhile imposing an especially rigorous censorship. The shareholders decided to moderate the paper and thereby perhaps "save" it. Refusing to give ground, Marx resigned on March 17, 1843.

He determined to leave Germany and publish a revolutionary socialist journal abroad. In the summer of 1843 he married Jenny von Westphalen, and at the end of the year the young couple moved to Paris. In the following February, jointly with Arnold Ruge, Marx put out the first issue of the journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, which, as we have noted, contained Engels' articles. The association of Marx and Engels in preparing the issue, which proved the first

and only one, was the beginning of a lifelong friendship. The correspondence between them was its prologue.

Engels came to Marx's Paris home, 38 Rue Vanneau, in the suburb of Saint Germain on one of the last August days of 1844.

In appearance the two could not have been more different. Engels was fair-haired, tall, well-proportioned, with a military bearing and reserved English manners. Marx was stocky, energetic and volatile, with a penetrating gaze and a lion's mane of coal-black hair. Each had his own style of working. But there was a kinship of intellects, a common sincerity and purity of heart, and a kindred quality of courage and fortitude. What brought them together was that both were already convinced Communists, energetic and determined revolutionaries.

During his ten days in Paris, Engels practically did not part with Marx, discussing theoretical and practical problems. "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844," he later recalled, "our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time."[1] The joy of communion with Marx coloured the days which Engels spent in Paris. "I have not been again in so happy and humane a mood," he wrote to Marx on returning to Barmen, "as I was during the ten days I spent with you."[2]

Marx introduced Engels to the coterie of editors and associates of the local German-language newspaper, *Vorwärts!* Under Marx's influence this once colourless sheet founded in January 1844 by Heinrich Börnstein, a German businessman, became an organ of revolutionary-democratic and communist propaganda. Marx kept a watchful eye on it, steering it along the chosen course, and contributing articles and notes from time to time, hitting out against the backward social and political order in Germany, against reactionary Prussianism. *Vorwärts!* became a rallying point for exponents of communist ideas.

In its August-October 1844 issues, the paper, which Engels described as communist, published two articles he had written earlier—"The Position of England. The Eighteenth Century" and "The Position of England. The British Constitution". Here Engels examined the profound social changes in 18th-century England and traced them to the industrial upheaval, which precipitated a radical breakup of the country's social structure and class composition. As the main result of the industrial revolution Engels named the emergence of the proletariat. He described the abyss between the proclaimed political rights and their effectuation as a typical feature of Britain's contemporary political scene. "Who really rules England?" Engels asked, and replied: "Property rules."[3] Then he amplified: "The middle class and property rule; the poor man has no rights, is oppressed and

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 178.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 22.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1971, p. 41.

flayed, the Constitution disowns him and the law maltreats him."[1]

During his stay in Paris Engels became acquainted with members of the democratic and socialist movement in France. Marx took him to a café on Quai Voltaire where Marx's close friends and followers gathered almost every evening. The café was also frequented by emigrant revolutionaries from other countries. In Marx's group were Karl Ludwig Bernays, one of the editors of the *Vorwärts!*, August Hermann Ewerbeck, leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just, a French ship's doctor, Guerrier, the translator of Feuerbach's works who espoused communist ideas under Marx's influence, the Russian emigrants Mikhail Bakunin and Nikolai Sazonov, and others.

Marx and Engels had a clear idea of what they had to do: to continue working on the new, revolutionary theory and bring it to the notice of the foremost intellectuals and the workers of Germany. But taking first things first it was important to refute the false concepts hindering the spread of materialist and communist views.

THE HOLY FAMILY—THE FIRST JOINT WORK BY MARX AND ENGELS

Marx had been planning to write a book against the Young Hegelians, who had drifted away from their former radicalism and democratic views. Arrogantly, they weighed the "absolute self-consciousness" and "critical criticism", of which they professed to be the sole bearers, against the "mass". They denied the role of the people in social development and scorned the working class as "finite", crude matter obstructing "the active spirit". The Young Hegelians' evolution rightward was reflected in the monthly journal, *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, which Bruno Bauer published in Charlottenburg in 1843-44. Its eighth number contained Bauer's article, "The Year 1842", in which he criticised the "1842 radicalism" and its vehicle, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, whose suppression he interpreted as the break-up of the revolutionary democrats' ideas in face of the inert masses.

Bauer also set out his views in letters. Georg Jung, one of Marx's friends in Cologne, wrote him in July 1844: "Bauer is utterly obsessed with criticising; he recently wrote that criticism should be levelled not only at society, the privileged property owners, etc., but also—and this no one has yet thought of—the proletarians."[2] Jung held that Marx should take a public stand against Bauer.

Engels' and Marx's opinion of the Young Hegelians was identical. The former gladly accepted Marx's offer to collaborate on a pamphlet against the Bauer brothers and their followers. Somewhat later,

[1] Ibid., p. 58.
[2] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C. C.P.S.U.

in April 1845 he wrote: "A war has been declared against those of the German philosophers, who refuse to draw from their mere theories practical inferences, and who contend that man has nothing to do but to speculate upon metaphysical questions.... Bauer and Stirner being the representatives of the ultimate consequences of *abstract* German philosophy, and therefore the only important philosophical opponents of Socialism—or rather Communism."[1]

Originally, Marx and Engels intended to produce a satirical pamphlet of some three to five printed sheets. While in Paris, Engels wrote his sections of about one and a half printed sheets. Working on his part after Engels' departure, Marx far exceeded the space allotted to him. He used a big portion of his preparatory notes and made the polemical piece against the Bauers into a large, comprehensive investigation.

This first joint work by Marx and Engels played an important part in the development of the philosophical and socio-political outlook of the founders of scientific communism.

At first, Marx and Engels entitled their pamphlet, *Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* However, Marx later gave the book a new title: *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* The expression, "holy family", borrowed from the Gospel, Marx used among friends to denote the Bauer brothers' group, which never went beyond criticising religion and sought refuge from "sinful" reality in the nebulous sphere of abstract criticism.

Not only Young Hegelianism came under fire in the book, but also the philosophical system from which it originated—Hegelian philosophy. The foreword to *The Holy Family* said that in Germany speculative idealism, which distorted and turned reality upside down, was materialism's most dangerous foe. For Hegel the spirit produced nature, the result conceived its beginning, the son begat his father. For him and the Young Hegelians history was a singular mystic force independent of people, of which people were the passive instrument.

For Hegel and his followers, *The Holy Family* showed, man and his concrete material activity was nothing but the manifestation of a fleshless idea. All human life, and with it the process of history, the Hegelians reduced to but a succession of ideas which, moreover, they tinted with religious mysticism. Yet if all history unfolded in the world of ideas only, then material reality would remain unaffected, unalterable.

Engels levelled scathing criticism at the Young Hegelians' departure from reality, in which, with their "criticism", they followed Hegel. "Criticism," he wrote, "does nothing but 'construct formulae out of the categories of what exists', to be precise, out of the existing

[1] *The New Moral World*, May 10, 1845.

Hegelian philosophy and the existing social aspirations. Formulae, nothing but formulae.... It is and remains an old woman, faded, widowed *Hegelian* philosophy, which paints and adorns her wrinkled and repugnant abstraction of a body and ogles all over Germany in search of a wooer."[1]

But while criticising Hegel's idealistic philosophy, Marx and Engels paid tribute to the rational element in his dialectics. They did not identify with Hegelian philosophy the Young Hegelians' philosophical views, which, they showed, had become its parody. Hegel held that the absolute spirit, the maker of history, uses the masses as the matter without which historical action cannot occur. In the case of the Bauer brothers and their followers this Hegelian concession was "withdrawn". Instead of Hegel's absolute spirit they fell back on the Fichtean self-consciousness, thus giving their philosophical system a subjective idealistic complexion. The Young Hegelians regarded the mass as a passive and lifeless element in history and ascribed the active role to but a handful of the select, the source, as they saw it, of all historical action. Not only did they fail to overcome the idealism in Hegel's philosophy; they slid backward.

They declared their fruitless "criticism" a grand achievement that gave the German nation "spiritual superiority" over other nations. In one of the chapters of *The Holy Family* Engels decried this chauvinist arrogance, which, he wrote, only showed that "critical criticism" was "up to its neck in the filth of *German nationalism*".[2] Deriding it, he referred to the vital and real criticism of existing society by the French and English in their social and political activity. As distinct from German "criticism" which, he said, stood outside mankind, the criticism of the French and English was "*real human activity* of individuals who are active members of society and who suffer, feel, think and act as human beings".[3]

In *The Holy Family* Marx and Engels proved themselves convinced materialists, making a direct approach to the basic idea of the materialist conception of history—the idea of the decisive role of material production in the development of society.

They also formulated one of the essential postulates of historical materialism: the people is the real maker of history. The role of the masses as the decisive force behind social progress, as the ruler of destiny, they showed, increases as history progresses. The broader and deeper the overturn of society, the more numerous the mass that performs it. "With the thoroughness of the historical action," it says in the book, "the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase."[4]

[1] Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family*, Moscow, 1956, p. 30.
[2] Ibid., p. 205.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 110.

To the wretchedness of the Young Hegelians, bogged down in garrulous and inconsequential "criticism", Marx and Engels contrasted the lucid intellect of Ludwig Feuerbach, the German materialist. They praised his criticism of religion and Hegelian idealism. Recalling the influence of Feuerbach's philosophy on Marx and himself, Engels later wrote: "How enthusiastically Marx greeted the new conception and how much—in spite of all critical reservations—he was influenced by it, one may read in *The Holy Family*."[1]

The idea of the workers' historic mission, stemming from their place in society, was set forth at length. The condition of the proletariat reflected society's extreme inhumanity. Not in vain did the proletariat "go through the stern but steeling school of *labour*", the book said. "The question is not what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat at the moment *considers* as its aim. The question is *what the proletariat is*, and what, consequent on that *being*, it will be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is irrevocably and obviously demonstrated in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today."[2]

It was this supremely important conclusion which attracted Lenin's special attention in *The Holy Family*. "These gentlemen, the Bauers," he wrote, "looked down on the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigorously opposed this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of a real, human person—the worker, trampled down by the ruling classes and the state—they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the force that is capable of waging this struggle and that is interested in it."[3]

The book also contained important postulates of the Marxist political economy. In particular, Marx demonstrated that the victory of communism is objectively inevitable, because in its economic movement private property drives itself to destruction.

The Holy Family is an outstanding work of Marxism's formative period. Understandably, it is not entirely free from the weaknesses of the preceding materialist philosophy, especially that of Feuerbach. Though it expresses reservations about Feuerbach's philosophical views, these were but the beginning of the later devastating criticism of his metaphysical and contemplative materialism.

The same may be said of the semantics. Like Feuerbach, the two authors of *The Holy Family* did not yet term their philosophical views as materialistic. Here and there they used the term "real humanism", which conveyed the profound idea of the humane content of the new materialist philosophy, the logical foundation of communism.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 344.
[2] Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family*, pp. 52-53.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

The Holy Family, an important milestone in the history of Marxism, contains a number of basic propositions of the working-class outlook. To quote Lenin, with it Marx and Engels laid the foundat ons of scientific, "revolutionary materialist socialism".[1]

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

In the beginning of September 1844 Engels went to Barmen. He promised, however, that he would soon return to Paris. In Germany he intended to contact active members of the socialist movement and unfold revolutionary propaganda.

Visiting several towns in Rhenish Prussia, Engels delightedly informed Marx of how popular communist ideas were among German intellectuals. "I spent three days in Cologne," he wrote in his first letter to Paris, "and was astonished at the enormous effect our propaganda has had there." In Düsseldorf, too, he found "several able fellows".[2] In Elberfeld and Barmen, he continued, many were "infected" with communism.[3] True, in the Germany of that time people with muddled views, including bourgeois radicals and creators of countless petty-bourgeois systems and theories, also marched under the communist flag. Sympathy for communist ideas (naturally, the reference is to utopian communism) was a common expression of opposition to the government.

Engels referred with satisfaction to the far-flung propaganda of communist ideas. He wrote in January 1845: "What pleases me particularly is this acclimatisation of communist literature in Germany, which is now a *fait accompli*. A year ago this literature started to become acclimatised outside of Germany, in Paris, or, rather, only to come into existence, and now it is already burdening the minds of the simple Germans. Newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies and an advancing reserve of heavy guns—everything in the best of order. It all came about so devilishly quick! Underground propaganda also bore its fruits."[4]

Engels, too, distributed the *Vorwärts!* among socialists, and jointly with Hess founded the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* as a medium "for the publication of facts characteristic of the present state of society, and for the advocacy of the rights of the working classes".[5]

He contributed articles to the socialist *Rheinische Jahrbücher* and *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*. Also, he planned the publication in German of an outstanding foreign socialists series and other socialist literature, which project he discussed in detail with Marx.

[1] Ibid.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 19.
[3] Ibid., p. 20.
[4] Ibid., p. 25.
[5] *The New Moral World*, May 10, 1845.

Interest in the "social question" was rising. The plight of the German workers was brought dramatically to public notice by the rising of the Silesian weavers in June 1844. In many cities bourgeois philanthropists, liberals and radical intellectuals founded leagues for the welfare of the working classes.

Exponents of communist ideas attacked the government and clergy for trying to impose their influence on these leagues. Engels and his friends, active in the leagues, exposed the false and meagre charity of the burghers, demeaning for the working men, whereby the capitalist class sought to create the impression of an improvement in the workers' lot and to distract them from the revolutionary movement.

"THE ELBERFELD SPEECHES"

Engels was one of the moving spirits of the February 8, 15 and 22, 1845, meetings in Elberfeld where discussions on communism were held. The first meeting was attended by 40 people, the second by 130, while the third drew nearly 200. "All Elberfeld and Barmen," Engels informed Marx, "from the money aristocracy to the épicerie, with the sole exception of the proletariat, were represented."[1] The main speakers were Engels, Hess and the artist and poet Gustav Köttgen.

Engels spoke at two of the meetings—those on February 8 and 15.[2] Skilfully using the criticism of capitalism by the great utopians, and blending it with his own observations in England, he presented a persuasive picture of the evils of bourgeois society, showing the intrinsic contradictions that eroded it and prepared its downfall. In his second speech he complemented this with a more concrete picture of the contemporary situation in Germany.

Free competition, Engels showed, meant a disorderly economy, lack of organisation, universal exploitation, a war of all against all, mutual hostility and scorn for the common weal in the name of personal gain. The immediate result, he showed, was progressive concentration of property in the hands of a few, sharp antagonism between the few rich and the many poor, glaring discrepancy between production and consumption, frequent commercial crises and a staggering waste of material and human resources.

To the world of free competition Engels contrasted a sensible communist organisation of society "where the interests of individuals are not at odds but united".[3] In this society none of the classes would suffer ruin or decay, and private appropriation would cease both in production and distribution; it would be easy to keep a

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 20.
[2] Engels' speeches were published in the journal *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, 1845, Bd. 1.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 2, S. 539.

record of production and consumption and regulate the former "*according to the requirement*".[1] Hence, crises would never occur.

Communism would destroy the antagonism between individual and society, ending social war and instilling social peace. The intricate pattern of administrative and judicial institutions would become needless. And this society, "in which the community of interests is raised to a basic principle, in which the public interest no longer differs from that of each individual",[2] could make sensible use of the human resources so remorselessly squandered under capitalism. It would need no standing army, for the people would come forward to defend their "*real* fatherland".

Engels outlined the advantages of the communist way: "The biggest saving of labour power derives from *joining the separate powers* into a collective social power."[3] He agreed with Robert Owen's idea that the antithesis between town and country should be eradicated.

Referring to the historical and economic necessity of communism, he stressed that it is not "a theory that leaves reality out of account and has its roots solely in fantasy".[4] He spoke of communism with deep faith, lucidly, though in places influenced by utopian socialism and Feuerbachian abstract humanism.

"The Elberfeld Speeches" show Engels' flaming enthusiasm, his ineffaceable sense of justice, an eagerness not only to study, but also tackle the pressing social problems, and his exceptional gift of theorist and propagandist.

He was greatly encouraged by the results of the Elberfeld meetings and wrote happily to Marx: "Wonders are happening here in Elberfeld.... The success is staggering. Everybody speaks of nothing but communism and each day new followers join us.... The most stupid, and most indolent, philistine public that had shown no interest in anything in the world, is beginning to all but rave about communism.... Furthermore, to stand before real, breathing people, to preach to them directly, palpably, openly—that is something entirely different from the accursed abstract writing for the abstract public that you have in your 'mind's eye'."[5]

THE DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

The Elberfeld meetings alarmed the authorities. The Oberburgomaster informed the royal Landrat about them and the measures he had taken: further meetings were prohibited and the speakers of those already held, including Engels, were warned that violation of

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., S. 542.
[3] Ibid., S. 545.
[4] Ibid., S. 547.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 20, 21.

the ban would make them liable to arrest and trial. But this did not deter Engels. He tried, though unsuccessfully, to intensify propaganda among local workers.

He contacted followers of communism in other German cities, including Ludwig Feuerbach, then living in Bavaria, whom he asked to come to the Rhineland to help disseminate communist ideas. However, Feuerbach did not respond to his invitation. Having secluded himself in a Bavarian hamlet from the growing revolutionary movement, Feuerbach was unable to escape from the realm of lifeless abstractions into that of living people with their real interests. He was unable to substitute living people and concrete study of their living conditions for abstract man.

Due to police surveillance, Engels and his friends were compelled to act in secret. Engels took all kinds of precautions when writing to Marx. "I would write you a heap more," he wrote, "if I knew a safe address in Brussels.... Some of the things that have happened here could injure many people if read in the *cabinet noir*."[1]

Expelled from France at the request of the Prussian authorities, Marx left for Brussels on February 3, 1845. Engels responded by organising a collection for him and his family. "At least the dogs will not have the satisfaction of causing you financial difficulties by their infamy," he wrote, referring to the French police.[2]

His political activity added fuel to Engels' conflict with his father. "The business with the meetings and the 'dissoluteness' of some of our local Communists, with whom I, naturally, associate," Engels wrote to Marx, "have reawakened my old man's religious fanaticism. And my saying that I would definitely not go back to huckstering inflamed him still more, while my public appearance as a Communist caused him to develop a classic case of bourgeois fanaticism besides. Now think of my position.... Should a letter arrive for me, it is sniffed all over before I get it. And since he knows that the letters are all from Communists, he makes a doleful and sanctimonious face—one that could make you mad. I leave the room and see the same mien. I sit in my room and work—on communism, of course, and he knows it—the same mien again. I cannot eat, drink or sleep, or make wind even, without my father's unbearably pharisee face bobbing up. I can go out or stay, speak or be silent, read or write, laugh or keep a straight face—whatever I may do, the old man instantly puts on the same disgusting expression."[3]

To spare his mother, who took the quarrel to heart, Engels tried to take up "commerce" again and for a fortnight attended his father's factory, which he abhorred. On January 20, 1845, he wrote to Marx: "I was sick and tired of it before I began working. Huckstering is too horrible, Barmen is too horrible, the way one spends one's time is too horrible, and it is above all things too horrible to remain not merely a bourgeois, but a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively opposes the proletariat. A few days spent in my old man's factory made me see again with my own eyes the horror of it all."[1]

Working on his book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, was for Engels an escape. During most of his stay in England he had been collecting material and making notes. In the same letter to Marx, he wrote: "If I did not have to record daily in my book the most horrifying stories about English society I believe I would already have soured a bit; but that at least kept my blood boiling with rage."[2]

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND

During his stay in England Engels made a study of the nature and socio-economic consequences of the industrial revolution that had made Britain the industrial workshop of the world and a country of classical capitalism with an advanced industrial bourgeoisie and a numerous working class.

At first, Engels thought of writing a social history of England, with but one chapter on the condition of the working class. But studying literature and source material, and seeing the working conditions and the life and struggle of the English working class, he altered his plan, making the conditions of the working class the exclusive topic of an extensive investigation. A clear pattern gradually emerged for a large book.

Engels based his book on "personal observation and authentic sources".[3] In addition to his own impressions he drew on literary authorities (the works of Peter Gaskell, John Wade, George Richardson Porter, Edward Baines, Andrew Ure, the brothers Archibald and William Pulteney Alison, Thomas Carlyle, and others), and used official reports of parliamentary commissions and factory inspectors, and statistics.

Engels valued direct evidence obtained from workers. For this the best source was the Chartist *Northern Star*, which published workers' letters and articles. But he also drew extensively on many other newspapers and journals.

Some parts he had sketched in rough while in England. But the bulk of the work was done in Barmen, where he began processing his notes and writing the book in September 1844. "I am buried up

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 22, By *cabinet noir* Engels meant the censor's office.
[2] Ibid., S. 19.
[3] Ibid., S. 26-27

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 26.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 1.

to the neck in English newspapers and books," he wrote to Marx on November 19, "from which I am compiling my book on the condition of the English proletarians."[1]

Completed in March 1845, after nearly six months of tense and exciting work, the first edition of the book appeared in Leipzig before the end of the year.

Written about England and based on English sources, it was intended for the German reader. Yet facts taken from the English scene enabled Engels to draw conclusions of a broader import and describe the main tendencies of capitalist development in general.

He was the first to pinpoint some of the regularities of capitalist production—the periodical recurrence of economic crises, appearance of a reserve industrial army of unemployed, and continuous intensification of exploitation as capitalist production expands and the factory system grows. "I shall present the English with a fine bill of indictment," he wrote to Marx. "I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale, and am writing an English preface which I shall have printed separately and shall send to the English party leaders, literary men and Members of Parliament. Those fellows will have to remember me. Anyhow it is self-understood that when I hit the bag I mean to strike the donkey, namely, the German bourgeoisie, of whom I say clearly enough that it is just as bad as the English, only not so courageous, consistent and adept in sweat-shop methods."[2]

The book abounds in facts, and it is to Engels' credit that he understood, and vividly pictured, the needs and hopes of the workers, presenting them as people who not only suffered the oppression of capital, but also fought courageously for their dignity and would ultimately smash the chains of capitalist wage slavery. An impressive image of the worker beginning to understand the horror of his situation and identify the true culprits of his condition, and to seek ways of ending the existing system, arises from its pages.

The book is saturated with hatred of the bourgeoisie and warm sympathy for the working man; and it is frankly communist in outlook. But more important still is its materialist approach to the essential social processes. As Engels wrote later, the book shows the extent to which, in the mid-1840s, he understood the role of the economic factor in the development of society, that is, understood history materialistically. He examined the capitalist mode of production, showed how the bourgeoisie grew rich and the workers poor, and anticipated the possible ways of Britain's development. He anticipated the relation of class forces there, and deduced the future condition of the workers and the working-class movement from

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 24.
[2] Ibid.

the place they occupy in the system of material production. Engels followed the materialist principle that class interests are principally economic and that the collision of economic interests is, in the final analysis, the invisible mainspring of the development of society.

He proved the inevitability of a social revolution once "the proletariat perceives how easily the existing power may be overthrown".[1] Performed by the proletariat, it would be a revolution with which none hitherto known could be compared. It would, to use a figure of speech, declare "war to the palaces" and bring "peace to the cottages". It would be a socialist revolution, he said, and though there was then no scientific terminology of historical materialism he predicted a bitter clash between the immense productive forces of bourgeois society and the relations of production founded on the private capitalist form of appropriation. From this conflict he deduced that capitalism will be inevitably replaced by communism. Socialist revolution alone, he showed, could resolve that conflict.

Engels was the first socialist to see the implications of the industrial revolution in England.

In the latter half of the 18th century substantive changes began in the technology and technique of industrial production. The mechanical loom, the steam engine, and many other machines were invented and put to use. Factory labour superseded manual. Its productivity climbed and climbed. So did output. Industry began exercising a revolutionising influence on agriculture. But for Engels the main result of the industrial revolution lay in the emergence of a new class, the industrial and agricultural proletariat, a vast mass of workers who filled all Britain and whose condition was the point of departure for all social movements capturing the attention of the civilised world.

Having ruined the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie, the industrial revolution reduced all class disparities chiefly to the antithesis of workers and capitalists. The big bourgeoisie and the proletariat came to grips, and this Engels regarded as the main factor in Britain's social development. No lasting substantiation could be produced for any socialist or communist theory, he stressed, without studying the living conditions of the proletariat, especially those of a country in which they had assumed a classical form.

Engels made no hollow declarations. His investigation was concrete and described in minute detail the life and struggle of many sections of the British proletariat—the spinners and weavers, workers in knitting and embroidery, tailors and dressmakers, glass-blowers, metalworkers, miners, and farm labourers. A special chapter ("The Great Towns") dealt with the life and mores of the country's industrial centres.

[1] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 333.

Engels described the plight of English workers with exceptional clarity, showing the pervasiveness of forced labour, undernourishment, poverty and demoralisation, and the erosion of their physical and moral strength. The industrial capitalist had declared a real war on the entire class of workers—men, women and children. He was spurred by a lust for wealth and power, which, in effect, led him to commit acts amounting to a social annihilation of workers. Marx mentioned in *Capital* in reference to *The Condition of the Working Class in England* how completely Engels had understood the nature of the capitalist mode of production.[1] Lenin, too, stressed that "neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class".[2]

Their misery impelled the workers to grapple with the capitalists. Part of the book is devoted to the working-class movement, the class organisation of the proletariat, its forms and methods of struggle. In bourgeois society, it showed, the proletarian has but one alternative: either submit to fate and be a "good worker", act "faithfully" in the interest of the capitalist and be reduced to an animal, or resist and defend his dignity—which he can do only if he takes up the battle. Participating in the revolutionary movement, the worker displays his loftiest and most attractive qualities.

Examining the standpoints of the different segments of the British working class in relation to their social situation, Engels showed that the workers in industry were more conscious of their interests than others. As working men, a title of which they were proud, they all agreed that they "form a separate class, with separate interests and principles, with a separate way of looking at things in contrast with that of all property owners; and that in this class reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation".[3] Engels stressed the role of big industrial centres in the advancement of the working-class movement. Big cities, he showed, are the main seats of the working-class movement, for there the workers first began to think about their condition and fight for change, and there workers' unions, Chartism and socialism first sprang up.

Engels was probably the first of the Communists to appreciate the importance of trade unions and economic strikes for advocating the vital interests of workers, uniting them and generating militancy. Strikes, he wrote, "are the military school of the working men in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided; they are the pronunciamentos of single branches of industry that these too have joined the labour movement".[4]

However, unions and strikes, Engels showed, cannot alter the economic laws reigning in bourgeois society. Their struggle helps

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1972, p. 230.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 23.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 277.
[4] Ibid., p. 260.

the workers gradually to realise that they need something more than unions and strikes to defeat the bourgeoisie. Sooner or later, economic struggle grows into a political movement propounding the idea that workers have but one way out, that of socialism. As the class struggle expands, the workers realise that they need higher forms of organisation—their own political party. The political movement would rally the entire working class to attack the power of the bourgeoisie, its institutions and laws, in order to replace bourgeois law with proletarian. For Engels Chartism was a concentrated form of working-class opposition to the bourgeoisie.

He praised, yet also criticised, the utopian socialism of Robert Owen. Its principles were abstract and overly pacific; it substituted peaceful educational activity for the real revolutionary working-class struggle. But the main failing of Owen's followers, the English socialists, was that they regarded workers merely as a suffering mass and were blind to their great revolutionary and progressive potential for effectuating the socialist principles and ideals. That was why, Engels showed, the English utopian socialists expected the propertied classes to appreciate their aspirations and projects, and issued calls for charity and universal love, which they regarded as the means to their aim.

Engels pointed out that Chartism must merge with socialism, that the workers' revolutionary mass movement must fuse with socialist theory purged of any admixture of bourgeois ideas. That, he said, is crucial for establishing and consolidating a proletarian party and, consequently, performing a proletarian revolution.

Engels' book had a strong influence on contemporaries and evoked a lively response in the German press. Newspapers and journals of the socialist school acclaimed it warmly.

It persuaded many advanced workers to embark on socialist revolutionary struggle. "That was the first book which I bought, and from it I got my first view of the working-class movement,"[1] wrote Friedrich Lessner, a German worker who later became an active member of the Communist League and a faithful follower of Marx and Engels. The German edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* also reached Russia. The library of the Petrashevsky group[2] had a copy of it. When a translation of the book by the German bourgeois economist, Bruno Hildebrand, *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Political Economy of the Present and the Future), appeared in Russia in 1860, directed chiefly against Engels' investigation, N. V. Shelgunov, then a known publicist in Russia, wrote in defence of Engels in the journal *Sovremennik*: "The name is totally unknown in our country, though European

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 174.
[2] A group of progressive Russian intellectuals in St. Petersburg, 1845-49. M. V. Petrashevsky, after whom it is named, was one of its organisers. The group opposed the autocracy and the feudal system.

economic literature is indebted to him for the finest work about the economic life of the English worker. The difference between Hildebrand and Engels is that Engels calls evil evil and does not want this evil; while Hildebrand maintains that bad is not only not bad, but also that this is as it should be."[1] Describing Engels as "one of the best and noblest Germans",[2] Shelgunov presented a fairly detailed outline of Engels' book. Reviews of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* appeared in large number in the Russian press and literature of the 1850s and the following decade.

The book was known among progressives and revolutionaries in Austria, Poland and other countries. It facilitated the spread of the ideas of scientific communism in the labour movement of all lands.

Nearly 20 years later, Marx wrote to its author: "How soon the English workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection one must wait and see. For the rest, as far as the main points in your book are concerned, they have been confirmed down to the smallest detail by developments since 1844. You see, I have myself compared the book again with my notes on the later period. Only the little German *Spiessgesellen* [petty bourgeois], who measure world history by the yard and the latest 'interesting news in the papers', could imagine that in developments of such magnitude twenty years are more than a day—though later on days may come again in which twenty years are embodied.

"Rereading your book has made me regretfully aware of our increasing age. How freshly and passionately, with what bold anticipations and no learned and scientific doubts, the thing is still dealt with here! And the very illusion that the result will leap into the daylight of history tomorrow or the day after gives the whole thing a warmth and vivacious humour."[3]

However, in years to come Engels would regard his work with excessive severity. In a preface to the second German edition of the book in 1892, he said its author was young and his production bore the stamp of his youth, that some of his prophecies had not come true, among others that of an imminent social revolution in England. But, as Engels rightly observed, "the wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right".[4]

In the preface he warned that the general theoretical standpoint of the book, scientific communism, was then not yet fully formed. He wrote: "Modern international socialism, since fully developed as a science, chiefly and almost exclusively through the efforts of Marx, did not as yet exist in 1844. My book represents one of the phases of its embryonic development; and as the human embryo in its

[1] *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), 1861, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 137.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 539.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 321-22.

early stages still reproduces the gill-arches of our fish-ancestors, so this book exhibits everywhere the traces of the descent of modern socialism from one of its ancestors—German classical philosophy."[1]

As an example Engels cited the dictum that communism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory of the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from the narrow bourgeois relationships. That, he pointed out, is true in the abstract, but is absolutely useless, sometimes even harmful, if applied to practice. So long as the propertied classes do not feel the need for emancipation, so long as they strenuously oppose the emancipation of the working class, the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone.[2]

Some of the weaknesses in his economic analysis are due to the absence of a scientific theory of value and surplus value in the mid-1840s. While showing the influence of the economic ups and downs on the size of the workers' wages, stressing the relation of wages to the supply and demand on the labour market and the vigour of the organised workers' resistance to capital, and noting the influence on the workers' condition of the existence of a reserve army of unemployed, Engels did not register the magnitude objectively conditioned for the given time and place, on which the fluctuation of current wages depended.

Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England* is for ever part of the history of the world's socialist literature as one of its finest works.

REMOVAL TO BRUSSELS

For Engels living in Barmen had long since become unbearable. He was upset by the strained relations with his family. Besides, he could not avoid becoming involved in the affairs of his father's commercial enterprise and factory, which went against his grain.

Yet, however strong the wish to escape from the depressing environment and however attractive the idea of going to Brussels, where Marx lived at the time, Engels had work to accomplish in Barmen, and stayed for some time longer. In the beginning of March 1845 he made trips to Bonn and Cologne, where he met friends and associates.

In the meantime the Prussian police had become apprised of his prominent part in the propagation of communist ideas. The procurator of Barmen had been making inquiries. Engels was under police surveillance. Polizeidirektor Duncker, who visited Westphalia after Engels' departure to Brussels, compiled a fat report on local socialists. He reported the existence of a ramified organisation main-

[1] Ibid., S. 320-21.
[2] Ibid.

taining close contact with prominent Elberfeld and Cologne socialists—Engels, Hess, Köttgen, and others. Engels was described as highly active in the Rhenish communist movement.

Engels arrived in Brussels in April 1845. At first, he took up quarters in Bois Sauvage, a hotel in 26/27 Place Ste-Gudule, where Marx, too, had stopped at one time. When Marx moved to 5 Rue de l'Alliance in May 1845, Engels followed, moving into the neighbouring house, No. 7. At once, he was accepted by the Marxes as a close friend.

When they met, Marx told Engels of his general materialist conception of history. "When, in the spring of 1845, we met again in Brussels," Engels later recalled, "Marx had already fully developed his materialist theory of history in its main features ... and we now applied ourselves to the detailed elaboration of the newly won mode of outlook in the most varied directions."[1] During their meeting in Brussels they decided to produce a joint critique of the idealist post-Hegelian philosophy, especially its latest varieties.

Some of the principal ideas of the projected philosophical work were recorded by Marx in his "Theses on Feuerbach" which he wrote in spring, most probably April 1845. It is hard to say whether Engels had seen the theses then, but it is quite certain that the ideas they contained were known to him, and that he concurred. More than four decades later, in 1888, when he published the "Theses", discovered after Marx's death, he described them as "the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook".[2]

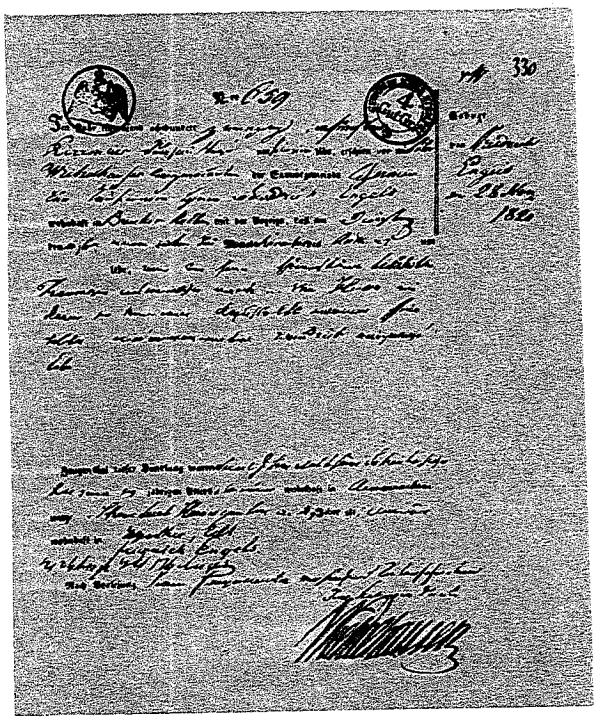
The "Theses" showed the essential difference of the new outlook from all earlier forms of materialist philosophy. The main failing of the preceding materialism, including Feuerbach's, Marx pointed out, was its contemplative approach and the fact that it overlooked the significance of "revolutionary", of "practical-critical" activity.[3] Furthermore, the old materialists took a narrow view of practice, reducing it to mere sensuous contemplation or just theoretical activity.

In contrast, Marx stressed the decisive significance of practice for the cognition and transformation of the world, defining it as objective human sensuous activity conceived and registered in its concrete forms. This conception also encompassed man's productive activity, personal experience, scientific experiment and all other historico-social pursuits.

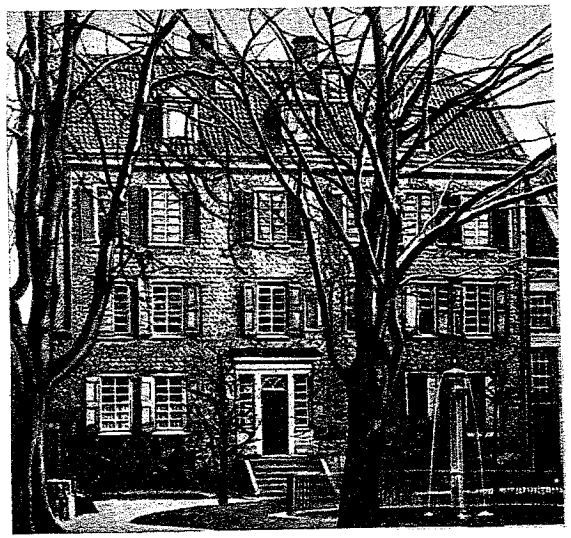
Practice, Marx showed, was the supreme criterion of truth, the basis of the cognition of the objective world. "The question whether objective [gegenständliche] truth can be attributed to human thinking," he wrote, "is not a question of theory but is a *practical* ques-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 178.
[2] Ibid., p. 336.
[3] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 13.

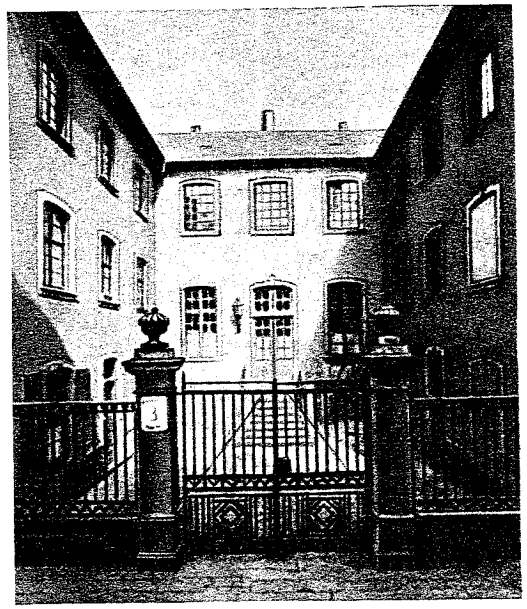
Engels' parents



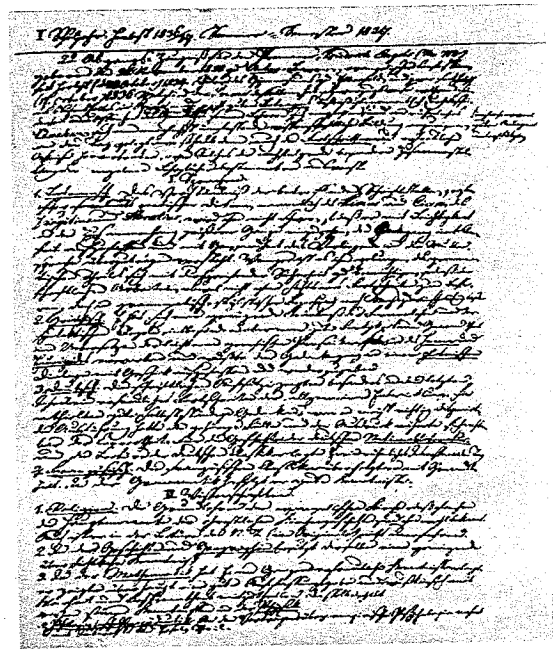
Engels' birth certificate



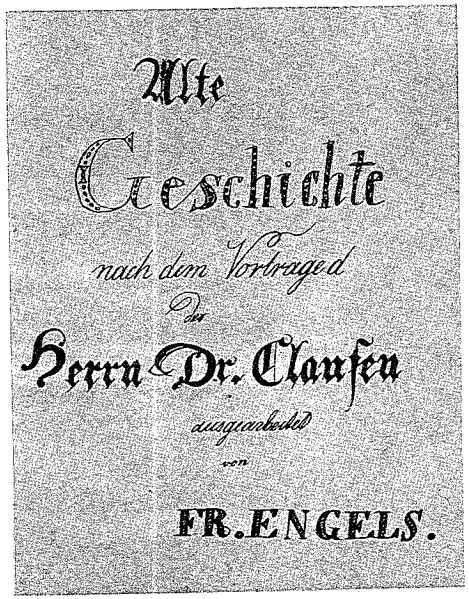
The Barmen house where Engels was born



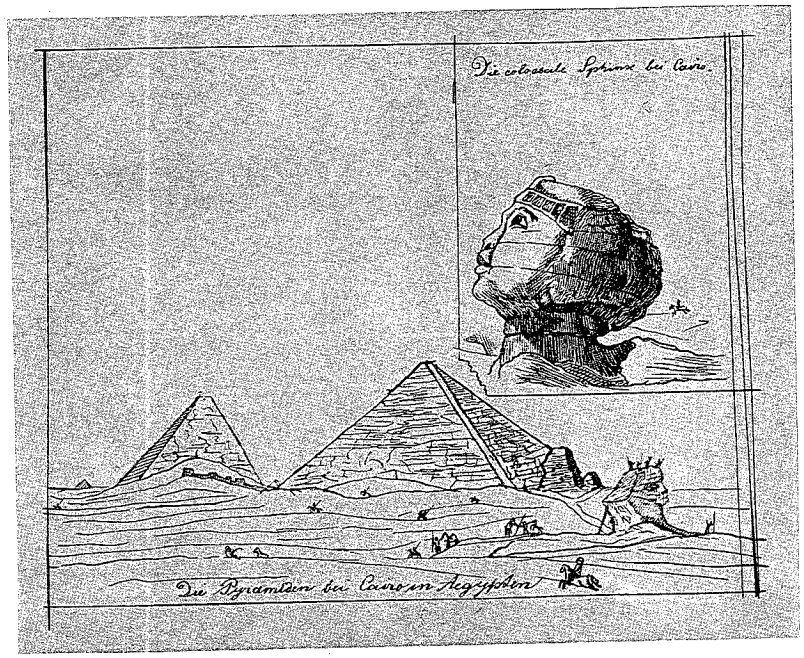
The gymnasium in Elberfeld, which Engels attended



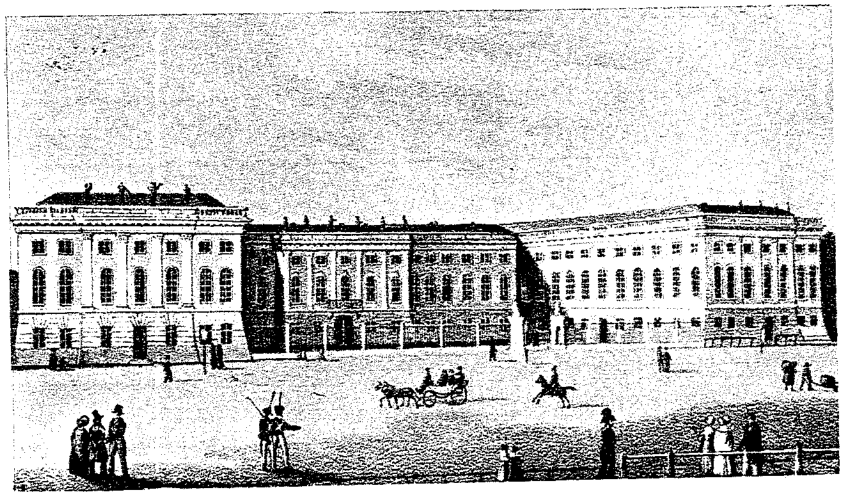
Engels' school report, issued on September 25, 1837



Engels' history exercise-book (cover and drawing)



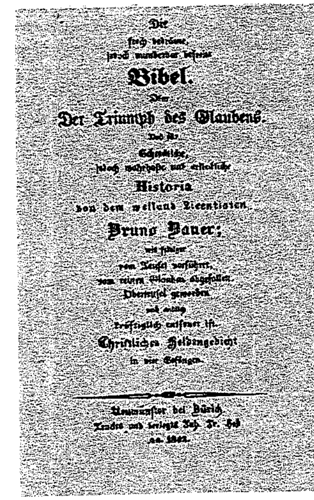
Engels in 1839



Berlin University, 1840

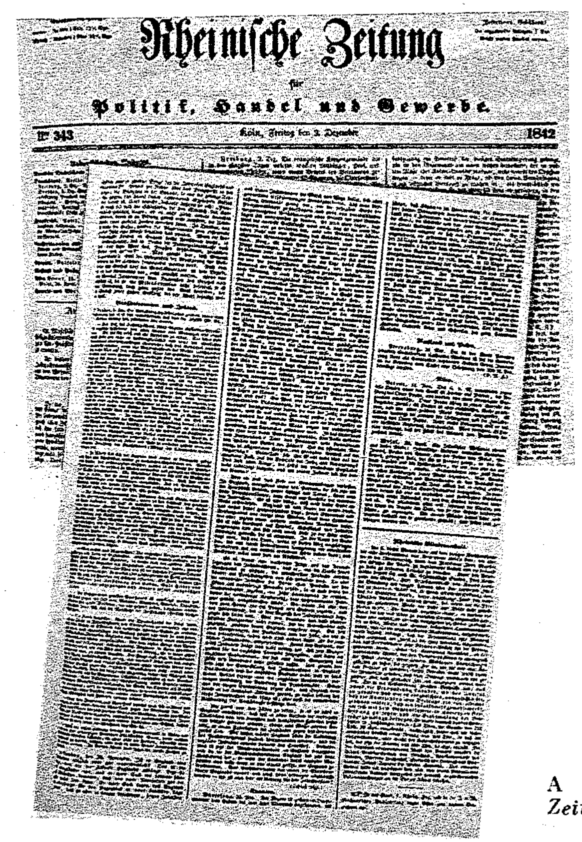
The Berlin club of Young Hegelians known as The Free. A cartoon by Engels

Title page of *The Miraculously Rescued Bible*, a satirical poem which Engels wrote with the cooperation of Edgar Bauer



Die
frech bedräute,
jedoch wunderbar befreite
Bibel.
Oder:
Der Triumph des Glaubens.
Das ist:
Schreckliche,
jedoch wahrhafte und erkleckliche
Historia
von dem weiland Licentiaten
Bruno Bauer;
wie selbiger
vom Teufel verführet,
vom reinen Glauben abgefallen,
Oberteufel geworden
und endlich
kräftiglich entsetzet ist.
Christliches Heldengedicht
in vier Gesängen.

Neumünster bei Zürich.
Drucks und verlegts Joh. Fr. Heß
Anno 1842.

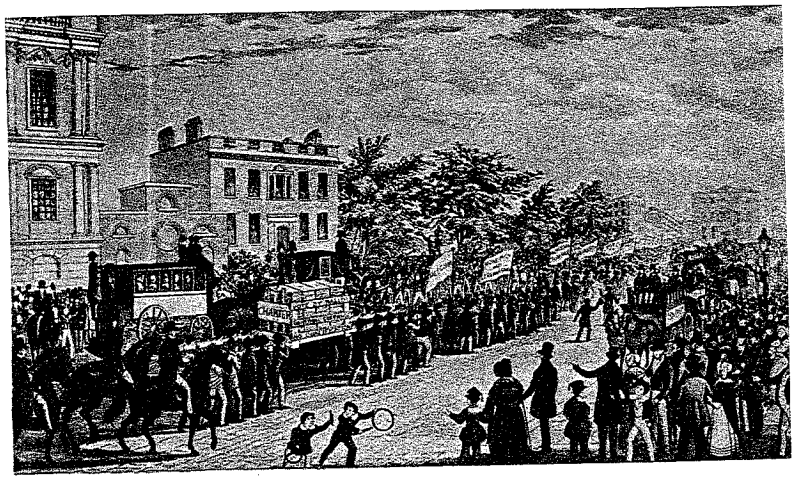


Rheinische Zeitung
für
Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.

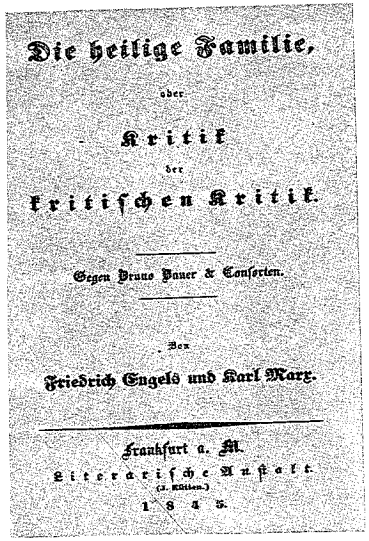
№ 343 Köln, Freitag den 9. December 1842

A page of the *Rheinische Zeitung* with Engels' report from London

Chartist strikers clash with troops in Preston, 1842



Chartists carry petition to Parliament, 1842



Die heilige Familie,

oder

Kritik

der

kritischen Kritik.

Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten.

Von

Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.

Frankfurt a. M.

Literarische Anstalt.

(J. Rütten.)

1845.

Title page of *The Holy Family*

Die Lage

der

arbeitenden Klasse

in

England.

Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen

von

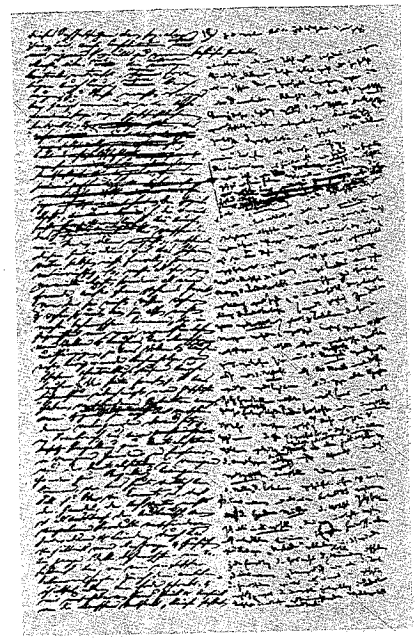
Friedrich Engels.

Leipzig.

Druck und Verlag von Otto Wigand.

1845.

Title page of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

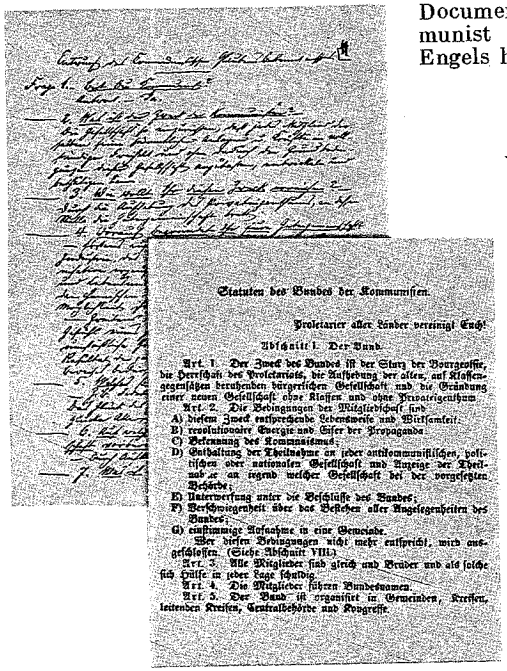


A page from the manuscript of *The German Ideology* written in Engels' hand (left) and Marx's (right)

Engels in the 1840s

The house in Paris where Engels lived from November 1846 to March 1847

A cartoon by Engels of Friedrich Wilhelm IV making his speech at the opening of the United Provincial Diet in Berlin, April 11, 1847



Statuten des Bundes der Kommunisten.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

Abschnitt I. Der Bund.

Art. 1. Der Zweck des Bundes ist der Sturz der Bourgeoisie, die Herrschaft des Proletariats, die Aufhebung der alten, auf Klassengegensätzen beruhenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, und die Gründung einer neuen Gesellschaft ohne Klassen und ohne Privateigenthum.

Art. 2. Die Bedingungen der Mitgliedschaft sind:

A) diesem Zweck entsprechende Lebensweise und Wirksamkeit;

B) revolutionaire Energie und Eifer der Propaganda;

C) Bekennung des Kommunismus;

D) Enthaltung der Theilnahme an jeder antikommunistischen, politischen oder nationalen Gesellschaft und Anzeige der Theilnahme an irgend welcher Gesellschaft bei der vorgesetzten Behörde;

E) Unterwerfung unter die Beschlüsse des Bundes;

F) Verschwiegenheit über das Bestehen aller Angelegenheiten des Bundes;

G) einstimmige Aufnahme in eine Gemeinde.

Wer diesen Bedingungen nicht mehr entspricht, wird ausgeschlossen. (Siehe Abschnitt VIII.)

Art. 3. Alle Mitglieder sind gleich und Brüder und als solche sich Hülfe in jeder Lage schuldig.

Art. 4. Die Mitglieder führen Bundesnamen.

Art. 5. Der Bund ist organisirt in Gemeinden, Kreisen, leitenden Kreisen, Centralbehörde und Kongress.

Documents of the Communist League, which Engels helped to draw up

Manifest
der
Kommunistischen Partei.

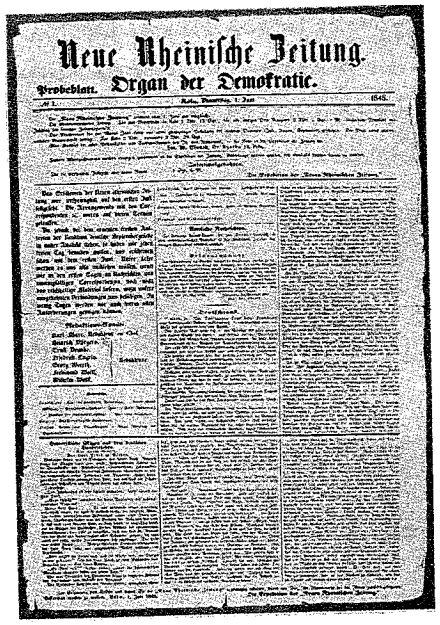
Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch.

London.

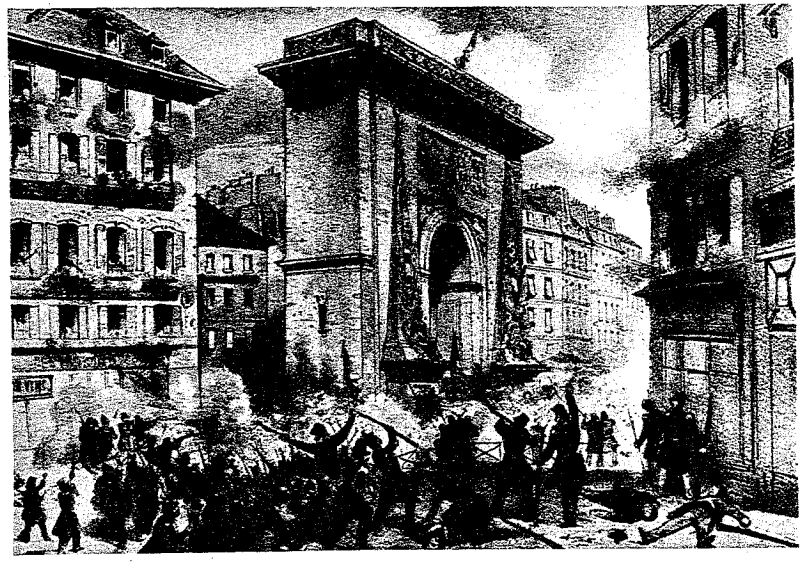
Cover of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848 edition

Street fighting in Berlin on the night of March 18, 1848

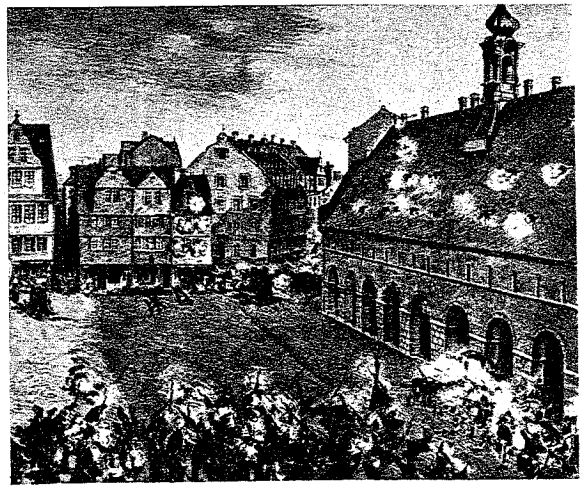


Neue Rheinische Zeitung.
Probeblatt. Organ der Demokratie.

Front page of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* with Engels' article, "The Frankfurt Assembly"

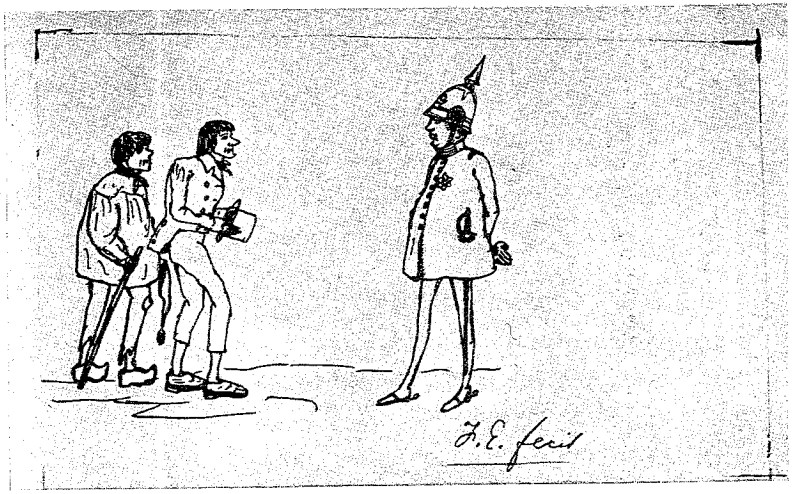


Street fighting in Paris near Saint-Denis, June 1848

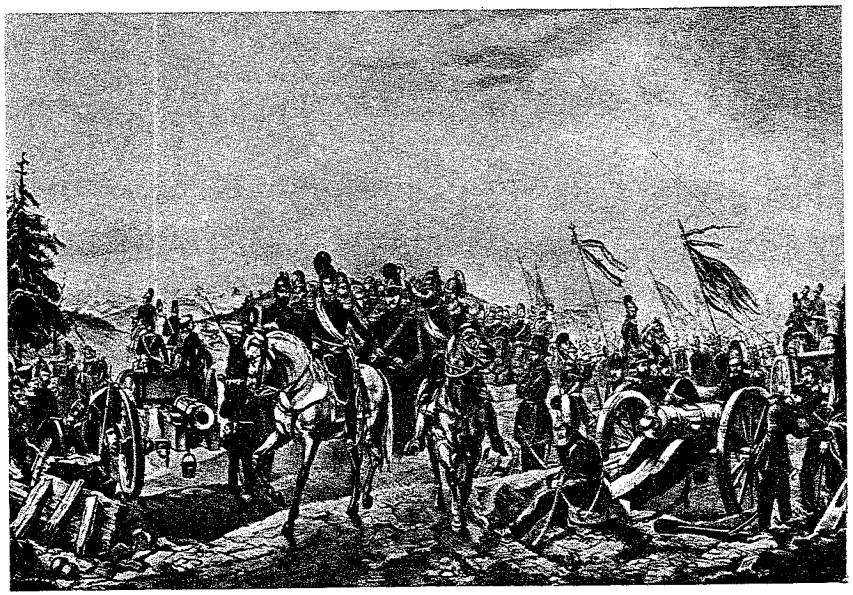


Uprising in Frankfort-on-Main, September 18, 1848

A sketch by Engels of part of his route from Paris to Berne



A cartoon by Engels of Friedrich Wilhelm IV and the Prussian bourgeoisie



The retreat of the Baden army to Switzerland, July 1849

tion."[1] It is in practice that man proves the truth, that is, the reality and power of his thinking.

Accurate theoretical knowledge of the objectively true aids man in his practical revolutionary activity, making it conscious and meaningful. This indissoluble link between theory and revolutionary practice Marx pinpointed in his eleventh thesis: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."[2]

While planning their new book, Marx and Engels tried to complete what they had begun earlier. Under the contract with his publisher, Marx was due to submit to him the manuscript of a two-volume *Critique of Politics and Political Economy*, and found that he needed to visit England to acquaint himself with the latest English economic literature. Engels, too, wanted to go, for he was writing a book on England's social history and a pamphlet on protectionism.

Marx's command of English was still inadequate at the time; nor did he know the country. Going there with Engels was not merely more pleasant, but also more useful. They stayed in England presumably from July 12 to August 21, 1845, mostly in Manchester, where they spent days in the famous Chetham's Library, one of the oldest public book repositories in Europe.

The notes Engels took contain marginal remarks in Marx's handwriting, and Marx's notes contain references to those of Engels. Engels produced a précis of George Porter's *The Progress of the Nation*, Thomas Tooke's *A History of Prices*, Frederick Eden's *The State of the Poor: or an History of the Labouring Classes in England*, William Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth of England*, James Gilbart's *The History and Principles of Banking*, and others. This filled three notebooks.[3]

Engels' notes show that he tried to see each economic phenomenon from the standpoint of the working class. In his précis of Porter's *The Progress of the Nation*, for example, he added the following remark to the section on the tobacco tax: "Here the exploitation of workers is the most infamous."[4] In another remark, Engels scoffed at the author's idea that workers may be prevented from mutiny, from "demagogic seduction", by means of education.[5] And in his notes on Eden's *The State of the Poor* he drew the conclusion that "Eden does not see that in one way encouragement of industry and pauperism are one and the same thing".[6]

Later, Engels fondly recalled the days Marx and he worked in Chetham's Library. In 1870 he wrote to Marx: "For the last

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 178.
[2] Ibid., p. 15.
[3] See Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. I, Bd. 4, S. 503-15.
[4] Ibid., S. 503.
[5] Ibid., S. 504.
[6] Ibid, S. 508.

few days I have again been doing much work at the square desk by the small bay window, where we used to sit 24 years ago; I love this place very much, for it is always sunny because of the coloured window. Old Jones, the librarian, is still there, but he is very old and no longer does anything."[1]

In Manchester, Engels saw Mary Burns again, and their companionship began. Mary accompanied Engels to Brussels.

On the way back, when in London, Engels introduced Marx to Julian Harney and made arrangements with the latter about his further association with *The Northern Star*. He again met Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer, of the League of the Just, whom he introduced to Marx.

The London leaders of the League made a dual impression on Marx and Engels. They were the first German proletarian revolutionaries who had by then largely shed the influence of Weitling's narrow equalitarian communism, but had fallen under the spell of the petty-bourgeois German "true socialism" with its abstract humanitarian rhetoric. Closely associated with the English Owenist socialists, they rejected revolutionary methods and had but meagre ties with the Chartists. All the same, Marx and Engels established contacts with them.

During the stay in London, Engels also helped establish relations between the League and the Left Chartists. Besides, he was one of the moving spirits behind the scheme of an international association of the democrats of several nations residing in London. Both he and Marx attended a meeting of democrats from different countries, held in mid-August 1845 at the *Angel*, Webber-Street, at which Engels supported the proposal of forming a London international revolutionary organisation, eventually founded on September 22, that is, after Marx and Engels had left. It was named Fraternal Democrats, and the English Chartists and German workers of the League of the Just were dominant in it. Its founding was evidence that international solidarity was growing among the foremost workers.

To its inaugural meeting of September 22 Engels devoted a special article, "Festival of Nations in London", in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, spelling out the principles of proletarian internationalism in print for the first time. "Proletarians in all lands," Engels wrote, "have the same interests and a common enemy, and are faced with the same struggle; by nature, the mass of proletarians are free from national prejudice, and their whole growth and movement is essentially humanitarian and anti-nationalistic. Only the proletarians can abolish nationality, only the awakening proletariat can get the various nations to fraternise."[2] Engels kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats, and

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 510.
[2] Ibid, Bd. 2, S. 614.

was always eager to help the leaders of the society to shed all petty-bourgeois illusions and build it up into a revolutionary proletarian organisation.

In London, Marx and Engels met Wilhelm Weitling. This first encounter was a friendly one. The extraordinary abilities of this first German utopian communist merited respect, and Marx and Engels still hoped that he would overcome utopianism and rise to a scientific appreciation of social problems. They hoped to enlist his aid in starting a communist journal in London. But Weitling was adamant. He preferred his favourite occupation of the time—technical inventions.

START OF THE BATTLE AGAINST "TRUE SOCIALISM"

Late in August, Marx and Engels returned to Brussels. The Belgian capital was quickly becoming a centre of attraction for German revolutionaries. Engels and Marx were by then fairly well known, and all who searched for a scientific revolutionary solution were keen on meeting them.

Georg Weerth, first and most important poet of the German working class,[1] came to Brussels in July 1845. Deeply impressed by Engels' writing, captivated by his personality, Weerth wrote with youthful enthusiasm to his mother on July 19: "Let the gentlemen of property take care—the mighty arms of the people are on our side and the best minds of all nations are gradually coming over to us. My very dear friend, Frederick Engels from Barmen, for example, has written a book in defence of the English workers and fearfully but justly scourged the manufacturers. His own father has factories in England and Germany. He is now at terrible variance with his family; he is considered godless and impious.... But I know that son to be a heavenly kind man who has extraordinary intelligence and penetration and fights day and night with all his might for the good of the working class."[2]

By this time Engels had shed all his earlier delusions about the advanced youth from the propertied classes being the pillar of the communist movement in Germany. In his first contribution from Brussels to *The Northern Star* he wrote: "This youth is not to be looked for among the middle classes. It is from the very heart of our working people that revolutionary action in Germany will commence.... Fortunately, we do not count on the middle classes at all."[3]

Keeping his promise to Harney, Engels contributed regularly to the Chartist paper, examining important political developments in Ger-

[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 21, S. 7.
[2] Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke in fünf Bänden*, Berlin, 1957, Bd. 5, S. 172.
[3] *The Northern Star*, September 13, 1845.

many from the revolutionary, communist standpoint. In an article entitled, "The Late Butchery at Leipzig.—The German Working Men's Movement", he reviewed strikes by cotton-printers and railway builders in Bohemia, Saxony and Berlin, inspired by the Silesian weavers' uprising of June 1844. He stressed the self-sufficiency of the working-class movement, its independence from various bourgeois schools. It is the working-class movement, Engels wrote, that will bring on the revolution, completely changing the face of Germany.

In a series of articles entitled, "The State of Germany", he examined the country's social and political history of the preceding 50 years from the materialist angle—chiefly since the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the 18th century. He championed the idea of a united democratic Germany, attacked the reactionary set-up in the German states, anatomised the class nature of bourgeois liberalism and demonstrated the limitations of bourgeois democracy.

He also contributed to the German press. His "Introduction and Afterword to 'A Passage from Fourier on Commerce'" (written at the end of 1845 and published in the annual *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* in 1846; the passage was translated for a library of the leading works of French and English utopian socialists planned by Marx and Engels) and the earlier mentioned article, "Festival of Nations in London", are of interest as the first acts of public opposition to "true socialism", a petty-bourgeois socialist doctrine that had spread in Germany following 1844.

The "true socialists", exponents of the reactionary outlook of the German burgherdom frightened by the growth of capitalism, made an abstraction of the socialist teaching, fencing it off from the existing conditions and practical requirements. Criticism of bourgeois society they replaced with moans and curses. They would not agree that democratic change could not come about without battling absolutism, and frequently became an unconscious tool of the reactionary German governments in their attacks on the bourgeoisie. The class struggle and social revolution—the only way of emancipating the proletariat—the "true socialists" replaced with a honeyed message of universal love. They assaulted revolutionary communism and scorned the differentiation between revolutionary and reformist elements in the socialist movement, and thus obstructed the growth of the democratic, as well as proletarian, movements in Germany.

The "true socialists", Engels pointed out, indulged in empty philosophical rhetoric, juggling eclectically with scraps of ideas taken from French utopian socialists, heaping them in a lump with Hegel and Feuerbach. He censured them for not studying reality and theory objectively, and for neglecting the social views of their forerunners (Fourier, Saint-Simon, and others), showing their abysmal ignorance of political economy. Instead of calling for a revolutionary class struggle, he pointed out, they engaged in ethical sermons.

addressing all classes and vulgarising the communist movement. He also criticised their talk about abolishing nations, weighing it against the commendable urge of democrats of different nations to unite on the basis of common interest.

THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY

In the autumn of 1845, Engels and Marx set out on their joint undertaking—a critique of post-Hegelian philosophy. They began writing their large philosophical work, *The German Ideology*, in November.

Their plan evolved after the appearance in the summer and autumn of 1845 of an article by Feuerbach where he declared himself a "Communist", and of a number of written works by the "true socialists" and by Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner.

The German Ideology was in every sense a collective product. Unlike *The Holy Family*, to which each had contributed his own chapters, *The German Ideology* was the fruit of combined creative effort.

The first volume consists of three chapters, the introductory first chapter ("Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook") being the most important from the standpoint of theory. The second and third chapters are a critique of the Young Hegelian philosophy ("Saint Bruno" and "Saint Max"), while the second volume is a critique of a number of exponents of "true socialism".

What makes *The German Ideology* everlastingly significant is its exhaustive exposition—the first made by Marx and Engels—of the materialist conception of history (historical materialism) as the philosophical foundation of scientific communism. The main credit for this goes to Marx. It was, to quote Engels, one of the two greatest discoveries of Marx (the other was the theory of surplus value), turning socialism from an utopia into a science.

In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels pointed to the premises for the new world outlook: the real individuals, their activity, the material conditions for it. Showing that activity has two sides: production (the individuals' relation to nature) and intercourse (the individuals' relation to one another), *The German Ideology* developed the most important postulate of historical materialism about the determinative role of material production in the life of society. The mode of production, the book showed, determines the way of life. Besides, the material conditions of production determine the social and political relationships between people.

Decisive for understanding the laws of social development was the elucidation in the book of the dialectics of the productive forces and relations of production (in *The German Ideology* these were, as a rule, designated as forces of production and forms of intercourse). The

main propositions in this discovery, the key to understanding the process of history, were: the productive forces determine the form of intercourse, the social relationships; as the productive forces grow, the previous form of intercourse ceases to correspond to them and becomes an impediment; this contradiction is resolved by social revolution, which introduces new social relationships consonant with the more developed productive forces.

The dialectics of the productive forces and production relations showed the link between the successive stages of historical development.

Each new stage of material production, Marx and Engels said, sees new forms of division of labour and new forms of property, and each new form of property gives birth to corresponding social and political relations.

These ideas are the pillar of the teaching on socio-economic formations, worked out by Marx and Engels in greater detail in later years.

With their teaching on socio-economic formations, Marx and Engels tore down the shroud of mysticism enveloping the history of man, making history a true science and giving a start to its scientific periodisation. On this score, Lenin wrote: "The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops."[1]

The German Ideology traced the development of pre-capitalist relations and analysed bourgeois society and capitalist private property. Having at first played a progressive role, the social relationships inherent in bourgeois society, it showed, eventually hindered further growth. At a definite stage, "private property became just as much a fetter as the guild had been for manufacture and the small, rural workshop for the developing crafts. These productive forces received under the system of private property a one-sided development only, and became for the majority destructive forces; moreover, a great multitude of such forces could find no application at all within this system."[2]

Each antagonistic form of property has a corresponding structure of classes. Marx and Engels demolished the illusions about the independence of the state and showed that the bourgeois state is "nothing more than the form of organisation which the bourgeois necessarily adopt both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests".[3]

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 25.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 61.
[3] Ibid., p. 77.

Material production, social relations and class struggle engender definite forms of social consciousness — religion, philosophy, ethics, and the like. In contrast to the idealistic interpretation of consciousness as the point of departure shaping all social development, Marx and Engels maintained that "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life".[1] Consciousness, they said, was a social product, the product of social relations. This was a key materialistic postulate.

Having established the class nature of social consciousness, Marx and Engels arrived at the conclusion that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force".[2] The ruling ideas are expressive of the ruling material relations. By this token, appearance of revolutionary ideas in contradistinction to the ideas of the ruling class implies the existence of a revolutionary class.

The most important inference of the historico-materialistic conception in *The German Ideology* was that of the historical necessity and inevitability of proletarian communist revolution. Through the development of productive forces, Marx and Engels wrote, "a class is called forth, which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages ... and from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness".[3] Previous revolutions did not eliminate classes and class domination, whereas "the communist revolution... abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves".[4] The revolution is required not only for overthrowing the ruling class, but also for the alteration of men on a mass scale. In the course of revolution working people free themselves from the ideas, traditions and prejudices of the old society. The working class, Marx and Engels wrote, "can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew".[5]

To build a communist society the working class must win political power, must become the dominant class: "Every class which is struggling for mastery, even when its domination, as is the case with the proletariat, postulates the abolition of the old form of society in its entirety and of domination itself, must first conquer for itself political power."[6] That is the germ of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which Lenin described as "one of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state".[7]

[1] Ibid., p. 25.
[2] Ibid., p. 47.
[3] Ibid., p. 40.
[4] Ibid., p. 41.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 35.
[7] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 402.

The communist movement, Marx and Engels showed, is the practical movement of revolutionary proletarians aspiring to concrete, practical aims and striving to achieve them by definite revolutionary action.

From an utopian ideal of the preceding socialists, Marx and Engels transformed communism into a scientifically substantiated theory of the foremost revolutionary class. "Communism is for us," they wrote, "not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things."[1]

Thus, Marx and Engels defined in general outline the specific features of the future communist society. Passage to communism, they showed, implies a radical alteration of the relations of production. The spontaneous course of social life in bourgeois society gives place to controlled social relations, to conscious and planned regulation. Classes disappear, the class division of labour that kept men enslaved, is eliminated. The antithesis between town and country, and between mental and manual labour, vanishes. The new social system opens up vast opportunities for man's energy and creativity, providing scope for harmonious, all-round development.

In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels also tore to shreds the views of the Young Hegelians, who had by then completely discarded the achievements and espoused the weaknesses of Hegel's philosophy. Their oral, overly bombastic criticism of the existing order was, in substance, a recognition of the reality, an endeavour to reinterpret rather than change it. In contrast to all exponents of the "German ideology", Marx and Engels showed that criticising the world was not enough; it had to be correctly interpreted and, most important, altered.

The comprehensive and pungent criticism of Stirner's idealistic outlook is of special interest from the theoretical and practical points of view; doubly so, because Stirner's views are reflected in the ideology of German petty-bourgeois democracy, Bakunin's anarchist theories, and the like.

Max Stirner pronounced "world-shattering phrases" to demolish law, the state, and morality, all of which he declared to be ideological spectres enslaving consciousness. They should be destroyed, he thundered, liberating man from all trammels. In place of the "shattered sanctities" Stirner put the unrestricted and unfettered egoism of the individual; a typical petty bourgeois, he reserved for the individual the right of owning private property. As a result, the essential bourgeois relations would remain intact. If private property, the pillar of bourgeois society, survives, bourgeois law, state and morality must also inevitably survive. Stirner's grandiloquent critique of consciousness did not extend to the material and political conditions of bourgeois society. His seemingly ultra-radical theory was nothing but a mystical, idealistically vague reflection of bourgeois relationships.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 38.

The German Ideology ridiculed Stirner's contention that under communism the individual becomes a slave of society, that by repealing private ownership Communists destroy the personality. Private property, Marx and Engels explained, is the basis for the bourgeois type of individuality only; however, it robs of individuality the vast majority of people, who own no property. The workers acquire individuality in the battle against the capitalist system.

To bourgeois-idealistic freedom interpreted as freedom and autonomy of the spirit, as the individual's independence from society, i.e., an imagined freedom, Marx and Engels contrasted the materialistic conception of freedom as political power, as control over the circumstances and relations in which man lives and works. Man's true freedom is not the fancied freedom of the spirit from material social relations as conceived by idealists, but consists in cognising and controlling these relations. *The German Ideology* argues in favour of the historical approach to the freedom concept, stressing that in each epoch man attains but a degree of freedom, a degree of dominance over the forces of nature and the social relationships. Not until man reaches communism, the highest stage in the development of social relations, will he be able to exercise complete social and spiritual freedom.

Marx and Engels criticised Stirner's pretentious concept of the special and exclusive role of the intelligentsia, of individual creativity. Stirner remarked sarcastically that Communists wanted everyone to do the work of Raphael. In fact, Marx and Engels replied, Communists wanted everyone in whom there was a potential Raphael to be able to develop without hindrance. Stirner imagined that the artist or sculptor created his works independently of society, of the historical situation, of the existing social division of labour. Creative labour, he maintained, bore the stamp of "uniqueness". Debunking this idealistic view, Marx and Engels showed that great artistic works were associated with the concrete socio-historical conditions in which they were created. "Raphael as much as any other artist," they wrote, "was determined by the technical advances in art made before him, by the organisation of society and the division of labour in his locality, and, finally, by the division of labour in all countries with which his locality had intercourse."[1] That many gifted people are unable to develop their gifts is due to the rule of private property and the warped capitalist division of labour, where access to science and art is granted to but a relatively small minority, while hard, hopeless and stultifying labour is the lot of the vast majority.

[1] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 442.

All of the second volume of *The German Ideology* is devoted to a critique of "true socialism", its abstract idealistic principles and the abstract humanism and sentimental rhetoric of universal love which it substituted for the class approach and revolutionary struggle.

It was as if Marx and Engels had pronounced the verdict of history against "true socialism". "It goes without saying," they wrote, "that since the appearance of a real communist party in Germany, the public of the 'true socialists' will be more and more limited to the petty bourgeoisie and the sterile and broken-down literary hacks who represent it."[1]

While giving his due to Feuerbach for his advocacy of materialism, Marx and Engels pointed out the weak sides of his philosophy; they showed the inconsistency of his materialism, applied solely to the conception of nature. In matters concerning human society Feuerbach was an out-and-out idealist: "As far as Feuerbach is a materialist he does not deal with history, and as far as he considers history he is not a materialist. With him, materialism and history diverge completely."[2]

For Feuerbach nature, the sensuous world around him, is a thing given for all eternity, remaining ever the same; he sees people outside their concrete social relations and activity, outside history, abstractly. Yet the surrounding sensuous world, Marx and Engels stressed, is "an historical product, the result of the activity of a whole succession of generations, each standing on the shoulders of the preceding one, developing its industry and its intercourse, modifying its social system according to the changed needs".[3]

Though Feuerbach declared himself a Communist, the revolutionary essence of the proletarian outlook was foreign to him. He stood aloof from the workers' revolutionary struggle. For him communism amounted to but the recognition that "men need and *always have needed* each other".[4] Censuring Feuerbach for his passive contemplative philosophy, Marx and Engels stressed that "for the *practical* materialist, i.e., the *Communist*, it is a question of revolutionising the existing world, of practically attacking and changing existing things".[5] In *The Holy Family* the criticism of Feuerbach was still in a germinal stage, whereas in *The German Ideology* it is systematic and conclusive.

The German Ideology did not reach the public during its authors' lifetime. They had been unable to find a publisher for it.

Just one of the chapters of the second volume—about the book of Karl Grün, a "true socialist"—appeared in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in 1847. Not until 1932 did the work appear complete, published in the USSR in German, and then, in 1933, in a Russian translation.

Though they could not publish their book, Marx and Engels did not regard their labour as wasted. "We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly," Marx wrote in 1859, "as we had achieved our main purpose—self-clarification."[1] *The German Ideology* is an important phase in the elaboration of Marxist theory. The resultant theoretical conclusions and generalisations became the basis for the practical revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels.

"Now, we were by no means of the opinion that the new scientific results should be confided in large tomes exclusively to the 'learned' world. Quite the contrary," Engels wrote. "We were both of us already deeply involved in the political movement, and possessed a certain following in the educated world, especially of Western Germany, and abundant contact with the organised proletariat. It was our duty to provide a scientific foundation for our view, but it was equally important for us to win over the European and in the first place the German proletariat to our conviction. As soon as we had become clear in our own minds, we set about the task."[2]

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[1] Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 515.
[2] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[3] Ibid., p. 57.
[4] Ibid., p. 54.
[5] Ibid., p. 57.

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[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 505.
[2] Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 179.

Chapter Three

BUILDING A PROLETARIAN PARTY

> For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must ... form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party.
>
> *Frederick Engels*

THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEES

In the latter half of the 1840s bourgeois-democratic revolutions were germinating all over Europe. But the labour movement was still immature and poorly organised; it was developing in isolation from socialist thought. The workers did not know the ultimate aims of their struggle. The few existing organisations had no clear programme. The League of the Just, it is true, had up to a point shed the ideas of Weitling's equalitarian communism, but was influenced by the petty-bourgeois "true socialism". Other socialist groups consisted chiefly of intellectuals and artisans, had no ties with each other, and propounded most inconclusive views. Only a few socialists were looking for some new way, rising above the general level of the labour movement. "At that time," Engels wrote to the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero in 1871, "only a few proletarians in Switzerland, France and England who had accepted socialist and communist ideas followed us; our means for working with the masses were very meagre and, just as you, we were compelled to recruit followers among school-teachers, journalists and students."[1]

Marx and Engels were determined to help the advanced working-class element to understand and assimilate the new outlook, link up revolutionary theory with the labour movement, and find the way to the proletarian mass. They had to pick the right and most suitable forms and methods of propagating their views and criticising the backward theories circulating among socialists. The new outlook would unite the dispersed socialist groups organisationally, ideologically and politically, fusing them into a single communist movement, would create the basis for building a proletarian party.

Due to police persecution, with but limited means for printing propaganda, Marx and Engels thought it best to organise the movement into communist correspondence committees. These, as they saw it, would forge contacts among exponents of communist ideas not in Germany alone, but in other countries, and would promote exchanges of printed and written propaganda.[1]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 662.

A start was made by inaugurating a communist correspondence committee in Brussels in January 1846.

Many German, French, Polish and Russian revolutionaries had fled to the Belgian capital from police persecution in their own countries. A small group gradually rallied round Marx and Engels—the revolutionary publicist Wilhelm Wolff, son of a serf who became a teacher of classical philology, a staunch defender of the Silesian weavers, and closely associated with the socialists and workers of Silesia; Joseph Weydemeyer of Westphalia, a Prussian lieutenant who had left the army due to his democratic convictions and was a contributor to German socialist periodicals; Edgar von Westphalen, brother of Marx's wife and his schoolmate in Trier; Georg Weerth, in Brussels as agent of a large commercial firm; Ferdinand Wolff, a gifted German journalist, democrat and socialist; Philippe Gigot, a Belgian socialist and keeper of the city library in Brussels, and Sebastian Seiler, a journalist and formerly a Weitling follower.

Out of this group Wilhelm Wolff was the closest to Marx and Engels. He was their most loyal friend and associate to the end of his life, to whom Marx dedicated the first volume of his *Capital*.

All these men participated in the work of the Brussels Correspondence Committee, the leading nucleus of which consisted of Marx, Engels and Gigot. The Committee corresponded with Communists and socialists in Germany and other countries, arranging a regular exchange of information and the publication of communist literature. In letters to Germany it suggested that socialists and communists there form similar local committees.

The socialists in Cologne, Elberfeld, Westphalia and Silesia kept in touch with the Brussels Committee, informing it of local affairs and receiving its circulars and other matter.

There were also to be correspondence committees of German workers living abroad. In February 1846, Marx and Engels approached August Ewerbeck, leader of the League of the Just communities in Paris, with the proposal of forming a committee; this was founded a few months later, during Engels' visit to Paris.

At the end of May or early in June 1846 the London leaders of the League of the Just also formed a correspondence committee, which gave Marx and Engels some influence in the League.

Engels, who had made friendly contacts with socialists in different cities during his stay in Germany, deserves much of the credit for the correspondence committees formed there. In Elberfeld, for

[1] They probably borrowed this form of organisation from the late 18th-century democratic movements in Britain and France.

example, he contacted Gustav Köttgen, Heinrich Zulauff and other socialists who had taken part in the communist discussions he organised in 1845.

The committees helped unite Communists ideologically and organisationally. More, they helped work out the tactics for the democratic movement in Germany. The letters Marx and Engels sent German Communists on behalf of the Brussels Committee emphasised the importance of the general democratic movement and the bourgeois-democratic demands, such as freedom of the press, adoption of a constitution, a progressive income tax, and the like. "If this is achieved," Marx and Engels wrote their followers, "a new era will have arrived for communist propaganda. Our means will multiply, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and proletariat will be sharper."[1]

Under their influence, the Cologne Communists gained a strong foothold in the local democratic movement. In Silesia and elsewhere in Germany, Communists also became more active.

The aim of Marx and Engels was to form an international communist organisation. They tried to make the correspondence committees international, entering into negotiations with Proudhon, Cabet and other prominent French socialists, whose support they hoped to enlist. But the effort proved futile. Proudhon's refusal showed how much his petty-bourgeois reformist socialism was at odds with the revolutionary communist outlook. Cabet, too, though he did not spurn friendly relations with the German Communists, rejected the idea of an organisational partnership.

Harney's reaction was more favourable. Engels wrote to him in the beginning of 1846, explaining the plan for a new organisation. The leader of the Chartist Left wing accepted the projected system of propaganda, but made cooperation conditional on the approval of the League of the Just in London, with which he and his friends worked jointly in the German Workers' Educational Society. After the Brussels Committee contacted the League, Harney, true to his word, began collaborating with the correspondence committees.

The committees were international in composition, and the content of their work, too, was international. The Brussels Committee, for example, concerned itself with the socialist movement in Germany, Britain, France and Belgium. On July 17, 1846 it drew up an address to Feargus O'Connor, a Chartist leader, which was shortly published in *The Northern Star*. Signed by Engels, Gigot and Marx on behalf of the German communist democrats, the address congratulated him on his election victory and set out the Committee's view on the struggle between members of the proletariat and the radical petty-bourgeois wing in the Chartist party. Censuring Thomas Cooper, a radical, for his slanderous attacks on leaders of the revo-

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 22.

lutionary wing, it said: "The Chartist party cannot but profit by the exclusion of such disguised bourgeois, who, while they show off with the name of Chartists for popularity's sake, strive to insinuate themselves into the favour of the middle classes."[1]

The Brussels Committee adopted several resolutions against Cooper, and forwarded them through Engels to Harney for publication. The latter agreed with its judgment. "E.'s predictions concerning Cooper," he wrote to Brussels on July 20, 1846, "have been fully realised, and I must confess that E. was wiser than myself with regard to this ambitious fool. Cooper is thoroughly put down."[2]

Marx and Engels also tried to propagate revolutionary communist views among German workers living in Brussels, and some of the revolutionary workers whom they recruited for the circle became faithful participants in the communist movement.

CRITICISM OF WEITLING'S "ARTISAN COMMUNISM"

The Brussels Committee came to grips with the utopian ideas of Wilhelm Weitling and the "true socialists"; these had begun to hold back the growth of the labour movement in Germany and impeded the spread of scientific communism.

Weitling, a journeyman-tailor and a gifted self-educated man, attracted the attention of Marx and Engels with his assault on the capitalist system in his book, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom) (1842). Though an exponent of crude equalitarian communism and of conspiratorial tactics, he put his faith in the workers or, more precisely, the artisans, whose ideological spokesman he was, rather than in the propertied classes. This set him apart from the earlier utopians. He advocated violent revolution, for, as he saw it, nothing else would bring about a new social order.

Marx and Engels began corresponding with him in October 1844. He came to Brussels at their invitation early in 1846 and was at once accepted into the Brussels Correspondence Committee. Marx and Engels tried to influence him, hoping he would gradually overcome his utopian and sectarian postures. But he did not. More, he gravitated towards ethical religious ideas. He saw communism not as a revolutionary science but, to use Engels' expression, as a "recipe for the realisation of heaven on earth ready-made".[3] He criticised capitalism less and less, while his utopian communism became more and more religious. Instead of analysing the life of society, he displayed his indignation and called for insurrection, gaining a following

[1] *The Northern Star*, July 25, 1846.
[2] Central Party Archives.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 180.

almost exclusively among the backward German artisans and déclassé elements. Like the other utopians, he was opposed to the workers participating in the struggle for democracy, or in any other political struggle. His view of all preceding philosophical and scientific thought was nothing short of nihilistic, and he scorned the revolutionary intelligentsia. Fancying himself a prophet, intolerant of the slightest criticism, Weitling finally stooped to intrigue and slander against Marx and Engels.

An open clash occurred at a sitting of the Correspondence Committee on March 30, 1846. When printed propaganda for dissemination in Germany came up for discussion, Weydemeyer suggested printing the works of Marx, Engels and other Communists with funds offered by two communist supporters—Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel of Westphalia. Weitling objected: he wanted the Committee to publish his new works first. Yet these presented his twisted, backward views in a particularly offensive manner. It was a question of what should prevail—the unscientific utopian views and conspiratorial sectarian methods of Weitling or the revolutionary theory and tactics of Marx and Engels.

The Russian man of letters, Pavel Annenkov, then of radical views, who was present, made a sketch of the scene: "We ... took our places at the small green table. Marx sat at one end of it with a pencil in his hand and his leonine head bent over a sheet of paper, while Engels, his inseparable fellow-worker and comrade in propaganda, tall and erect and as dignified and serious as an Englishman, made the opening speech. He spoke of the necessity for people, who have devoted themselves to transforming labour, of explaining their views to one another and agreeing on a single common doctrine that could be a banner for all their followers."[1]

A heated argument broke out. Marx and Engels said backward utopian views should be combated. They faulted Weitling's equalitarian communism and his conspiratorial tactics. Contradicting Weitling, they showed that there could be no question of immediately effectuating communism.

The March 30 sitting signified a rupture with Weitling, though he formally continued to be on the Committee until mid-May 1846.

The occurrence was reported to all communist and socialist groups connected with Brussels. Many German Communists supported Marx and Engels. Writing from London, Schapper observed, "He [Weitling] thinks he alone is in possession of the truth and can save the world.... That is why he does not learn and does not want *his followers* to learn; they are expected to be content with his gospel.... We have now stopped all correspondence with him and wish to have nothing more to do with him."[2]

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 270.

[2] *Der Bund der Kommunisten. Dokumente und Materialen*, Bd. 1, 1836-1849, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1970, S. 348.

The Communists of Westphalia and the German Communists in Paris took the side of the Brussels Committee. But the battle against Weitling's system continued in some communist organisations until the 1848 revolution, when it proved utterly sterile and vanished for good.

"CIRCULAR AGAINST KRIEGE"

The battle against "true socialism" was an important phase for the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. Unity of the revolutionary forces was inconceivable until "true socialism", then quite influential among the German progressive intelligentsia, would be conclusively disproved, "for it spread like an epidemic".[1]

Objectively, the "true socialists" ground the axe of the feudal authoritarian regime by their reactionary political tendencies, ignoring the peculiar features of Germany's socio-political pattern and renouncing the necessity for bourgeois-democratic reforms. Yet the fact that many exponents of "true socialism" paraded under a communist signboard misled the German workers and obscured the real orientation of the movement, essentially foreign and hostile to the proletariat.

The activity in the United States of Hermann Kriege, a German journalist, precipitated public action against "true socialism" by the Brussels Communists grouped round Marx and Engels.

Arriving in New York in September 1845, Kriege, a member of the League of the Just, formed a community of the League in that city and soon reorganised it into a German affiliate of the secret Young America organisation. He and its other leaders also founded a broader and legal Social Reform Association, which demanded for each needy person in the United States 160 acres of land gratis, and other democratic reforms. To publicise the aims of this Association, Kriege founded the *Volks-Tribun*, a newspaper in which bourgeois-democratic measures were simplistically identified with those of the Communists. Kriege also portrayed as communist the appeals appearing in his paper for charity from the New York rich for needy workers and the poor in general. The letters and appeals were sentimental, snivelling pleas or prophetic warnings. All of this contradicted the principles of revolutionary communism.

Kriege's propaganda only discredited the Communists in the United States and elsewhere, drawing sharp criticism from Marx and Engels. A resolution condemning Kriege was passed by a sitting of the Brussels Committee on their initiative on May 11, 1846; Weitling was the only one to vote against it. The resolution and a memorandum—both drawn up by Marx and Engels—were

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 132.

lithographed and sent to all correspondence committees and communist groups. Subsequently, the document became known as "Circular Against Kriege".

Kriege's propaganda, the resolution stressed, was "to the highest degree compromising for the Communist Party in Europe, as well as America". The views he advanced in *Volks-Tribun*, it said, were not communistic. "The fantastic and crazed ecstasies which Kriege preaches in New York in the name of 'communism' will be utterly demoralising for workers if they adopt them."[1] The memorandum attached to the resolution provided a more detailed explanation.

The "Circular" criticised Kriege sharply for identifying communism with a "delirium of love" that would ostensibly transform the world. It demonstrated the fallacy of Kriege's philosophical pronouncements and high-sounding rhetoric, and his flirting with religion. Citing numerous passages from *Volks-Tribun*, Marx and Engels wrote: "*In the name of communism*, Kriege preaches the old religious German philosophical fantasy, which is *the very opposite of communism*."[2] And they added: "Such a teaching, preaching the bliss of servility and self-contempt, is well suited for brave ... *monks*, but never for energetic men, especially at a time of battle."[3]

Kriege's economic views were also diametrically opposite to the fundamentals of the communist outlook. Kriege idealised small, patriarchal landownership, betraying complete ignorance of the existing economic relations.[4]

His claim that it was enough to make all people small proprietors, to give each needy person a plot of land as private property, in order to obtain solutions for all social contradictions, Marx and Engels showed, was utopian. If private ownership of means of production remains in agriculture, if commodity relationships are private, the "Circular" said, concentration of production and capital would follow inevitably, proprietary inequality among farmers would increase just as inevitably, one farmer would become richer, another would suffer ruin, and, finally, the ruined one would become the labourer of the rich one. The dream of "turning *all men into private proprietors*"[5] was basically and absolutely unrealistic and reactionary. "This dream", wrote Marx and Engles, "is just as practicable and communist as that of turning all men into emperors, kings and popes."[6]

Kriege proved completely incapable of grasping the progressive historical content of the struggle of the American petty-bourgeois reformers. Marx and Engels showed that if the reform movement

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 3.
[2] Ibid., S. 12.
[3] Ibid., S. 15.
[4] Ibid., S. 9.
[5] Ibid., S. 10.
[6] Ibid.

won, it would objectively impel the development of capitalism, accelerate social progress and, consequently, prepare the ground for new and higher forms of struggle against the bourgeois system.

The "Circular" was an important milestone in the ideological battle against "true socialism". It was met with approval by the Communists of Cologne, by some of the members of the League of the Just in Paris, and socialists elsewhere. It also influenced some of the Westphalian socialists—Weydemeyer and others, who were close to Marx and Engels but not yet completely free from the influence of "true socialism".

Kriege had no choice but to publish the "Circular" in his *Volks-Tribun*, but followed it up with a series of articles slanderously attacking Marx, Engels and their followers. At the same time, he sought the support of the League of the Just leaders in London—Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer—who let the Brussels Committee know of their disagreement with its caustic criticism of Kriege's ideas.

In Brussels, too, relations between Marx and Engels and the "true socialists", particularly Moses Hess, one of their ideologues, had also deteriorated. It was obvious that the struggle was still far from over.

ENGELS IN PARIS

The letters Marx and Engels received from London and Paris showed that the "true socialists" were still fairly strong in the League of the Just. From reports sent by Ewerbeck and evidence provided by German socialists who had been to Paris, Marx and Engels obtained an alarming picture of the corrupting influence which Karl Grün, a typical exponent of "true socialism", exercised on the members of the League there.

The Brussels Committee decided to send Engels to the French capital to deal with the situation. This was likewise the wish of the leaders of the League communities in Paris. Besides, he was instructed to forge closer links with and prevail on the French socialists and Communists to form correspondence committees.

Engels arrived in Paris on August 15, 1846. He stayed there until the end of January 1848, when he was expelled by the French authorities. During his stay he was active in the communities of the League of the Just, then in the Communist League, and acted as liaison between the Brussels Committee and the French socialist and democratic movement. In his talks with Ewerbeck, head of the Paris communities, he patiently explained the harm of Grün's activity among the German workers in Paris. The results were impressive. On August 20, Ewerbeck wrote Marx: "I have had the pleasure of seeing Fritz Engels here.... He has put me *au courant*....

Further, I know more *ad vocem* Grün.... I now agree with you about the man."[1]

Engels brought himself up to date on French political affairs. In articles to *The Northern Star* he referred with his usual biting sarcasm to the Chamber of Deputies, and the Chamber of Peers, consisting of obsequious titled servants of Louis Philippe, the crowned agent of the big French bourgeoisie. In "The Decline and Approaching Fall of Guizot. Position of the French Bourgeoisie", dated June 1847, he described the Chamber of Deputies as a new version of the *School for Scandal*; the amount of scandalous matter collected and brought forward there, he wrote, is really unprecedented in the annals of parliamentary discussion.[2] In another article, "Government and Opposition in France", written soon after his arrival in Paris, he wrote: "Never, since the revolution of 1830, has there been displayed such barefaced impudence and contempt of public opinion."[3] At least three-fifths of the deputies were loyal friends of the government; they were either great capitalists, stock-jobbers, and railway speculators, or their obedient servants. He quoted Laffitte, the banker friend of Louis Philippe: "Henceforth we, the bankers, shall govern France."[4] Engels' opinion of the French Cabinet installed in the Tuileries was just as unflattering. "The fate of France," he wrote, "is decided, not in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, not in the Palace of Peers, not even in the Palace of Deputies, but on the Exchange of Paris. The actual ministers are ... the large Paris bankers."[5]

Engels was pleased to see the growing opposition movement. The awakening mass, he observed, wished an end to the undivided rule of the bankers in the Chamber of Deputies and government; the majority of the petty bourgeoisie were of a more radical cast, and many attached themselves to the democratic party, which embraced the great bulk of the working classes. The party, he noted, was divided into different factions, "the most numerous of which, at least in Paris, is formed by the Communists".[6] By Communists Engels here meant followers of the various strains of utopian communism.

At the same time, he registered the decline and ideological confusion of the various socialist schools. He ridiculed the epigones of Fourierism, who scorned the truly great in their master's system, while seizing on the most fantastic elements, such, for example, as his cosmogonic ideas. "The followers of Fourier," he wrote to Marx, "are more boring each day. The 'phalange' is utter nonsense."[7] He observed that the epigones of Saint-Simonism attacked the Fourier crowd, and were particularly critical of Pierre Leroux's articles against Fourier.

[1] *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 401.
[2] *The Northern Star*, July 3, 1847.
[3] Ibid., September 5, 1846.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 34.

In Paris Engels met Etienne Cabet, the most prominent of the French utopian communists. "The old boy was really cordial," he wrote Marx. "I let him lay out his wares, and told him of God and the devil, and all kinds of things. I intend to look him up more often. But we should rather leave him alone as regards Correspondence [participation in correspondence committees]. To begin with, he is too busy and, second, too suspicious."[1] Cabet's utopian egalitarian views and emphatic objections to revolutionary violence, and gravitation towards religion—all this ruled out closer collaboration with him. But Engels, like Marx, praised Cabet's propaganda among the French workers and his advocacy of communism, and sought friendly relations with him.

The picture Engels saw among the German workers in the Paris League of the Just was a bleak one. They were organised in four communities by occupations—tailors, tanners, cabinet-makers and blacksmiths.

Until the mid-1840s it was the tailors, held in thrall by Weitling, who had stood in the van. "These tailors are full of surprises," Engels wrote after attending one of their discussions on the future communist society. "Recently, in full earnest, they discussed the knife and fork situation—that it will be better perhaps to attach them to chains."[2] When Engels came to Paris, however, the cabinet-makers and tanners, who escaped Weitling's influence and were mainly Grün's followers, had gained the upper hand. Delegates of the communities held weekly secret discussions, then passed on the ideas they had absorbed at the restricted sessions to larger gatherings.

Engels chose the sittings of community delegates to launch out on his propaganda. At first, he lectured on the history of Germany, examining it from the angle of historical materialism. Not Ewerbeck, he soon found, was the real leader, but a man named Junge, a worker who had once lived in Brussels, had met Marx and was conscious of the changes required in communist propaganda. With his help Engels gathered a group of the more advanced workers and suggested that they should form a communist correspondence committee. "The plan was well received, especially by Junge, and will be taken up,"[3] Engels reported to Brussels. But the idea was put off until the small community of Weitling adherents would be expelled from the League, and Grün's influence done away with.

The biggest difficulty in combating Grün and the "true socialists" was that the German workers were ill-equipped as yet to understand

[1] Ibid., S. 33.
[2] Ibid., S. 36.
[3] Ibid., S. 41.

scientific theory. In Paris, as well as London, League members were artisans rather than factory workers. Their way of living was closer to that of the petty bourgeoisie; guild traditions were strong among them and not surprisingly concrete criticism of bourgeois society went against their grain; their old prejudices cried out against revolutionary methods. Engels was sharply critical of the more conservative among them, the bearers of guild sentiments, the *Straubingers*, as he called them.

There was also the confusion to contend with which "theorists" like Grün had created. "Grün has done a fearful lot of harm," Engels wrote Marx. "He has turned everything definite in the minds of these fellows into mere daydreams, humanitarian aspirations, etc. Under the pretence of attacking Weitlingian and other doctrinaire communism he stuffed their heads full of vague literary and petty-bourgeois phrases and claimed everything else was system-mongering."[1]

Grün, who hung about Proudhon's house much of the time, contributed numerous articles to German newspapers, extolling "the greatest French thinker of the present time"[2] and zealously preaching among the Paris members of the League of the Just the Proudhonist petty-bourgeois illusion about purging capitalism of its abuses without destroying its foundation, that is, without establishing public ownership of means of production, scorning such effective means of working-class struggle as trade unions and strikes and opposing workers' political activity and the idea of social revolution. If these views took root, Engels saw, the German workers would adopt what was clearly a sham socialism of petty proprietors.

Backed by the few more clear-thinking League members, Engels mounted a full-scale attack on Proudhon. Lenin noted years later that in his letters to Marx and the Brussels Correspondence Committee "Engels, with ruthless sarcasm and remarkable profundity, criticised Proudhon's basic ideas".[3]

His arguments with Proudhon's followers at meetings of League community delegates were nothing if not bitter. On one occasion, the heated discussion with "true socialists" championing Proudhon's "peaceful plans for bestowing happiness on mankind"[4] lasted all of three nights. "The devil knows I did not spare them," Engels wrote to Marx. "I attacked their worst prejudices and told them they were not proletarians at all."[5] To show the abyss between proletarian communism, on the one hand, and Proudhon's petty-bourgeois ideas and "true socialism", on the other, Engels declared that the meeting looked more like a motley gathering than a meeting of Communists. He spelled out the fundamental communist aims: "1) to

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 33.
[2] *Trier'sche Zeitung*, July 31, 1846.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 557.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 33.
[5] Ibid.

achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; 2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; 3) to recognise no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force."[1]

"The chief point," he informed the Brussels Committee, "was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to demonstrate that Grün's true socialism, which derived new life from the Proudhon panacea, was anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, Straubingerian."[2]

Engels' victory was complete. Though at first almost everybody opposed him, 13 out of the 15 present finally sided with his viewpoint: one highly active group of workers who had previously espoused Proudhon's and Grün's petty-bourgeois notions, were thus won over to the proletarian communism of Marx and Engels.

Begun by Engels, the criticism of Proudhon was conclusively developed and substantiated in Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*, which he wrote in the first half of 1847.

The depth and timeliness of the book made it the programmatic work of the crystallising nucleus of a communist party. In October 1847, in fact, negotiating with Louis Blanc, Engels referred to it as "our programme".[3]

Engels' activities came to the notice of the French police. This was due, among other things, to the deliberately "circumspect" behaviour of his opponents. At the broad meetings of German workers, frequented by police informers, they publicly decried Engels and his followers as protagonists of revolutionary communism. The Paris police put Engels under surveillance and he had no choice but to cease his propaganda until the danger blew over.

Extreme caution was required for several weeks, for spies trailed him and Ewerbeck, succeeding finally in following them "to the *marchand de vins*, where we sometimes met the *faubourg* bears. This proved that we were chiefs of a dangerous gang," Engels wrote Marx in December 1846.[4]

His enforced isolation Engels employed for literary pursuits. In Paris he continued the search of a publisher for *The German Ideology* and collected new material to augment the manuscript. In August 1846 he read Feuerbach's new work, *Das Wesen der Religion*, and reviewed it at length in a letter to Marx, dated October 18, 1846. It added nothing new, he showed, to Feuerbach's preceding works and no response to it was required therefore in the part on Feuerbach in *The German Ideology*. With the manuscript of *The German Ideology* continuing its travels across Germany in search of a publish-

[1] Ibid., p. 32.
[2] Ibid., p. 31.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 93.
[4] Ibid., S. 68.

er and the hope for its appearance in print dwindling, Marx and Engels decided to crown their battle against "true socialism" with a series of articles.

This was all the more necessary, because different schools of "true socialism" had sprung up—the Westphalian, Saxon, Berlin, etc.

Engels examined the latest "true socialist" works in an article which he completed in April 1847 and conceived as the concluding chapter of the second volume of *The German Ideology*. He entitled it "The True Socialists".

At the end of 1846 and throughout early 1847 he wrote a critical article on Grün's book, *Über Göthe vom menschlichen Standpunkte*, published in 1846. At first he intended to fit it into the second volume of *The German Ideology* to supplement sections on "true socialism". Together with another piece, "Karl Beck. 'Songs of the Poor', or the Poetry of 'True Socialism'" (this, too, possibly conceived as part of the second volume of *The German Ideology*), the review of Grün's book appeared in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* under the title, "German Socialism in Verse and Prose", from September through December 1847.

These essays dealt critically with the "true socialists'" literary postures and set out the aesthetic principles of the revolutionary proletarian party. Engels directed them against the sentimental philanthropic appeals of the "true socialists", their petty-bourgeois illusions, philistinism, looseness and cringing obsequiousness to authority. A progressive poet, Engels pointed out, should see the connection "between separate facts ... and general conditions"[1] and sing the praises of the "proud, threatening and revolutionary proletarian" rather than "cowardly petty-bourgeois wretchedness".[2]

Engels demonstrated the petty-bourgeois substance of Grün's appreciation of Goethe. He showed the contradictions in the works of the great German poet: "There is a continuing battle within him between the poet of genius, disgusted by the wretchedness of his environment, and the circumspect son of a Frankfurt councilman, the highly respectable Weimar *Geheimrat*, who feels compelled to come to terms with and adapt himself to his environment. Hence, Goethe is now colossal, now shallow; now a rebellious, scoffing genius contemptuous of the world and now a careful, smug, narrow-minded philistine. Even Goethe was unable to conquer the German wretchedness; on the contrary, it conquered him; and this victory of wretchedness over the greatest of the Germans is the best proof that it cannot be defeated 'from within'."[3]

In March-April 1847 Engels wrote a pamphlet, *The Status quo in Germany*, which was a renewed attack on the political views of the "true socialists". Extant are only parts of the pamphlet, which was

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 217.
[2] Ibid., S. 207.
[3] Ibid., S. 232.

not published in Engels' lifetime because its publisher was arrested. Engels shows in it that the "true socialists" evade the subject of absolutism in Germany and aim their criticism solely against the bourgeois opposition and, in effect, hinder the struggle against the reactionary forces.[1] Again, he denounces the "true socialists" as advocates of the interests and aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie, idealising a level of production already surpassed and willing to make common cause with reactionary classes. Engels makes an incisive analysis of the social and political situation and the alignment of class forces in pre-revolutionary Germany, urging the German Communists to keep clear of the "true socialist" school.

Engels thus counteracted the influence of non-proletarian trends on the working-class movement, clearing the way for scientific communism, winning the most advanced workers and socialists for the scientific platform, and preparing the ground for a revolutionary proletarian party. Of this battle for communist principles Lenin wrote in 1913: "Thus the foundations of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany were laid in Paris sixty-seven years ago."[2]

MARX AND ENGELS JOIN THE LEAGUE OF THE JUST

As a result of the devastating criticism of Weitling, Proudhon and "true socialism" by Marx and Engels some of the League of the Just communities, and some of its leaders, changed their views.

Schapper, Moll and Bauer, who had headed the League since November 1846, broke off relations with Weitling and his followers, of whom there were fairly many in the organisation, especially its Swiss communities. Besides, under pressure of League members better grounded in theory they passed censure on the more obnoxious exponents of "true socialism", though in this case their criticism was as yet inconsistent. "As against the untenability of the previous theoretical views, and as against the practical aberrations resulting therefrom, it was realised more and more in London that Marx and I were right in our new theory," Engels wrote later.[3]

By the beginning of 1847 the League leaders had made up their minds to reorganise their organisation, and solicited help. At the end of January Joseph Moll left London for Brussels to see Marx, then went to Paris to see Engels. Moll proposed that they should join the League, help restructure it, and draw up a new programme.

Proposals to join the League had been made to Engels, as well as Marx, several times before, but were declined because of its utopian views and conspiratorial sectarian structure.

[1] See Ibid., S. 41-42.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 558.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 181.

Now the situation had changed. Revolutionary leaders of the Chartist party, which represented England's industrial proletariat, sided with the League of the Just. This time, speaking on behalf of the League's People's Chamber, Moll assured Marx and Engels that the organisation was ready to abandon its outdated utopian views and sectarianism. "What we previously objected to in the League," Engels wrote later, "was now relinquished as erroneous by the representatives of the League themselves; we were even invited to cooperate in the work of reorganisation. Could we say no? Certainly not. Therefore, we entered the League."[1]

For Marx and Engels this was a splendid opportunity to direct the League to their cherished aim: a proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism.

Following Moll's return to London in February 1847, the League leadership sent its branches a circular, saying: "In France and Belgium we have provisionally organised anew."[2] Prompted by Marx and Engels, the League took a firmer stand against "true socialism". The circular gave the date of its congress and the agenda, both probably finalised with Marx and Engels. The agenda read: 1) report of the People's Chamber and election of a new League leadership; 2) radical reorganisation and revision of rules; 3) elaboration of a programme—"a concise communist confession of faith"; 4) establishment of a periodical; 5) organisational matters.[3]

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The first congress of the League of the Just, which was in effect the inaugural congress of the Communist League, opened in London on June 2, 1847. Marx was unable to attend it due to financial difficulties, and the Brussels Communists were represented by Wilhelm Wolff. Engels came as delegate of the Paris communities.

Engels' election as delegate precipitated a clash with followers of Weitling and the "true socialists". The League's Paris organisation was split by that time. Three communities, in which progressive elements dominated, separated from the two Weitlingian communities and elected their own delegate. In effect, this meant that the Weitlingians were ousted from the League's Paris organisation. The congress acquainted itself with the evidence of both sides and approved the move of the three communities, because, as a congress circular explained, "the Weitlingian party had everywhere retarded progress, as also evidenced by the experience in London and Switzerland".[1] The congress decided by unanimous vote to expel the Paris Weitlingians and admit the delegate of the majority.

The blow was deadly for Weitlingianism. Weitling and his followers were locked out of the Communist League. The battle against sectarianism and conspiratorial tactics fought by Marx and Engels for several years, was over.

Engels figured prominently at the congress. He was its moving spirit by virtue of his energy, enterprise, knowledge and clarity of vision. Its most important decisions, which shaped the subsequent course of the communist movement, the congress owes to his active participation. Apart from conspiratorial tactics and sectarianism it denounced the personality cult. "When Engels and I first joined the secret Communist Society," Marx wrote later, "we made it a condition that everything tending to encourage superstitious belief in authority was to be removed from the rules."[2]

The congress reorganised the League. Its new rules were based on the principles of democratism and centralism. A special section, introduced on the insistence of Marx and Engels, defined Congress as the supreme body of the organisation meeting at regular intervals and dealing with all League matters, and vested with deciding powers as to the location of the Central Committee, the League's top executive authority in the interim between congresses, which was also accountable to Congress. No secret communist organisation had ever before followed these democratic principles.

Engels' opinion had been decisive in the wording of the main definitions, and many of the elements the League of the Just had borrowed from secret societies in Italy and France were struck out. The organisational structure was simplified and the admission rules more clearly defined. Leaders would be elected and replaceable.

But the newly drafted Communist League Rules retained some of the features of the old League of the Just rules (1838), falling short of what Marx and Engels had envisaged. There was no theoretical preamble defining the ultimate League aims, while some of the points dating to its conspiratorial past, such as oath-taking by new members, survived.[3] All the same, the amendments were of so far-reaching a nature that the rules were essentially new.

Their draft was submitted for discussion to local branches; the final wording would be adopted at the next congress.

The triumph of the ideas of Marx and Engels was epitomised by the renaming of the League of the Just into Communist League.

That the secret of the League's existence had been betrayed to the Prussian government by Friedrich Mentel, a member of the League in Berlin, the congress noted, was not the only motive for renaming

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 181.
[2] *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 455.
[3] Ibid., S. 453.

[1] *Gründungsdokumente des Bundes der Kommunisten (Juni bis September 1847)*, herausgegeben von Bert Andréas, Hamburg, 1969, S. 35.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 310.
[3] See *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, S. 469.

it; mainly, the old name, which had fitted it at the time of its establishment, no longer expressed its purpose. The new name, on the other hand, reflected the League's aim of eliminating the existing social order and replacing private property with public. The former designations for the League's constituent branches ("Gau"—district, "Halle"—chamber) were also abolished as suggestive of German nationalism and perverting the League's internationalist nature. The renaming also served "to eliminate the conspiratorial character, which our enemies ascribed so readily to our propaganda league."[1]

The League of the Just motto, "All Men Are Brothers", expressive of its former utopian creed, was also replaced with "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" Proclaimed by Marx and Engels, this became the revolutionary battlecry of the world proletariat in fighting political and social oppression for a new, classless society.

Engels also took a conspicuous part in drafting the programme—a matter to which the congress devoted much of its time. A concise Confession of Faith, which would then be adopted as a programme, was recognised by the congress as the most appropriate. It found that the matter would be best dealt with in phases, with the entire League helping to thrash out the document.

A Confession of Faith drawn up mainly by Engels was presented to the first congress of the League as the draft of its programme. It is still unknown when and in what circumstances Engels wrote it. But there is conclusive evidence that he is its author: the original is in his hand and much of the text is reproduced in his "Principles of Communism", written on the eve of the second congress of the Communist League. However, some of the points in the draft may quite possibly have been inserted by other delegates.

The Confession of Faith is the first attempt at setting out the main points of the Marxist programme, dealing with social development on the basis of the materialist conception of history.

Engels' draft of the Communist Confession of Faith,[2] styled as a catechism—in the form of questions and answers—opens with an elucidation of aims; it defines the proletariat as a class and traces its history, showing that the proletarian is the antithesis of the bourgeois and different from slave, serf or artisan. It demonstrates that communist reconstruction of society is predetermined by the objective laws of social development and outlines the ways of converting private into public property, defines the role of revolution, the transition period, and the first measures to be taken after the workers seize power. Furthermore, it examines the Communists' view of the family, national distinctions and existing religions.

Shortly before the second congress, set for November 29, 1847, Engels eliminated some of its theoretically faulty points.

[1] *Gründungsdokumente...*, S. 39.
[2] Ibid., S. 53.

The first congress also resolved to publish a periodical in London, the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*. By agreement with Marx and Engels, it appointed Wilhelm Wolff, who was to move from Brussels to London, as its editor. A circular was drawn up at the end of the congress, informing the League of what it had accomplished. Though the League leadership remained in London and Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer and their friends were re-elected to the Central Committee, Marx and Engels were more and more effectively in control, for no decision of any importance was ever taken without their approval.

The founding of the Communist League ended the first phase of the battle fought by Marx and Engels for a proletarian party.

IN THE VAN OF THE LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Engels returned to Paris and reported the results of the congress to the local League members. At the end of July 1847 he joined Marx in Brussels, and stayed until mid-October. On August 5, Marx and he inaugurated a community and a district committee of the Communist League. Towards the end of the month, with the community backing them, they established a local German Workers' Society along the lines of the Educational Society in London.

As conceived by Marx and Engels, such societies would be a medium of overt communist propaganda, with the most mature and active of their members eventually initiated into the Communist League. The one in Brussels organised lectures and promoted discussions of communist theory and current political affairs. Soon, this began yielding fruit: by the end of October 1847 the Society numbered nearly 100 people. Engels took delight in organising the leisure of its members. He was invariably the heart and soul of its musical and theatrical events, and at a New Year's celebration newly recruited young workers performed a play by him, in which he predicted the imminent victory of a democratic revolution.

The German Workers' Society made contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs, particularly the Belgian Workers' Society (La Société d'Agneessens) and its leaders—Pellering, Dassy and Bataille. It attracted notice, and was visited by many prominent Belgian democrats and socialists, and representatives of exiled Polish and French democrats, Joachim Lelewel and Jacques Imbert.

Marx and Engels ranged farther afield, using every opportunity to respond to questions troubling workers in other countries. Learning of an international free trade congress in Brussels on September 16-18, 1847, they took part in it. Eminent bourgeois economists and statesmen attended, with the English free traders dominating the show. Spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie, they wanted the free trade

principles to triumph on the continent, which would give them broader access to national markets in Europe. The egoistic free trade policy was masked with hypocritical pacifist and philanthropic talk about the fraternity of nations and promises of better times for the people, and the like.

The founders of Marxism wanted to use the congress, at which workers, among others, would be present in the visitors' gallery, to expose this free trade demagogy. Marx and Weerth put their names down to speak.

In an eloquent speech, adhering to the principles of scientific communism, the latter described the grinding exploitation and appalling living conditions of workers in Britain, France and Germany, stressing that neither protectionism nor free trade could change this.

Weerth horrified the managers of the congress and when Marx's turn came, he was denied the floor on the excuse that the debate was ended. Marx and Engels then decided to make their views known through the press. The text of Marx's speech, examining the proletariat's attitude to protectionism and free trade, was published in the Belgian workers' newspaper *Atelier Démocratique*, while Engels wrote two articles, "Congress of Economists" and "Brussels Congress on Free Trade", for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* and *The Northern Star*, quoting in the second article passages from Marx's undelivered speech. He exposed the hypocrisy of the free traders' arguments and proved that neither protectionism nor free trade would improve the condition of the working class to any significant extent.

Free trade and protectionism were also made a topic of discussion at the German Workers' Society. To enliven the debate, Marx and Engels took opposite sides—Marx speaking for free trade and Engels for protectionism. No one knew that the dispute was a show designed to involve more of the audience in the argument, until at the end Marx and Engels confessed that they were of one mind and said both protectionism and free trade were economic devices belonging to different phases of capitalism—protectionism being preferable in the earlier stages, and free trade being an economic policy of capitalistically developed countries.

Their stand against free trade in the press and at Society meetings helped the workers to understand more clearly the class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In the latter half of September 1847, while Marx was visiting his relatives in Holland, Engels took over the guidance of the Brussels branch of the Communist League and the German Workers' Society.

At this time the publisher of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, Adalbert von Bornstedt, later discovered to be a secret informer of the Austrian and Prussian police and only posing as an ultra-democrat and Communist, was seeking admission to the Communist League and German Workers' Society, where he hoped to assume a position of leadership. Resisted in this undertaking, he prevailed on Belgian democrats and French and Polish revolutionary emigrants behind the backs of Marx and Engels to organise an international association of democrats.

However, Engels frustrated his plans. He took control of the situation and succeeded in winning for the German Communists and the Workers' Society a leading role in founding the organisation.

A large international banquet, attended by some 120 democrats—Belgians, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, Swiss and Russians—was held in a café at Place du Palais de Justice on September 27, at which the representatives of the German Workers' Society predominated.

A decision was taken to found the Democratic Association. Along with Jacques Imbert, a French revolutionary, Joachim Lelewel, veteran of the Polish national liberation movement, and a few other democrats, Engels was elected to the preparatory committee as a representative of the German democrats. Being due to return to Paris, however, he suggested that Marx should take his place. His proposal was accepted, and when the Democratic Association was organised in November 1847, Marx was elected vice-president of its Committee. Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian petty-bourgeois democrat, was president.

Marx and Engels had considerable influence in the Democratic Association and set out to build it into a centre of all the European revolutionary-democratic forces. They furthered its ties with the English Chartists and the Fraternal Democrats organisation, and with French, Swiss and Dutch democrats. Engels accomplished a great deal while in France and England. Like Marx, he went to Association meetings, speaking in the name of the proletarian party and criticising the inconsistency of the petty-bourgeois democrats, whom he faulted for not understanding communism. Marx and he participated in the leadership of the Association and helped set up local branches across Belgium.

Thus, employing all possible means, they exercised a strong influence on the democratic and communist movements in Germany, Belgium and other countries.

DEUTSCHE-BRÜSSELER-ZEITUNG

Keen was the need for a printed medium to set forth the crucial issues of the international communist and democratic movements in the light of the new revolutionary theory. After many unsuccessful attempts to found their own paper, Marx and Engels directed their attention to the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, a paper founded in January 1847.

At the end of January it began publishing Weerth's poetry. In March, Wilhelm and Ferdinand Wolff, and a few other followers

of Marx and Engels, also became its regular contributors. Apart from Communists, the paper accepted contributions from the followers of Karl Heinzen, a German petty-bourgeois democrat.

Marx's first contribution, a brief article against "true socialist" Karl Grün, appeared on April 8. A pictorial caricature of Friedrich Wilhelm IV drawn by Engels, which he sent in from Paris through Marx, later frequently reprinted as a lithographed sheet, was published on May 6. The drawing was a reaction to the Prussian King's speech at the opening of the United Provincial Diet on April 11, 1847, in which he declared his hostility to constitutionalism and devotion to the ideal of a "Christian-German state". The cartoon evoked lively interest and received mention in the British and Belgian press, as well as the German. On June 10, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* published Engels' article, "Protectionism or the Free Trade System".

Financial difficulties compelled the paper's publisher, Adalbert von Bornstedt, to solicit contributions from writers popular among progressive German intellectuals. Naturally, he was highly pleased to obtain the cooperation of Marx and Engels, well known as theorists and publicists. In August or September 1847, Marx and Engels concluded a contract with him, which placed the paper virtually at their disposal. In effect, they became co-editors. All their contributions were printed without editorial intervention.

Their association with the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, which turned it into a consistently democratic and communist publication, an unofficial organ of the Communist League, gave the paper a new lease of life. It became the bearer of the theoretical and tactical principles of scientific communism and the herald of the revolutionary proletarian party.

The following of Engels' articles, among others, appeared on its pages: "German Socialism in Verse and Prose", "The Communists and Karl Heinzen", "Louis Blanc's Speech at the Dijon Banquet", "The Movements of 1847", "The Beginning of the End for Austria" and "Three New Constitutions". Out of these, the article against Heinzen merits special mention.

Heinzen began his career as a petty official and a contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The authorities took exception to a book of his on the Prussian bureaucracy, published in 1844. Compelled to flee Germany, he settled in Brussels the following year. Here, he had long political discussions with Marx, who tried to dispel his liberal constitutional illusions. Subsequently, Heinzen went to Switzerland, and there, under Ruge's influence, suddenly turned into a pugnacious radical, putting out leaflets clandestinely disseminated in Germany, calling for insurrection, death to monarchs, and the like. His strident rhetoric, however, was a far cry from real revolutionary propaganda, and could only discredit and create complications for the democratic and revolutionary movements in Germany. He attacked the German Communists, identifying them—including Marx and Engels—with the "true socialists".

Heinzen couched his shallow petty-bourgeois thinking in deliberately crude language. He showered choice curses on his opponents and, very aptly, earned himself from Alexander Herzen the sobriquet, "Sobakevich[1] of the German revolution".

Working for a proletarian communist party independent from petty-bourgeois democrats, for an independent revolutionary tactic, Marx and Engels had no choice but to come to grips with Heinzen. This struggle was of great theoretical and political importance. In view of the apparent imminence of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany the need for working out the tactics of the proletarian party, particularly in relation to the democratic movement, was becoming ever more urgent.

Engels' article, "The Communists and Karl Heinzen", in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* on October 3 and 7, 1847, demonstrated the groundlessness of Heinzen's charge that Communists were dividing the democratic camp. "Far from starting useless quarrels with the democrats in the present conditions," Engels wrote, "the Communists are for the moment, in all practical party matters, acting as democrats themselves."[2] The Communists criticised Heinzen not for not being a Communist, but for being a bad democrat, for trying to split the democratic camp. Unlike Heinzen, Engels pointed out, the Communists wished to preserve unity. As long as the common task is not accomplished and the common enemy not destroyed, the differences between Communists and democrats should not be allowed to obstruct joint action.

Heinzen's continuous calls for insurrection at once, Engels pointed out, showed that he took no notice of the existing conditions and of the relationship between the revolutionary movement in Germany and the struggle in other civilised countries, such as France and Britain. This was likely to prod German democrats to reckless ventures. Such faulty tactics, Engels showed, would but isolate the democrats and Communists from the masses and cause unnecessary casualties. For Heinzen, the monarchs were the chief and all but sole culprits of all the evil. He was blind to the underlying social reasons for economic and political oppression, and thereby only shielded the landowners and capitalists. A genuine democrat should tell the people of the basic reasons for their misery and of the means of throwing off the yoke. A real democrat should explain that for this "the prerequisite is conquest of political power by the proletarians, small farmers and petty bourgeois".[3]

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[1] Here Alexander Herzen, 19th-century Russian democrat writer and philosopher, referred to a character in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, personifying a vulgar and obtuse boor.

[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 317.

[3] Ibid, S. 312.

While Heinzen banked chiefly on the peasants, Engels showed that "the urban industrial proletariat has become the centre of all modern democracy; the petty bourgeois, and doubly so the peasants, depend completely on its initiative".[1]

As far back as 1847, therefore, Engels accentuated the proletariat's decisive role in the democratic movement and asserted its leadership vis-à-vis peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Engels also criticised Heinzen's programme of changes to be effected by the future democratic government. The changes Heinzen envisaged were borrowed by him from the Communists. But Heinzen regarded them as ultimate, not as temporary, transitional acts. On seizing political power, Engels pointed out, the people should at first use it to carry out preparatory social measures, thus facilitating the ultimate abolition of private property: restricting freedom of competition and accumulation of large capital; restricting or abolishing the right of inheritance; assuring state-regulated organisation of labour, and the like. All these measures would improve the people's living and working conditions. Yet the revolution should not end there, for if the proletariat lets private property survive and bourgeois competition continues, this will sooner or later lead back to the old state of affairs.

Here, for the first time, Engels formulated ideas that became the pillars of the Marxist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

Refuting Heinzen's crudities, he proved that communism is not an abstract doctrine, but one based on the facts. "As their premise," Engels wrote, "Communists proceed ... from all previous history and, especially, from its present actual results in the civilised countries."[2] The vitality of the communist outlook, its indissoluble link with the working-class struggle, Engels defined with the following words: "In so far as it is a theory, communism is the theoretical expression of the place which the proletariat occupies in this struggle and the theoretical generalisation of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat."[3]

These and a few other ideas in Engels' article were later set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*.

The article against Heinzen was very well received by members of the Communist League. A statement by Paris communist workers in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* censured Heinzen for his attacks on Engels and other Communists. The London Communists, too, including the Communist League leadership, denounced him.

In the article, "Moralising Criticism and Criticising Morality", also against Heinzen, Marx expressed complete accord with Engels' criticism.

The fight against Heinzen helped fortify the Communist League.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 313.
[2] Ibid., S. 321-22.
[3] Ibid., S. 322.

Yet the strong criticism of Heinzen's views was not in general a rupture with the petty-bourgeois democrats, whom Marx, Engels and their followers regarded as allies in the battle against the absolutist feudal system in Germany. In "The Communists and Karl Heinzen" Engels referred approvingly to Johann Jacoby and other German petty-bourgeois democrats. It seems very probable, moreover, that Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Jacoby, on the other, had agreed on joint action. There were also close contacts with some South German democrats. Engels referred to Jacoby and the Baden democrats as to allies of the German Communists and the most forward-looking faction of the democratic movement.[1]

The articles by Marx and Engels in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* spelled out some of the essential ideas of the programme of the entire German democratic movement: national unification of Germany as a democratic republic, uncompensated abolition of feudal duties, freedom and equality for nationalities oppressed by the German states, and institution of democratic freedoms and genuine popular representation.

Engels' association with the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* was an important phase in his development as publicist.

BACK IN PARIS

In mid-October 1847 Engels returned to the French capital. With revolution in the air, it was important to fortify contacts with the French revolutionary-democratic and labour movements. In many ways, the future German revolution would depend on their support. The backing of French democrats was also required in the battle against Proudhon.

Soon after his return to Paris, Engels met Louis Blanc. The Frenchman's socialist ideals were distinctly petty-bourgeois: a democratic supra-class state based on universal suffrage that would, he hoped, regulate the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class, establish social accord and carry out reforms, such as organising public workshops, supplying them with means of production, and the like. Despite Blanc's utopian posture and the harmfulness of his illusion that socialism could be achieved by class cooperation, with the aid of a bourgeois state, he was doubtlessly progressive for pre-revolutionary France. With Ledru-Rollin, another leader of the French petty-bourgeois democrats, Blanc assaulted the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe and the bourgeois republicans. Under the leadership of Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and Ferdinand Flocon, the so-called Socialist Democratic Party—often referred to as the *Réforme*

[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 93.

party after the name of its newspaper—was highly popular among the French workers, chiefly because it fought for universal suffrage and a democratic social republic. The French secret societies of revolutionary communist proletarians were allied with the *Réforme* party and participated in its legal activity. It was a coalition of democratic petty bourgeois and workers gravitating towards socialism and communism.

Engels acted with extreme political tact, while Blanc displayed more diplomatic courtesy than goodwill during their meeting. But with Flocon, the editor of the *Réforme*, Engels succeeded in establishing good relations and arranged for the publication in the newspaper of Marx's article about the free traders' congress. Blanc promised him to write a review of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. Though neither the article by Marx nor the review of his book ever appeared in the paper, Engels became its contributor and published a series of articles on the Chartist movement, referring with deep sympathy to the English workers' courageous struggle. Engels also made contacts with the editors of the *Atelier*, a newspaper representing workers aligned with the bourgeois republican and Christian socialist Philippe Bucher.

At no time in his dealing with the different groups of the French democratic and socialist movement did Engels depart from any of his principles and make any ideological concessions. While stressing the common objectives, which made joint action possible, Engels criticised the erroneous theoretical and tactical postulates of Blanc, Bucher and others. In his article, "Louis Blanc's Speech at the Dijon Banquet", he wrote: "The union of the democrats of different nations does not exclude mutual criticism. It is impossible without such criticism. Without criticism there is no understanding and consequently no union."[1] Among other things, Engels was critical of Blanc's national prejudices and illusions cloaked in democratic and cosmopolitan verbiage.

Engels followed the development of the political crisis in France, examining the latest events in articles chiefly for *The Northern Star* and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* ("The Government and Opposition in France", "The Manifesto of Monsieur Lamartine", "The Reform Movement in France", "The 'Satisfied' Majority...", etc.). Like all of his other writings, the articles were keenly perceptive, using just a few deft strokes to compose a comprehensive picture of the situation. They are evidence of his journalistic skill, his ability to react instantaneously in the press to current developments. The main point Engels made was that in France revolution was approaching and that its impact on all Europe would be tremendous.

The Northern Star articles dealt with the revolutionary potential of a force which the French bourgeoisie completely disregarded:

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 426.

the noble, generous and courageous French people. And the French proletarians, ready for battle, Engels showed, stood in the forefront of the embattled nation.

Engels' many contributions to the *Réforme* about the dedication displayed by the Chartists in the fight for universal suffrage and about their initiative in forging unity with workers and democrats abroad, were designed to fortify the revolutionary spirit of the French workers and impart ideas of proletarian internationalism. One of Engels' aims was to prove the need for an independent working-class organisation.

"PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM"

Marx and Engels were mainly preoccupied with strengthening the Communist League. Engels was busy reorganising the Paris communities, for great confusion reigned among League members in Paris. A few days before his return, an entire community persuaded by Grün to declare itself opposed to communism, was expelled from the League, while two other communities, defying the decision of the first congress of the League, renewed their ties with the Weitlingians.

In this muddled situation Engels displayed energy and organisational skill. On returning to Paris he was immediately elected to the District Committee, where he was put in charge of correspondence and propaganda. The situation began to change. Half the members of the expelled community, having completely lost faith in Grün, came back to the League. "We are only 30 strong," Engels wrote Marx on October 25-26, 1847, from Paris. "I have at once organised a propaganda community and have been running around all day and beating the drums.... Some 20-30 candidates have been nominated for admission. We shall soon be stronger again."[1]

Steadily, Engels' influence increased. His prestige grew among the more advanced members of the Paris communities, and especially among members of the District Committee. Like Marx, he maintained close contacts with the League's Central Committee in London. The Address of the Central Committee to the League (a quarterly report), dated September 14, 1847, took note of the League's advances in Belgium and accentuated the importance of the battle against Weitlingians and Grün's followers in Paris.[2]

Discussion of the programme was uppermost on the agenda of the forthcoming League congress. In the summer of 1847 the Central Committee sent to all districts the draft of the Communist Confession of Faith, precipitating a lively discussion in many of the League

[1] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 98.
[2] See *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 535-36, 538-39.

branches in August and September. The Confession was also debated in the League's Paris communities. The "true socialist" Moses Hess presented his own draft to the Paris District Committee, which Engels criticised strongly at a Committee meeting, showing all its faults. The District Committee instructed Engels to draw up a new draft: it was to be a statement of policy resembling the London Confession. He wrote to Marx about it and said he hoped "to get it through in a form in which there will at least be nothing contrary to our views ... apart from a few quite minor details".[1]

Engels' new draft, "Principles of Communism", was a step forward and a complement to the Confession approved by the first congress. Though the number of questions and answers in the two drafts was almost equal (22 in the Confession and 25 in the "Principles") and many of the answers were identical, with but minor modifications and some deletions, the "Principles of Communism" was, in effect, an entirely new work. In volume, the "Principles" was about four times the size of the Confession and was, in fact, a rough outline of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Informing Marx of his work on the programme Engels wrote on November 23-24, 1847: "Think over the Confession of Faith a bit. I believe we had better drop the catechism form and call the thing: Communist *Manifesto*. As more or less history has got to be related in it the form it has been in hitherto is quite unsuitable. I am bringing what I have done here with me; it is in simple narrative form, but miserably worded, in fearful haste. I begin: What is Communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former labourers, development of the antithesis between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between this all sorts of secondary matters and in conclusion the Party policy of the Communists, in so far as it should be made public."[2]

This letter, Lenin wrote, "clearly proves that Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism".[3]

The "Principles of Communism" consisted of 25 questions and answers. The first answer defined communism as the doctrine of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. This was followed by a definition of the proletariat, its origins, its place in the class bourgeois society, the conditions on which the sale of labour, the commodity owned by the proletariat and sold to capitalists, takes places, and showed in what way the proletarian differs from the slave, serf, handicraftsman and manufactory worker.

The "Principles" examined at length the immediate consequences and further results of the industrial revolution, principally in Britain.

It pointed out, among other things, that the industrial revolution

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 45.
[2] Ibid.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 558.

completely destroyed the old system of manufacture or industry founded upon manual labour. Wherever large-scale industry replaced manufacture, the wealth and power of the capitalists increased enormously; the bourgeoisie became the "first class in the country",[1] which annihilated the social, as well as political, power of the aristocracy, nobility and the guild-burghers.

But the industrial revolution also built up the proletariat. "In the same relation in which the bourgeoisie gained wealth, the proletariat gained in numbers."[2] The more industry increased in size, the more intolerable became the workers' condition. Wages were depressed to the minimum, leading to discontent. The proletarians closed their ranks. Thus, the industrial revolution prepared the way for a social revolution.

Modern industry created the means swiftly to increase production without limit. But production capacity came into conflict with the capacity of the market. Free competition became extremely intense. Trade crises recurred at regular intervals, with factories stopping, their owners going bankrupt, and workers losing their livelihood.

It followed that large-scale industry outgrew free competition and that competition and private ownership of the means of production became a fetter upon large-scale industry which must and will be broken. Large-scale industry, so long as it is conducted on this basis, and its crying contradictions, make "absolutely necessary a totally new organisation of society, in which no longer individual factory owners, competing one against the other, but the whole of society runs industrial production according to a fixed plan and according to the needs of all".[3]

The specific features of communist society, the ways of building it, the stages of the revolution and the principal acts of the proletarian state in reconstructing old society, were examined in the concluding series of answers.

Engels speaks with deep insight of the features of the future classless society. The new social system will do away with competition and replace it by association, economically based on public ownership of the means of production and of its products. "The abolition of private ownership", it says in the "Principles", is quite rightly "the main demand put forward by the Communists".[4] All industry will be run on behalf of society as a whole, i.e., according to a social plan and with the participation of all members of society. Production will be developed on a scale that will satisfy the needs of all. The division of society into various classes will thereby become superfluous. "Classes came into existence through the division of labour and the division

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 85.
[2] Ibid., p. 86.
[3] Ibid., p. 87.
[4] Ibid., p. 88.

of labour in its hitherto existing form will entirely disappear."[1] Industry which is carried on jointly and according to plan by the whole of society, Engels shows, "wholly presupposes people whose abilities have been developed all-round, who are capable of surveying the entire system of production".[2] The antithesis between town and country, and that between mental and physical labour, will disappear with the disappearance of the old division of labour.

Engels also examines the influence of the communistic order of society on the family and the communist attitude towards nationalities.

Of specific theoretical significance is the answer to Question 16: "Will it be possible to bring about the abolition of private property by peaceful methods?" The answer says the Communists certainly would be the last to resist a peaceful effectuation of the social revolution. "The Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only futile but even harmful. They know only too well that revolutions are not made deliberately and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and at all times they were the essential outcome of circumstances quite independent of the will and the leadership of particular parties and entire classes. But they likewise perceive that the development of the proletariat is in nearly all civilised countries forcibly suppressed, and that thereby the opponents of the Communists are tending in every way to promote revolution. Should the oppressed proletariat in the end be goaded into a revolution, we Communists will then defend the cause of the proletarians by deed just as well as we do now by word."[3]

In the "Principles of Communism" Engels repeats the idea set out in *The German Ideology*, that proletarian revolution is not possible in one country alone, and will occur more or less simultaneously in a number of capitalistically developed countries. Making this inference, Engels points out: "Large-scale industry has levelled the social development of all civilised countries so much that in all these countries the bourgeoisie and proletariat have become the decisive two classes of society, and the struggle between them has become the main struggle of the day. The communist revolution, therefore, will be not only a national one; it will take place in all civilised countries, that is, at least simultaneously in England, America, France and Germany."[4] This proposition Engels modified somewhat in subsequent works and letters, especially in the 1870s and later, saying that the revolution would cover an entire historical period.

Breaking out in one country, he showed, it gave impulse to revolution in other countries, though its triumph was not final until victory was gained in the main large capitalist states. With the

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 92-93.
[2] Ibid., p. 93.
[3] Ibid., p. 89.
[4] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

passage to imperialism at the turn of the 20th century, economic and political life changed radically. Ascendant capitalism turned into moribund capitalism, a capitalism that had begun to decay. The uneven development from country to country, typical of capitalism in general, became especially pronounced in the imperialist stage. In view of the law of the uneven leaplike development of capitalism in the imperialist epoch, Lenin showed, socialism can win first in a few and even in just one capitalist country, and its simultaneous victory in all developed countries is impossible. This proposition, one of the many examples of Lenin's creative approach to Marxist theory, was completely confirmed by the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

The "Principles of Communism" is an important theoretical document. It was endorsed by the Paris District Committee and submitted in its name to the second congress of the Communist League in London.

The German Communists in Paris again elected Engels to be their delegate to the congress; this time, the overwhelming majority in the communities voted for him. Marx was elected delegate to the congress from the Brussels District.

To work out a common plan of action, Marx and Engels met in Ostende, a Belgian seaside resort, on their way to London on November 27, 1847. They arrived in London on the eve of the congress.

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The League's second congress, which opened on November 29, 1847, has left a visible mark on the history of the international communist and workers' movement. Marx and Engels described it as the "first international congress of the proletariat".[1] League communities in Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Britain, Poland and other countries, were represented. Though no accurate information has reached us, there is reason to assume that delegates had also come from Sweden and Holland. The British Communists were most probably represented by the leaders of the Chartist Left wing, George Julian Harney and Ernest Charles Jones. Schapper was elected chairman of the congress, and Engels its secretary.

The congress functioned for nearly ten days. The Rules were adopted on December 8, which was a victory for Marx, Engels and their followers, and their concept of reorganising the League.

Since voices of protest against changing the League of the Just into the Communist League and against expelling the Weitlingians and

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 240.

the followers of Grün had resounded after the first congress in some of the League branches (Hamburg, Leipzig, Mainz, Berne, Paris), these matters had to be taken up anew at the second congress. The new name, Communist League, was reaffirmed. To accentuate the new orientation of the League, delivered from the influence of utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism, Marx and Engels prevailed on the congress to alter the first article in the Rules adopted by the first congress. Originally, it read: "The League sets the aim of emancipating man by spreading the theory of the community of goods and its swiftest possible practical effectuation."[1] And here the new wording: "The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonisms and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property."[2]

The second article, which defined the rules of membership, was also substantially modified. Vague and sanctimonious phrases were replaced with clear propositions: recognition of communism, mode of life and activity conforming with its aims, revolutionary energy and zeal in propaganda, non-participation in any anti-communist society, etc.[3]

There were other changes: the article saying that congress decisions were subject to the approval of local organisations was removed; there were now ten sections in the Rules instead of the seven in the draft; the section on rules of admission was greatly amended, with the set of detailed questions put to applicants and the requirement of the oath of loyalty being deleted.[4]

On the initiative of Marx and Engels, the congress decided that the League would publicly declare itself a communist party and proclaim its theoretical principles. This extremely important move was a final rupture with the conspiratorial past, when the League's existence and aims had been clandestine. And it was put into effect by Marx and Engels through the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*.

The League's programme was the main item on the congress agenda. Apart from the Confession of Faith and the "Principles of Communism", Congress evidently had a number of other drafts. But after a long discussion the ideas of scientific communism triumphed. "A l contradictions and doubts," Engels wrote, "were finally set at rest, the new basic principles were unanimously adopted, and Marx and I were commissioned to draw up the Manifesto."[5] They were given the various drafts of the programme, to be used for composing the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

[1] *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 466.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 596.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 626-30.
[5] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

This laid the foundation for a proletarian revolutionary party based on the principles of scientific communism worked out by Marx and Engels.

London was to remain the seat of the Central Committee. After Congress, the new committee sent a letter to the local communities with the proceedings.

The rousing speeches of Marx and Engels captured the attention of delegates and the local communities of the League. Friedrich Lessner, a German Communist in London, who met Marx and Engels for the first time at the congress, later recalled: "The presence of Marx, Engels, W. Wolff and others in London produced a great impression not only on the members of the Communist Workers' Society, but also on those of the Communist League. Much was expected from this meeting and hopes were not frustrated but, on the contrary, greatly exceeded. The publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, which was the momentous outcome of this memorable meeting, is the factual proof of my statement."[1]

During his fortnight's stay in London, Engels addressed meetings of the German Workers' Educational Society twice, on November 30 and December 7. On the first occasion he explained the socio-economic effects of the discovery of America and such factors as the world market, invention of machines, capitalist industry and the related emergence of big capitalists and of the proletariat. With the expansion of the world market and the growth of large-scale industry, he showed, a community of interests appeared among proletarians of different countries, their international solidarity growing stronger. The extant brief transcript reveals that in his second address Engels analysed the origin of economic crises.[2]

On November 29, the day the congress opened, Engels spoke at an international meeting of democrats to mark the anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830, which, with the active support of Marx and Engels, passed a decision to convene an international congress of democrats in 1848. In his speech, Engels acclaimed the national liberation movement of the Polish people and, for the first time, formulated what has become the central theme of the Marxist theory on nationalities: "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."[3] Engels called on the German democrats to defend Poland. He said: "...We German democrats have a special interest in the liberation of Poland. It was German princes who derived great advantages from the division of Poland and it is German soldiers who are still holding down Galicia and Posen. The responsibility for removing this disgrace from our nation rests on us Germans, on us German democrats above all."[4] The proletariat can-

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 174.
[2] See *MEGA*, Abt. I, Bd. 6, S. 637-40.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 417.
[4] Ibid., S. 417.

not be indifferent to the cause of national liberation; it must take a progressive and revolutionary stand.

Also, Engels offered a theoretical conceptualisation of proletarian internationalism and of the new League motto, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" The growth of machine industry, he said, equalised the condition of workers in England, France, America, Germany and other countries. "Because the condition of the workers of all countries is the same, their interests the same, their enemies the same, they must also fight together, they must oppose the fraternity of the bourgeoisie of all nations with the fraternity of the workers of all nations."[1]

AFTER THE CONGRESS

On December 17, 1847, Engels came to Brussels, where Marx had arrived a few days earlier. They set out to write the *Communist Manifesto*. At the end of December 1847, however, Engels had to return to Paris. At its meeting on December 20, 1847, the Brussels Democratic Association appointed him its representative with the French democrats. Somewhat earlier, he had been similarly appointed representative of the London society of Fraternal Democrats.

In Paris, Engels again met Blanc and Flocon. Now that the congress was over, he dealt with them as an official representative of the Communist Party. In his talk with Flocon he said: "We have now decided in London publicly to declare ourselves Communists."[2] Though Flocon feared that this would frighten and turn away the French peasants, whom he described as "the most fanatical of proprietors", he agreed to continue printing articles by Marx and Engels in the *Réforme*. "After all," he said, "our principles are too close to each other that we should not march together."[3]

The conversation with Blanc was less friendly, due partly to the latter's petty vanity and pompousness. Engels was very cautious, being eager to preserve the alliance, albeit tenuous, established by Marx in 1843. In a letter dated January 21, 1848, however, he advised Marx to pass public censure on Blanc's theoretical system.

While Engels was away in London and Brussels, differences arose in the Paris communities, causing a split. Taking advantage of his absence, Grün's followers and the Weitlingians tried to regain the upper hand. An entire community declared itself against communism under the influence of Grün's Proudhonian "true socialist" propaganda. Just two of its members remained loyal to their communist beliefs. Meanwhile, the other communities entered into negotiations with the Weitlingians expelled by the first congress with a view to reuniting. Informed of the Paris developments, and this probably by

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 418.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 109.
[3] Ibid.

Engels, the Central Committee took vigorous steps. The Grünian community was suspended from the League, while the others were instructed to terminate their negotiations with the Weitlingians, since the latter's reinstatement in the League was within the sole competence of Congress. "The League situation here is miserable," Engels wrote to Marx. "Never have I seen such limpness and petty mutual jealousies. Weitlingian and Proudhonian posturing is really the most complete expression of the mode of life of these asses, and therefore there's nothing one can do about it. Some are out-and-out *Straubingers*, old duffers, and the others prospective petty bourgeois."[1]

Once the documents of the second congress arrived, Engels hoped, matters would straighten out. He continued his revolutionary propaganda in Paris, maintaining close contact with League members Paul Stumpf, a worker, and Philipp Neubeck of Mainz, a teacher, who put him in touch with workers who had but recently come to Paris.

However, this time Engels' stay in Paris was short. At the end of January 1848 he was ordered by the French authorities to leave the capital in 24 hours and the country in three days. One of the reasons for the expulsion were the revolutionary toasts he proposed at the New Year's banquet of German political emigrants on December 31.

The expulsion roused the anger of French democrats and socialists. Many newspapers protested.

On January 31, 1848, Engels came to Brussels. Some French papers misrepresented the reasons for his expulsion from France, and on February 20 he addressed a meeting of the Democratic Association, reporting on the persecution of German democrats by the French government. He recounted details of his own case. Other speakers, too, cited police abuses in France. The Democratic Association declared its solidarity with Engels.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Following Engels' departure from Brussels at the end of December 1847 the entire burden of writing the *Manifesto* fell to Marx. Towards the end of January 1848 he completed the manuscript and shipped it to London to the Central Committee of the Communist League. The Committee approved the *Manifesto* unanimously and had it printed the following month in a London printshop belonging to J. E. Burghard, a League member.

The finest men of the revolutionary proletariat and its small advance unit—the Communist League—responded with enthusiasm to the appearance of the *Manifesto*.

One more edition in German appeared in London in April-May, and from March 3 the *Manifesto* was published in instalments by the

[1] Ibid., S. 111.

Deutsche Londoner Zeitung, the organ of German democratic emigrants. Within the year it was translated into Swedish by the utopian socialist Per Götrek under the title, *The Voice of Communism. Declaration of the Communist Party*—with, however, a few arbitrary deviations from the original.

It was pointed out in the *Manifesto* that it would "be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages".[1] The French, Italian and Flemish 1848 editions, however, have not been found. Between 1848 and 1851 the *Manifesto* was translated into French in several different variants, but it had probably been difficult to find a publisher. In Danish it appeared in 1848 thanks to the Danish members of the Fraternal Democrats society. At the end of the year it also came out in Polish.

In Barmen in April 1848 Engels set out to translate the document into English, but probably did not finish the job. The published English translation was by Helen Macfarlane and appeared in *Red Republican*, the Chartist journal, in 1850.

The *Manifesto* was begotten by the history of the labour and socialist movement. In it, Marx and Engels summed up the experience of the working-class struggle from its most elementary forms on to the class battles of the period. Yet the *Manifesto* is also a brilliant summing up of scientific communism as elaborated by Marx and Engels up to and in 1847, culminating the formative period of the Marxist philosophy. In it, ideas outlined by the two authors in their preceding works were put into the consummate literary form in which they have since reached the hearts and minds of millions. The strictly scientific thinking of the makers of the Marxist system was presented here in precise, equally scientific form.

Henceforth, Marxism became the scientific theory of the world's revolutionary reconstruction, and the *Manifesto* the inspired declaration of the basic principles of the proletariat's revolutionary outlook, the first summing up of what had been achieved in the three composites of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific socialism. "This little booklet is worth whole volumes," Lenin wrote years later. "To this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world."[2]

The *Manifesto* is based on dialectical and historical materialism—the outlook of the working-class party. Marx and Engels gave in it a scietific and materialistic exposition of the main laws of social development and showed the place in the historical process of material production and economic interest, classes and class struggle; they outlined the role of the social superstructures—political, juridical, philosophical and religious—and their corresponding organisations and institutions.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 108.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

The *Manifesto* is an exposition of the scientific outlook and, at the same time, the first Marxist programme document. "With the clarity and brilliance of genius," Lenin wrote, "this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society."[1]

The basic thought running through the *Manifesto*, Engels pointed out, is that "economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles ... that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles."[2]

It also reveals the deep-going contradictions that corroded bourgeois society. The capitalist system, it shows, is a system of wage slavery. Ever intensifying exploitation, pauperisation of workers, cutthroat competition, concentration of capital, economic crises, ruin of the petty bourgeoisie and continuous sharpening of the class struggle—all these are concomitants of capitalist society.

The *Manifesto* scathingly criticises bourgeois economic, political and social institutions—bourgeois property, the bourgeois state, family, marriage.

Marx and Engels laid special emphasis on the essence of the bourgeois state. Noting that "political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another",[3] they defined the bourgeois state as, in effect, "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie".[4]

They examined the fate of the state under communism: when class distinctions will have disappeared and all production is concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character.

Forcefully, they bring home the fact that bourgeois society leaves no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment", reducing personal worth and dignity to an exchange value. For the exploitation of past epochs, shrouded in religious and political illusions, and in patriarchal relations, the

[1] Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 48.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 101.
[3] Ibid., p. 127.
[4] Ibid., pp. 110-11.

bourgeoisie has "substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation".[1]

Modern large-scale industry impelled the appearance of the world market, which gave immense impetus to commerce, navigation and communication by land. All this was associated with the development of the bourgeoisie. Through science and technical progress, and with the intellectual accomplishments of individual nations becoming common property, the bourgeoisie drew even the most barbarian nations into civilisation. During its rule of less than one hundred years it created productive forces more colossal than all the preceding generations.

However, like the sorcerer no longer able to control the powers he has called up by his spells, the bourgeoisie is losing its grip on the productive forces which it has created and which it is increasingly unable to administer. Bourgeois relations of production, relations of capitalist ownership, cease to correspond to the productive forces. And, among other things, this incompatibility takes the form of periodical commercial crises.

The way to resolve the contradictions of capitalism, Marx and Engels show, is by proletarian social revolution. The class whose mission it is to carry out revolutionary reconstruction, to build a new classless society, is the class on which the bourgeois system of relations with its brazen and heartless exploitation weighs the heaviest. "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society," the *Manifesto* says, "cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."[2]

Enslaving the workers, capitalist production impels the formation of the proletariat into a class, the unfolding of its class struggle. "The proletariat goes through various stages of development," says the *Manifesto*. "With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie."[3] It traces the contest from the first spontaneous actions when workers smashed to pieces machinery and set factories ablaze to the higher forms of struggle when the proletariat became conscious of its interests and identified its real enemy. No longer is it a collision between individual workmen and individual capitalists, but between the united working class and the system of capitalist relations. The proletariat begins to act as a class, its struggle is a class struggle, and "every class struggle is a political struggle".[4]

At the source of this laconic exposition of the origin and development of the proletariat are conclusions made by Engels in his *Condition of the Working Class in England.*

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 111.
[2] Ibid., p. 118.
[3] Ibid.,p. 115.
[4] Ibid., p. 116.

Marxism's pivotal idea that the proletariat is the grave-digger of capitalism and creator of a new society is presented in the *Manifesto* as flowing from the entire teaching on the class struggle. Of all the classes of bourgeois society opposed to the bourgeoisie, the *Manifesto* says, the proletarians alone are a really revolutionary class: "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."[1]

The *Manifesto* takes an important step forward in the teaching on the proletarian party. Communists, it says, have no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. But they are not simply part of the working class—they are its most revolutionary, politically conscious part, its vanguard. "The Communists ... are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."[2] These classical Marxist propositions countervail the sectarian tendency of separating the party from the class, and equally the opportunistic dissolution of the party in the class. The immediate aim of the Communists is "formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat".[3]

In the *Manifesto*, as compared with their preceding works, particularly *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels come a step closer to one of the cardinal Marxist postulates—the dictatorship of the proletariat, though they do not yet use this term. They regard rule by the proletariat as a distinct historical period of socialist transformation and outline the measures to be taken by the proletarian state: "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."[4] The victorious proletariat may of course follow a different course in different countries. However, in the most advanced of them, the following measures will be quite generally applicable: centralisation of transport and credit in the hands of the state, confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels, extension of factories owned by the state, state expropriation of landed property, combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, equal liability of all to labour, etc.

[1] Ibid., p. 118.
[2] Ibid., p. 120.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 126.

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Setting out the programme of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels pointed out that the distinguishing feature of communism is the abolition of bourgeois property. "...The theory of the Communists," they wrote, "may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."[1] They denied the bourgeois slander that Communists desire to abolish the right of acquiring property as the fruit of one's own labour. Communists, they said, deprive no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that they do is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

In concise but profound definitions the *Manifesto* gives the contours of the communist system: "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."[2]

There will be no room in the classless communist society for exploitation of man by man any more than for oppression of one nation by another. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to."[3]

The third chapter is a profound survey of different trends in socialist and communist literature. Feudal socialism, petty-bourgeois socialism, and German, or "true", socialism are examined under the common head of "reactionary socialism".

The nature of conservative, or bourgeois, socialism, the advocates of which, in the final count, merely wished to safeguard bourgeois society, is neatly anatomised. Marx and Engels conclude the chapter with a brief study of the main features and peculiarities, faults and merits of the various trends of critical utopian socialism and communism, assessing their role in history, depending on the level of development of the proletariat and the forms of its class struggle.

The *Manifesto* contains most important Marxist postulates on the tactics of the workers' political struggle. "The Communists," it says, "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."[4] Everywhere, Communists support every revolutionary movement against the outdated social and political order of things. Everywhere, they labour for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The *Manifesto* substantiates the principle of proletarian internationalism, a cardinal principle of the labour movement and of communist parties. The Communist Party, it says, works for the basic and common interests of all proletarians, irrespective of nationalities. Opposing the specious nationalist rhetoric of bourgeois ideologists, Marx and Engels declare in the *Manifesto*: "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got."[1]

On this score, Lenin elucidated: "In the *Communist Manifesto* it is said that the working men have no country. Correct. But *not only* this is stated there. It is stated there also that when national states are being formed the role of the proletariat is somewhat special. To take the first proposition (the working men have no country) and *forget* its *connection* with the second (the workers are constituted as a class nationally, though not in the same sense as the bourgeoisie) will be completely incorrect."[2] Proletarian internationalism connotes that international workers' unity plays a primary role.

The *Manifesto* ends with a powerful call for the militant unity of the international working class: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"

In his preface to the German 1890 edition of the *Manifesto*, Engels noted that, to a certain extent, the history of the *Manifesto* reflects the history of the working-class movement since 1848. "At present," he wrote, "it is doubtless the most widely circulated, the most international product of all socialist literature, the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California."[3]

The *Communist Manifesto* is the first truly scientific programme of the international proletariat. Through its vanguard, then still very small in number, the proletariat told the world of its views and aims, openly declaring that its ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions, that it would work for Communist Revolution.

It contains the following words: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."[4]

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[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 120.
[2] Ibid., p. 127.
[3] Ibid., p. 125.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.

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[1] Ibid., p. 124.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 251.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 103.
[4] Ibid., p. 137.

Chapter Four

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848-49

> In the activities of Marx and Engels themselves, the period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as the central point.
>
> *V. I. Lenin*

OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTIONS

The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided in time with a victorious revolution in France. On February 22-24, 1848, insurgent Paris workers joined by other social groups overthrew the monarchy of Louis Philippe and proclaimed a republic.

In January 1848, an uprising had erupted in the south of Italy, the tidal wave rolling on to the German states. Successful insurrections followed in Vienna, the Austrian capital, on March 13, in Berlin, the Prussian capital, on March 18, and on March 18-22 the people of Milan drove out Joseph Wenzel Radetzky's Austrian army.

Everywhere, the liberal bourgeoisie took the reins of power, but though the revolutions pursued bourgeois-democratic aims, the proletariat (as distinct from the great French bourgeois revolution) took an important part in the battles.

Under the impact of the events in France a republican movement also arose in Belgium, where Engels resided at the time. In a report to *The Northern Star*, he produced a vivid picture of the situation in Brussels, the Belgian capital, on February 25: "The excitement and inquietude was universal in this town on the evening of that day. All sorts of rumours were spread, but nothing was really believed. The railway station was full of a crowd of people of all classes, anxious for the arrival of news. The French Ambassador, Ex-Marquis de Rumigny, himself was there. At half-past twelve at night, the train arrived, with the glorious news of Thursday's revolution, and the whole mass of people shouted, in one sudden outburst of enthusiasm: *Vive la République!* The news spread rapidly all over the town."[1]

In the *Deutsch-Brüsseler-Zeitung* of February 27, hailing the developments in France, Engels wrote: "The bourgeoisie has made its revolution; it has overthrown Guizot and with him the exclusive rule

[1] *The Northern Star*, March 25, 1848.

of the big stock-jobbers. But now, in the second act of the battle, it is no longer one part of the bourgeoisie that opposes another; now the proletariat opposes the bourgeoisie.... By virtue of this glorious revolution, the French proletariat has again placed itself at the head of the European movement. Glory to the Paris workers! They have shaken up the whole world, and the thrust will be felt by all countries, one after another, because the victory of the republic in France is a victory for democracy in all Europe."[1]

Jointly with Marx, Engels was deeply involved in the revolutionary actions in Belgium. The Democratic Association took the lead in the campaign for a republican system from the outset, and on February 27 its Committee decided to convene daily. It called on the municipal council to distribute arms not only to the bourgeois guard, but also to workers and journeymen. It also began buying arms for specially collected money. Among the first to contribute was Marx, who gave up part of the inheritance he had just received upon his father's death.

Those German workers in Brussels who were members of the Communist League were almost all also members of the Democratic Association, the meetings of which they all attended. They gave to understand, Engels wrote, that "in the hour of danger they would not abandon their Belgian brethren".[2]

Their attention was also riveted to the revolutionary events unfolding in Germany. The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*'s printshop produced leaflets and other underground literature, dispatched in bulk to different parts of the country. Marx and Engels tried to help Communist League members in Cologne, Baden and elsewhere to put themselves at the head of the movement. Arrested by the Belgian police at the end of February 1848, Wilhelm Wolff did not conceal the fact that his friends and he were mainly occupied with the affairs in Germany, especially with propaganda in Rhine Province.

With the revolution gathering momentum on the continent, the League's Central Committee in London decided to transfer its authority to the Brussels District Committee, for it held that at the crucial hour Marx and Engels should head the League. A new Central Committee was constituted in Brussels, with Marx at its head, and Engels, too, was made a member. However, it was not fated to assume its functions.

Thrown into confusion at first by the popular unrest, the royal Belgian government quickly took advantage of the hesitation shown by the Belgian bourgeois democrats to seize the offensive. It put the troops on alert and spread the provocative rumour that the demand for a republic had originated among foreigners, chiefly German workers and democrats. The most active League members were thus placed

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, S. 530.
[2] *The Northern Star*, March 25, 1848.

in the line of fire. Many were arrested, and many expelled. Engels was spared, because the police had issued a passport to him only a few days before, but Marx was ordered out of the country in 24 hours on March 3.

The future of the Central Committee had to be decided swiftly. A sitting was held in Marx's home on the same day. He was instructed to form a new Central Committee in Paris. No sooner had his visitors left than the police arrived, searched the house and arrested Marx, and later also his wife. After 18 hours under detention, Marx was required to leave the country immediately. He arrived in Paris on March 5, and was soon joined there by his family.

Engels, in effect, became the head of the Brussels District of the Communist League. He organised a campaign against Marx's expulsion and in an open letter to *The Northern Star* described the foul methods of the Belgian police. Besides, he persuaded prominent local democrats to take a public stand in the press and the Chamber of Deputies. As a result, the government was compelled to dismiss the police official responsible for the search in Marx's house and for his arrest.

Engels maintained clandestine contacts with revolutionaries in Germany, and was also busy enlightening recently admitted League members.

His heart yearned for revolutionary Paris, where he had been inducted into the new Central Committee formed by Marx, and consisting of Karl Schapper (secretary), Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Moll, Heinrich Bauer and Karl Wallau. But due to financial difficulties he could not go there until the end of March.

IN REVOLUTIONARY PARIS

Paris, Engels wrote, was in the embrace of "the brief euphoria of the republican honeymoon".[1] Everything spoke of the recent popular victory.

From conversations with Ferdinand Flocon, formerly editor of the *Réforme* and now member of the provisional government, from the newspapers and from his own observations, Engels obtained a fairly clear picture of the political situation in France. The big bourgeoisie and workers, he wrote to his relative, Emil Blank, faced each other as implacable enemies, while the petty bourgeois acted as cringing intermediaries and the provisional government vacillated, submitting to the pressure of the big bourgeoisie. To the workers it made fine promises, but did not keep them, because it lacked the courage to take revolutionary action against the big bourgeoisie.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 465.

On his arrival, Engels became deeply engaged in the activities of the League's Central Committee. He was a member of the Executive and leader of the German Workers' Club, formed by the Central Committee early in March to countervail the German Democratic Society, where petty-bourgeois leaders—the popular German poet Georg Herwegh, Adalbert von Bornstedt, and others—held sway. The German Workers' Club, situated in the heart of Paris at Café Picard, Rue Saint-Denis, was the legal outlet for the Communist League's secret communities. In April 1848 it had 400 members, all workers, chiefly tailors and shoemakers, and its main propaganda literature consisted of the Communist League's programmatic and tactical documents drawn up by Marx and Engels.

The Club opposed the reckless plan of Herwegh, Bornstedt and other leaders of the German Democratic Society to export revolution to Germany by sending a specially formed armed legion of German emigrants. Marx and Engels described this plan as meaningless and harmful playing at revolution.

The provisional government which wanted the foreign revolutionary workers out of France, was willing to help the legion financially. Alphonse Lamartine, the Foreign Minister, who encouraged the idea of forming the legion, was really concerned about getting rid of the revolutionary emigrant workers, for whom the armed forces of the German monarchist governments were lying in wait on the French border.

The petty-bourgeois chieftains of the Democratic Society, however, refused to listen to reason; they accused Marx and Engels of cowardice and of wanting to impose their opinion.

The battle fought by Marx and Engels against this playing at revolution had a bearing on the League's activities in other countries, for some of its members in Britain, Belgium and Switzerland were minded to follow adventurist tactics. Even Georg Weerth, a close associate, was at first enthusiastic about Herwegh's idea, and Schapper and other League members in Paris and London accepted it for a time. It was only due to the patient efforts of Marx and Engels that the majority of the League did not join in the reckless undertaking. Their criticism of the foolhardy plan was thus of fundamental importance for the entire international working-class and communist movement.

From the first day of their stay in revolutionary France, Marx and Engels worked for closer ties with the leaders of the French democratic and communist movements. They renewed their contacts with the *Réforme* party (Flocon, Blanc), with Etienne Cabet, and other active French Communists.

To expose the German Democratic Society among French socialists and workers, they decided to use Cabet's newspaper. "Dear Cabet," they wrote, "we beg of you to be so kind as to insert the attached Declaration in the next number of the *Populaire*. The problem is not to have the Communist Party blamed for the responsibility of an

enterprise and behaviour which have already reawakened in a part of the German nation the old national and reactionary prejudices against the French people. The Alliance of German Workers [the reference is to the Communist League], an association of workers' societies in all European countries, to which belong Harney and Jones, English Chartist leaders, is composed entirely of Communists and openly professes itself communist. The so-called German Democratic Society in Paris is essentially anti-communist in so far as it claims not to recognise the antagonism and struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois classes. The point is, therefore, to make a protest and a declaration in the interests of the Communist Party. And it is this which makes us anticipate your compliance."[1]

As we see, Marx and Engels still regarded Cabet as their ally. However, the alliance was not a dependable one. During the 1848 revolution, just as before it, Cabet followed the lead of the petty-bourgeois *Réforme* party, sharing all its uncertainty, which was one of the reasons for the defeat of the French proletariat in June. This is why subsequently, especially after the June rising, the ties between the founders of Marxism and Cabet, Flocon and others, were in effect disrupted.

The extreme Left headed by Louis Auguste Blanqui was more strongly supported by Marx and Engels than any of the other trends in the French socialist and communist movement. Blanqui was a utopian communist, organiser of the secret Société des Saisons and of the May 12, 1839, rising. During the 1848 revolution he was on the side of the proletarians.

While dissociating themselves from Blanqui's utopian system and conspiratorial tactics, Marx and Engels supported this movement, because to some extent it expressed the interests of the French workers and put them on their guard against the provisional government.

Marx and Engels set out to equip the German Communists with an action programme outlining the proletarian line in the democratic revolution.

DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY

In late March, Marx and Engels drew up the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, which the League's Central Committee adopted as its programme document. It defined the prime revolutionary-democratic objectives, which, if effectuated, would consummate the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany.

Consistently revolutionary, Marx and Engels demanded an end to the country's political and economic division, constitution of a single and indivisible republic, universal arming of the people, separation

[1] *Science and Society*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 216, New York, 1940.

of the church from the state, free universal elementary education, and uncompensated abolition of feudal duties and of landlord oppression.

If Germany was to make progress, Marx and Engels pointed out, deep-going economic changes were required to pave the way for the socialist revolution. What they had in mind was nationalisation of all means of transport, to be put gratuitously at the disposal of the non-possessing class; institution of a state bank to replace private banks, thus ending the rule of financial tycoons and assuring use of credits in the common interest of the nation; converting the estates of princes and other feudal estates, all mines, pits, etc., into state property and using the nationalised land for large-scale farming with the most modern scientific means for the benefit of all society; introduction of a fair system of taxation, and establishment of national workshops.

The labouring classes, Marx and Engels showed, were the main force behind these objectives. "It is in the interest of the German proletariat, of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry," said the concluding paragraph of the *Demands*, "to work with all possible energy to put the above measures through. For only by their realisation can the millions in Germany, who up to now have been exploited by a small number of people and whom it will be attempted to keep in further subjection, get their rights and the power that are their due as the producers of all wealth".[1]

The programme drew on the experience of past bourgeois revolutions, especially the French, and mainly on the practice of the working-class, democratic and socialist movements in Britain, France and Germany of the 1840s. It converted the guidelines and principles of the *Communist Manifesto*, which are of a general nature, into specific propositions conforming with the conditions in the Germany of that time.

The *Demands* were published as a leaflet in Paris at the end of March and reprinted in many German democratic newspapers in the beginning of April. When the revolution broke out, they were kept constantly in the public eye and discussed at meetings of workers' societies.

Communist League members acclaimed the *Demands*. One of them wrote: "It is a comprehensive programme of an independent policy—firm, far-sighted and complete enough to guide Germany to strength and prosperity and, in so doing, to pave the way for the transition to the communist social order a generation after us."[2] Important at the time of the 1848-49 German revolution, it retained its relevance for many years, for, as Engels observed in 1885, "many a one can still learn something from it even today".[3]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 183-84.
[2] *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 758.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 183.

RETURN TO GERMANY. BIRTH OF A NEW PAPER

In early April 1848 Engels, Marx, and some of their closest associates returned to Germany, for the revolution there was picking up impetus.

On their way to Cologne, they stopped over in Mainz, where they met local League members to discuss ways of consolidating the League, organising and uniting workers' associations.

The March revolution overpowered the absolutist regimes in most of the German states. The liberal bourgeoisie took over the reins of power. However, frightened by the revolutionary fervour of the French proletariat and dreading working-class actions at home, it was prepared to make concessions to the reactionary feudal clique and determined to prevent the revolution from coming out of control.

Under the spell of their own abstract idealistic rhetoric leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats could not show the people how to achieve its demands. They did not understand that a revolutionary people's dictatorship was necessary and that Germany had to be a united and indivisible republic. They were indecisive and cowardly where they should have been daring and eager for action.

But the democratic camp, trusted by many workers and revolutionary peasant elements, was still, by and large, a revolutionary force. It only needed fortifying: its proletarian wing had to be consolidated, the influence of petty-bourgeois leaders reduced.

In economically and politically backward Germany, where the proletariat was still weak and the revolution had gained but a few initial successes, Communists could not yet do more than press for the realisation of the democratic demands. This Engels first pointed out in 1847 in his polemics with Heinzen.

The Communist League, its membership still small and its links with the broad mass of German workers still too loose, was unable to perform the functions of a mass proletarian party. The German proletariat, barely formed, still unorganised, could not yet build such a party. Marx and Engels therefore joined the existing democratic movement, placing themselves at the head of its more advanced, essentially proletarian flank, and prodding it to action.

Failing this, Engels wrote later, the only thing would have been "to preach communism in a little provincial sheet and to found a tiny sect instead of a great party of action. But we had already been spoilt for the role of preachers in the wilderness; we had studied the utopians too well for that, nor was it for that we had drafted our programme."[1]

At the end of May 1848, Marx and Engels joined the Democratic Society of Cologne and recommended their followers—members of the Communist League—to follow suit, but also to continue to work

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 166.

in the workers' associations. The response was good. Wilhelm Wolff, for example, first cooperated with the society in Breslau, and later in Cologne; Schapper did so in Wiesbaden, then in Cologne; Weydemeyer in Hamm; Stumpf and Cluss in Mainz; Weerth in Cologne, and many more League members in other parts of Germany.

A new daily political paper to be founded by Marx and Engels was to carry forward their tactical line.

The two friends had determined in Paris to found such a paper. On March 26, 1848, Engels wrote to Emil Blank: "We intend to renew the *Rheinische Zeitung*", and a few days later informed him that his (Blank's) "subscription to the *Rheinische Zeitung* has been registered".[1]

The fact that, in line with their projected tactics, they used the paper's old name showed that they did not intend it to be a purely communist organ.

On coming to Cologne they lost no time in laying the foundations for the paper. The main difficulty was to obtain the money for it. The radical bourgeoisie could help, but was frightened out of its wits by the developments in France, adopting what were at best moderate positions. It was not easy, therefore, to solicit subscriptions for shares in the paper. Emissaries of the League's C.C. were sent to different parts of Germany. And in mid-April Engels, too, went to Barmen, Elberfeld, and other Rhenish towns.

The Barmen capitalists followed Engels' movements with alarm. Some local rumour-mongers said Engels would proclaim Barmen a republic. "All Barmen is waiting for what I shall do," Engels wrote to Emil Blank. "C. and A. E[rmen] trembled when I came to their office today. Of course, I am not getting mixed up in anything and am waiting calmly for what may happen."[2]

To sell more shares of the new paper, Engels called on his old mates in Barmen and Elberfeld. Many of them had formerly professed to be democrats, even socialists, but now, having become manufacturers, had disavowed their former beliefs. To persuade them to subscribe to shares, Engels "wasted many fine words and employed all kinds of diplomacy".[3]

"The fact is," he wrote, "that even these radical bourgeois in Barmen regard us as their main future enemies and do not wish to give us any weapons that we might very soon turn against them."[4]

He even tried to get his father to finance the paper, accentuating the commercial angle, but in vain. "It is completely impossible to get anything from my old man," he wrote to Marx. "For him even the *Kölner Zeitung* is a trumpet of sedition, and instead of shelling out 1,000 talers he would much rather fire 1,000 case-shot shells at us."[5]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 474, 476.
[2] Ibid., S. 481.
[3] Ibid., S. 125.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

However, a few Barmen capitalists did shell out. On May 6, Marx and Weerth came to visit Engels for a few days and discussed the paper and League affairs.

In Barmen, Engels saw, the working-class movement was still immature. Working men protested in but elementary forms and had only just founded their first mutual aid societies and shop clubs.

On May 20 Engels was back in Cologne, starting out in his capacity of editor.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie* was the name Marx and Engels gave their new paper. Its first issue appeared on June 1, 1848, a full month earlier than originally planned. Like Marx, Engels was the heart and soul of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. A foe of rhetoric and inertia, vigorous and quick in his decisions, he seemed to epitomise the militant rhythm of the newspaper.

In the early period, apart from exercising general political guidance, Marx was busy with organisational matters and therefore wrote relatively little. Most of the editorials, political surveys and other important contributions came from Engels. In Marx's absence he acted as editor-in-chief and thanks to his brilliant knowledge of languages was always abreast of the latest political developments in most European countries by following the French, English, Italian, Spanish, Belgian and Danish press.

Marx was amazed at his friend's extraordinary industriousness, referring with admiration to his brilliant journalistic abilities and alacrity in reacting to most diverse events. "He is a real encyclopaedia," he wrote of Engels, "able to work, merry and sober, at any hour of the day or night; he is as quick as the devil at writing and thinking."[1]

The newspaper lived but a year. In this short time Engels wrote more than a hundred articles and reports—among them a series on the Frankfurt Parliament, another on the national movement in Poland, and then on the conciliatory debates in the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin, the June rising of Paris workers, the Schleswig-Holstein question, the revolutionary struggles in Italy, the situation in Switzerland, Germany's foreign policy, the risings in Southern Germany and the revolutionary war in Hungary.

The finest brains of the Communist League worked on the paper—Wilhelm Wolff, Georg Weerth, Ernst Dronke and Ferdinand Wolff. The prominent German revolutionary poet, Ferdinand Freiligrath, too, joined the paper a little later.

Though professing to be an organ of democracy, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was in effect the governing body of the emerging proletarian party in Germany. Writing in 1914, Lenin described it as the "finest and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat".[2]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 596.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 81.

TACTICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The tactical line worked out by Marx and Engels for the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was not at first understood by some League members. Its validity had to be demonstrated in frequent clashes with Andreas Gottschalk's sectarian posture, on the one hand, and the conciliatory reformist attitude of Stephan Born, on the other.

Gottschalk, a physician, had been admitted to the League before the 1848 revolution. He was well known among the Cologne poor as a medical man who helped them in their need, and his popularity increased after he and other League members organised a workers' demonstration outside the Cologne magistrate on March 3, 1848. Soon, he became head of the Cologne Workers' League. A vain man, the unexpected fame going to his head, Gottschalk behaved like a prophet and "workers' chief", trying to oppose the policy of the Workers' League to that of Marx and Engels in the Communist League's Central Committee. Devoted to Moses Hess' "true socialism" and Weitling's sectarian tactics, Gottschalk was unaware of the aims of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the importance of the workers' struggle for democracy. Lacking convincing arguments, he simply maligned the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Marx and Engels criticised his incorrect views and sectarianism, and tried to win him for the revolutionary tactics of the working class. On May 11, 1848, they demanded before the League's Cologne community that Gottschalk should disavow his erroneous stand. Gottschalk, however, impatient with the control imposed on him by the community, announced his resignation from the Communist League.

Born was another League member opposed to Marx and Engels. Soon after the outbreak of the revolution he formed a Central Committee of Berlin Workers, later converted into the Workers' Brotherhood, which controlled workers' associations in a number of German cities. Writing to Marx on May 11, 1848, he maintained that none but he stood at the head of the working-class movement, that the bourgeoisie trusted his organisational ability and used him as mediator, and that even the Prussian Minister of Trade had sought contacts with him.[1] He would not help revive and fortify the Communist League's Berlin communities. Describing Born's Brotherhood years, Engels later wrote: "In the official publications of the association the views represented in the *Communist Manifesto* were mingled hodgepodge with guild recollections and guild aspirations, fragments of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, protectionism, etc.; in short, they wanted to please everybody. In particular, strikes, trade unions and pro-

[1] See *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 783-84.

ducers' cooperatives were set going and it was forgotten that above all it was a question of first conquering, by means of political victories, the field in which alone such things could be realised on a lasting basis."[1]

Like Gottschalk, Born was determined to keep his organisation completely independent from the Communist League. He embodied what Lenin described as the surfacing opportunist tendency of conciliation with the bourgeoisie in the German labour movement. Lenin wrote of "*the two tendencies in the working-class movement* of 1848 in Germany, the Born tendency (akin to our Economists[2]) and the Marxist tendency".[3]

Naturally, Born's attitudes were censured by Marx, Engels and their associates. Criticism of Born is found in letters from Wilhelm Wolff and Ernst Dronke. But the Workers' Brotherhood encompassed numerous workers' associations and organised them to work for the class interests of the proletariat. This was a positive factor, prompting the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to publish without comment Born's programme for the Berlin workers' congress. True, when *La Concordia*, a liberal Turin newspaper, identified this programme with that of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its editors explained that it had "mistaken the programme drawn up by the appropriate commission for the workers' congress, which we merely reproduced, *for our* own programme".[4]

In view of the niveau of the labour movement of that time, Marx and Engels avoided an open rupture with Gottschalk and Born, for this could only have injured the labour movement. Their newspaper defended Gottschalk when he was arrested by the Cologne authorities in July, and Born remained its Berlin correspondent.

Unlike the sectarians and the opportunists, Marx and Engels held that the German workers should first win the conditions required for organising a mass party—freedom of the press, assembly and association. They sought to mount a nation-wide battle for democracy, for which a secret society with but few members was obviously inadequate. Subsequently, Engels wrote: "In short, from the moment when the causes which had made the secret League necessary ceased to exist, the secret League as such ceased to mean anything. But this could least of all surprise the persons who had just stripped this same secret League of the last vestige of its conspiratorial character."[5]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 185.
[2] Russian opportunists of the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century who said that the political struggle against tsarism should be waged by the liberal bourgeoisie while the workers should limit themselves to the economic struggle for better working conditions, higher wages, etc.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 139.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 261.
[5] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 185.

What the Communist League should now do became an object of controversy in the Central Committee. Schapper and Moll, who still yearned for some of the traditions of the Outlaws' League and League of the Just, were in favour of the old secrecy. But the standpoint of Marx and Engels was finally accepted: to prepare the ground for a mass proletarian party, the members of the Communist League should be active in the non-secret workers' associations and democratic societies. Due to the disparate conditions in different parts of Germany, as Engels pointed out later, the League's Central Committee could but issue general guidelines, which was best done through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The newspaper, which most of the Central Committee members helped put out, became the League's ideological centre.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

Through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and Engels publicised the workers' political programme, and their strategy and tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The paper also exposed the counter-revolutionary role of the big bourgeoisie and criticised the inconsistency and cowardice of the petty bourgeoisie.

"The upper middle class," Engels wrote in the paper, "was all along anti-revolutionary; through fear of the people, i.e., of the workers and the democratic lower middle class, it concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reaction."[1] By democratic lower middle class he meant the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels censured the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie for their vacillation and uncertainty, and their concessions to the liberal bourgeoisie. Their florid speeches in the All-German Frankfurt Assembly and the Prussian National Assembly, which opened in May 1848, acted on the people as a soporific, jeopardising the further course of the revolution.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* warned the German people against this demagogy, prodding the petty-bourgeois democrats representing the people in the local assemblies to more determined action. Engels was highly active in this area.

His criticism of the All-German National Assembly in Frankfurt and its Prussian counterpart in Berlin was sharp and incisive. He ridiculed them as talking shops where lawyers, professors and other liberal-bourgeois rhetoricians exercised their barren eloquence. The men in the assemblies, he showed, had left intact the nobility's old bureaucratic machinery and the old army, and done nothing to

[1] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, Moscow, 1972, p. 36.

give their resolutions the power of law. Ludolf Camphausen's Prussian government of liberal noblemen and bourgeois, too, came in for merciless criticism.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* exposed the hypocritical and half-hearted agrarian reforms outlined in the Prussian liberal-bourgeois government projects and demanded immediate, complete and uncompensated abolition of feudal duties. In the spring of 1849 the paper called for the confiscation and distribution to land-hungry peasants of part of the big feudal estates and demanded that sums paid as ransom by peasants to the landed gentry over the decades, should be returned. A series of splendid articles by Wilhelm Wolff, *The Silesian Milliard*, on the peasant problem, created a nation-wide stir, especially among peasants.

After the paper's first issue appeared, in which Engels' article, "The Assembly at Frankfurt", and other items, strongly criticised the liberal bourgeoisie, many of its shareholders denied it further financial support. Engels pointed out that the Frankfurt Assembly engaged in "parliamentary school exercises"[1] while the but lightly camouflaged counter-revolutionary forces were, in effect, allowed a free hand. The National Assembly, Engels wrote, "only had to oppose authoritatively all reactionary encroachments by obsolete governments in order to win such strength of public opinion as would make all bayonets and rifle butts ineffective against it".[2]

Revolutionary dictatorship by the people was for Marx and Engels an imperative condition of victory in the democratic revolution. "Every provisional political set-up following a revolution," the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* said, "calls for dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we blamed Camphausen for not having acted in a dictatorial manner, for not having immediately smashed up and removed the remains of the old institutions."[3]

The other main point made in the political programme of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was uniting Germany on a democratic basis and establishing a single, indivisible, democratic republic. Here, too, the paper's standpoint differed vastly from that of the petty-bourgeois democrats. The paper held, as Engels later wrote, that "the interests of the proletariat forbade equally the Prussianisation of Germany and the perpetuation of her division into petty states.... Dissolution of the Prussian and disintegration of the Austrian state, real unification of Germany as a republic—we could not have any other revolutionary immediate programme."[4]

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[1] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*. Moscow, 1972, p. 31.
[2] Ibid., p. 32.
[3] Ibid., p. 124.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 167-68.

What Marx and Engels had in mind was unification along democratic revolutionary lines by the masses. Any other unification, they pointed out, would not accord with the interest of the nation. They called on the nation to battle against Prussian absolutism, the Austrian monarchy and Russian tsarism, for these obstructed democratic unification. The German proletariat, they pointed out, had a vital stake in defeating these reactionary forces.

None but the working class is consistently revolutionary and able in concert with other labouring classes to fully effectuate the revolutionary programme. As Marx and Engels saw it, the battle for democracy was linked with the battle for the vital interests of these classes, especially the proletariat, which would play the central role in the German revolution.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* publicly declared its solidarity with the revolutionary workers of France, Britain and other countries. Each day, from its first issue, the paper exhaustively covered the English and French working-class and socialist movements.

It was a vehicle of international proletarian revolutionary solidarity. George Harney, the revolutionary Chartist leader, wrote for it regularly. Its articles were reprinted by the French and English democratic press. It was a staunch champion of the revolutionary Paris proletariat, reacting instantly to its uprising. "The insurrection of the Paris workers in June 1848," Engels recalled later, "found us at our post. From the first shot we were unconditionally on the side of the insurgents.... We had the satisfaction of being the only paper in Germany, and almost in all Europe, that held aloft the banner of the crushed proletariat at the moment when the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of all countries were overwhelming the vanquished with a torrent of slander."[1]

The articles about the Paris insurrection were all written by Engels, save one by Marx. Outlining the convolutions of this first civil war between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and registering the scale of the rising, quite considerable for its time, he produced a skilful analysis of the insurgents' military organisation. "If 40,000 Paris workers could achieve such tremendous things against forces four times their number," Engels wrote, "what will the whole mass of Paris workers accomplish by concerted and coordinated action!"[2]

After four heroic days on the barricades, the insurgents were suppressed. They had displayed extraordinary courage and dedication in the unequal battle. "The bravery of the workers," Engels wrote, "was truly amazing. For three days thirty to forty thousand of them held out against more than eighty thousand soldiers and one hundred

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[1] Ibid., p. 170.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". 1848-49*, p. 59.

thousand National Guardsmen, against case-shots, grenades and incendiary rockets, and the military experience of the 'noble' generals who did not shrink from Algerian methods! The workers are crushed and a large number of them have been brutally killed. Their fallen will not receive the honours accorded to the victims of July and February, but history will set aside a special niche for them as casualties in the proletariat's first decisive battle."[1]

In his articles about the June insurrection, Engels came forward for the first time as the workers' military theorist. They contained important inferences relating to the nature, significance and methods of street fighting and barricades in the concrete historical conditions of the time, and gave the start to the Marxist system of views on armed uprisings.

When the bourgeois press across the world, and especially in Germany, began slinging mud at the heroic insurgents, Marx and Engels sided with the vanquished Parisian proletariat.

Consistent to the end was Marx's and Engels' support of national liberation movements. Engels heaped shame on the German liberal bourgeoisie, which continued the reactionary foreign policy of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, setting "one nation against another" and using "one nation to suppress another".[2]

In his article, "Germany's Foreign Policy", Engels listed the bloody crimes of German governments and denounced oppression and enslavement of other nations, made possible, he pointed out, by the reluctance of the majority of Germans to resist it. "The blame for the infamies committed with the aid of Germany in other countries," Engels wrote, "falls not only on the governments but to a large extent also on the German people. But for the delusions of the Germans, their slavish spirit, their flair for acting as mercenaries and 'benign' jailers and tools of the masters 'by divine right', the German name abroad would not be so detested, cursed and despised, and the nations oppressed by Germany would have long since been able to develop freely."[3]

Engels called for radical changes in foreign policy. Failing this, he warned, German freedom would wear the same chains as those which the Germans put on other nations. "Germany," he wrote, "will liberate herself to the extent to which she sets free neighbouring nations."[4]

Marx and Engels staunchly championed Polish national independence. Victory in Poland they regarded as crucial for victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. For the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Engels wrote a series of articles, "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" (they appeared from August 9 to September 7, 1848). The series was a model of political journalism in which adroit polemics blended with a profound examination of Polish history and the Poles' struggle for independence. The alliance of Europe's reactionary monarchies, Engels showed, reposed on joint plunder and enslavement of Poland, and the battle for her independence was a component of the battle waged by European democrats against absolutism. To win independence, Engels wrote, Poland must go democratic. And by winning independence she will undermine the Russian, Austrian and Prussian thrones—those three pillars of European reaction. This would greatly aid the European revolution. The duty of German revolutionary democrats, therefore, Engels said, was to back the Polish national liberation movement.

During the Prague rising in June 1848 Engels acclaimed the Czechs. He wrote wrathfully of the army, noting that "the possibility of a peaceful association of Bohemia and Germany has been drowned in the blood of the Czech people".[1] He flayed the German bourgeoisie which, having come to power, condoned the oppression of Italy, Poland and Bohemia. The new revolutionary Germany, he said, should completely renounce her past history of oppression.

After the suppression of the Prague rising Right-leaning bourgeois elements gained influence in the Czech national movement. The movement of the southern Slavs, too, was led by members of the nobility and bourgeoisie. This enabled Austria's ruling classes to exploit the national movement of the southern Slavs and Czechs for counter-revolutionary purposes. Objectively, the movements merged with Austrian and Prussian reaction, and with Russian tsarism, poised for armed intervention to suppress the revolution and re-establish anti-popular regimes in Central Europe. In the months that followed, the southern Slavs comprised the bulk of the armies used by the authoritarian German governments to crush the revolution in Italy and Vienna. And early in 1849 the same troops were deployed against the people of Hungary.

These were the circumstances underlying the proposition Engels formulated at the time about "reactionary" and revolutionary-democratic nations. For 1848-49 he was doubtlessly correct, because his standpoint conformed with the interests of the revolution.

Engels set forth his ideas in a number of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. But apart from his correct evaluation of the objectively counter-revolutionary role of the Slav peoples of the Austrian empire during the revolution of 1848-49, they also contained several one-sided formulations about the historical growth and future of these peoples. For example, he doubted their ability to constitute independent national states and held that they would be assimilated

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 132.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, p. 60.
[3] Ibid., p. 61.
[4] Ibid.

[1] Ibid., p. 38.

by the bigger, economically developed nations. For him Poland was the only exception. While rightly pinpointing the capitalist tendency to centralise and constitute large national states, Engels underrated the other tendency: the struggle of the small peoples for national independence and their urge to form self-sustaining states. Setting forth his ideas, it is true, Engels was anything but categorical. "Should the Slavs have begun *a new revolutionary history* in some epoch of being oppressed," he wrote, "they would by this alone have proved their viability."[1]

This is just what has happened. The economic growth of the Slav peoples of Central and Southern Europe and the emergence of a proletariat involved the bulk of the people in the national movement, paving the way for a national liberation struggle that was ultimately crowned with success. Viable states were formed which, joining in the battle for socialism, rank among the makers of that foremost social system.

Engels based his examination of the national question on the international arrangements of the early half of the 19th century. Tsarist Russia was then the stronghold of European reaction. Germany, as Engels saw it, was a country where democracy, and subsequently the socialist proletariat, could triumph in the foreseeable future. He supported the Poles because their movement impaired Russian tsarism and the rule of reaction in Austria and Prussia. For the same reason, he opposed the national movement of the Czechs and Slovaks, which could then be exploited by Russian tsarism under the signboard of pan-Slavism.

Struggle against the Russian autocracy was a key point in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s foreign affairs programme. Marx and Engels warned the nations against the imminent counter-revolutionary intervention of the tsar and called Europe's democrats to battle against this pillar of European reaction.

Bourgeois England, where class contradictions had advanced farthest, was, as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* saw it, the other bitter enemy of European revolution. Britain exploited the world. She turned nations into her hired slaves. She financed Restoration in Europe. Engels wrote: "England seems to be the rock which breaks the revolutionary waves."[2] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* showed that the British bourgeoisie was determined to preserve Germany's economic backwardness and political fragmentation, and to prevent the workers from winning in France. In the course of the impending battle between the forces of revolution and reaction, Marx and Engels hoped, old England would be defeated and the Chartists, the revolutionary segment of the British proletariat, would come to power.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 6, S. 279-80.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, pp. 204-05.

IN THE THICK OF THE STRUGGLE. SEPTEMBER EVENTS IN COLOGNE

The defeat of the June rising of the Paris workers was the signal for counter-revolution across Europe, and especially in Germany. The German reactionaries, who had been compelled to retreat in March 1848, regained confidence and assumed the offensive.

Ferocious reprisals were heaped on the press. The right of assembly and association was curtailed. Reaction made use of every clash between the army and people, wherever it occurred, to confiscate arms from civilians and declare a state of siege. Meanwhile, as Engels pointed out, "the bourgeoisie saw its sole salvation in some compromise, even the most cowardly, with monarchy and nobility".[1]

Marx and Engels did not waver in face of the looming peril. Their *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* denounced the dissolution of democratic societies in Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria and elsewhere in Germany. Through the paper and at meetings of the Democratic Society, Marx and Engels protested against the "tyranny of the sword", the reign of police terror in Mainz, Trier, Aachen, Mannheim, Ulm, Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Breslau and other cities.

Engels made the most of each mass meeting of the Democratic Society in Cologne to stigmatise the authorities and urge the masses to resist. On July 14, 1848, he criticised the Berlin National Assembly for neglecting popular demands: 1,677 addresses and appeals sent by various democratic organisations to National Assembly deputies had been ignored. Karl d'Ester and other members of the Prussian National Assembly's democratic wing, he proposed, should take action against the persecution of progressively-minded officers.

On August 11, 1848, addressing a meeting of the Democratic Society, Engels condemned the abuses of the Prussian police and its persecution of Schapper, one of the leaders of the Cologne Workers' League, who was threatened with expulsion from the city. The Society also protested against the official refusal to restore Marx's Prussian citizenship. Later, Engels addressed the first Rhenish and Westphalian congress of democrats in Cologne on August 13-14, 1848. Indignantly, he denounced the Prussian bureaucratic and police regime. By and large, Marx and Engels exercised a strong influence on the congress and the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. Marx was elected a member of the committee. It was under the influence of Marx and Engels that the congress resolved to redouble word-of-mouth propaganda among peasants.

Engels also participated in the work of the Cologne Workers' League, now headed by Karl Schapper and Joseph Moll. He made a comprehensive report to its committee on September 11 about ways and means of organising labour in modern society and about

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 166.

the causes of the failure of the national workshops in France. The report was well received. Later, Engels spoke at the Workers' League, which was active in the workers' political education, rallying them to resist the counter-revolution.

Towards the end of August, when Marx left for Berlin and Vienna to fortify ties with democratic and workers' organisations there and collect funds for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, deserted by many of its shareholders after its articles about the June rising in Paris, the bulk of the work fell to Engels. He deputised as the paper's editor-in-chief, wrote nearly all its editorials, and defended it against the ceaseless attacks of the Prussian authorities.

He responded to all the topical developments on the European political scene. In an article, "The Antwerp Death Sentences", he exposed the Risquons-Tout police frame-up of democratic leaders in Belgium, accused of organising an invasion of the country by revolutionary legions. Engels spoke out in defence of the 17 Belgian democrats sentenced to death, among whom were members of the Communist League and close associates of Marx and Engels. "We are proud," Engels said, "of being able to call many of these 'conspirators', sentenced to death only because they are democrats, our friends."[1] He also wrote about the revolutionary struggles in Italy and about the Schleswig-Holstein problem.

Engels closely followed developments in Schleswig-Holstein, where the German population aspired to national freedom. His knowledge of languages enabled him to read the Scandinavian press and draw information from Danish and other sources, as well as German, for his accounts about the war between Prussia and Denmark over possession of the duchies.

In September 1848, after Prussia was pressured by the great powers into signing the armistice with Denmark, Engels presented his views on this score in a series of articles: "The Armistice with Denmark", "The Danish-Prussian Armistice", and "Ratification of the Armistice".

The *Neue Rheinische-Zeitung* exposed the counter-revolutionary designs of the Prussian Junkers, showing that they were trying to incite uncoordinated outbursts of popular anger in order to heap reprisals on the masses. One such attempt was made in Cologne. The provocative behaviour of the Cologne garrison, particularly the 27th Regiment, whose officers and men manhandled civilians and looted shops, touched off disturbances. Tension mounted, especially because by this time an acute conflict had broken out between the National Assembly in Berlin and the Prussian king.

Engels displayed the energy and gift for organisation of a true revolutionary leader. Under his leadership the *Neue Rheinische*

[1] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, p. 112.

Zeitung, the Democratic Society and the Cologne Workers' League organised mass meetings. A gathering in Frankenplatz on September 13, 1848, drew nearly 6,000. Addressing the meeting, Engels backed Wilhelm Wolff's proposal of forming a Safety Committee to represent the interests of groups to which Prussian law denied representation in the National Assembly. The proposal was adopted with enthusiastic applause. The 30-man Safety Committee included Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Ernst Dronke, Heinrich Bürgers, Joseph Moll, Karl Schapper, and prominent members of the Democratic Society. The meeting also adopted Engels' draft of an appeal to the Berlin Assembly, calling on its deputies to resist any government move of dissolving it by force and remain at their posts even under threat of bayonets.

At the meeting and during the September developments in Cologne, the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Democratic Society (e.g., Karl Schneider II, Carl Cramer) were inconsistent and hesitant. They disapproved of the Safety Committee, refused to take part in it, and objected to strong action. But this did not deter Marx and Engels. Mass gatherings were held under the auspices chiefly of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and leaders of the Cologne Workers' League, that is, the proletarian wing of the democratic movement.

Engels was the moving spirit of a mass meeting in Worringen, near Cologne, on September 17, an imposing manifestation organised mainly by the newspaper and the Cologne Workers' League. Attendance was nearly 8,000. The podium was erected in a meadow and decorated with black-red-gold flags symbolising a united German state and with the red flags of the fighting proletariat. Apart from members of the workers' and democratic organisations of Cologne, it was attended by delegations from Düsseldorf, Krefeld and other neighbouring towns. At Moll's proposal, Schapper was elected chairman and Engels secretary. The revolutionary proletarian complexion of the meeting was evident from the one fact alone that the majority declared for a "democratic-social *red republic*"[1].

It approved the Frankenplatz appeal to the Berlin Assembly and acclaimed the forming of the Safety Committee. It also adopted unanimously the text of an address to the Frankfurt National Assembly proposed by Engels, pledging action against Prussia in case of a conflict between the all-German parliament and Prussia. Engels hoped that this would strengthen the hand of the Left wing in the Frankfurt parliament.

Another meeting was called in Cologne's Eiser Hall under the auspices of the Safety Committee, Democratic Society and Workers' League on September 20—this time in protest against the cowardly behaviour of the Frankfurt parliament that had sanctioned the unpopular armistice with Denmark on September 16, and in solidarity

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 496.

with the Frankfurt democrats, who had revolted against the government and parliament for betraying the national revolutionary forces in Schleswig-Holstein. Engels spoke at some length, denouncing the parliamentary majority and producing a vivid description of the insurrection in Frankfurt. The meeting censured the National Assembly and applauded the bravery of the Frankfurt barricade fighters. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* started a collection for the insurgents and their families.

The newspaper lived up to its purpose admirably in those tension-filled days. "Those were revolutionary times," Engels recalled later, "and at such times it is a pleasure to work in the daily press. One sees for oneself the effect of every word, one sees one's articles strike like hand-grenades and explode like fired shells."[1]

The tension in Cologne kept mounting. The prosecutor's office initiated court proceedings against *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editors Engels, Wolff and Bürgers, charging them with conspiracy. In the morning of September 25 the police arrested Karl Schapper and Hermann Becker, member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats. Also attempted was the arrest of Joseph Moll, but this was prevented by the workers.

The government declared a state of siege in Cologne, disarmed the civilian militia and suspended the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the events being vividly described by poet Georg Weerth, one of the newspaper's editors:

> The city bristled with bayonets
> Like a porcupine bristles with spikes.
> The men-at-arms of Prussia's archangels
> Inundated markets and squares.
> Leading a squad of warriors, a lieutenant
> Came up to our door,
> Bellowing out to drum-beats
> The judgment of death to our
> *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[2]

To avoid arrest, Engels went into hiding. A few days he spent in Barmen, in the home of his deceased grandfather Bernhard van Haar. There, he met his parents. His father was infuriated by his son's falling out with the police. For the law-abiding bourgeois, saturated to the marrow with the prejudices of his class, God in heaven and the establishment in Berlin were the only supreme authority. And, as usual, the mother tried to "reason" with Frederick and mitigate the conflict between father and son.

Engels had to leave Barmen too, for the prosecutor's office was drawing up an order to find and arrest him (it was eventually ussued on October 3, 1848), and headed for Belgium.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 76-77.
[2] G. Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 1, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin, 1956, S. 269.

Early in October Engels and Dronke, the latter joining him en route, arrived in Brussels. Here both had to register with the authorities. On October 4, 1848, the police, thoroughly informed about Engels' and Dronke's previous revolutionary activity in Belgium and warned by its Prussian colleagues, sent its agents to the hotel where the two were staying, and flung them into Petit Carm prison. Contrary to Belgian legislation, they were refused political asylum. Their papers, the police alleged, did not look authentic. And though both Engels and Dronke had numerous friends in Brussels willing to confirm their identity, the authorities expelled them as "vagabonds" on the same day. They were brought to the station in a prison van and put on a train to the French border.

This evoked the indignation of the country's democratic and liberal press. *Le Débat Social* published its report under the heading, "It's Not a Government, But a Commissariat of Police", describing the disgraceful treatment of Engels and Dronke and protesting the gross disregard of Belgian constitutional law, which pledged political asylum to political emigrants.[1] *La Nation*, too, took issue with the police. Its report closed with these words: "At least the friends of freedom of all countries now know that if they want to travel freely in the world, they will do well not to pass through our country."[2]

Engels arrived in Paris on October 5, 1848, practically penniless. The French capital was a depressing sight after the suppression of the June rising. Comparing the Paris he had seen in the wake of the February events with the Paris of October 1848, Engels wrote: "Between the Paris of that day and of now there have been May 15 and June 25, the bitterest struggle the world has ever seen, a sea of blood, and fifteen thousand corpses.... Paris was dead, it was no longer Paris. On the boulevards nothing but bourgeois and police spies; the dance-halls and theatres deserted; the *gamins* in mobile guard tunics, hired out to the *honette* republic for 30 sous a day.... In short, it was again the Paris of 1847, but soulless and lifeless, without the fire and the ferment that the workers had injected into everything in those days."[3]

Engels stayed in the city only a few days. "I could not bear it longer in this dead Paris," he wrote. "I had to leave, no matter where. And so, for a start, off to Switzerland."[4] He had no money to spare and set out on foot.

The road from Paris to Berne was for Engels a time of soul-searching. He saw all of France, as it were, observing the life of the peasants and summing up the reasons for the defeat of the French revolution,

[1] See *Le Débat Social*, October 8, 1848.
[2] *La Nation* No. 159, October 7, 1848.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 465-66.
[4] Ibid., S. 466.

as well as the revolutions in other European countries. The evidence of his meditation is to be found in his unfinished travel notes, "From Paris to Berne", which he began writing in Geneva and continued in Berne.

Crossing the Paris suburbs Engels reached the road to Lyons. On the way, he met impoverished Alsatians hailing from the environs of Strasbourg and tramping into the heart of France earning their daily bread by basket-making. They confessed that they lived mostly on alms. Then he saw some 400 Paris workers—engravers, butchers, shoemakers and carpenters who had earlier worked in national workshops—building a dam by order of the government. One brawny butcher, promoted to overseer, even endeavoured to enlist him in his crew.

Engels observed the peasants' life very closely. What he saw helped him understand the sentiments of this most numerous class in the France of his time, the reasons for its negative attitude to the workers' demands during the revolution, and for its backing Louis Bonaparte.

It took Engels a fortnight to reach Geneva, where he arrived towards the end of October 1848. In the beginning of November he spent several days in Lausanne, where he contacted the local Workers' League, in which members of the Communist League, by then well acquainted with his name, were preponderant. This made it easier to come to an understanding.

In Switzerland, Engels experienced grave financial difficulties. Marx tried to help him out of his own very meagre funds, but his remittance did not reach the addressee.

When the state of siege in Cologne was lifted, Marx resumed publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in the first issue of which, on October 12, 1848, he announced that none of the editors would be replaced.

Most of the editors, it is true, had either gone abroad or sought shelter in other German towns. It was Engels' absence, however, that was felt the most. In a letter to him on October 26, 1848, Marx asked for "correspondence and longer articles".[1] He prevented the paper's new shareholders from reducing payments to Engels and Dronke for being absent from the editorial offices. Denying rumours which had evidently reached Engels that the editors had accepted his forced departure indifferently and did not care if he did or did not work for the paper, that they objected to sending him financial aid, and the like, Marx wrote Engels in mid-November 1848: "That I could leave you in the lurch for even a minute is pure fantasy. You are ever my most intimate friend, just as I hope you regard me as yours."[2]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 128.
[2] Ibid., S. 130.

Eager to have Engels write for the paper, Marx asked him for a series of articles—about Proudhon, the revolutionary war in Hungary, and the petty-bourgeois ideal of a federative republic as embodied in Switzerland. Yet he did not restrict Engels' choice: "You can write about anything you wish."[1]

On Marx's advice, Engels left Lausanne for Berne, where he arrived presumably on November 9. Fortunately, this did not affect his ties with the workers' association in Lausanne, which asked him to represent it at the first congress of German workers' associations of Switzerland convening in Berne in December. In the credentials issued to Engels, the leaders of the Lausanne Workers' League wrote: "Brother, since we cannot send a delegate, we ask you to represent us at the workers' congress in Berne. As an old fighter for the interests of the proletariat you will, of course, do your duty well, though this time you will not be dealing with bourgeois and other hucksters; there will be none but proletarians there, with whom and for whom you shall deal."[2]

The congress, attended by delegates from ten workers' associations, convened from December 9 to 11, 1848. It was not easy to sway associations engaged principally in economic struggles and of an insufficiently high degree of political knowledge in favour of the tactical line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Though the minutes, which are extant, do not reproduce the delegates' speeches and contain but the decisions of the congress, the evidence is ample that Engels succeeded in his undertaking. He was elected to the Central Commission, the superior body of the new association.

In articles about Switzerland for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Engels described with biting sarcasm some of the features of that "model" bourgeois republic. He showed the narrow range of the political life typical of petty-bourgeois Switzerland, the narrow vision of her statesmen, the petty strife between cantons and between some of the towns, the provincialism and general pettiness. Criticising the country's political arrangement, Engels aimed his darts chiefly at the German petty-bourgeois democrats, at their pleas in favour of the Swiss model. And mainly, he showed the inconsistency of their approach to the basic issue of the revolution—the national unification of Germany.

THE RETURN HOME. FACING A JURY

But all these activities did not suffice for a man of Engels' vast energy. He could not bear to be on the fringe of the revolutionary storm. He longed to return to Germany. Marx, who feared he would

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 6, S. 574-75.

be arrested, cautioned him against a premature move. But Engels was impatient. "Dear Marx," he wrote on December 28, 1848. "What's up? Is it still impossible to go back?"[1] In another letter he complained: "This lazy idling abroad, where one can't do anything worth while and is completely out of the movement, is distressingly unbearable. I shall soon think that it is better to be under arrest in Cologne than in this free Switzerland."[2] In mid-January 1849, when the danger of arrest seemed to have subsided, Engels returned to Cologne.

By that time reaction was back in the saddle in most of Germany. The uprising in Vienna had been crushed, and on December 5 the dissolution of the National Assembly and the enactment of an imposed constitution culminated the coup d'état in Prussia. But in some areas the struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution still continued. The Hungarians' revolutionary war against the Austrian monarchy broke out, with peasants, artisans, workers and students forming a revolutionary army which successfully repulsed the Austrian troops.

A popular victory in Hungary, Engels hoped, would encourage the revolutionary forces at home. He wrote articles, reports and notes in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in support of the gallant Hungarians.

He praised the operational tactics of the Hungarian revolutionary army, its skill in drawing the enemy out by manoeuvre, its ingenious use of guerrilla tactics. Like his articles about the June rising in Paris, the ones on Hungary testified to his gift as military theorist and strategist.

Referring to the events in Hungary, Engels later wrote: "We stood by her during the struggle; we may be allowed to say, that our paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, has done more than any other to render the Hungarian cause popular in Germany."[3]

In his articles on the Polish and Italian independence struggle Engels unfailingly demanded national freedom for the oppressed peoples.

The revolutionary spirit of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, its sharp and unerring criticism, was undampened by the harrassments of the bourgeois and reactionary press, by denunciations, attacks by reactionary army officers, and court summonses. Throughout Germany people marvelled at the courage of its editors.

The paper was put out in Cologne, a first-class Prussian fortress with a garrison of 8,000, which, it would appear, should strike fear into the editors. But Engels later recalled that "on account of the eight rifles with bayonets and 250 live cartridges in the editorial room, and the red Jacobin caps of the compositors, our house was

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 132.
[2] Ibid., S. 133.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 356.

reckoned by the officers also as a fortress which was not to be taken by a mere *coup de main*".[1] Replying to a denunciation by one of the government papers concerning clandestine links with the revolutionary movement abroad, Marx and Engels proudly declared: "*Never have we concealed our* connections with the French, English, Italian, Swiss, Belgian, Polish, American and other democrats. [2] Even the court proceedings against the editors of the paper were used by Marx and Engels to denounce publicly the brutality and violence of the king's government in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Prussia.

On February 7, 1849, Marx and Engels faced a jury on charges of having insulted the Procurator-General Zweiffel and his gendarmes in an article, "The Arrests", which had appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on July 5, 1848. Hermann Korff, the paper's publisher, was also dragged into the court. Engels spoke before the jury chiefly in defence of the freedom of the press from official abuses. He proved false the charges of slander and showed clearly that the article was correct not only factually, but also in its general political judgments. He demonstrated the amazing accuracy of the many predictions made by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, especially that the parliamentary victory of the Left in the Berlin National Assembly would, in fact, coincide with its defeat. "This political prediction," he said, "which has come true to the letter, *meine Herren*, is the result, the upshot, the conclusion that we drew from the outrages which occurred throughout Germany and, among other places, also in Cologne."[3]

Marx, too, spoke at length in the court-room. In effect, he proved that the March revolution in Germany was deficient, among other things, because it had left intact the old bureaucratic machine and, chiefly, the old army and other instruments of power.

Exclamations of approval resounded in the court-room when Marx and Engels spoke. Their speeches convinced the jury of their innocence and they were acquitted.

PROGRESS TOWARDS A MASS WORKERS' PARTY

The more confident and brazen the counter-revolution became, the more conciliatory and craven became the Frankfurt and Berlin Left petty-bourgeois deputies. Their biggest mistake was their longing "to perform by parliamentary means what can only be accomplished by revolutionary means, with the force of arms".[4]

[1] Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 171.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 6, S. 313.
[3] Ibid., S. 239.
[4] Ibid., Bd. 6, S. 374.

Also too faint-hearted for revolutionary action were the petty-bourgeois democrats at the head of the democratic societies. Even the most radical among them maintained that it was time to fold up the revolution.

Marx and Engels, the German revolution showed, had been right that petty-bourgeois democrats were not cut out to head the mass struggle. This view was also sinking in among the workers, disenchanted in the petty-bourgeois leaders. The subsequent development of the revolution depended increasingly on the vigour and organisation of the working class, its appreciation of its specific class mission.

Marx and Engels redoubled their efforts to unite the workers' organisations. In October 1848, following the arrest of Karl Schapper and the forced departure to London of Joseph Moll, Marx assumed leadership of the Cologne Workers' League—one of the most massive and influential.

Like Marx, Engels opposed renewal of the Communist League's clandestine activities. Like Marx, he held this to be premature as long as opportunities for legal activity still existed.

But not all the leaders of the League concurred. Following Moll's arrival in London, a new Central Committee was formed there at the end of 1848, consisting of Moll, Heinrich Bauer and Johann Georg Eccarius, which sent Moll back to Germany to revive the League's secret communities.

In the spring of 1849 Joseph Moll met members of the Cologne Central Committee—Marx, Engels, Wilhelm Wolff and Schapper—in the offices of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Other League members were also present. Moll acquainted the gathering with the new Rules drawn up by the London Central Committee. Though they were based on the former rules, the article defining the League's ultimate aims was worded vaguely: instead of the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, establishing proletarian rule and founding a new society without classes and private property, the new Rules called for the "establishment of a united, indivisible Social-Democratic republic".[1] There were also clauses tending to revive the old conspiratorial trends.

Marx and Engels objected to the new Rules and the League's contemplated reorganisation; the meeting broke up without an accord being reached.

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and speaking at workers' and other democratic gatherings, Engels and Marx stressed that the German proletariat should play an independent, leading role in the democratic and liberation movements, cultivating among German workers a spirit of proletarian solidarity with their class brethren in other countries.

[1] *Der Bund der Kommunisten*, Bd. 1, S. 876.

In April 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published Marx's lectures on wage labour and capital, which he had delivered in Brussels in 1847. The lectures elucidated the main contradiction of bourgeois society—between labour and capital—and analysed capitalist exploitation. Published subsequently under separate cover as *Wage Labour and Capital*, they were the first popularly presented comprehensive and systematic exposition of the basic principles of the Marxist economic doctrine.

The vigorous revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels and their closest associates, coupled with the instructive experience of history, impelled the growth of the foremost German workers' political consciousness and spurred them to action. They turned away more and more from the petty-bourgeois politicians and became more deeply conscious of their class aims. In the deep of the working class, in its organisations, the conditions were obviously ripening for the establishment of a mass proletarian party.

Marx, Engels and their followers held that the time had come for the proletariat to part ways with petty-bourgeois democrats organisation-wise and to form its own massive political body.

Seeking to forge a body of purely working-class organisations, in mid-April 1849 Marx and other Communist League leaders withdrew from the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, the composition of which they regarded as much too motley. The Cologne Workers' League also left the association of democratic societies.

Then, jointly with the leaders of the Cologne Workers' League, Marx and Engels drew up an action programme preliminary to founding an all-German workers' party. A congress of Rhenish and Westphalian workers' associations was to convene on May 6, 1849, to form a united organisation and an all-German congress of workers' associations was to be held in June in Leipzig. This was to pave the way for a mass workers' party, of which the proletarian revolutionaries who had developed in the Communist League would be the core.

However, the uprising in Rhine Province, the Palatinate and Baden, which broke out in May 1849, followed by Prussian army and police repressions, prevented Marx and Engels from carrying out this plan.

SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION

By the spring of 1849 the counter-revolution had succeeded in re-establishing its rule in many parts of Germany. But the revolutionary forces were not yet defeated either in Hungary, which fought on, or in Western and Southern Germany, where new popular discontent was rising. The conflict between the German governments and the Frankfurt National Assembly gave impulse to revolutionary outbursts in Southwest Germany. The draft of a constitution for

the German empire, worked out by the Assembly, was turned down by the Prussian and other governments despite its moderate nature. The Assembly was in danger of being dissolved.

Defence of the imperial constitution became the slogan of all democratic forces. Armed clashes erupted in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, on May 3. The people, battling government troops on the barricades, banished the king and took possession of the city. The rising, though soon suppressed, was followed by risings in the West-German industrial centres of Solingen, Düsseldorf, Hagen, Iserlohn and other Rhenish towns. A movement also sprang up in Baden and the Palatinate, where petty-bourgeois democrats came to power.

The battles raging in Western and Southern Germany captured all of Engels' attention. In the beginning of May he worked out a plan of operations, which, in essence, consisted of the following points: 1) avoid needless actions in strongholds and garrison towns; 2) mount diversionary actions in the smaller towns, factory communities and rural areas to keep the Rhenish garrisons under pressure; 3) deploy all the as yet unengaged forces to areas where insurrections had begun, develop the risings and from the Landwehr units form the nucleus of a revolutionary army.

Risings and barricade battles in the small towns on the left bank of the Rhine Engels conceived as merely a military manoeuvre to draw the bulk of the Prussian troops from the right bank and win time for organising a revolutionary army. The insurrection, he held, would spread more easily across the country from the right bank. It was also more probable that in Southwest Germany part of the army would back the insurgents.

On May 10, 1849, Engels went to Elberfeld, where a rising had broken out the day before. On the way he stopped in Solingen, formed a company of revolutionary workers, and arrived in Elberfeld at the head of 400 armed proletarians on May 11.

During the Elberfeld rising, the workers attacked and captured the city prison and dissolved the magistrate. But the movement was controlled by the Safety Committee, which consisted of petty-bourgeois democrats. Unsure of what course to take, they spurned revolutionary action, appealed to the population for calm, and entered into negotiations with the old authorities. As a result, the movement fell to pieces a few days later. Subsequently, Engels wrote: "Only one thing was possible in these circumstances: taking certain rapid and vigorous measures to infuse new life into the movement, to attract new fighting strength, to frustrate the internal opponents, and to organise it as solidly as possible in the entire Mark and Berg industrial area."[1]

On his arrival in Elberfeld, Engels briefed the Safety Committee on the state of affairs in Cologne and put himself at its disposal.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7, S. 128.

Speaking to a member of the Committee, he said he wished to engage exclusively in military matters and to have nothing to do with the political side of the movement, because "it was obvious that only a black-red-gold[1] movement was possible there until then and all acts against the imperial constitution should therefore be avoided".[2] Engels was inducted into the Military Commission, which instructed him to take charge of the building of fortifications and to take command of the barricades in the city. As a former artilleryman, he was later also put in charge of the artillery. During his first day in Elberfeld, Engels formed a company of engineers, ordered them to rebuild the haphazardly erected barricades and had new ones put up in the outskirts of the city.

He worked assiduously, doing his duty in the Military Commission and the Military Council, relocating the armed units and reinforcing the sapper companies. He demanded that the Safety Committee should disarm Elberfeld militiamen who were hostile to the revolution and distribute their arms among workers. He also proposed that the bourgeoisie should pay a firm tax, to be used for the maintenance of the armed detachments.

But the Safety Committee, which shrank from strong action, turned down Engels' proposals. Defying its decision and relying on the backing of the armed workers, Engels and other unit commanders seized the arms of the counter-revolutionary militia stored in the town hall.

On Sunday, May 13, Engels appeared on Haspeler Brücke connecting Elberfeld and Lower Barmen with a red shawl across his shoulder to show he was an insurgent commander. Possibly, he intended to inspect the fortifications or perhaps to urge the Barmen workers to join the Elberfeld insurgents. The Barmen civil guard, consisting of manufacturers and their henchmen, however, prevented the workers of this part of the city from joining the rising. When Engels ascended the barricade on the bridge, he met his father, who was on his way to church, and a painful scene occurred between them.

Engels' activity struck fear into the Elberfeld bourgeoisie. It was afraid that Communists would take charge of the movement. Rumours were spread that under cover of darkness Engels had replaced the black-red-gold flags on the barricades with red banners, that he intended to proclaim a "red republic", and the like.

Goaded by the bourgeoisie, the frightened petty bourgeois in the Safety Committee hastened to get rid of Engels. On May 14 he was told that his presence was causing alarm among Elberfeld citizens and that he should leave the city to avoid "misunderstandings". Engels demanded that this be put in writing. On the same day, the Safety Committee passed the following resolution: "*While accord-*

[1] Colours symbolising the unity of Germany.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 6, S. 501.

ing full recognition to his activities in this city until now, the citizen Friedrich Engels, latterly resident in Cologne, is requested to leave immediately the confines of the local community, *because his presence may give cause to a misunderstanding concerning the character of the movement.*"[1]

The armed workers and the volunteer detachment, who sided with Engels, were incensed. They begged Engels to stay, promising "to defend him with their lives".[2] However, fearing that internal strife would ease the task for the approaching Prussian troops, Engels left Elberfeld for Cologne on May 15.

In a detailed report on May 17, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote: "The Berg and Mark workers, who have displayed such remarkable liking and affection for a member of our editorial board, should realise that the present movement is but the prelude of another movement, a thousand times more serious one, in which their interests, the interests closest to the workers, will be at stake. This new revolutionary movement will be the result of the present one and as soon as it starts, Engels, the workers may rest assured, like all the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, will be at his post—and then no power on earth will make him withdraw."[3]

Following Engels' departure from Elberfeld, the armed workers who had come from other towns, disenchanted by the irresolution and inactivity of the petty-bourgeois leaders, also abandoned the city, intending to fight their way to the part of Germany where decisive battles against the counter-revolution were still in the offing.

Isolated risings in other Rhenish towns, too, collapsed.

CLOSURE OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*

Following the collapse of the uprisings in Rhine Province, the Prussian government felt that the time had come to deliver a mortal blow to a dangerous enemy: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Police repressions were heaped upon it. Twenty-three was the number of court proceedings initiated against the paper's editors. On May 16 a government order was issued requiring Marx's expulsion from Prussia in 24 hours as a "foreigner". Most of the other editors, too, were either to be expelled or arrested. On May 17 an order to arrest Engels was issued for his involvement in the Elberfeld rising, followed on June 6 with an order to search for him. It was impossible to continue publishing the paper.

Its last issue appeared on May 19 in red ink, the colour of the proletarian battle-standard. The paper carried an address to the workers of Cologne: "In bidding you farewell the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: *emancipation of the working class!*"[1]

There were also lines by poet Freiligrath:

> Farewell now, farewell, O you World ever warring,
> Farewell now, you struggling hordes,
> You battlefield, black with the powder-smoke pouring,
> You lances, you guns, and you swords!
> Farewell, brothers; but it shall not be forever,
> Our spirit they could not dismay.
> With a clashing of arms and as mighty as ever
> I shall be returning one day![2]

Proud of having performed their revolutionary duty, with deep faith in their cause and its ultimate victory, the editors declared: "We have saved the revolutionary honour of our homeland. [3] They were sure, they said, that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would still one day gain full rights of citizenship in Germany. Years later, Engels wrote: "We had to surrender our fortress, but we withdrew with our arms and baggage, with band playing and flag flying, the flag of the last issue, a red issue."[4]

BATTLEFIELDS IN THE PALATINATE AND BADEN

Two days before the final issue of the paper, Engels was compelled to go into hiding to escape arrest, and when the paper closed went with Marx to Frankfurt to try and prevail on the Left wing of the National Assembly to place itself at the head of the uprising in Southwest Germany which had begun earlier in May.

Engels proposed a well-reasoned plan: with insurrections in the neighbouring areas, with its considerable territory, with terrain well adapted for both defence and attack, and with its revolutionary army, Baden could play a crucial role in the all-German revolutionary struggle. With the Baden army as the backbone, Engels maintained, the rising should be spread to Hesse-Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Nassau, and Württemberg, delivering a crushing blow to the counter-revolutionary troops. To turn the movement from a South-German into a national one, Engels suggested that the Assembly deputies summon the Baden and Palatinate revolutionary armies to Frankfurt. This would put an end to the irresolution of the military

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 6, S. 501-02.
[2] Ibid., S. 502.
[3] Ibid.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, p. 266.
[2] *Freiligraths Werke*, Volksverlag, Weimar, 1962, S. 140.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Articles from the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", 1848-49*, p. 254.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 171.

units of other German states stationed in Frankfurt, spark a rising in the duchy of Hesse-Nassau, and compel the Prussians and Austrians to retreat to Mainz. Engels argued that possession of Frankfurt by the revolutionary army was of crucial political and strategic significance. The victory in Frankfurt would extend the revolution to the entire Main valley.

But the Frankfurt deputies, to use Engels' phrase, "lacked courage, energy, intelligence, and initiative".[1] They turned a deaf ear to his advice.

This did not discourage Engels and Marx. They made one more attempt to carry out their plan, going to Mannheim, Ludwigshafen and Karlsruhe, and pleading with the leaders of the Baden movement to dispatch troops to Frankfurt, gain control of and influence the National Assembly. But firm revolutionary action did not enter the plans of the movement's petty-bourgeois leaders. Once again, the proposals of Marx and Engels were rejected.

So they went from Baden to the Palatinate, where they met members of the local provisional government in Kaiserslautern. Karl d'Ester, a Communist League member in the government, which included some petty-bourgeois democrats, tried in vain to prod his fellow-ministers to action. Just as in Baden, the movement here was local, of an isolated nature.

On their way from the Palatinate to Bingen (Hesse-Darmstadt), Marx and Engels were arrested at the end of May by the Hesse authorities, who suspected them of complicity in the uprising, and were sent to Darmstadt and then to Frankfurt. Here they were released and soon reached Bingen, where they parted, Engels going back to Kaiserslautern and Marx heading for Paris.

Engels intended to live in Kaiserslautern as an ordinary political emigrant. If the struggle were renewed, he was ready "to assume the only place that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could assume in this movement—that of a soldier".[2] The Palatinate provisional government offered Engels various civilian and military posts. He declined, but consented to contribute several articles to the *Bote für Stadt und Land*, the government paper. One article, "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden", was accepted, but another the editors rejected as "incendiary".[3] Thereupon Engels refused further collaboration.

Soon, armed clashes began between the Palatinate army and the Prussians. Engels became the aide of August Willich, a Communist League member in command of a unit of politically-advanced and courageous fighters, mainly of the working class.

The several encounters with the Prussians ended unfavourably.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 84.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 7, S. 146.
[3] Ibid., S. 152.

The Palatinate revolutionary army retreated into Baden, merging with the local revolutionary troops. Engels employed the short space of time before the renewal of hostilities to restock arms for Willich's unit, and for its military training.

Reinforcements arrived, with many workers among them who knew Engels from the Elberfeld rising and were now again eager to follow him. On June 20, 1849, the unit engaged the Prussians. Engels displayed bold initiative, enterprise, and courage. He and Willich had drawn up the operational plan and themselves directed the more difficult and dangerous actions. Engels organised transports of arms and ammunition, contacted other units, and took part in reconnaissance. During the retreats he stayed behind with the rear guard, covering the withdrawal of the main force.

All in all, not counting minor clashes, Engels participated in four large engagements, of which the battle at Rastatt was the most significant. In her reminiscences, Marx's daughter Eleanor wrote: "A long time afterwards all who saw him in battle still spoke of his extraordinary coolness and absolute scorn of danger."[1]

The Prussians won the Rastatt battle. Willich's unit gave ground slowly, acting as a rear guard for the rest of the rebel army. It crossed into Switzerland on July 12, 1849, the last detachment of the Baden-Palatinate force to do so.

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 185.

Chapter Five

IN THE WAKE OF THE REVOLUTION

> A time of apparent stagnation, like the present one, must be used to explain the preceding period of revolution, the character of the contending parties, and the social relations which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties.
>
> *Karl Marx* and *Frederick Engels*

ENGELS IN SWITZERLAND

After almost a fortnight's stay in the region of the Swiss-German frontier, Willich's unit made camp in Vevey (Vaud canton) on July 24, 1849. On coming to Vevey Engels at once communicated with Marx, of whose fate since their parting he knew nothing, apart from a rumour that he had been arrested in Paris. "You will understand the anxiety I therefore am in," he wrote to Jenny Marx on July 25, "and urgently request you to restore my peace of mind by getting me definite information about Marx's fate.... If I only knew for certain that Marx is free! The thought often occurred to me that I amidst the Prussian bullets was at a much less dangerous post than the others in Germany and especially Marx in Paris."[1] Marx, too, was worried about Engels. "Dear Engels," he wrote from Paris on August 17, "I don't know if you have received my first letter.... I repeat once more that my wife and I had been terribly worried about you, and that we were overjoyed to receive sure news from you."[2]

In Switzerland Engels was able to observe German emigrants of all varieties, most of whom personified the failings of the German petty-bourgeois democracy of 1848. For them rhetoric took the place of action; they underrated the adversary, overrated their own strength and lurched continuously from extreme revolutionism to bleak despair. This also applied to the former commanders of the Baden-Palatinate army, who scolded each other for making military errors, which they regarded as the main reason for the defeat of the uprising in Southwest Germany.

Knowing the real worth of their vocal radicalism, Engels preferred to steer clear of their ceaseless squabbles. However, when someone accused the unit in which he had fought of offending against discipline and military duty, he came out in its defence. At the end of July 1849 he wrote "A Denial", proving that the unit had performed its revolutionary duty to the end.[1] It was intended for the press, but was seemingly never published. In it Engels set out his view of the military side of the insurrection in Southwest Germany, which he later embellished in his essay, "The German Campaign for an Imperial Constitution".

His own experiences and his first-hand knowledge of the sentiment among the political emigrants furnished him with a wealth of material for conceptualising the latter stage of the revolution and the behaviour of its petty-bourgeois leaders. This was just what Marx was urging him to do.

In one of his first letters from Paris, in August 1849, Marx wrote: "Now you have a splendid opportunity to write a history of the Baden-Palatinate revolution or a pamphlet about it. But for your personal participation in the war we would have been unable to state our view of the whole comic-opera affair. You can also beautifully bring up the attitude of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* towards the democratic party in general."[2]

But the conditions in the camp were unfavourable for this literary undertaking. Camp life was beginning to pall. "I am growing tired of our unit, however bravely it had fought, and there is nothing for me to do here," he wrote Jenny Marx. "In battle Willich is brave, cool, skilful and finds his bearings very quickly; out of battle he is a more or less tedious ideologist and a 'true socialist'."[3] Many of Engels' battle companions, with whom he could have associated, had drifted away. What still kept him in the camp were his strained finances.

In mid-August, having received a small remittance from home, Engels settled in Lausanne, 8 Place de la Palud, where he began working on "The German Campaign for an Imperial Constitution". On August 24, 1849, he wrote to a friend: "I am stuck in Lausanne and writing my memoirs about the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary farce.... I had the opportunity to see and learn many things. You know that I am critical enough not to share the illusions of the loudmouthed habitual republicans and to see the cowardice which the chiefs conceal behind loud words. As befits the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, my piece will present the whole story from a different angle than the other projected accounts."[4]

To find a publisher for that kind of book in Germany was not easy. Least of all did Engels expect any cooperation from bourgeois publishers. He approached his party friends, members of the Communist

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 49.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 140.

[1] See *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, 1967, No. 2, S. 242-44.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 139.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 49.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 509.

League—Jakob Schabelitz who published progressive literature in Basle jointly with his father, and Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt.

At the end of August 1849 he also asked Wilhelm Wolff, then living in Zurich, to help him find a publisher. Wolff was overjoyed at receiving word from Engels, but was unable to fulfil his request.

In Switzerland Engels tried to keep in touch with men of like views. On September 15 he went to Berne and saw Wolff and a few other members of the Communist League. In Geneva he met the German revolutionary emigrant, Wilhelm Liebknecht, who soon thereafter became a member of the League. The latter's lively account of their meeting is extant:

"Frederick Engels had a clear bright head, free from any romantic or sentimental haze ... with clear bright eyes, not remaining on the surface but seeing to the bottom of things, piercing them through and through.... I was immediately struck by it when we met for the first time.... It was late in summer 1849 by the blue Lake of Geneva, where we had set up several emigrant colonies after the failure of the Reich Constitution campaign.... Before that I had the opportunity of personally making the acquaintance of a number of 'great men' of all kinds like Ruge, Heinzen, Julius Fröbel, Struve and various other leaders of the people in the Baden and Saxony 'revolutions', but the closer my acquaintance with them became the more their halo faded.... The more hazy the air, the bigger men and things seem. Frederick Engels had the quality that made the haze disappear before his clear-sighted eyes and men and things look like men and things are. That piercing glance and the penetrating judgment resulting from it made me uncomfortable at first, and occasionally even hurt me.... The remains of 'South-German placidity'... that I still had at the time and that was thoroughly knocked out of me later in England, did not prevent us from agreeing in our general opinion of persons and things, although not always immediately."[1]

The relationship between Engels and Liebknecht was always a friendly one, and grew particularly close after both had moved to England.

THE REMOVAL TO ENGLAND

The authorities ordered Marx out of Paris to Morbihan, a marshy and unhealthy part of Brittany. So, on the advice of friends he emigrated to England at the end of August, taking up residence in London, where he planned to publish a German journal. Writing to Engels, he urged him to come to London as quickly as possible to avoid reprisals by the Prussian police and to participate in the new journal. "I *positively* count on it," he wrote. "You *cannot* stay in

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 137-38.

Switzerland. We have business to accomplish in London.... Once more, I count on it definitely that you will not let me down."[1]

Engels decided to respond to Marx's call. But he could not cross the German or French frontiers. In either case he would be instantly arrested. There was but one route—across Italy or, more precisely, across Piedmont. He arrived in Genoa early in October, escaping the notice of the Piedmont police, which was on the lookout for revolutionary emigrants. On an English schooner, *Cornish Diamond*, he sailed for London on October 6. The voyage lasted nearly five weeks. Ever inquisitive and tireless, Engels used the time to broaden his knowledge of navigation. Among his manuscripts is a travel diary with notes about changes in the sun's position, the direction of the wind, the state of the sea, and drawings of shore contours.

Arriving in London in November, Engels made his home at 6 Macclesfield Street, Soho, where he resided for a year. He was at once inducted into the Central Committee of the Communist League, reorganised after Marx's arrival, and joined the German Workers' Educational Society. Shortly before this the Society had formed a German Fugitives Aid Committee. It was headed by Marx. The petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders Gustav Struve and Karl Heinzen tried to split the body through their followers in order to prevent closer bonds among emigrants.

Marx and Engels countered these attempts at a general meeting of the Educational Society on November 18, 1849, and had the old Committee reorganised into the Social-Democratic Fugitives Committee. Now, only members of the Communist League were elected to it: Marx, Engels, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder, and August Willich. The move was designed to consolidate the proletarian wing of German emigrants under the leadership of the Communist League. Subsequently, the Committee repulsed divisive actions by the petty-bourgeois Democratic Society organised early in 1850 by a group of Struve and Heinzen followers expelled from the Educational Society on the initiative of Marx and Engels.

Engels was deeply involved in arranging the Social-Democratic Committee's contacts in Germany, in collecting funds and distributing aid among emigrants. He appealed to Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt to collect more money. "If we get no money at once," he wrote on April 22, 1850, "our 50-60 fugitives will be out in the street in eight days without a penny."[2] In another letter he asked Weydemeyer to try and raise money in Franconia, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, and wherever else the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had had a following.[3] Engels also contacted emigrant committees of other national groups, and protested in the press against the slander of petty-bourgeois leaders, who alleged that the Social-Democratic

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 142.
[2] Ibid., S. 530.
[3] Ibid., S. 531.

Committee aided none but Communists and spent its funds irregularly. The Committee published its accounts, and passed a decision that Committee members should get nothing out of its funds.

Since the trickle of contributions in the summer months of 1850 could not measure up to the need of the emigrants, the Committee organised a hostel and mess-hall, and then also workshops for those who could find no work. All this was done to save the proletarian revolutionaries from stark poverty in their exile.

NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE

It was most important, Marx and Engels held, to equip Communists with a clear perspective and to draw up new theoretical and tactical principles based on a conceptualisation of the revolutionary battles of 1848-49. To do so, a periodical was required. They began organising a journal, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. As the title indicates, the journal was conceived as a successor to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Marx and Engels hoped to renew the issue of a daily newspaper.

Engels helped arrange the publication of the new journal. In an "Announcement", Marx and he set out its programme: the journal would make possible "a detailed and scientific analysis of *economic* relations, which constitute the basis of the whole political movement".[1] This time of seeming calm, the "Announcement" said, should be employed "to explain the preceding period of revolution, the character of the contending parties, and the social relations which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties".[2]

Since neither Marx nor Engels had the funds to start the periodical, it was to be a joint venture. The two friends wrote to their party comrades—Jakob Schabelitz, Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Weydemeyer, Ernst Dronke, the German democrat Gustav Bergenroth, veteran of the 1849 Palatinate-Baden campaign, Max Becker, and many others—asking them to find subscribers to shares, raise the required money, help select distributing agents, and to contribute articles. Engels helped draw up a share prospectus.

Many of the organisational and administrative matters were in Engels' hands, but the literary end was still his main concern.

The six issues of the journal (with Nos. 5 and 6 appearing as a double issue) put out in 1850 consisted almost entirely of contributions by Marx and Engels. Wilhelm Wolff and Georg Eccarius assisted them, and other Communist League members, such as Weydemeyer and Freiligrath, were also to take part. The journal published

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7, S. 5.
[2] Ibid.

Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Engels' "The German Campaign for an Imperial Constitution" and *The Peasant War in Germany*, and other works summing up the experience of the revolutionary struggle.

The essays, "The German Campaign for an Imperial Constitution", Engels completed after moving to London. They appeared in the first three numbers of the journal and were a forceful account of the events by a participant and witness, and at the same time a serious historical investigation. A striking portrayal of episodes of the Palatinate-Baden uprising and precise sketches of some of its leaders blended with a profound analysis of the mainsprings of the movement, the position of the classes and parties. Continuing the line of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels criticised the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois democrats for substituting high-flown talk for revolutionary action, their endless vacillation and spinelessness. He depicted the mass struggle of the last stage of the 1848-49 revolution and formulated important propositions on the tactics of revolutionary parties in armed uprisings and civil wars.

Engels' essays created a stir. "The articles about Baden," Weerth wrote Marx on May 2, 1850 in a lighter vein, "could not be better if I wrote them myself. That, of course, is the highest praise I can give Engels."[1] Freiligrath extolled the lively and uninhibited manner of narration. But the petty-bourgeois leaders, participants in the campaign for an imperial constitution, were outraged by the extremely unfavourable portrayal of themselves, and raised a howl. The same reaction came from those Communist League members (Karl Bruhn, et al) who sought conciliation with them. But their bluster only showed that Engels had smitten his target.

THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY

The other work by Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, was part of his study of the German revolution. Later, in a preface to its second edition, Engels wrote: "The parallel between the German Revolution of 1525 and that of 1848-49 was too obvious to be altogether rejected at that time."[2] In fact, it helped Engels pinpoint the reasons for the defeat in 1848-49: economic and political backwardness, treachery by the bourgeoisie, weakness of the progressive elements, disunity, and the local nature of the risings, which enabled the counter-revolution to suppress them one by one.

The *Peasant War in Germany* is a splendid example of how historical materialism is to be applied in analysing that important event in German history. The work combines profound theoretical

[1] G. Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 356.
[2] Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, Moscow, 1969, p. 8.

generalisations with politically incisive conclusions. A strictly dialectico-materialist investigation of factual material, drawn mainly from the book by the German progressive historian Wilhelm Zimmermann, it arrives at fundamentally new conclusions. Unlike the German bourgeois idealist historians, who saw in the 1525 events "nothing except violent theological bickering",[1] Engels was the first to examine the socio-economic class roots of the Reformation and the Peasant War. The theological shell of the ideological and political struggle, he showed, was explicable by the level of the social relations of those times.

Engels analysed the reasons for the defeat of the 16th-century Peasant War. The main reason, he held, was the treachery of the German burgherdom. He saw the burghers as the bourgeoisie in its formative stage, and the Reformation and Peasant War as an early bourgeois revolution, the "No. 1 bourgeois revolution".[2] This was why he drew the parallel between the events of the early 16th century and the German 1848-49 revolution.

Not the burgherdom but the peasants and the contiguous urban plebeian elements, the forerunners of the modern proletariat, Engels showed, were the main motive force of the early bourgeois revolution. The objectively bourgeois character of the Peasant War stemmed less from the involvement of the burghers and mainly from the content of the anti-feudal demands of the rebelling peasants. However, he pointed out, "neither burghers, nor peasants, nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action".[3]

Among the reasons for the defeat of the Peasant War, Lenin wrote, Engels listed "disunity of action and lack of centralisation on the part of the oppressed owing to their petty-bourgeois status in life".[4] The book proves, however, that peasants possess a considerable revolutionary potential, that their alliance with the proletariat is vital for the revolution.

Engels did not merely describe the general course of the Peasant War. He also examined some of the principal problems of the German and European history of the late Middle Ages, depicting the decay of feudalism and the emergence of bourgeois relations. He looked into the social, political and ideological sources of the religious struggle and showed the historical role of the anti-feudal movements.

He also showed the peculiar features of Germany's development after the Peasant War, their imprint on later history.

The Peasant War in Germany is a deeply committed book in which historical investigation is closely associated with topical aspects of the democratic movement, the class struggle of the proletariat. The choice of the subject was suggested by the new conditions of

[1] Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, p. 41.
[2] Ibid., p. 188.
[3] Ibid., p. 129.
[4] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 201.

revolutionary activity. In the calm that had set in following the two years of revolutionary conflict, in the atmosphere of fatigue and disenchantment, Engels wished to show the everlasting significance of the peasant and plebeian opposition to feudalism, to emphasise its revolutionary tendencies, its difference from the opposition of burghers and princes, who had betrayed the revolution. He wished to reawaken in his people's memory the images of such powerful figures of the revolutionary Peasant War as Michael Geismaier and such leaders of the plebeian wing as Thomas Münzer. These gallant fighters for freedom who had led the insurrection against feudal oppression were for Engels the personification of the Germans' finest revolutionary traditions.

SURVEYS, ARTICLES, REVIEWS

Jointly with Marx, Engels wrote a number of reviews, critical articles and international surveys. In a review of Thomas Carlyle's collection of articles, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, he stressed that this prominent exponent of feudal socialism had completely abandoned his earlier critical attitude to capitalism and the bourgeoisie. He attacked Carlyle's subjective idealism and "hero cult". The cult and worship of "outstanding" personalities, of the genius and hero, Engels showed, was a shield for the propertied classes, justifying the enslavement of the masses, to whom Carlyle denied their role in history. Carlyle scoffed at democratic forms of government, described the popular longing for them as "a contagion", and maintained that political life was incompatible with the principles of democracy. In contrast to subjective-idealist reactionary theories, the review emphasised the great creative role of the masses in making history.

Subjective-idealist views and the cult of the individual are also criticised by Engels and Marx in a review of pamphlets about the French revolutionary movement and its leaders by two police agents—Adolphe Chenu and Lucien Delahodde. Marx and Engels used the factual material in the two pamphlets to show their attitude to the typically petty-bourgeois democratic exaggeration of the role of individuals. Leaders of the revolutionary movement, they said, should be portrayed in "severe Rembrandtian colours in all their vitality" and not in the official image, "with buskins on their feet and a halo round their heads". They amplified: "In these deified Raphaelian pictures all the veracity of the portrayal is lost."[1]

Marx and Engels ridiculed the "alchemists of revolution", the conspirators and sectarians who, defying the real conditions, hoped to win by plotting and conspiring. Such leaders naturally neglected

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7, S. 266.

the political education of workers, did not explain to them their class interests and looked upon educated people who sided with the working class, upon the ideological representatives of the revolutionary party, with misgivings.

Their criticism of conspiratorial tactics and sectarianism in the democratic and working-class movement was very timely. It was directed against the reckless plans of part of the German democratic emigrants.

The article "Gottfried Kinkel" and a review of the pamphlet, *The Voice of Law in Defence of All the Fighters for an Imperial Constitution*, by Ludwig Simon, a deputy of the Frankfurt Parliament, were also directed by Marx and Engels against the petty-bourgeois democrats. Simon's book showed clearly that the so-called Left of the Frankfurt Assembly had learned nothing from the revolution and would again adopt its shamefully indecisive posture in the event of a new revolutionary crisis.

To show the lack of principle of some of the democratic leaders and the need for criticising these quasi-revolutionaries, Marx and Engels used the example of Kinkel's faint-hearted and cowardly behaviour before the Prussian court.

REORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The criticism in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of the German petty-bourgeois democratic leaders became more severe after the revolution. Better steeled and more militant leaders were needed; so was a proletarian party independent of the petty bourgeoisie. Before forming such a party, however, the Communist League had to be reorganised and brought into line with the new conditions.

The League's Central Committee took up the matter in January 1850. Together with Marx, Engels helped reconstruct and consolidate the organisation, and to renew the Central Committee's ties with communities and individual members in Germany. It was almost like starting from scratch. Many League members were under detention and the remainder had either emigrated or were in hiding. It was very difficult to arrange secret correspondence.

Marx and Engels approached League activists in different parts of Germany, proposing to revive or found local communities on the basis of the *Communist Manifesto* and to establish links with the Central Committee in London. They wrote to Peter Röser in Cologne, Weydemeyer in Frankfurt, and to others. One of their closest associates, a member of the League's Central Committee, Konrad Schramm, wrote to League leaders in Switzerland from London on January 28, 1850: "In Germany we are trying to do everything in our power to unite League members scattered by the recent revolution."[1]

[1] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

But mere letters were ineffective. A special emissary was required to study the situation on the spot, find people to revive or create communities and acquaint local leaders with the new tactical principles of the Central Committee. Heinrich Bauer, a member of the Central Committee, went for this purpose to Belgium and Germany in March 1850, and took with him the Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League, written by Marx and Engels earlier in the month. This splendid paper outlined the League's tactical line in the new conditions, and became the ideological foundation for the League's reorganisation.

In the Address, Marx and Engels reviewed the League's work during the 1848-49 revolution, in which its members had participated wholeheartedly—in the press, on the barricades and in the battlefields. The League's theoretical standpoint defined prior to the revolution proved correct; but it had suffered organisationally, with its district bodies and communities gradually losing contact with the Central Committee and the workers coming under the influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats. It was high time, the Address said, to remedy the situation. Weighing the outlook for another bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany, Marx and Engels stressed that if it broke out, "the workers' party ... must act in the most organised, most unanimous and most independent fashion possible".[1] The task of the first order was to establish in Germany "an independent, secret and public organisation of the workers' party ... and make each section the central point and nucleus of workers' societies in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences".[2]

Marx and Engels presented exhaustive theoretical arguments in favour of an independent political organisation of the working class. Also, they substantiated the attitude which this organisation should adopt vis-à-vis the petty-bourgeois democrats. The working class, they maintained, should go with the democrats for the sake of victory over the common enemy, but at the same time protect its own interests: "During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers must, at every opportunity, put forward their own demands alongside of the demands of the bourgeois democrats."[3]

The main theme in the Address was that of uninterrupted revolution, the initial guidelines for which Marx and Engels had formulated prior to 1848. It says in the Address: "While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible ... it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one coun-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 176.
[2] Ibid., pp. 179-80.
[3] Ibid., p. 180.

try but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one."[1]

The Address also listed measures to assure the permanence of the revolution: once the petty bourgeoisie assumes power, the workers must at once establish alongside the official governments their own revolutionary workers' governments, either in the form of self-governing municipal councils or workers' clubs or committees, so that the official governments see themselves supervised by bodies—nuclei of revolutionary working-class power—backed by the whole mass of the workers. Armed workers should organise as a proletarian guard at the disposal not of the official authorities but of the revolutionary councils formed by the workers. Opposing bourgeois candidates in elections to the National Assembly, the proletariat must everywhere put up its own candidates, preferably members of the Communist League.

Putting things in more specific terms, Marx and Engels defined the communist tactics in the coming revolution: "At the beginning of the movement, of course, the workers cannot yet propose any directly communistic measures. But they can:

"1. Compel the democrats to interfere in as many spheres as possible of the hitherto existing social order ... as well as to concentrate the utmost possible productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state;

"2. ... drive the proposals of the democrats, who in any case will not act in a revolutionary but in a merely reformist manner, to the extreme and transform them into direct attacks upon private property."[2] If, for example, the petty-bourgeois democrats propose purchase of the railways and factories from their capitalist owners, the workers should demand that these means of production be confiscated by the state without compensation.

Anticipating a socialist revolution in Germany, Marx and Engels suggested that land confiscated from landlords should be made state property and converted into workers' colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large-scale agriculture. Formulating this demand in the interest of the alliance between the industrial and rural proletariat, Marx and Engels later worked it into a broader programme in the interest of all working peasants.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-79.
[2] Ibid., p. 184

The Address ranks among the most important works of scientific communism. Lenin described it as "extremely interesting and informative".[1]

It was received with acclaim by League members in Germany.

The Central Committee underscored the need for close links between League communities and local workers' and farmers' associations, sports societies and other mass organisations. The instruction was set forth in a new "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League", drawn up by Marx and Engels in June 1850, which contained an exhaustive account of the state of affairs in the League, its contacts with revolutionary groups in other countries and of the hostile activity of a number of petty-bourgeois emigrant organisations. Its main accent was on the need for a "strong secret organisation of the revolutionary party throughout Germany, to be formed as quickly as possible."[2]

In London, too, Marx and Engels worked to consolidate the League, making good use of the German Workers' Educational Society, the Social-Democratic Fugitives Committee and the revolutionary wing of the petty-bourgeois emigrants.

CONTACTS WITH REVOLUTIONARIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES

Marx and Engels sought contacts with revolutionary emigrants of other countries. To maintain relations with the French emigrant Blanquists, the Left-wing Chartists and Hungarian emigrants, the League's Central Committee appointed Marx, Engels and Willich. Since Marx had not yet acquired fluency in English, it was chiefly Engels who addressed meetings and banquets organised by Chartists and European revolutionary emigrants. On February 25, 1850, speaking at a banquet of French Blanquists in London on the anniversary of the 1848 French Republic, he toasted the veterans of the June 1848 rising in Paris, and on April 5 attended an international meeting of the Fraternal Democrats on the birthday of Robespierre.

Engels helped bring about the rupture between the revolutionary Chartists and the O'Connor faction, which gravitated towards reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. Contacting the more revolutionary of the Hungarian emigrants, the Central Committee took note, among other things, that there were gifted soldiers among them who could be extremely useful to the League in the event of a revolution.

In mid-April 1850, with a revolutionary upswing looming ahead, Marx and Engels joined the French Blanquists and revolutionary Chartists in forming a Universal Society of Communist Revolutionaries. A contract of six articles was signed, of which the first and

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 467.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7, S. 306.

second were especially important. "The purpose of the society," the first article read, "is to overthrow all privileged classes, to subject these classes to the dictatorship of proletarians by sustaining the revolution in permanence until the realisation of communism, which is to be the last form in which the human race constitutes itself."[1] The second article said that to promote these aims, the society shall create bonds of solidarity among all the factions of the communist revolutionary party.

This meant that the French revolutionary Blanquists and the English Left Chartists, who had concluded the contract with representatives of the Communist League, regarded themselves as factions of the international communist party, which, however, was still mainly an ideological and political conception.

To be sure, the alliance between the German Communists and French Blanquists could not endure for long. Marx and Engels were compelled to frustrate Blanquist attempts to enter into agreements with the German petty-bourgeois democrats. The Blanquists' penchant for conspiracy and their weakness in matters of theory caused them to form unprincipled alliances. They were liable to fall under the spell of the petty-bourgeois democrats' revolutionary rhetoric and were enchanted by the latter's willingness to enter into conspiracies.

The grave differences over theoretical and tactical issues between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and the French Blanquist leaders, on the other, caused unavoidable collisions, which soon brought about a rupture.

England was the only country where an organised labour movement continued to exist after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions on the continent. But the Chartist party had broken up by then into a revolutionary wing headed by Communist League members Harney and Jones, and O'Connor's petty-bourgeois "purely democratic faction, whose programme was confined to the People's Charter and a few other petty-bourgeois reforms".[2]

Since their arrival in England, Marx and Engels gave unqualified support to the revolutionary Chartists in their efforts to build a massive proletarian party with a socialist programme. Their relations with Harney and Jones were of the closest, and they were given ample opportunities to present their views in the Chartist press.

The first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* helped to spread Marxism in the English labour movement. It appeared in *The Red Republican*, a Chartist journal, in November 1850. Harney's brief introductory note revealed for the first time that Marx and Engels were its authors, and described it as an "important document, to judge of the plans and principles of the most advanced party of the German Revolutionists".[3]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 7, S. 553.
[2] Ibid., S. 445.
[3] *The Red Republican* No. 21, November 9, 1850, p. 161.

Engels contributed regularly to the periodicals of the revolutionary Chartists. In March 1850 the *Democratic Review*, published by Harney, ran his article, "The Ten Hours' Question", written in connection with the decision of the Court of Exchequer, which, in effect, exonerated factory owners who violated the Ten Hours Bill.

In a brief account tracing the history of the ten-hour day in England, Engels stressed that though the Bill was enacted by "canting philanthropic aristocrats", the agitation in its favour had gone a long way in uniting the English proletariat and arousing its class consciousness. "The working man, who has passed through such an agitation," he wrote, "is no longer the same he was before; and the whole working class, after passing through it, is a hundred times stronger ... and better organised."[1] Engels also spoke out against the notion gaining currency among workers that economic struggles would secure a radical improvement of their social condition. For the worker, Engels wrote, "lasting benefit ... can be obtained *by conquering, first of all, political power*".[2]

Engels helped Ernest Charles Jones start a new journal, *Notes to the People*. With his assistance Jones was able to maintain a foreign news department, and wrote to him on this score on January 16, 1852: "No one but you can help me. Would you send me an account *weekly* ... under some *nom de guerre*?"[3]

Jones was deeply grateful to Engels for his cooperation and turned to him often for help. On receiving Engels' article, "Real Causes Why the French Proletarians Remained Comparatively Inactive in December Last", he at once replied: "Bravo! Magnificent! Many thanks.... Your article will not appear until next week, but I shall print a thunderous announcement this week."[4]

Engels held Jones in deep regard and praised him for disseminating the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Jones, too, never failed to look up Engels on his short trips to Manchester, consulting him on many a Chartist problem.

Contributions to Chartist journals and newspapers by Marx and Engels and their closest associates—Konrad Schramm, Eccarius, Freiligrath and Pieper—helped spread Marxist ideas among the more advanced Chartist groups. Articles by Chartist authors were clear evidence that the Marxist influence was on the rise.

BATTLE AGAINST SECTARIANISM AND CONSPIRACIES

For Communist League members their attitude towards the leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy was in those years the measure

[1] *The Democratic Review*, March 1850, London.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Central Party Archives.
[4] Jones to Engels, February 5, 1882 (Central Party Archives).

of their revolutionary spirit. Engels, like Marx, favoured complete ideological and political dissociation.

It was learned from Henrich Bauer's reports and letters from Wilhelm Wolff, Weydemeyer, and others, that some of the League members in Switzerland were ensnared by the petty-bourgeois emigrants who had formed a secret society, Revolutionary Centralisation, which nursed ultra-revolutionary illusions about immediate revolutionary action in Germany and passed itself off as a reorganised Communist League. Stephan Born, Karl d'Ester, Karl Bruhn of Hamburg, and other League members were enticed into joining the group.

In the spring of 1850 the League's Central Committee sent a special emissary to Switzerland to investigate the Centralisation society, to end its intrigues and consolidate the Communist League communities. The mission was assigned to Ernst Dronke, who was then in Paris.

On arriving in Switzerland, Dronke contacted Wilhelm Wolff, who had not known of the revival of the League's Central Committee in London and was one of the leaders of Centralisation. Wolff furnished Marx and Engels with exhaustive information. At their request, he and Dronke revived and consolidated the local League communities. This caused the Revolutionary Centralisation leaders to seek an accord with the Communist League. In August 1850 their representative, Gustav Techow, went to London and informed Marx and Engels that his organisation was willing to be a branch of the Communist League, provided it could preserve its own sphere of activity (petty bourgeoisie, army).

Concerned for the proletarian party's ideological and organisational independence, and adhering to its theoretical and tactical principles, the Central Committee turned down this proposal.

Similar proposals of affiliation with the Communist League came from the petty-bourgeois democrats in London. The purpose, as Marx saw it, was "to involve the League in the revolutionary divertissements of the German democratic emigrant world".[1] But while Marx and Engels rejected these overtures, Willich and his friends responded in the summer of 1850 with at first concealed and later undisguised acclaim. They thirsted for "at least the *appearance* of, if not real conspiracy, and hence direct alliance with the democratic heroes of the day".[2]

The conflict between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Willich, on the other, began at the end of July 1850 at a sitting of the Central Committee. Willich said he wished to participate in a London conference of German emigrants held under the auspices of petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx, Engels and others opposed Willich's intention.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 14, S. 440.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 8, S. 461.

Willich, who was in the minority, tried to rally support among the artisans of the Educational Society, parading as a high-minded opponent of the proletarian party's "isolation" from other revolutionary forces, a protagonist of revolutionary action, and the like. He won over Schapper, who had recently come from Germany and was made a member of the Central Committee.

By the autumn of 1850 it was clear to Marx and Engels that economic growth in the chief capitalist countries (Britain, France and the United States) and Germany's rapid industrial development made a revolutionary sweep unlikely before the next economic crisis. Members of the League, they held, should use the lull to study revolutionary theory, conceptualise the 1848-49 revolution, consolidate the Communist League and prepare the proletariat for the storm to come. None of this Willich and Schapper accepted. They clung dogmatically to old slogans, old methods of action.

At the end of August and in early September the differences with Willich and Schapper grew more acute. Late in August a meeting of the Social-Democratic Fugitives Committee criticised Willich's conciliatory attitude vis-à-vis the petty-bourgeois democrats, whereupon he appealed to his followers in the Educational Society, stating his wish to withdraw from the Committee, and managed to win a majority at a meeting of the Society.

He began slandering Marx, Engels and their followers in the Communist League. His conduct was brought up at an eventful Central Committee meeting on September 2, 1850, where he retorted in bad grace, with personal insults, to Marx's well-argued criticism.

THE SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Despite the differences with the Willich-Schapper faction, Marx and Engels were at first determined to avoid a rupture. They hoped comradely criticism and the real situation would make Schapper and Willich see reason and give up their reckless plans. Concern for unity determined their stand at the League's Central Committee meeting on September 15, 1850. Marx made the proposal of changing the Rules and shifting the Central Committee from London to Cologne, that is, transferring its powers to the Cologne District Committee and dividing the London District into two districts, both answerable directly to the Central Committee: one consisting of the followers of Marx and Engels, and the other of those of Schapper and Willich, thus averting a split.

Emphasising the fundamental nature of the differences, Marx described the standpoint of the Willich-Schapper faction as follows: "The universal outlook of the *Manifesto* has been replaced with the German national one, flattering the national feelings of the German artisans. Instead of the materialistic outlook of the *Manifesto*, an

idealistic one has been advanced. Instead of the real relationships, *volition* has been put forward as the main factor in revolution. While we say to the workers: you have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war ahead of you to alter the relationships, to be able to take power, the same workers have been told: we must take power *at once*, or else lie down and sleep.... In place of real revolutionary development one would have revolutionary phrase-mongering."[1]

Engels did not speak. Marx spoke for both of them. And the majority accepted his proposals. Only Willich's followers voted against them.

Marx and Engels also censured Willich and Schapper in the "Third International Survey" in No. 5-6 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, November 1850. In their exhaustive study of the world market, they noted that "in this universal prosperity, with the productive forces of bourgeois society developing as exuberantly as at all possible under bourgeois relations, there can be no question of a real revolution.... *A new revolution is possible only following a new crisis*".[2]

Willich and Schapper ignored this cool assessment of the situation in Germany. They kept up the factional war and finally produced a split. At a League meeting on the day following the Central Committee sitting, they succeeded in passing a motion to expel Marx, Engels and their London followers from the League and to form a new Central Committee representing the minority. This was tantamount to forming a new organisation, which Marx and Engels named the *Sonderbund* (the League apart). On September 17, Marx, Engels and their associates announced their resignation from the German Workers' Educational Society, where the majority had joined Willich and Schapper, and also withdrew from the Social-Democratic Fugitives Committee.

In the wake of the split came the rupture with the French Blanquists in London, whose leaders Adam, Bartélemy and Vidil had sided with Willich and Schapper. The agreement with the Blanquists and other emigrants to form a Universal Society of Communist Revolutionaries was annulled on October 9.

Marx and Engels informed their party friends in Germany about the falling out with Willich and Schapper. Their stand was approved and supported. Wilhelm Wolff wrote to Engels: "The remarkable stories you broached in your latest letter did not really surprise me. What Willich stands for you had told me back in Berne, while the others I knew from my own observations."[3]

The *Sonderbund* refused to comply with the new Central Committee constituted in Cologne in conformance with the London resolution

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 8, S. 598.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 7, S. 440.
[3] *The Communist League—the Forerunner of the First International*, Moscow, 1964, Russ. ed., p. 335.

of September 15. So the Cologne body passed a motion initiated by Marx and the majority of the old Central Committee to expel members of the *Sonderbund* from the Communist League.

The defiant behaviour of the *Sonderbund* leaders and the lack of caution shown by some League members in Germany, through whose fault the June Address of the Central Committee fell into the hands of the German authorities, attracted police attention to Marx and Engels in England. They had been watched closely even before the split (in mid-June 1850 Marx and Engels exposed the surveillance to which they were subjected by agents of the British and Prussian police in a statement to *The Spectator*), and still more closely after it. In April 1852, Hinckeldey, the Polizeipräsident of Berlin, observed in a secret report that the party of Marx and Engels "possessed unquestionably greater strength of knowledge and spirit" than any other emigrant group. "Marx himself," he wrote, "is well known personally, and everyone realises that he has more intellectual power in the tip of his finger than the rest of the crowd have in their heads."[1]

"THE EGYPTIAN CAPTIVITY"

After the suppression of the revolution in Germany and other European countries, when the period of revolutionary battles gave place to one of preparation for future risings, Marx and Engels called on their followers to study theory.

But that, too, was not easy, for there were but meagre opportunities for publishing articles or books. The only publications to which Marx and Engels could contribute from time to time were those of the English Chartists. However, the latter paid nothing for their articles, while Marx and his family were plagued by want. Engels, too, faced the problem of earning a living. His parents took advantage of this. On their instructions, his sister Marie wrote that Father and Mother wanted him to leave London and again go into commerce; the elder Engels needed someone to represent him at Ermen and Engels in Manchester.

Frederick agreed to return to his old office, but specified that he regarded his employment as temporary. This is to be gleaned from another letter by Marie: "It has occurred to us that for the moment you have decided in earnest to be a businessman and thereby secure your livelihood, but that as soon as you believe that favourable chances have reappeared for your party you will at once give up business and will again work for your party; in a word, that you are becoming a businessman without joy and liking, and that you do not intend to be one for the rest of your life."[2]

[1] Karl Obermann, *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten 1849 bis 1852*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1955, S. 92.
[2] Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels. Eine Biographie*, Bd. II, S. 10-11.

Engels did not deny this.

In mid-November 1850, he moved to Manchester, settling at 44/70 Great Ducie Street. There he resided until the end of September 1852, making his daily trip to 7 Southgate Dean Street, the offices of Ermen and Engels, where he spent the larger part of the day.

Life was monotonous. Engels complained that the "damned huckstering" robbed him of much of his physical and mental energy. And Marx aptly described Engels' stay in Manchester as "the Egyptian captivity".[1] But for Engels it was clear that this was the only way to obtain funds to support Marx and his family.

His stay in Manchester, he consoled himself, would not be long. Like Marx, he was sure that a new economic crisis would soon erupt, paving the way for a new revolutionary surge.

Living apart, facing new problems, Marx and Engels experienced a burning need for communication. "I here ... live in absolute seclusion," Marx wrote to Engels. "You will therefore realise that I miss you very much and feel the need to talk to you."[2] Marx and his family were most sharply conscious of Engels' absence at times of grief and adversity: a few days after his departure from London Engels received word of the death of Guido, Marx's youngest son, responding to his friend's bereavement with deep compassion. Jenny Marx wrote in her reply: "My husband and all of us missed you very much and longed for your presence often."[3]

Not only Marx and his wife, but also their children were deeply attached to Engels. He always played with them, told them fairy stories and sang funny songs. "The children speak of Uncle Angels," Jenny Marx wrote in the same letter, "and little Till [Marx's son Edgar] follows your treasured instructions, dear Herr Engels, and sings the song about the 'Old Coat and Intrepid Broom' quite famously."[4]

Engels' visits were welcome occasions for the entire Marx family. "His pending visit," Paul Lafargue recalls, "was spoken of long beforehand, and on the day of his arrival Marx was so impatient that he could not work. The two friends spent the whole night smoking and drinking together and talking over all that had happened since their last meeting."[5]

A month after leaving London, Engels returned to spend the Christmas holidays with the Marx family. At the Christmas dinner he met most of his close party friends, among them Ernest Jones. Also, Engels saw Harney, from whom he had received the following pressing invitation: "If you come to London at Christmas be sure to see us.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 331.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 185.
[3] Ibid., S. 152.
[4] Ibid., S. 153.
[5] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 84.

The pipe of peace shall be forthcoming, and the fire-water shall not be wanting."[1]

On December 30, Engels and Marx attended a New Year's party of the Fraternal Democrats. Addressing the gathering, Engels enumerated the causes for the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions on the continent.

He helped Harney and Jones in their clash with O'Connor's petty-bourgeois faction, advising them on tactics and discussing practical steps.

In Manchester, Engels met Chartists of Harney's persuasion (John Cameron, W. B. Robinson, George Mantle, and others) and prevailed on them to form a circle to study the *Communist Manifesto* under his guidance.

And when Jones came to Manchester in January 1851, Engels advised him to address the Chartists as a "Red Republican" and advocate of nationalising landed property.[2]

At the end of 1850, it came to the notice of Marx and Engels that Harney was falling under the influence of the French petty-bourgeois emigrants Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Caussidière, and others. Their articles advocating "universal equality", "harmony", and the like, appeared in Harney's Chartist journals, especially *Friend of the People* (the name of *The Red Republican* since the end of 1850).

In the autumn of 1850, during the split in the Communist League Harney had backed Marx and Engels, but not staunchly enough. The two friends had to reproach him for taking the petty-bourgeois emigrant leaders' revolutionary rhetoric and their attempts to form the various emigrant "revolutionary governments" too seriously: with Louis Blanc and others he organised meetings to extol their "revolutionary measures".

In conversations and in letters, Marx and Engels warned him against blind worship of "great official personages",[3] as Marx put it, but Harney was letting himself sink in the democratic quagmire. At a meeting on February 24, 1851, he sided with Blanc and Willich against Marx's and Engels' supporters, whereupon Marx and Engels decided to rupture relations with him, and Engels declined further cooperation with the *Friend of the People*.

The London leaders of the German petty-bourgeois democrats nursed various hare-brained schemes of instant revolution in Germany. They collected funds in Europe and America, opened a subscription for "revolutionary bonds", then argued endlessly about how to spend the money, and quarrelled over the apportioning of ministerial jobs in the future provisional governments. One of the factions (Emigration Club) was headed by Kinkel, and another (Agitation

[1] Harney to Engels, December 9, 1850 (Central Party Archives).
[2] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 163.
[3] Ibid., S. 195.

Club) by Ruge. They were at odds with each other over every imaginable issue, except one: maligning Marx and Engels. And here they found willing allies in Willich, Schapper and their followers.

In the beginning of March, Engels visited Marx. They decided to take a public stand against the organisers of the international meeting—known as Banquet of Equals—held on February 24, 1851, the anniversary of the February 1848 revolution, and show that Blanc, Willich, Schapper *et al* had deliberately concealed the text of a toast, "A Warning to the People", sent from prison by Auguste Blanqui, in which he branded Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and the other former members of the provisional government as traitors. The "Warning", subsequently published in a number of French newspapers, was translated by Marx and Engels into German and English; they wrote a short introduction to it and had it printed in 30,000 copies. In the spring of 1851 it also appeared as a pamphlet in Berne.

The leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats, and with them Willich and Schapper, were toying with reckless plans reposing on the eventuality of a war between the Holy Alliance and France, which they expected to break out any day. They were sure that the French would crush their foes and carry the victory to other countries, as they had done during the 18th-century French revolution. Their naive schemes were set out in a proclamation, "To Democrats of All Nations", signed by the French Blanquists, some Polish and Hungarian petty-bourgeois emigrants, and by Willich, Schapper and their friends.

This folly had to be publicly exposed in a strategico-military analysis, and none could do it better than Engels, who had regularly studied military affairs since his removal to Manchester.

In April 1851 he wrote at Marx's request a relatively long manuscript, "The Chances and Prospects of a War by the Holy Alliance Against France in 1852", in which he examined the military potentials of the main European countries from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, describing their economico-military condition, the impact of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars on European armies, military thinking, strategy and tactics, and showing how they differed from the armies of the feudal autocracies. Against the light-headed disquisitions of the petty-bourgeois democrats, Engels produced a sober examination of the balance of power, setting forth a number of strictly scientific ideas about future military development. He showed that the advanced military tactics of the French revolutionary armies and those of Napoleon I were now the common property of all the big continental armies and that, consequently, the French had no substantial advantages over them.

Engels also expressed some sound ideas concerning warfare by armies of a victorious proletarian revolution.

Though Marx and Engels no longer met every day, their collaboration continued. They kept up a regular exchange of opinions.

Soon after the December 2, 1851, coup d état in France, Marx wrote his well-known *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. The beginning of this classic piece contains vivid portraits and pert witticisms borrowed from Engels' letter to Marx on December 3: "...After what we saw yesterday, the people cannot be relied on for anything and it really seems as if old Hegel in his grave were acting as World Spirit and directing history, ordaining most conscientiously that it should all be unrolled twice over, once as a great tragedy and once as a wretched farce, with Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, Barthélemy for St. Just, Flocon for Carnot, and that mooncalf[1] with the first dozen debt-encumbered lieutenants picked at random for the Little Corporal[2] and his Round Table of marshals."[3] These very words, almost to the letter, Marx used in the opening passages of his brilliant pamphlet.

The idea of "literary priority" never entered the relationship between the two friends. In the press and at every convenient opportunity each gave the other credit for some point or proposition.

In the summer of 1851 they decided that the time had come to criticise P. J. Proudhon for his book, *Idée générale de la révolution au XIXe siècle*. His system had begun to congeal as a petty-bourgeois anarchist trend, its propaganda of political indifferentism becoming especially dangerous after the defeat of the revolution, which had cast part of the workers into the pit of despair. Besides, not only in France but also in Germany and other European countries the petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists joined the liberals in their attacks on communism.

On the advice of Marx, who described Proudhon's book as "polemics against communism"[4], Engels read it and gave his own comments in October 1851. Proudhon, he pointed out, was correct in his references to the apologia of bourgeois democracy in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Robespierre; but he demonstrated the utopian and petty-bourgeois nature of Proudhon's views, the inadequacy of his anarchist system and his philosophical and economic outlook. He showed that Proudhon's criticism of the existing relations was unconvincing because abstract and circumscribed by the narrow outlook of the Parisian artisan, for whom the laws of modern large industry and the pertinent relations of production were incomprehensible. Proudhon's book was a reversion to Saint-Simon's thesis that

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[1] Louis Bonaparte.
[2] Napoleon I.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 62.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 312.

the bourgeoisie and the proletarians form a unity in the framework of one industrial class.

Marx liked Engels' manuscript. He intended to use it as the basis for a joint book against Proudhon. "I have reread your critical review," he wrote on November 24, 1851. "What a pity *qu'il n'y a pas moyen* to have it printed. Were I to add some of my own mustard, it could appear under both our names...."[1]

But due to the absence of a publisher the plan did not materialise. There was still a hope that *Die Revolution*, a journal which Joseph Weydemeyer was putting out in the United States, would print it, but its publication was ceased just then for lack of funds.

In the beginning of 1852, Marx thought of writing another pamphlet, *The Great Sages of the Emigration*, conceived as a joint retort by himself and Engels to the slanders of German petty-bourgeois leaders and the chiefs of the dissident faction, the *Sonderbund*, against proletarian revolutionaries. Much factual material was collected and in April 1852 the final plan was ready. The pamphlet was completed in May-June and handed the following month to Janos Bangya, a Hungarian emigrant who promised to print it in Germany. It never reached a publisher, however, and fell into the hands of the police instead. It was later discovered that Bangya was a police agent.

Then, Marx and Engels took advantage of the help offered by Weydemeyer and Cluss, another member of the Communist League, and sent critical articles about the petty-bourgeois democrats to the United States. There they were printed together with similar articles and statements by Weydemeyer and Cluss.

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

One of the most striking examples of how closely matched were the views of Marx and Engels, and of how loyal was their friendship, was their long-time association with the progressive *New York Daily Tribune*, one of whose editors, Charles Dana, influenced for some time by utopian socialism, had been to Cologne during the 1848 revolution and had met Marx. In the summer of 1851, Dana offered Marx to write for his paper as its permanent London correspondent. In Marx's financial plight the invitation was welcome. Besides, many German revolutionaries had found refuge in the U.S.A. and read the paper widely. It was also well known in Western Europe, especially among progressives. Marx invited Engels to write, too, and in the years that followed the latter contributed numerous articles on military and other affairs.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 371.

From August 1851 to September 1852, at Marx's request, Engels wrote a series of articles for the *Tribune* under the general heading, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, printed over the signature of Karl Marx, the paper's official correspondent. Each of the articles (of which there were 19) was perused by Marx before mailing.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany is the first comprehensive Marxist investigation of the 1848-49 German revolution, a scientific examination of the struggle of classes and parties in a crucial period of German history, and a splendid example of how the basic principles of the materialist view of history should be applied to concrete events, projected and expanded. It deals with such cardinal aspects as the relationship between the economic basis of society and the political forms of the class struggle, the influence of the material interests of classes on their position in the revolution, the class struggle and its effect on society's spiritual development, and the laws behind the ripening and development of revolution.

As Marx had done in his *Class Struggles in France*, Engels substantiated the idea that revolution is the "locomotive of history".[1] He wrote: "It is this rapid and passionate development of class antagonism which, in old and complicated social organisms, makes a revolution such a powerful agent of social and political progress; it is this incessantly quick upshooting of new parties ... which ... makes a nation pass in five years over more ground than it would have done in a century under ordinary circumstances."[2]

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany was a summing up of everything the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had daily reported on the course of the revolutionary struggle. A file of the paper was the main source of reference. Engels' analysis of the two years of revolution showed clearly that the political standpoint of the proletarian revolutionaries had been correct.

His conclusions were of vast importance for the strategy and tactics of the workers' class struggle. He developed on the postulate which Marx and he had been advancing throughout the revolution, namely, that the German liberal bourgeoisie was no longer capable of leadership in a bourgeois revolution and that as the struggle unfolded it shifted more and more to counter-revolutionary positions; he showed the social and political reasons behind this.

The analysis was of immense value for the subsequent revolutionary struggle in Germany and elsewhere, and was also one of the theoretical sources of Lenin's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Engels formulated important ideas on tactics in revolutionary battles, showing his amazing gift of strategist, master of revolutionary action and expert in the art of war.

Listing the factors assuring victory in a revolution, Engels wrote:

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 277.
[2] Ibid., p. 327.

"In revolution, as in war, it is always necessary to show a strong front, and he who attacks is in the advantage; and in revolution, as in war, it is of the highest necessity to stake everything on the decisive moment, whatever the odds may be. There is not a single successful revolution in history that does not prove the truth of these axioms."[1]

Calculated risk and selfless courage, he pointed out, were essential for any true revolutionary: "It is a matter of course that, in every struggle, he who takes up the gauntlet risks being beaten; but is that a reason why he should confess himself beaten, and submit to the yoke without drawing the sword? In a revolution, he who commands a decisive position and surrenders it, instead of forcing the enemy to try his hand at an assault, invariably deserves to be treated as a traitor."[2] At such decisive moments, Engels showed, surrendering without a struggle did more to demoralise the masses than a defeat in battle. "A well-contested defeat," he wrote, "is a fact of as much revolutionary importance as an easily-won victory."[3]

Engels' experience in the revolution enabled him to define the main conditions for a victorious armed uprising. "Insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other," he wrote, "and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them."[4]

And here are the rules: "Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play.... Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising.... Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small but daily; keep up the moral ascendant which the first successful rising has given to you; rally thus those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace*!"[5]

Engels' ideas about insurrection are an essential component of the Marxist-Leninist science, of the theory of proletarian revolution.

In *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* he also made profound observations about the national liberation movement and its relevance for the German revolution. Upholding proletarian internationalism, he came out strongly against national oppression and the policy of goading one people against another, and accused the

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 361.
[2] Ibid., p. 362.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 377.
[5] Ibid.

ruling classes in Prussia and Austria of oppressing the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Czechs and other nations. Seeing the national question from the workers' standpoint, he supported only those national movements that opposed reaction, and censured movements that objectively were the tool of reactionary states.

Engels' *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* stands together with Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. The three investigations are a summing up of the European revolutions of 1848-49: the experience of the class struggles of those years helped Marx and Engels to develop the main ideas of their teaching on revolution, the state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

After the transfer of the Communist League's Central Committee to Cologne, Marx and Engels continued to direct it from afar, and kept it informed of the state of affairs in London.

When the members of the Cologne Central Committee and a few other active League members were arrested (Roland Daniels, Heinrich Bürgers, Peter Röser, Friedrich Lessner, Peter Nothjung, and others) in May-June 1851, secret agents of the Prussian police redoubled their surveillance of Marx and Engels. Engels wrote to Marx: "Keep your papers in a reliable place outside the house; since some time past I am being closely watched, and cannot walk a step without two or three informers following me around. Herr Bunsen [Prussian consul in England] will not fail to submit to the British government new and important explanations about the danger of our staying here."[1]

And Engels was right. By hatching a trial of the known Communists, Prussian reaction hoped to prevail on the British government either to transport the German revolutionary emigrants, principally Marx and Engels, to the colonies, or to turn them over to the German police.

But, of course, the main purpose of the trial was to create a pretext for the complete suppression in Prussia of all workers' organisations, of the democratic movement, and even the liberal opposition. To create the appearance of a large conspiracy, the Prussian government used underhand means. Acting with the knowledge of the king and other highly placed persons, Wilhelm Stieber, a police official, established contacts with the police in France, Belgium and other countries. His secret agents infiltrated the Communist League and also the Willich-Schapper *Sonderbund*, and tried to link Marx, Engels and their supporters with the activity of that conspiratorial

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 295.

group. Secret agents broke into the archive of the Willich-Schapper faction, but failing to find what they needed, quickly faked various papers, including a book containing minutes of the London Central Committee. In defiance of the law, the Prussian government held the arrested members of the Communist League in single confinement during the more than 18 months of investigation.

Marx and Engels kept up communications with the arrested comrades in different ways, and did everything they could to expose the Prussian authorities before the world. They sent public statements to British and French bourgeois publications, trying to organise a protest campaign against the Cologne frame-up. However, most of these papers refused to print them.

And after the rigged trial opened in October 1852, they were especially active, supplying defence counsel with authentic evidence exposing the police forgery and the fraudulent court proceedings. How this was done, and how much work was entailed, is colourfully described by Jenny Marx in a letter to Adolf Cluss. "You can imagine," she wrote, "how the 'Marx Party' is active day and night and has to work with head, hands and feet.... All the allegations of the police are lies.... It is truly hair-raising to see all this.... All the proofs of forgery had to be submitted from here.... Then all the papers had to be sent in six to eight copies to Cologne by the most devious channels, via Frankfurt, Paris, etc.... We have just received whole stacks of business addresses and fake business letters from Weerth and Engels for use in sending the documents, letters, etc.... A whole office has been established at our flat. Two or three write, others run errands and still others scrape the pennies together to make it possible for the writers to continue their existence and furnish proof against the old official world of this most unprecedented outrage."[1]

Engels devised ways for contacting the accused and their lawyers in Cologne, and helped Marx in collecting evidence against the Prussian government and the police, which "steal, forge, break open desks, swear false oaths, give false testimony".[2] In letters to Marx he suggested new arguments for the lawyers to use in their court speeches.

Engels followed the court proceedings very closely and expressed his admiration for the courage of the accused Communists. But he also took notice of the cowardly behaviour of some, and was particularly outraged by the shameless attempts of Hermann Becker, recently admitted to the League, to win acquittal by belittling the League's activity. He also wrote indignantly to Marx about Hermann Haupt, a League member who had regained his freedom by betraying his comrades: "We'll punish Haupt. Weerth will find out where he is in South America, and will unmask him when he gets there."[3]

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 240, 241, 242.
[2] Ibid., p. 241.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 160.

Marx and Engels issued joint statements to the English bourgeois press, denouncing the German papers for hushing up the violations of the law in the Cologne court and portraying the Communists as "dangerous conspirators who alone are responsible for the whole history of Europe of the latter four years, and for all the revolutionary commotions of 1848 and 1849".[1] They also censured those English papers (*The Times*, *Daily News*) which grossly maligned the Communist League.

As a result of this vigorous intervention, the court was compelled to reject some of the more obviously faked police evidence. All the same, seven out of the eleven accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, the sentences being met with disapproval even in bourgeois circles.

After the trial was over, Marx asked Engels to write about it for *The New York Daily Tribune*. In an article, "The Late Trial at Cologne", Engels pilloried the Prussian government and its mealy-mouthed judges, the slavish assessors and the police, for whom nothing was too foul if it served the desired end. Upon exposing the slander against the Communists, Engels declared that it was their purpose "to keep together and to prepare the party, whose nucleus they formed, for the last, decisive combat which must one day or another crush forever in Europe the domination, not of mere 'tyrants', 'despots', and 'usurpers', but of a power far superior, and far more formidable than theirs; that of capital over labour".[2]

The arrests and the Cologne trial sapped the strength of the League in Germany. In fact, after the Cologne Central Committee had been put behind bars, the League ceased to exist as a single, centralised organisation. On Marx's proposal, the League's London District announced its dissolution on November 17, 1852, acknowledging as undesirable the further existence of the Communist League on the continent. "Immediately after the sentence, the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members,"[3] Engels wrote in 1888.

The League's dissolution rang down the curtain on a big chapter in the history of the German and international working-class movement. "With the Cologne trial," wrote Engels later, "the first period of the German communist workers' movement comes to an end."[4] The work of Marx and Engels in organising and consolidating the League, in drawing up its theoretical and tactical principles, is one of the most vivid chapters in their battle for the constitution of a proletarian party.

The seeds sown by Marx and Engels yielded rich fruit.

[1] *The People's Paper*, October 30, 1852.
[2] *New York Daily Tribune*, December 22, 1852.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 16.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 189.

Chapter Six

THE YEARS OF REACTION

> Our party was glad to find once more some quiet time for research work. It had the great advantage that its theoretical foundation was a new scientific conception.
>
> *Frederick Engels*

LIFE IN MANCHESTER

A long period of reaction followed the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions.

The governments showered reprisals on the proletarian and democratic movements, and suppressed the progressive press. Working-class organisations were crushed, revolutionary leaders persecuted. Many were imprisoned, others forced to leave their country. The bureaucratic Junker regime in Germany was the most brutal of all.

During the years of reaction Engels lived in Manchester. Work in the firm, which he abhorred, took up much of his time. He came to the office at 9 or 10 in the morning, and did not leave until 4 p.m., and sometimes later. Only a few hours daily were left him for study and writing. Years later, Eleanor Marx-Aveling recollected: "It is terrible to think that ... a man like Engels had to spend twenty years in that way. Not that he ever complained or murmured. Far from it! He was as cheerful and composed at his work as though there were nothing in the world like 'going to the shop' or sitting in the office."[1]

Engels had few friends in Manchester at first. Among the closest were Wilhelm Wolff, who had come there in September 1853 and earned his living by giving private lessons, and Georg Weerth, who lived for some time in Bradford, several hours from Manchester. Engels and Wolff often discussed scientific and political matters, of which the former often informed Marx. "For some years," Engels later recalled, "Wolff was the only confederate whom I had in Manchester; small wonder that we saw each other almost every day."[2] Also, he was often visited by Ernst Dronke, Peter Imandt, Wilhelm Strohn, Heinrich Heise, Wilhelm Steffen and other Communist League members and comrades of the 1848-49 revolution.

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 185.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 88.

In Manchester Engels changed his address several times. He had a place in the central part of the city to receive business acquaintances, and his father and brothers during their visits from Germany. But most of his time he spent in a modest cottage in the outskirts, which he shared with Mary Burns, "free, and withdrawn", as Marx put it, "from all human vileness".[1] Here he received his closest friends.

Mary Burns' sister Lydia (Lizzie), working in a Manchester factory, stayed with them. The two sisters were involved in the Irish national liberation movement and had warm feelings for the workers' struggle. Engels' party friends trusted them implicitly, and treated them as comrades-in-arms.

In the first several years Engels did not travel farther than London. Not until May 1856 could he take Mary on a trip to Ireland. They saw nearly all the country, its most important cities and some of the remoter districts. "Whole villages are devastated," Engels, whose keen eye instantly spotted the glaring social contrasts of England's first colony, wrote to Marx, "and there among them lie the splendid parks of the lesser landlords, who are almost the only people still living there .... The land is an utter desert which nobody wants."[2] The exodus had been brought on by England's policy. Outraged by the British bourgeoisie's shameless plunder of Ireland, by the corruption and repressive rule, Engels observed that Irishmen "feel that they are no longer at home in their own country.... They have been artificially converted into an utterly impoverished nation".[3] A varied band of people led the lives of parasites—constables, priests, lawyers, and the landed gentry—while industry was totally absent. Englishmen, Engels wrote, are prone to boast about their democracy and freedom, but all this "freedom" is built on the cruel oppression of colonies.

INDISSOLUBLE FRIENDSHIP

Though during his first several years in Manchester Engels was himself in narrow circumstances, he did what he could to help out the Marx family. The great Marx was barely able to make ends meet in the capital of the flourishing capitalist power, the "world's industrial workshop". His irregular and very modest literary earnings were his large family's main source of income. Engels' support, which came regularly, was more than welcome. It helped Marx carry on the tiring struggle against want. No matter in what state Engels' own finances were, he never failed his friend.

But what Marx cherished more was Engels' moral support. Engels was for him always a pillar of strength. On April 6, 1855, the day

[1] Ibid., Bd. 30, S. 311.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 93.
[3] Ibid., pp. 93-94.

of his dearly loved son Edgar's death, Marx wrote to him: "I shall never forget how your friendship comforted us at this terrible time. You understand my pain for the child."[1] And in his next letter: "Despite the anguish of those days, I was always fortified by the thought of you and your friendship, and the hope that we two shall still do something sensible in the world."[2] After the child's death, Marx and his wife stayed with Engels for nearly three weeks.

Meetings with Marx atoned for the monotony of Engels' Manchester life. The two friends met several times a year, either when Engels went to London on business or expressly to see Marx, or in Manchester, where Marx's visits sometimes stretched into weeks, even months. Christmas and New Year's Engels usually spent with Marx's family.

In May 1857 Engels fell seriously ill and had to give up his work for several months. Then he recuperated by the sea, first in a place called Waterloo near Liverpool, then on the islands of Wight and Jersey, which became his favourite summer resorts. Marx was deeply alarmed by his friend's ill health, and specially studied medical books to decide on the right treatment. In October 1857 he visited his sick friend in Jersey.

Their devout mental communion did not break off at any time, despite the years which they lived apart. For twenty years, Lafargue wrote, they never ceased being together spiritually, sharing ideas and plans in letters about current political affairs, tactics of the proletarian struggle, or scientific topics. Marx was upset if he did not get a letter from Engels every several days. "The sight of your handwriting," he wrote, "cheers me up."[3] And in another letter: "I am annoyed that now we cannot be together, and work and laugh together."[4]

Eleanor Marx-Aveling recollects: "One of my first memories is the arrival of letters from Manchester. The two friends wrote to each other almost every day, and I can remember how often Moor, as we called our father at home, used to talk to the letters as though their writer were there.... But what I remember best is how Moor used sometimes to laugh over Engels' letters until tears ran down his cheeks."[5]

Neither Marx's financial difficulties, nor the slander heaped on Marx and Engels by the bourgeois press could break their will or blight their spirit. Humour simply gushed in their letters to each other. "Humour," Engels recollected, "was something they could not steal from us."[6] When after Marx's death some German writer

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 443.
[2] Ibid., S. 444.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 30, S. 387.
[4] Ibid., Bd. 28, S. 314.
[5] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 185.
[6] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 29.

referred to "poor Marx", Engels ridiculed him: "Sometimes, when in a very good mood, I'd pull his leg. If these dolts had only read the correspondence between the Moor and myself, they would have had the surprise of their lives. Heine's poetry is child's play compared to our saucy, joyous prose. Furious the Moor could be, but despondent—*jamais!* I shook with laughter as I reread our old letters."[1]

Their friendship was sealed by their similar outlook, their many years of collaboration, their joint revolutionary work, and deep affection.

TIES WITH PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

Following the dissolution of the Communist League, the forms and methods of revolutionary activity had to change.

Though no proletarian party existed as a centralised organisation, though it was impossible to build one in the existing situation, it survived as an ideological trend, a school of thought in the international labour movement. This permitted Marx and Engels to speak of the working men's party conceived, Marx explained, as "a party in a broad historical sense".[2] Anticipating a new revolutionary upsurge, Marx and Engels were determined to preserve and expand ties with working-class leaders.

Expecting a revolution to flare up anew in Germany, Engels held that the proletarian party should from the outset take an independent position vis-à-vis the petty-bourgeois democrats and various non-proletarian socialist trends. "This time," he wrote to Weydemeyer on April 12, 1853, "we start right off with the *Manifesto*."[3] And noting with obvious pleasure that his and Marx's followers were steadily enlarging their knowledge of theory, he continued: "We have all profited considerably from our exile.... The Marxian party plugs away pretty hard, and when one looks at those asinine émigrés, who have picked up new phrases here and there and thus made themselves more confused than ever, it is obvious that the superiority of our Party has increased absolutely and relatively. But that is needed, too, for the job will be hard."[4]

Marx and Engels sought personal contacts with labour leaders in different countries, hoping to gain new avenues for influencing the revolutionary workers.

They regarded Ferdinand Lassalle as one of their allies in Germany, for though he had not joined the Communist League and though his views diverged from theirs, a friendly relationship had sprung up between them during the 1848-49 revolution. A lawyer and publicist, Lassalle was prominent in the Düsseldorf democratic movement

[1] Ibid., S. 36.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 30, S. 495.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 77.
[4] Ibid., p. 78.

and his views were close to those of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on many important issues. In the 1850s he corresponded with Marx and Engels, declaring himself their comrade in ideology. He praised Marx's works and those of Engels, and supported them against the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants. He invited militant Düsseldorf workers to his house and read lectures in which postulates of scientific communism mingled with petty-bourgeois ideas.

His theoretical weaknesses and other faults, excess vanity and arrogance, were known to Marx and Engels, but they gave him credit for his skill as a speaker and writer, for his extraordinary energy and temperament, and hoped that he would one day conquer his failings.

The two friends treasured their erstwhile ties with the revolutionary Rhenish workers, with whom Engels had been so closely associated during the revolution.

In July 1853, at the request of the Rhenish workers, Karl Klein of Solingen, a former Communist League member who had emigrated a year before to Philadelphia, approached Marx and Engels. He had been on friendly terms with Engels during the revolution, had performed many assignments for the League's Central Committee and still had some influence among workers in Elberfeld and Solingen. Now, in a letter forwarded through Ferdinand Freiligrath, Klein informed Marx and Engels about the state of communist propaganda among Rhenish workers. "The communities of Solingen, Elberfeld and Düsseldorf," he wrote, "have gone to Cologne on various occasions to encourage reorganisation; but the Cologne people evaded the issue.... The above named communities have asked me, therefore, that I should establish direct contacts with the former central body in London on their behalf, which I am herewith doing."[1]

If required, he added, the communities would send a delegate to London.

Klein asked Engels, Marx and their friends not to delay their reply to the workers in those cities.

"Our party in London," he continued, "will see how important it is when the impending revolution comes to have an organisation *at least* in the industrial areas of Rhine Province and Westphalia acting for the Communist League and carrying out the required measures before our party again takes matters into its hands."[2]

Marx was aware that neither he nor Engels could correspond directly with the communist workers in the Rhine area because of Prussian police surveillance. But he also knew that the revolutionary Rhenish workers should get the requested support. Forwarding Klein's letter to Engels, he informed the latter about the substance

[1] Klein to Freiligrath, July 31, 1853 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Ibid.

of his reply: "From London correspondence is entirely impossible. The factory workers should keep *exclusively* to themselves and not have anything to do with the petty bourgeoisie or the artisans of Cologne, Düsseldorf, etc. If they want to send someone here once a year to consult us, we have nothing against it."[1] On receiving Marx's reply, Klein at once advised the Rhenish workers to despatch a delegate to London.

This renewed the contacts between Marx and Engels and the militant workers of Rhine Province. A delegate, the lawyer Gustav Levy, arrived in London at the end of December 1853. He proposed that Communist League branches should be revived in Germany and asked Marx to approve his friends' intention to prepare an armed rising of factory workers in Iserlohn, Solingen, and other Rhenish industrial centres. Marx opposed this "useless and dangerous *folly*",[2] for, he said, the conditions for an insurrection were as yet totally lacking. Reviving the League, he held, was untimely "because of the dangers which such ties created for the people in Germany".[3]

At the end of February 1856 Levy reappeared in London. Marx informed Engels of their talks. He had learned that the more militant workers were in contact with Cologne and conducted revolutionary propaganda among their mates in Solingen, Iserlohn, Elberfeld and other Rhenish towns, and had not given up the idea of an insurrection. Marx wrote: "The people seem to be firmly convinced that *we and our friends will hasten to their side instantly*. They naturally feel the need for political and military chiefs. And on no account should this be held against them."[4] Marx apprised Engels that he had told Levy that such a rising was doomed if begun before the objective conditions for revolution had ripened in Germany and the rest of Europe.

Levy informed Marx of the Düsseldorf workers' dissatisfaction with Lassalle, whom they suspected of improper dealings and accused of dictatorial conduct, and the like. Marx was cautious and advised against a breach with Lassalle before the latter's real posture was clear. So did Engels.

Marx and Engels had fairly regular contacts with German emigrants in North America, notably Weydemeyer and Adolph Cluss, and also Abraham Jacobi, Karl Klein, Konrad Schramm, and a few other former Communist League members, and praised their public stand against the petty-bourgeois leaders. Cluss, for one, won Engels' praise for coming to grips with Willich. Weydemeyer put to good use the ideas set out in Marx's and Engels' letters in his articles against Heinzen, Willich and other foes of Marxism.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 288.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 30, S. 490.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., Bd. 29, S. 28-29.

In the autumn of 1857 he and his friends organised a German Communist Club in New York, which at once established connections with Marx.

Meanwhile, contacts with the English working-class movement slackened somewhat in the latter half of the fifties. This was due to rising trade-unionist influences, and the decline of Chartism. Engels followed the processes very closely, and arrived at the conclusion that the renunciation by part of the British workers of independent political activity and the abatement of the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie were due to the country's improved economic situation. The British bourgeoisie held what was practically a monopoly on world trade, and possessed a far-flung colonial empire. It could therefore afford to set aside a fraction of its fabulous profits to better the condition of the skilled workers. It was in 1851 that Engels first put down this idea in a letter to Marx. The Manchester factory owners, he wrote, took advantage of their prosperity to bribe the workers. As a result, reformist ideas promoted by the workers' aristocracy, were thriving among the English proletariat.

Like Marx, Engels censured some of the leading Chartists (including, for a time, Ernest Jones) for abandoning their independent political drive for universal suffrage at the end of the 1850s and concluding an alliance unfavourable to the workers with bourgeois radicals. In a letter to Marx on October 7, 1858, Engels examined the reasons for the spread of reformist influence among the British workers. "The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois," he wrote, "so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *alongside* the bourgeoisie." He stressed that this was "justifiable" in the case of the English bourgeoisie, "which exploits the whole world".[1] Later, he developed and deepened this proposition, relating it to the economic and social roots of reformism in England.

WRITING FOR THE PRESS

In the 1850s Engels wrote quite prolifically for the progressive bourgeois press. In those reactionary times this was the only outlet which Marx and he had for their views on topical international issues and the internal situation in the big capitalist countries. Most of what Engels wrote was published in the *New York Daily Tribune*. Marx, who was not yet sure of his English, wrote in German and had Engels translate his articles.

Some articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* were written jointly, and in all cases the two friends consulted each other diligently, exchanged notes, and showed each other their rough texts.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 110.

From the end of December 1854 until October 1855, Marx also wrote as its London correspondent for the German bourgeois-democratic newspaper, *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, contributing two or three articles weekly. Among these were reviews of the Crimean War written by Engels for the *New York Daily Tribune* and translated by Marx into German with amendments or abridgments.

On the international scene, Marx and Engels were then occupied chiefly with the progressive bourgeois-democratic and national liberation movements. Feudal authoritarian practices were still alive in most of the European countries, for the bourgeois-democratic reconstruction was not yet complete. "The general feature of the epoch," Lenin wrote about this period, "...was the progressiveness of the bourgeoisie, i.e., its unresolved and uncompleted struggle against feudalism."[1] As Marx and Engels saw it, this struggle should be consummated before the working class mounted the battle for socialism. The more crushing the blow against the survivals of feudalism and the more radical the bourgeois-democratic movement and the broader the participation in it of the people, the better prepared the soil would be for the workers' revolutionary struggle for their ultimate aims. In sum, the proletariat had a vital stake in the success of bourgeois-democratic and national liberation movements.

After a series of articles, "Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution", Engels temporarily stopped writing for the *New York Daily Tribune*. Not until March 1853, at Marx's request prompted by the developments in the Middle East, did he begin a series on the Eastern question. Then, after a short interval, and again at Marx's request, he returned to the same subject in the autumn of 1853, shortly before the outbreak of military operations between Russia and Turkey, and continued writing in the course of the Crimean War (1853-56). All these years, he and Marx closely followed events in the East, that is, the scramble of the great powers for spoils from the break-up of the Ottoman Empire precipitated by the internal crisis in that feudal state and the national liberation struggle of its subject Balkan peoples.

Engels' articles, which displayed his thorough grasp of the situation in the Middle East and Southeast Europe, appeared either under Marx's name, or as unsigned editorials.

Engels' knowledge of Slav languages (including Russian) which he had studied since the beginning of the 1850s, his knowledge of the history of the Slav peoples and of their place in the economic and political frameworks of Southeast Europe, of Turkey's domestic problems and foreign policy, and of the opinion of the British official and opposition press—all this enabled him to react lucidly, in clear journalistic terms, to all the developments in the East.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 148.

Working on his articles, Engels acquainted himself with the current literature on Turkey and Turkish policy. In March 1853 he read David Urquhart's *Turkey and Its Resources*, the facts from which he used for his reports, while deprecating the groundless judgments of the author, his vindication of Turkish despotism and disdain for the role played by the Greeks and Slavs in the Balkans.

He delved into the national relationships in the Turkish empire, and particularly the Southern Slavs' movement for national independence.

In articles entitled "The Real Issue in Turkey", "The Turkish Question" and "What Is to Become of Turkey in Europe?", Engels elucidated the substance of the Eastern question. He attacked the so-called *status quo* policy of Britain and France, which sought to preserve the artificially constituted Turkish state for egoistic purposes and doomed millions of Southern Slavs to political slavery, poverty and spiritual subjugation. "What is this *status quo*?" Engels asked in one of his articles, and replied: "For the Christian subjects of the Porte, it means simply the maintenance for ever and a day of Turkish oppression over them."[1]

In the Turkish empire, Engels wrote, "the South-Slavonians ... are, in the inland districts of the country, the exclusive representatives of civilisation. They do not yet form a nation, but they have a powerful and comparatively enlightened nucleus of nationality in Servia. The Servians have a history, a literature of their own. They owe their present internal independence to an eleven years' struggle, carried on valiantly against superior numbers."[2]

"The peninsula, commonly called Turkey in Europe," he pointed out, "forms the natural inheritance of the South-Slavonian race." His sympathy for the Slav national liberation struggle against Turkish rule was obvious.

But Engels also opposed Russian tsarism, denouncing its annexationist ambitions and attempts to seize Constantinople. The rise of Russian tsarism, he held, created an enormous danger for the democratic and labour movement in Europe. He regarded tsarist autocracy as the oppressor of the Russian and many other peoples, as the bitterest enemy of the revolution and the stronghold of reaction in Europe.

Marx and Engels tore down the Russian tsar's mask of "friend" and "patron" of the Balkan peoples. They showed that he conspired to use for his own, aggressive aims the kind feelings harboured by the Slav peoples in the Balkans for Russia and the Russians. Also, they exposed the hypocrisy of the British and French governments, which, though advancing the *status quo* principle, intended gradually to take over Turkey and turn her into a vassal. The rulers of Britain

[1] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 21, 1853.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

and France, Engels argued, wanted to weaken Russia militarily, eliminate her as a rival in the Middle East and the Balkans, and undermine her positions in the Mediterranean with its all-important commercial shipping routes. On the other hand, however, they also had a stake in preserving Russian tsarism as a dependable weapon against the revolutionary and democratic movement in the European countries.

Exposing the Western powers' reactionary policy, Marx and Engels held that the people enslaved by the Ottoman Empire could liberate themselves only by revolution. "The solution of the Turkish problem is reserved, with that of other great problems," Engels wrote in one of his articles, "to the European Revolution.... The revolutionary landmarks have been steadily advancing ever since 1789. The last revolutionary outposts were Warsaw, Debreczin, Bucharest; the advanced posts of the next revolution must be Petersburg and Constantinople. They are the two vulnerable points where the Russian anti-revolutionary colossus must be attacked."[1]

Marx and Engels hoped that the Anglo-French war against tsarist Russia would, with the people's intervention, grow into a revolutionary war against Russian tsarism. Then it would help overthrow the tsarist autocracy or at least limit it by means of constitutional institutions, bring about the collapse of Louis Napoleon's empire in France, and uproot the bourgeois oligarchy in Britain. A revolutionary war, as they saw it, would pave the way for a democratic solution of the cardinal problems of national development in Germany, Italy, Poland and Hungary, where the 1848-49 revolution had failed to resolve them.

Marx highly praised Engels' military reviews. Referring to "The Russians in Turkey", he wrote on September 30, 1853: "The war story is magnificent. I, too, had considerable misgivings about the westward advance of the Russian forces, but, naturally, did not dare to trust my judgment in such matters."[2]

Here are some of the articles and reviews Engels wrote in the early months of the war: "Movements of the Armies in Turkey", "The Holy War", "The Progress of the Turkish War", and "The War on the Danube". They appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* as editorials in November-December 1853. "Naturally, the *Tribune* is bragging about your articles, which they probably think were written by poor Dana," Marx wrote to Engels on December 14, 1853. "And since they also appropriated P[almerston] [the reference is to a series of Marx's articles on Palmerston], Marx-Engels have for eight weeks been the real editors, the editorial staff of the *T[ribune]*."[3]

[1] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 21, 1853.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 298.
[3] Ibid., S. 315.

Engels responded with numerous reports and commentaries on Britain's and France's entry into the Russo-Turkish war on Turkey's side. More than 70 of them appeared in the *Tribune* in the course of the Crimean War.

They show us Engels as a military expert and student of military history. He analysed operations, the belligerents' relation of strength, and some of the engagements. In some articles ("The War", "The Present Condition of the English Army—Tactics, Uniform, Commissariat, etc.", "British Disaster in the Crimea", and others) he questioned the strategy and operational wisdom of the British and French commanders, and exposed the conservatism of the British military system, condemning the practice of selling officers' commissions, an easy avenue to rapid promotion for the affluent. He described this as a major reason for the inefficiency of the British military machine. As another reason he named the English political conservatism and the arrogance and dullness of the ruling caste.

Engels also sketched the unprepossessing image of Louis Napoleon's military leaders (Saint-Arnaud and others) in command of the Crimean expedition. He showed that Napoleon III, who had in effect imposed his own military plan on his allies, was directly responsible for the many serious flaws, even the failures, of the Anglo-French command. This man, who thought he was a great general, he wrote, "approaching, in some degree, the founder of his dynasty, turns out at the very beginning a mere presumptuous piece of incapacity".[1] Criticising Louis Napoleon's home and foreign policy, he wrote: "It is easy to prove that the domestic administration of the Second Empire reflects the pretentious mediocrity of his warcraft, that here, too, appearance substitutes for reality, and that the 'economic' campaigns were no more successful than the military."[2]

No less critical was Engels of the state of the Russian army. While he admired the tenacity of the Russian soldier in "The Battle of Inkermann", "The War", "The Campaign in the Crimea" and other articles, he showed the backwardness of Russia's military system, the formal "parade-drill" training of the soldiers, the incapacity of some of the generals.

He described the siege of Sevastopol as the crucial phase of the Crimean campaign and presented a thorough study of the heroic 11-months-long defence of the city. He praised the courage of its defenders, noted Russian superiority in building fortifications, and commended the skill of the Sevastopol engineers, especially E. I. Totleben, the chief of engineers. Building the fortifications after the siege had begun, Engels wrote, was "a most unparalleled act, the boldest and most skilful thing that was ever undertaken by a besieged

[1] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1855.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 11, S. 131.

garrison", adding that "the whole conduct of this defence has been classic".[1]

In years to come Engels would refer to the defence of Sevastopol as an outstanding example of active defensive operations, a model of warcraft and heroism.

It should be borne in mind when reading Engels' articles about the Crimean War and Russian army that, possessing mainly the biased information of the West-European official and capitalist press, and lacking the opportunity and time to verify the reports, his view of some of the military operations was somewhat one-sided. And, probably due to his loathing of tsarism, he was apt to exaggerate the weak sides of the Russian army and its command.

Contrary to what Marx and Engels had expected, the Crimean campaign did not develop into a revolutionary war. But the tsar's defeat sharpened the political and social crisis in Russia and altered the correlation of reaction and revolution in Europe.

STAND AGAINST COLONIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

In the latter half of the 1850s Engels exposed the colonial expansion of the main capitalist powers and closely followed the national liberation struggles of the Asian and African peoples.

He and Marx scrutinised the national movements in China and India of the 1850s, which they expected to undermine the economic foundations of bourgeois society and bring closer a social revolution. They denounced British colonial policy and the brutality of the British army.

In a number of articles ("The New English Expedition in China", "Persia-China", "Russian Successes in the Far East", and others) exposing the rapacity of the British bourgeoisie in China, Engels predicted that Britain would soon encounter serious resistance. Examining the implications of the so-called Second Opium War, he wrote in May 1857: "The piratical policy of the British government has caused this universal outbreak of all the Chinese against all foreigners, and marked it as a war of extermination."[2] He described it as "a war *pro aris et focis*, a popular war for the maintenance of Chinese nationality".[3] He ridiculed the hypocrisy of the British bourgeois press, which railed against the "cruelty" of the Chinese and overlooked the atrocities of the British troops.

The Indian national liberation struggle, too, aroused Marx's and Engels' deep sympathy. Marx wrote prolifically on the situation

[1] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 17, 1855.
[2] Marx and Engels, *On Colonialism*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 123-24.
[3] Ibid., p. 115.

in India, consulting Engels frequently on various points. In a letter on June 2, 1853, for example, referring to a book by François Bernier, Marx agreed with the French 17th-century traveller and writer, who saw "the basis of all phenomena in the East ... to be the *absence of private property in land.* This is the real key, even to the Oriental heaven".[1]

Engels concurred, stressing that "an Oriental government never had more than three departments: finance (plunder at home), war (plunder at home and abroad), and public works (provision for reproduction)".[2] The British government administered the first two, and dropped the third entirely, with the result that the irrigation system fell into decay and Indian agriculture was being ruined. This thought was borrowed by Marx for his article, "The British Rule in India", which he wrote a few days after receiving Engels' letter.

Marx and Engels had the warmest sympathy with the 1857-59 national rising in India. Between November 1857 and September 1858 Engels wrote a series of articles about the military operations in India, showing the reasons for the setbacks of the Indian insurgents ("The Capture of Delhi", "The Relief of Lucknow", "The Defeat of Windham", "The Revolt in India", and others). Marx was full of admiration. "Your article," he wrote on January 14, 1858, about "The Relief of Lucknow", "is splendid in style and manner and reminiscent of the best days of the *N[eue] Rh[einische] Z[eitung]*."[3] In his analysis of the situation following the suppression of the rising, Engels stressed that "this second conquest has not increased England's hold upon the mind of the Indian people"[4] and only redoubled its hatred of the British colonialists. He predicted that this would have serious consequences for Britain's rule.

His articles on Afghanistan and Persia exposed the repeated British and Russian attempts to impose influence or direct rule on the two countries. In an article, "Algeria", for *The New American Cyclopaedia*, Engels described the savage colonial regime of the French. "From the first occupation of Algeria by the French to the present time," he wrote, "the unhappy country has been the arena of unceasing bloodshed, rapine, and violence.... The Arab and Kabyle tribes, to whom independence is precious, and hatred of foreign domination a principle dearer than the life itself, have been crushed and broken by the terrible razzias."[5]

Engels' articles were, along with Marx's, the point of departure in subsequent Marxist studies of the colonial question.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 81.
[2] Ibid., p. 82.
[3] Marx and Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859*, Moscow, 1968, p. 192.
[4] Ibid., pp. 174-75.
[5] *The New American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 1, p. 350, N.Y., 1858.

During the years of reaction Engels devoted much of his time to his far-ranging scientific interests.

The Eastern question and the Crimean War prompted studies of the culture and history of the Slav peoples. In 1853-56 he studied the condition of the Slav peoples in Turkey and Austria, their struggle for national liberation, the tsarist policy towards them, and their place in history. Marx, who frequented the library of the British Museum, helped him select literature. At the end of 1854 he advised Engels to read Gustav Diezel's *Russland, Deutschland und die östliche Frage*, and a few other works. Engels had then just begun working on a pamphlet on pan-Slavism and the Western Slavs, which he did not finish for lack of a publisher. However, some of the results of his research appeared in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* in two articles, "Germany and Pan-Slavism", in April 1855.

In January-April 1856 he wrote a series of articles on the same subject for the *New York Daily Tribune*. But what he wrote was not fated to see print.

Some of Marx's letters to Manchester contained long lists of books on the history of Russia, of the Southern and Western Slavs, and on Slav linguistics, of dictionaries, manuals, and the like. In February 1856, responding to Engels' request, he ordered for him a German edition of the *The Lay of Igor's Host* (with the Russian text), and provided a detailed account of the Czech scientist J. Dobrowski's *Slavin* and the German historian Moritz Heftter's *Der Weltkampf der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts* (The World Struggle of Germans and Slavs since the End of the Fifth Century). He carefully wrote out the sources used by Dobrowski and recommended a number of other books. Many of these Marx had leafed through, and gave Engels his opinion. He also copied passages for Engels from books unobtainable in Manchester, especially those that could be of use for articles for the *New York Daily Tribune*.

The history of the Eastern countries was another subject that attracted Engels. He studied the past of the peoples inhabiting Turkey's Asiatic possessions, and analysed the national liberation movement of the peoples of India and the colonial wars of the European powers in China. He also studied the history of religious doctrines, a subject that had fascinated him since 1841, when he attended the Berlin University lectures of Professor Franz Benary on the genesis of the Bible. In May 1853, acquainting Marx with some of his ideas on the origin of the Old Testament suggested by a reading of Charles Forster's *The Historical Geography of Arabia*; *or, the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion*, he wrote: "That Jewish so-called Holy Scripture is nothing more than a record of the old-Arabian religious and tribal tradition, modified by the early sepa-

ration of the Jews from their consanguineous but nomadic neighbours—that is now perfectly clear to me."[1] Later investigations largely confirmed his viewpoint.

Engels' historical research was intimately connected with his interest in linguistics and languages, which he studied very diligently.

In December 1850, soon after moving to Manchester, he began learning Russian, and made relatively swift progress. Simultaneously, he studied other Slav languages—Serbo-Croat, Slovene and Walachian. "I must at last settle my Slav business," he wrote Marx on March 18, 1852. "...For the past fortnight I have been cramming Russian assiduously and am now almost finished with the grammar; in another two or three months I shall have the necessary stock of words and shall be able to start on something else. I must polish off the Slav languages this year; *au fond*, they are not so difficult."[2] At one time, Engels even intended to compile a comparative grammar of Slav languages.

Engels read Sir John Bowring's *Russian Anthology* and took detailed notes on Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Sumarokov, Kheraskov, Bogdanovich, Zhukovsky, Karamzin, Krylov and other Russian scientists and writers of the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries. He read the Russian classics in Russian, and his copied passages from Alexander Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* and *Eugene Onegin* with a word-for-word German translation, and from A. S. Griboyedov's *Wit Works Woe*, are extant. He also read Russian revolutionary-democratic literature, notably the French edition of Alexander Herzen's *On the Development of Revolutionary Ideas in Russia* and proclamation against serfdom, "To the Russian Gentry", put out by the Free Russian Press in London.

Engels also brushed up his knowledge of Eastern languages—Arabic and Persian. "Persian ... is really child's play,"[3] he wrote Marx on June 6, 1853. To learn it he "set aside the maximum of three weeks".[4] A few years later, he began perfecting his command of the old Germanic languages; "I find to my surprise that I know much more than I thought," he wrote of Gothic. "If I got a textbook, I should expect to finish with it completely in a fortnight. Then I should tackle old Nordic and old English, at which I have always been hazy."[5]

Then there was natural science—physics, physiology, and comparative anatomy. Most of all, Engels wanted to see how materialist dialectics can be applied in natural science. Some of the early results of his search he set out in a letter to Marx on July 14, 1858. The then recent discoveries in physics, organic chemistry and physiology

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 79.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 39-40.
[3] Ibid., S. 260.
[4] Ibid., S. 261.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 29, S. 503.

confirmed the dialectical outlook and, as Engels observed, if Hegel "had a philosophy of nature to write *today* the facts would come flying to him from every side".[1]

He attached special importance to the discovery of the cell by Matthias Schleiden and Theodor Schwann and to the law of the conservation and transformation of energy which, he said, is "splendid material proof of the way in which the determinations of reflexion are resolved into one another".[2] There are clues here that Engels was then on the threshold of the dialectico-materialist classification of science.

Comparative physiology he regarded as an illustration of the dialectical law of the passage of quantitative changes into qualitative. "Comparative physiology gives one a withering contempt for the idealistic exaltation of man over the other animals," he wrote. "At every step one bumps up against the most complete uniformity of structure with the rest of the mammals, and in its main features this uniformity extends to all vertebrates.... The Hegelian business of the qualitative leap in the quantitative series is also very fine here."[3]

At the end of the 1850s Engels read Charles Darwin's newly published *On the Origin of Species*. To Marx he wrote: "Darwin, whom I am just reading, is magnificent. Teleology had not been demolished in one respect, but now this has been done. Furthermore, there has never been until now so splendid an attempt to prove historical development in nature, at least with so much success."[4]

Military science occupied Engels too. Mastering the art of war, he thought, was essential in order to prepare the proletarian party for the impending battles against reaction. In 1851, in a letter to Weydemeyer he stressed "the enormous importance which the military side would have in the next movement",[5] adding that he had begun "to cram up on military science".[6] He described his extensive programme of studies, and asked Weydemeyer, formerly an officer in the Prussian army, to help him select the required literature, particularly maps of Germany, especially Württemberg, Bavaria, the Austria of 1801-09 and Northeast France of 1814, Belgium, Lombardy, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony, Thuringia, the Prussia of 1806-07 and 1813, which he needed to study military campaigns since 1792. He set out to learn tactics, the theory of fortification, gunnery, the organisation of armies, logistics and army equipment in different countries, and was particularly attracted to the history of warcraft, chiefly of modern times. He read the works of Raimund Montecucculi, the Austrian general and military writer,

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 108.
[2] Ibid., p. 109.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 29, S. 524.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 27, S. 554.
[6] Ibid.

the French general Henri Jomini's history of the art of war, and the history of the Spanish war by Lt.-Gen. William Napier, the Englishman. The latter Engels described as "by far the best of the military histories I have yet read".[1]

His knowledge of warcraft and military history made his Crimean War articles highly professional. While writing them, he continued to study historical and special military literature.

The acclaim he won for his *New York Daily Tribune* articles encouraged him in March 1854 to try for the job of war correspondent of the London *Daily News*. This could have delivered him from his "damned huckstering", allowed him to live with Marx in London and write a pamphlet on the Hungarian war of 1848-49, which he had been planning for some time, and for which Marx had helped him to select source literature.

On March 30, 1854, he wrote to H. J. Lincoln, editor of the *Daily News*: "For many years the study of military science in all its branches has been one of my chief occupations, and the success which my articles on the Hungarian Campaign, published at the time in the German press, were fortunate enough to obtain, encourages me in the belief that I have not studied in vain. An acquaintance, more or less familiar, with most European languages, including Russian, Serbian, and a little Wallachian, opens to me the best sources of information."[2] He enclosed several of his military articles. The ensuing negotiations seemed to go along favourably at first, but then broke down, evidently due to his reputation of Communist and revolutionary.

Engels' military knowledge stood him in good stead when writing items for *The New American Cyclopaedia*. Charles Dana, one of the *New York Daily Tribune* editors, had offered Marx to contribute to it in April 1857. Many of the entries—all those concerning military affairs—were done by Engels, who during his association with the publication until 1861 accounted for more than 50 items.

In the autumn of 1856 Marx and Engels began to anticipate, and spotted symptoms of, the approaching economic crisis. They expected a serious economic and political upheaval that would give impulse to a new powerful swing of the revolutionary movement. "This time," Engels wrote at the end of September 1856, "it will be a *dies irae* [day of judgment] such as there never was before: all European industry fallen to pieces, all markets overstocked ... all propertied classes affected, complete bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, war and total disruption. I, too, think that all this will come about in Anno 1857."[3]

The forecast came true. In less than a year there erupted an economic crisis of then unprecedented magnitude.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 555.
[2] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 28, S. 78.

Chapter Seven

THE NEW RISE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

> This time matters assumed ... such all-European proportions as never before, and I do not think that we shall long remain as onlookers here.... "The mobilisation" of our persons is not far away.
>
> *Karl Marx*

THE 1857 ECONOMIC CRISIS

In the beginning of November 1857, after more than three months of treatment at seaside resorts, Engels returned to Manchester. He had learned from newspapers and a letter from Marx that the economic crisis they had both predicted had erupted with a vengeance, the first world-wide crisis in capitalist history, engulfing the main European countries and the United States. It struck the stock exchange, banking and circulation, but very soon developed into a deep crisis of over-production, of which England was the principal victim.

The two friends held that it would grow over into a political crisis, giving impulse to a new rise of the revolutionary movement. Visiting daily the Manchester exchange for his firm, Engels was probably the only one there who rejoiced at the swiftly moving events. "The gentlemen," he wrote to Marx on November 15, 1857, "are gnashing their teeth at my sudden peculiarly high spirits. Indeed, the exchange is the only place where my present dullness changes to a bouncing mood. Moreover, I naturally prophesy black only; this annoys the asses double."[1] And he added: "The crisis will do my body as much good as sea-bathing; I already feel it."[2]

Marx and Engels began gathering material for a brochure about the crisis. Engels also collected information directly from owners of factories and commercial firms. And Marx expressed his gratitude to him for the valuable and "so necessary '*chronique scandaleuse*' about the crisis".[3] Though the essay was never written, Marx made good use of Engels' information in articles for the *New York Daily Tribune*.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 29, S. 210.
[2] Ibid., S. 211-12.
[3] Ibid., S. 233.

In letters to Marx, Engels set out his view of specific developments in England, France and Germany, pointing to their revolutionising effect on the masses.

As we know, however, the 1857 crisis did not bring on the revolution which Engels had so fervently expected. But it did give impulse to revolutionary movements in Europe and America. Indeed, a revolutionary situation arose in a number of countries: the masses, chiefly the working class, became more active, and the objective—not attained in the 1848-49 revolution—of uniting Germany, and Italy, the northern provinces of which were still under Austrian rule, was back in the limelight.

Italy, Engels held, was closer to a revolutionary explosion than any other European country. Popular discontent was spreading quickly. Bourgeois democrats under Giuseppe Mazzini had become active. Seeking a revolutionary solution to the national question, Mazzini and his followers were opposed not only by the reactionary forces, but also by the bourgeois liberals, who hoped to unite the country under the shield of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), the then only large independent state in Italy. Count Camillo Benso Cavour, Piedmont's Prime Minister, counted on the support of Napoleon III, with whom he had concluded a secret agreement in July 1858 to make war jointly against Austria.

The rapidly deteriorating crisis of the Second Empire drove the Bonapartist government of France to adventures masked by a specious advocacy of national liberation of oppressed peoples, particularly the Italians.

In February 1859 Engels decided to write a popular pamphlet on the Italian crisis and the impending war between Austria and France, to expose the chauvinist theories underlying Louis Napoleon's aggressive policy.

THE PO AND THE RHINE

The pamphlet, entitled *The Po and the Rhine*, was completed on March 9, whereupon Engels sent the manuscript to Marx. "I've read it," Marx wrote back. "Exceedingly clever; the political, too, is splendidly handled, and that was devilishly hard."[1]

On Marx's advice the pamphlet was published anonymously in Germany. In April 1859, its publisher, Franz Duncker, finished printing 1,000 copies. In May, *Das Volk*, a German-language newspaper in London, hinted that it had been written by a prominent personality in the proletarian party; Engels' name was mentioned by the paper in June.

Engels accused Bonapartism, and advocated the revolutionary-democratic way for uniting Italy, as well as Germany. His stand

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 29, S. 409.

conformed with proletarian internationalism. He denounced the aggressive designs of Napoleon III and the chauvinism of the German reactionaries, especially the Austrophile part of the bourgeoisie. He rejected the idea of a "central-European great power",[1] as the nationalists conceived Germany, and pointed out that its exponents merely wished to prove that Germans were destined for world supremacy on the grounds that the Romanic peoples were allegedly degenerating, while the Slavs were not fitted for independent statehood.

No less critical was Engels of the counter-revolutionary plan of uniting Germany under Junker Prussia. He demolished the Austrophiles' theory of "natural frontiers", which contended that Germany's southern border followed the river Po and that therefore Austria had a natural right to the northern Italian provinces, just as Bonapartist France wished her eastern border to run along the Rhine.

For a united Italy and a united Germany, Engels showed, the North German states should fight on Austria's side against Bonapartist France. As his later works testify, he was banking on an all-European revolution.

He studied the military outlook in Italy and on the Rhine, and set forth important propositions on mountain fighting, fortresses, and the like. Illustrating his exposition with examples from history, he praised the Italian and, especially, the Swiss campaigns of the Russian troops under A. V. Suvorov in 1799, describing their crossing of the Alps as "the most magnificent of all modern Alp crossings."[2]

WRITING FOR *DAS VOLK*

Marx and Engels were aware of the importance of contacts with the German workers in England, particularly through the German Workers' Educational Society in London. In the mid-1850s that body was in disarray, chiefly due to the prevalence of sectarian elements. "There was no longer any trace of communist views in the Society,"[3] Friedrich Lessner later wrote of this period. However, the tide turned, and in the latter half of the fifties the followers of Marx and Engels gained a stronger position.

The Society became a convenient rostrum for Marx and Engels from which to propagate their views and evaluate current events in a consistently proletarian context. But a newspaper was also desperately needed. The opportunity to start one soon appeared. On May 1, 1859, representatives of German workers' societies in London passed a decision to publish *Das Volk*, a paper based "on democratic and social principles" and representing the interests and

[1] Ibid., Bd. 13, S. 228.
[2] Ibid., S. 234.
[3] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 160.

views of German workers in Britain. Its first issue appeared on May 7. In the beginning, Marx's and Engels' association with it was unofficial, and not until its 6th issue, dated June 11, did it inform its readers about its connection with Marx, Engels and their friends—Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Freiligrath and Heinrich Heise. Marx and Engels were eager to consolidate the paper. In the latter half of June, Marx visited Engels in Manchester to discuss their further course of action. They requested subsidies from comrades in different parts of Britain.

But the most substantial contribution was their own association with the paper. They contributed some 20 articles, elucidating important aspects of the revolutionary theory and tactics of the proletariat. Engels wrote a review of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and from the 4th issue on contributed politico-military surveys of the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859. *Das Volk*, of which Marx soon became the actual head, thus grew into an organ of proletarian revolutionaries.

But it did not live long. It ceased publication on August 20, 1859, due to absence of funds.

FOR ITALY'S REVOLUTIONARY UNIFICATION

The main topic of Engels' articles in *Das Volk* was Italy's unification. He decried the Austrian oppression of Italians. "Since 1820," he wrote, "Austria ruled in Italy only by violence, by suppressing recurrent insurrections, by the terrorism of the state of siege."[1] Among the people of Italy this nourished hostility and "made the Italians' hatred of us Germans only still more intense".[2] If the Germans wished to regain respect, Engels wrote, there was but one way—to tear up their aggressive plans and abandon their territorial claims. "If we leave it to Italy to settle her own affairs, he said in *The Po and the Rhine*, "the Italians' hatred of us will cease by itself."[3] Not only in Italy, but also throughout Europe," he stressed, the proletariat had a stake in that country's democratic unification.

The Italians' main national aim, Marx and Engels held, was to unify their fragmented country and clear its territory of foreign rule. And unification would not be real, Engels argued, until the feudal survivals and the dominance of the reactionary classes were completely eliminated by revolutionary means. Criticising the Italian democrats for not going far enough in the programme, he stressed the link between a national solution and general democratic changes, primarily a radical solution of the agrarian question.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 13, S. 250.
[2] Ibid., S. 251.
[3] Ibid., S. 252-53.

Marx and Engels showed, too, that Louis Napoleon's specious promises of delivering the Italians from the Austrian yoke were really intended to fortify his own position at home and abroad at Italy's expense, and that by flirting with bourgeois democrats, whom he either cheated or bribed, he was really camouflaging a counter-revolutionary policy with liberal rhetoric. The Italian bourgeois liberals' support of Bonapartist France, they pointed out, was, in effect, a betrayal of Italy's national interests.

The war which France and Piedmont started against Austria in April 1859 confirmed this.

Engels closely followed the war and the political developments, commenting on them in *Das Volk* and the *New York Daily Tribune*. Contrary to what the ruling classes had expected, the war gave impulse to mass actions in Italy. Popular risings in the heart of the country swept out the governments of several of the small semi-feudal states. The national liberation movement gained impetus. And at this point Bonapartism abandoned all pretences.

After his victory over the Austrians in the Battle of Magenta, and then again at Solferino, Napoleon III, alarmed by the revolutionary situation in Italy, concluded preliminaries of peace in Villafranca di Verona on July 11, 1859. Italy was forced to pay for his military "aid" by ceding part of her territory (Savoy, Nice) to France, while Venice was retained by the Austrians, and the country remained fragmented.

But Louis Napoleon's endeavours to avert a national revolution in Italy were in vain. In April 1860, less than ten months after the armistice, an insurrection erupted in Sicily. In May, democrats organised a revolutionary expedition from Northern Italy to the South. The volunteer army—the famous "thousand"—was led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of Italy's most renowned revolutionaries. On September 7, Garibaldi entered Naples in triumph. Southern Italy was thus liberated from the Neapolitan Bourbons.

Engels was full of praise for Garibaldi, describing him as a man of extraordinary military talent, brave beyond compare, steadfast in his decisions, a man who "set a high value on discipline", who taught his people "the tactical manoeuvres of a small war".[1] Subsequently, he wrote: "In Garibaldi, Italy had a hero of antique dignity, who was able to perform wonders and actually did. With a thousand volunteers, he overthrew the entire Kingdom of Naples, in fact united Italy, and tore to pieces the artificial web of Bonapartist politics."[2]

Engels was of course aware of the weakness of the Italian bourgeois democrats, of the absence of a programme guaranteeing Italy's unity and democratic growth.

[1] Ibid., S. 363.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 385.

For Marx and Engels the Italian question was naturally allied with the question of German unification. They called for a united democratic republic and firmly opposed Austrian and French policy towards Germany. No less resolutely did they object to the counter-revolutionary scheme of uniting Germany by dynastic wars and implanting the absolutist Prussian ways across the length and breadth of the country. This gave rise to serious differences with Lassalle.

His standpoint was set out in his pamphlet, *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preußens*, in May 1859. Unlike Marx and Engels, whose views he knew from Engels' *The Po and the Rhine*, Lassalle favoured neutrality in the Italian war, describing Louis Napoleon's policy as progressive and portraying the French emperor as a benefactor not only of Italy, but also of Germany. He countered the idea of Germany's unification by revolutionary action of the masses, advanced by Marx and Engels, with a call to support Prussia's rulers, who wanted to unite Germany under their reactionary state. The substance of the differences Lenin described as follows: "Lassalle was adapting himself to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the lack of sufficient strength in the democratic national movements of Italy and Germany. Thus Lassalle deviated towards a national liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice."[1]

Lassalle's pamphlet, which its writer claimed to represent the opinion of the revolutionary party, greatly angered Marx and Engels. "Lassalle's pamphlet is an enormous blunder," Marx wrote to Engels on May 18, 1859. "...Furthermore, if Lassalle takes upon himself to speak on behalf of the party, he should in future either prepare himself to be publicly disavowed by us, for the circumstances are much too serious to show him any consideration, or ... he must come to terms beforehand with the viewpoint of other people beside himself. We must now maintain party discipline on all accounts, lest everything should go awry."[2]

Though refraining from a public controversy with Lassalle at the time, Marx, with whom Engels was in full accord, showed Lassalle the harm of his independent, unagreed actions, "because public polemics in so small a party (which, hopefully, makes up in energy what it lacks in numbers) is in no way beneficial".[3]

In April 1860, Engels published his *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*, showing the extent to which the ideas in his pamphlet, *The Po and the Rhine*, were borne out by the outcome of the Austro-Italo-French War of 1859. The immediate motive for writing it were Louis Napoleon's claims to Savoy and Nice. Engels made an exhaustive historico-military and linguistic analysis, examining the dialects spoken in Savoy and Nice, to argue the total groundlessness of the French claims.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 141.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 29, S. 432.
[3] Ibid., S. 630.

Estimating the alignment of strength on the international scene and stressing the proletarian revolutionaries' orientation on struggle against the reactionary monarchist bloc headed by Bonapartist France and tsarist Russia, Engels produced a model of how to combine truly patriotic defence of Germany's progressive national development with consistently proletarian internationalism. No trace is to be found in his pamphlet of Franco- or Russo-phobia. On the contrary, he endeavoured to pinpoint those elements in the two countries on which the European revolution could count for support. Hoping that this time the Russian peasants, awakened by the Crimean War, would be dependable allies of the revolution, he wrote: "The struggle that has now broken out in Russia between the dominant and the dominated classes of the rural population has already begun to disrupt the whole system of the Russian foreign policy. This system was possible only as long as there was no internal political development in Russia. But that time is over."[1]

In a précis of this pamphlet, Lenin put down: "Highlight: Germany's national liberation by the most revolutionary of the possible and inevitable wars, by a war with Russia in *alliance* with the Russian serfs. This *NB*."[2]

Engels attacked not only Napoleon III, but also the vulgar German democrats (Karl Vogt, etc.) and those opportunist elements in the labour movement (Ferdinand Lassalle and Moses Hess) who preferred to ignore Napoleon's territorial claims and to support him—with some reservations, it is true—in the war against Austria.

Marx was in complete argeement with him. "As concerns the *Italian war*," he wrote to Weber, the German legal authority, on March 3,1860,"I still must observe that *my* view coincides completely with that which my friend, *Fr. Engels*, expresses in his well-known pamphlet, *The Po and the Rhine*."[3]

Engels hoped that Franz Duncker, the publisher of *The Po and the Rhine*, would also take *Savoy, Nice and the Rhine*. But Duncker, who disagreed with Engels on the standpoints of the German political parties, would print it solely on the condition that Engels put his name on the cover. Engels, however, deemed it wiser to indicate only that it belonged to the pen of the author of *The Po and the Rhine*. Failing with Duncker, he sent the manuscript elsewhere. It was finally put out anonymously by Julius Berends, a Berlin publisher.

[1] Ibid., Bd . 13, S. 611.
[2] *Lenin Miscellany XIV*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 43.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 511.

Savoy, Nice and the Rhine evoked a lively reaction in the progressive German press. The Hamburg paper, *Der Nordstern*, suggested that it should be translated into French, Russian, English and Italian.[1]

The differences with Lassalle went farther than just tactics and policy. They reached into the field of philosophy, aesthetics, and so on. This became clear in the late 1850s, following the appearance of some of Lassalle's philosophical and literary works.

In 1857, Lassalle sent Marx and Engels his treatise on Heraclitus the Obscure, in which, as they saw at once, he interpreted the ancient Greek philosopher's materialistic views in the old-Hegelian idealistic spirit.

In 1859 he sent them his newly written play, *Franz von Sickingen*. In a reply on May 18, 1859, Engels made a detailed examination of its literary merits and politico-ideological content. Lassalle, he showed, was blind to the role of the masses as the driving force of history and, therefore, misrepresented the insurrection of the poor nobility headed by Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten against the princes—a dramatic event of the Reformation and Peasant War in 16th-century Germany. Lassalle's account gave prominence to the nobles and townsmen, and relegated to obscurity the peasant and the urban pleb—the main force in the battle that raged then against the Catholic Church, the princes and the emperor. In Lassalle's drama, Engels pointed out, "the *official* elements, so to speak, of the contemporary movement are fairly well accounted for", but not enough stress is laid on "the non-official, the plebeian and peasant, elements and their concomitant representatives in the field of theory".[2]

The peasant movement, he wrote, was far more dramatic, much more profound and tension-filled than the insurrection of the nobility, who were in effect reactionary. Lassalle's interpretation, he said, ignored the role of peasants in democratic movements. And Lassalle's subsequent activity confirmed that the predilection for the nobility in his 16th-century drama stemmed from his predilection for the nobility's successors, the Prussian Junkers.

Marx and Engels also held a fundamentally different view on the state. They regarded it as an organisation of the dominant class, whereas Lassalle, still in the thrall of Hegelian idealism, saw it as a supra-class institution to "educate and lead the human race towards freedom".[3]

Lassalle's theoretical views were petty bourgeois and shot through with idealism and utopian illusions. His political tactics were wrong. Naturally, therefore, Marx and Engels began to regard him

[1] *Der Nordstern* No. 20, April 21, 1860.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 118-19.
[3] Lassalle, *Gesamtwerke*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, S. 196.

as an unreliable ally. After a series of talks with Lassalle, Marx apprised Engels in a letter in August 1862 that "apart from some exceedingly remote final aims we have definitely nothing in common politically".[1] But Marx and Engels did not yet give up attempts to prevail on Lassalle to be a fellow-traveller of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Their criticism of the German vulgar democrats and apologists of Bonapartism precipitated an avalanche of slander. Karl Vogt published a malicious pamphlet, *Mein Prozeß gegen die "Allgemeine Zeitung"*. Doctoring the facts, he maligned Marx, Engels and their associates, and distorted the real nature of the Communist League. Not surprisingly, Vogt's vicious inventions were seized upon by the German and British bourgeois press.

Though he usually ignored such attacks, this time Marx decided to retaliate: it was a matter of defending the whole proletarian party, not just his own person. Writing to Freiligrath on February 23, 1860, he stressed that the battle against Karl Vogt was of "decisive importance for the *historical vindication* of the party and for its future position in Germany".[2] It was for this purpose that he wrote his pamphlet, *Herr Vogt*.

Engels took part in the battle. From mid-February until the end of March 1860 Marx stayed in Manchester to discuss the plan and content of the pamphlet with him, and, together with a few other of Marx's associates, Engels helped collect incriminatory material and defend the honour of the proletarian party and its finest members against Vogt's foul insinuations.

ENGELS AND THE GERMAN LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE LATE 50s AND EARLY 60s

Engels constantly kept his eyes fixed on the labour movement in Germany, awakening now under the impact of the upsurge across Europe. His and Marx's contacts with the German workers became still closer after 1862, when Wilhelm Liebknecht, their friend and associate, returned to Berlin from his London exile.

In the revolutionary situation then shaping in Germany, the workers yearned for an independent political organisation. This gave impulse to the idea of convening an all-German workers' congress. A steering committee, which began the practical preparations, was formed in Leipzig. It requested Lassalle, who had shortly before put out a brochure, *The Programme of Working Men*, to define the main purposes of the projected organisation. Lassalle responded with an "Open Letter in Reply", in which he outlined the programme of a workers' league. The Leipzig committee adopted this as the

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 270.
[2] Ibid., S. 459.

manifesto of the new body. The "Reply" was useful in that it called for a working-class organisation independent of the bourgeoisie and criticised bourgeois liberals.

On May 23, 1863, the body was officially inaugurated in Leipzig as the General Association of German Workers, with Lassalle at its head.

On receiving Lassalle's "Open Letter in Reply", Marx criticised it in a letter to Engels of April 9, 1863. Lassalle, he said, was a captive of utopian illusions, hoping to settle the conflict between labour and capital through productive associations formed with the government's help. Besides, he mechanically borrowed from the Chartists the demand for universal suffrage, and regarded election to parliament of people "equipped with the unsheathed weapon of science" as a cure-all. Marx also called attention to Lassalle's demeaning behaviour: "altogether like a future labour dictator".[1]

Engels was in complete accord with Marx. Lassalle, he agreed, had not accepted the principles of scientific communism and did not understand the ways in which the proletariat could liberate itself. Lassalle's programme, as Engels saw it, reflected the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and craftsmen, and certainly not those of the working class.

All the same, Marx and Engels welcomed the inauguration of the General Association of German Workers as evidence of labour's awakening.

Engels keenly watched the General Association's initial actions, apprehending Lassalle's intention of shaping it into a reformist body. Outraged by Lassalle's flirtation with the Prussian government, he wrote to Marx on June 11, 1863: "The man now works clearly in Bismarck's service."[2]

But though they disagreed with Lassalle on policy, Marx and Engels did not think the time ripe for public criticism. They welcomed the fact that some of their Communist League followers joined the General Association, hoping that in due course they would succeed in replacing Lassalle's reformist outlook with scientific communism, in convincing the mass of workers in its correctness and setting a revolutionary course in the General Association. Not until then, Engels held, would the time come for breaking off relations with Lassalle.

Former Communist League members Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Vogt, Karl Klings, Karl Klein, Friedrich Moll and others, were staunch Marx-and-Engels supporters in the General Association. They used every opportunity to remind the workers of Marx's and Engels' work in Germany during the 1848-49 revolution, of their role in forming the German socialist movement, and of the viability

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 140.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 354.

of Communist League traditions. In effect, they represented an organised opposition to Lassalle inside the General Association. For them, Marx and Engels were the real leaders, and the ideas in the *Communist Manifesto* and later works the only correct theory.

In August 1864, Lassalle was killed in a duel. While criticising his opportunist line, his unprincipled hobnobbing with Prussian reactionaries, his groundless hope that well-intentioned rulers would meet the vital needs of the working class, Engels admitted Lassalle's services in building an independent proletarian organisation. Despite Lassalle's serious errors and contortions, Engels described him as one of the "most distinguished men in Germany".[1]

Subsequent developments in the General Association of German Workers, in which Engels had by then won some influence, showed that his own and Marx's behaviour while the organisation was under Lassalle's sway, had been entirely correct and in the interest of the working-class movement.

MILITARY THEORIST OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

Engels' gifts as military writer and theorist were in full bloom at the end of the fifties and in the early sixties. *The New American Cyclopaedia* printed his articles on military history and theory throughout 1857-60. The first of them, "Army", was written in September 1857, and won Marx's praise. "Your 'Army'," he wrote to Engels, "is very well done; only its size made me feel as if I had been hit over the head, for it must do you a lot of harm to work so much.... The history of the *army* brings out more clearly than anything else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army is important for economic development.... The whole history of the forms of civil society is very strikingly epitomised here."[2]

The article contains an exhaustive description of the art of warfare in the Antique World (the time of Ramses II) and until the Crimean War.

It is a detailed, astonishingly subtle and professional description of Egypt's military caste and the Egyptians' conduct of military operations. The accounts about the armies of Assyria, the hosts of the Persian Empire, the military system of the states of Ancient Greece, the armies of Philip and those of Alexander the Great, and the Roman armies, are fascinating. Engels recapitulates the changes in the composition of armies and the tactics following the collapse of feudalism and the growth of cities.

[1] Ibid., S. 429.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 97.

The insurrection of the North American colonies against British rule (1775-83) and the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the 18th century, Engels showed, engendered a new approach to organising armies, and new tactics. Napoleon I was for the revolutionary bourgeoisie an outstanding military leader, who had developed the new methods of warfare into a system. The French, he wrote, "were almost invincible, until their opponents had learnt from them, and organised their armies upon the new model".[1] Among the main features of this military system Engels listed universal military service, compulsory levies, greater mobility, the principle of mixing infantry, cavalry and artillery in the smaller portions of the army, in corps and divisions, and the use of skirmishes.

Engels also made a detailed study of the principles of military training in the modern armies of Britain, France, Russia and Germany.

The *Cyclopaedia* contained many more of Engels' articles: "Infantry", "Cavalry", "Artillery", "Fortification", "Navy", etc. Besides, he helped Marx write brief biographies of prominent military leaders for the same publication. He provided numerous additional facts about them, appraised their work, and listed required literature.

In 1860-64 Engels was also a contributor to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*. Regarded as one of the most prestigious military periodicals in Germany, the paper welcomed Engels' cooperation. "We and the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*," its editors wrote on October 11, 1860, "will be only too pleased to receive your contributions."[2]

Engels' writing for the military press was not merely a tribute to his interest in military affairs. He also had political motives. In the early 1860s, for example, he wrote several articles on the volunteer movement in England, most of them for the English *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*. The movement had sprung up as a reaction to Louis Napoleon's policy of conquest, which exposed Britain to a possible invasion. The response among democrats, especially in the working-class milieu, was considerable from the beginning, with the trade unions demanding that workers be admitted to the volunteer troops.

In the early 1860s the movement was indeed progressive, because it nourished anti-Bonapartist sentiments and contributed to Louis Napoleon's political isolation abroad. The working class, Engels held, had a stake in it, because, among other things, it would help repattern the British regular army along democratic lines and demolish the caste system.

Engels' articles ("Volunteer Artillery", "Volunteer Engineers", "Company Drill", "Volunteer Generals", and others), which first

[1] *The New American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 2, pp. 135, 136.
[2] Central Party Archives.

appeared in the journal and were then put out as a collection, *Articles for Volunteers*, in March 1861, set forth the fundamentals of warcraft, its history, the principles of organising armed forces, drill and training of troops. Some contained important generalisations. Describing the history of fire-arms, Engels showed the decisive influence of the social productive forces on weapons and battle tactics.

He displayed a lively interest, political as well as military, in the Civil War in the U.S.A., which broke out in April 1861. If it culminated in the abolition of slavery, he held, it would have an enormous impact on Europe. "Your war over there," he wrote to Weydemeyer, "is one of the most imposing experiences we can ever live through."[1]

He followed the fighting closely, and wrote surveys for *The Volunteer Journal*. Two such surveys, written jointly with Marx, were also printed in the Vienna newspaper, *Die Presse*.

In his letters to Marx, he examined the situation on the main battlefronts. Listing the blunders of the Northern government and military command at the beginning of the war, he wrote in a letter dated July 30, 1862, that "defeats do not stimulate the Yankees, they enervate them.... Besides, what cowardice in the government and Congress! They are afraid of conscription, of resolute fiscal action, of attacking slavery, and most of all of everything that is crucially necessary."[2] "If the North does not take revolutionary action at once," he also wrote, "it will be hopelessly beaten, and deserves it."[3] To the indecision of the North Engels contrasted the merciless Jacobin methods of the French revolutionary wars of 1792-93. In 1862, in another letter, he outlined his own plan of how to crush the troops of the Southern planters, including a Northern raid to the Atlantic, capture of strategic railways and cutting the adversary's territory into two isolated parts. Two years later, the North carried out a strategic action of this sort and won a big victory. "Despite the numerous blunders committed by the Northern armies (and the South has committed its share)," he wrote in November 1864 to Weydemeyer, who participated in the war for the North and by then held the rank of colonel, "the conquering tide is slowly but surely rolling on, and the time must come in 1865 when the *organised* resistance of the South will fold up with a snap like a pocket knife."[4]

In fact, upon adopting revolutionary tactics the North did achieve decisive military successes. The abolition of slavery throughout the United States, distribution of land parcels, and admission of Negroes to the army—these and similar measures awakened the nation. The masses rallied against the slave-owning planters, and in 1865 the North attained the final victory.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 149.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 255.
[3] Ibid., S. 256.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 149.

In his articles Engels made a profound and detailed study of the essence and causes of the military conflicts, of the socio-economic situation of the warring parties, their strategic plans, tactical operations, armaments, and geographic conditions of the war theatres. Analysing modern wars and the history of warcraft in the context of historical materialism, Engels laid the foundations for a new military science. His dialectico-materialist approach enabled him to pin down the connection between the art of war and its material basis—the economic system. Engels refuted the idealists' idea that wars are eternal—the core of all preceding military thought. He showed that wars had appeared with the appearance of class society. Consequently, they would disappear along with their tools—armies and armaments—once social antagonisms are done away with. Armies, he also showed, are, as it were, a replica of the social system in which they are moulded, and their structure, organisation, armaments and methods of warfare reflect the main features of that system.

Engels proved—and this bears repeating—that military development is directly related to the development of the productive forces.

He attached significance to the social composition of the army and its morale. The victory of French arms in the bourgeois revolution, he stressed again and again, was in many respects due to the fact that peasants liberated from the feudal yoke comprised the bulk of the army that fought against soldiers who were serfs subjected to brutal discipline. He stressed the immense importance of the moral factor in the battlefield.

Later, too, Engels returned to military topics. His party friends held his military talent in high regard. He seemed "born to be a soldier: he had clear sight, quickness of perception and appreciation of the smallest circumstance, rapid decision and imperturbable coolness," Wilhelm Liebknecht recollected. "...He wrote a number of excellent essays on military questions and, though incognito, gained recognition by first-class military experts who had no idea that the anonymous author of the pamphlets was one of the most notorious rebels.... If there had been another revolution in his lifetime we would have had in Engels our Carnot, the organiser of armies and victories, the military brain."[1]

Lenin, too, admired Engels' military texts and described him as the great expert on military questions.

ENGELS AND THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863-64

In the beginning of 1863, world-wide attention focused on the dramatic events in the Polish lands that were part of the Russian Empire. A national liberation struggle had erupted there, and Marx

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 139.

and Engels held that the revival of a free and independent Poland which might result from it would reduce the tsar's reactionary influence in Europe, giving fresh impulse to the democratic and revolutionary movements in Prussia and Austria, and Russia as well. On receiving the first reports about the Polish rising in January 1863, Marx wrote to Engels on February 13: "The era of revolution is again fairly opened in Europe.... Let us hope that this time the lava flows East to West."[1]

Marx and Engels hoped that the Polish rising, if victorious, would end feudal relations in Poland, abolish the rule of magnates, and culminate in the constitution of a democratic republic. This would bring closer the revolution in Russia and exercise an immense influence on Germany. But victory, as they saw it, depended on whether or not the mass of Polish peasants was drawn into the movement, and whether the struggle of the Poles for national freedom would converge with the struggle of the Russian peasants.

Engels welcomed the uprising, and, seeing the close link between Poland's destiny and the Russian revolutionary movement, wrote: "Good chaps, the Poles! If they hold out until March 15, it will begin to pop all over Russia."[2]

But his hopes of a peasant rebellion in Russia did not come true. By the time the Polish insurrection began, the peasant movement in Russia, at its peak in 1859-61, was subsiding. People who had for centuries been kept in slavery by the landowners were not yet able "to launch a widespread, open and conscious struggle for freedom".[3] Neither did a peasant revolution unfold in Poland. The bourgeois-landlord wing of the national movement, which had assumed leadership of the insurrection, deliberately blocked the participation of the peasant masses.

Exchanging thoughts with Marx about the progress of the insurrection and the alignment of strength in the rebel camp, Engels pointed to the perfidy of the Right bourgeois-landlord elements, the so-called Whites, who had joined the rising and gradually took full control over it. He deplored the immaturity of the Polish democratic movement and showed that Bonapartist influence was fairly strong among many of the democrats.

Arms were in short supply, experienced commanders were lacking sorely, and military guidance was of a low quality. As a result, the best men were lost in the first several months.

Eager to aid the Poles and rally sympathy for them among German democrats, Marx and Engels decided to write and publish a manifesto in the name of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. Marx asked Engels to write the military part, and to

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 324.
[2] Ibid., S. 327.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 88.

emphasise what a victory of the Polish rising would mean for Germany. The diplomatic part he intended to write himself. "Apropos of Poland," Engels wrote to him on February 19, 1863, "I agree with you completely. I have been turning over in my mind the idea of a brochure for something like a fortnight. But what you suggest is better, because there will also be a diplomatic part, and, generally, the advantage that we shall do the thing together."[1]

Engels wasted no time. He sat down at once to write the historical part, and at the end of February sent Marx the outline of the pamphlet, suggesting the title, *Germany and Poland. Politico-Military Reflections About the Polish Uprising of 1863*. Though the two friends were unable to complete the undertaking, their views on the Polish question were publicised in a proclamation of the Educational Society written by Marx: "Loud protests against the German betrayal of the Poles, which is at once betrayal of Germany and Europe—that is what the German working class owes the Poles, the world abroad and its own honour at this fateful moment. *Restoration of Poland*—that is what it must write in letters of fire on its banner since bourgeois liberalism has struck this glorious motto off its own flag." [2]

Marx and Engels denounced the bloodbath inflicted by the tsar on the Polish insurgents, and also the behaviour of the Prussians, who had helped the Russian autocrat to suppress the rising. They described as an expression of reactionary class policy the attitude of the West-European powers, which declared their sympathy with the insurrection, but gave it no real support and, in fact, assisted tsarist Russia. The defeat of the Polish rising firmed up Engels' opinion that the Polish people would win only if closely allied with the Russian revolution and the labour movement in the European countries.

IRREPARABLE LOSSES

Engels' monotonous office work, his studies, and his prolific writing for the press, would have sapped the strength of even a stronger man. But he seemed to cope with the load lightly, appearing to have conquered time and always full of inexhaustible energy.

He was an avid sportsman, preferring horsemanship to other pastimes, but also liked to travel, making trips to Denmark, Belgium and Luxembourg. Frequently, he went on long hikes, which gave him a charge of renewed energy and vigour, and enriched his observations.

In mid-March 1860, he received word that his father had fallen seriously ill. Though they had never been close and kept different

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 329.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 15, S. 577.

beliefs, Engels wanted to see him. However, court charges were hanging over him for his revolutionary activity in Elberfeld, Baden and the Palatinate in the summer of 1849. His family appealed to the authorities to allow him a fortnight's visit. While messages on this score went to and fro between the Elberfeld prosecutor and Berlin, before the Prussian Home Minister granted the request, Engels' father passed away on March 20.

Frederick arrived in Barmen two days after his father's death, and stayed until April 6. After the funeral, his brothers asked him to give up his share of the inheritance in Engelskirchen. They motivated their offer with the fact that he was permanently resident abroad, and suggested that in return some arrangement in his favour could be reached with the Engels' partners in Manchester.

The negotiations culminated in an agreement whereby Engels gave up his share in the Engelskirchen enterprise and in recompense was to receive a share of £ 10,000 in the Manchester firm of Ermen and Engels as from 1864.

Thus, his situation changed but little. He remained an employee of Gottfried Ermen, "with a percentage of the profit and against the guarantee that I shall be a partner in a few years."[1] Yet the prospect of relief from working in the firm had now become real.

The rapid settlement was in many ways due to Engels' goodwill, his wish to appease his mother. "Dear Mother," he wrote."...Not for anything in the world would I wish to be in the least instrumental in embittering the autumn of your life by family quarrels over the inheritance. I trust that both my behaviour during my stay with you, and my letters, have given ample evidence that I was farthest from the thought of obstructing some kind of settlement and that, on the contrary, I was quite willing to make sacrifices, so that everything should be arranged as you wished."[2]

All his life Engels had been an affectionate and understanding son. "I can have a hundred other enterprises," he used to say, "but never another mother."[3] He was deeply alarmed on learning about his mother's dangerous illness soon after the death of her husband.[4] He returned to Barmen and stayed at her bedside from May 12 to 25, 1860, and did not return to England until she was well.

From the beginning of the 1860s, following the amnesty in Germany, Engels was able to visit his homeland more frequently. He spent his vacation in Barmen in October 1861, and returned a year later to make a journey along the Mosel and Rhine, and across Thuringia, and then stayed for some time in Barmen and Engelskirchen.

In Manchester, Engels kept up his contacts with members of the local German colony and participated in its cultural functions. In

[1] Ibid., Bd. 30, S. 53.
[2] Ibid., S. 582-83.
[3] Ibid., S. 586.
[4] Ibid., S. 57.

November 1859, he was involved in the celebration of the Friedrich Schiller centenary, helping the younger people to put on a performance of *Wallenstein*, and took part in writing a special introduction for it.

A Schiller Society was formed following the jubilee, conceived as a cultural and social centre for the Germans in Manchester. At first, mistrusting its leaders, Engels stayed away, for there was in it an element of purely Prussian pedantic formalism. Not until July 1864, when substantial amendments were made in its charter, did he agree to become a member of the board, and was later its chairman, until in September 1868, protesting against the invitation of Karl Vogt to speak before its members, Engels withdrew from the board.

In the Schiller Society Engels devoted himself mostly to the youth. He had very close and friendly relations with Carl Siebel, a distant relative. The scion of a factory owner, Siebel had picked up some socialist ideas, and subsequently assisted in disseminating the works of the founders of scientific communism, particularly the first volume of *Capital*, in Germany.

Engels helped his young friend in his poetic endeavours. He warned him against haste in becoming a professional writer, and against making light writing the source of a livelihood. He advised Siebel to study the classical poets of all nations and to treat the German language with respect. Through Siebel, Engels was also able to exercise an influence on other young members of the Schiller Society.

He was also associated with the Albert Club, a Manchester cultural and educational association with a large and valuable library.

Towards the end of the 1850s, new faces appeared among Engels' circle of Manchester friends—the lawyer Samuel Moore, who shared his materialist convictions and was well versed in mathematics and political economy, and the German physician Eduard Gumpert, whose medical advice both Marx and Engels always sought.

Engels' closest and most loyal friend in Manchester was his wife, Mary Burns. And his grief was great when she died unexpectedly on January 6, 1863. "Mary is dead," he wrote to Marx the following day. "...Altogether unexpected; heart disease or stroke.... She was still quite well on Monday night. I cannot tell you what I feel. The poor girl loved me with all her heart."[1] Three weeks later he wrote again: "I feel that I have buried with her the last particle of my youth."[2]

A year later came another painful blow. His close friend Wilhelm Wolff fell seriously ill at the end of April 1864. Engels visited him daily and spent hours at his bedside. Wolff's condition, his doctor said, was hopeless. In response to a telegram sent by Engels and his friends, Marx went to Manchester on May 3. But Wolff was beyond help. He died on May 9.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 30, S. 309.

[2] Ibid., S. 317.

His bereavement did not break Engels' spirit. His interest in current political affairs did not diminish. He followed the Civil War in the United States, studied Prussia's and Austria's war against Denmark over Schleswig and Holstein, and after it ended made a trip to the duchies in September-October 1864. One of them was now Prussian, the other Austrian. As before, Engels also watched the developments in the labour movement, which underwent far-reaching changes after the 1857 crisis.

Industry was visibly growing in Europe and America. So were the ranks of the proletariat. Capitalist progress whetted the class and social antagonisms. The crisis denuded the cancerous growths beneath the surface of welfare and prosperity. In the main capitalist countries conditions were building for a massive working-class movement and for new forms of uniting the proletariat at home and on an international scale.

Chapter Eight

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

> The *International* was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real organisation of the working class for struggle.
>
> *Karl Marx*

THE FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL

On returning from his journey across Schleswig-Holstein in October 1864, Engels, who had to catch up with urgent office work, was unable at once to inform Marx of his return. Yet Marx was waiting for him impatiently. An event had occurred during Engels' absence that was to open a new chapter in the history of the working-class movement: British, French, German, Polish and Italian workers' representatives meeting in London on September 28 founded the International Working Men's Association. This was a natural consummation of the European workers' struggle and their wish to join forces against the common enemy, the bourgeoisie. The general situation, too, favoured the founding of an international body. Bourgeois-democratic movements had become more active. Oppressed peoples had intensified their struggle for national liberation. And, more important still, the working-class movement was obviously on the upgrade.

Now Marx and Engels acquired a splendid opportunity for practical revolutionary work. A new stage began in their labours to link Marxism with the working-class movement, to build up a proletarian party, of which the Communist League had been the first stage.

Learning from Engels' letter, in which he described his impressions of the journey, that his friend was back in Manchester, Marx wrote to him on November 4: "A public meeting was called in St. Martin's Hall for September 28, 1864.... I knew that this time real 'powers' were involved both on the London and Paris sides and therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to decline any such invitations."[1] He informed his friend of the International

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 146.

Working Men's Association (IWA) and of his election to its Provisional Committee (later the General Council.) The meeting, like the Committee, brought together men of divergent ideologies (old Chartists, Owenites, trade-unio-nists, Mazzini followers and bourgeois radicals), he wrote. He described the drawing up and adoption (November 1, 1864) of the International's programme documents—the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules. The initial draft of the Address, which abounded in petty-bourgeois and utopian ideas, was rejected on Marx's insistence, and he had been instructed to rewrite both documents. "It was very difficult to frame the thing," Marx continued, "so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement."[1]

"Looking forward impatiently to the Address to the workers," Engels wrote back on November 7. "It must be a real masterpiece."[2]

And this it was. The sponsors of the meeting, the English trade-unionists, wanted an international body that would work primarily for economic demands, for shorter working hours, helping coordinate strikes and regulate wages, and the like. The French workers, who were influenced by Proudhon, dreamed of a world organisation for free credits and cooperation, which they regarded as a means to end exploitation. And the bourgeois democrats wanted to turn the International into an appendage of the existing democratic organisations.

Marx, on the other hand, set out to build the International Association as a truly mass proletarian body coordinating and guiding the workers' struggle against the capitalist system. "Among all the participants there was only one person," Engels wrote later in reference to the meeting, "who was clear as to what was to happen and what was to be founded: it was the man who had already in 1848 issued to the world the call: Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"[3]

The International would consist of workers' organisations of varying political maturity. Marx had therefore to reckon with the level of workers in different countries and to set out the ideas of scientific communism in a way that would not repel any of the labour contingents in the Association. The outspoken language of the *Communist Manifesto* was obviously unsuitable. "It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech," he wrote. "It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* [hard in essence, soft in form]."[4]

The Inaugural Address showed the workers that "every fresh development of the productive powers of labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms"[5] as long as bourgeois

[1] Ibid., p. 149.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 17.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 22, S. 341.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 149.
[5] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

private property survived and accumulation of wealth was a monopoly of the propertied classes, while increasing poverty hounded the labouring masses. Marx contrasted associated labour based on public ownership of the means of labour to the antagonistic social relationships under capitalism. This was a veiled call for abolishing private ownership of the means of production and replacing it with the socialist organisation of society.

But associated labour could not win until it was developed to national dimensions, and consequently fostered by national means, and magnates of land and capital were stripped of their political privileges that sustained their economic monopoly, that is, until the proletariat won political power. "To conquer political power," Marx wrote, "has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."[1]

Marx led the members of the International up to the idea of workers' political rule (though he did not use the term "dictatorship of the proletariat").

The Inaugural Address laid the main emphasis on international solidarity of workers of all countries. "Past experience," it said, "has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."[2]

In the Provisional Rules Marx described the International as an independent proletarian organisation, stressing "that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.... That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means."[3]

Couched in these terms, the basic idea of scientific communism was comprehensible and acceptable to all members of the Association. "When Marx founded the International," Engels wrote many years later, "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."[4]

The General Council approved both documents, which was an important victory for proletarian socialism.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 17.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. Minutes*, Moscow, p. 288.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 400.

Engels saw at once the significance of the International Working Men's Association. "It is good that we are again joining hands with people who at least represent their class," he wrote to Marx. "That, in the end, is the most important thing."[1] Both he and Marx regarded the international consolidation of the working class as an important means of cultivating the workers' class consciousness, of bringing home to them the real aims of the struggle.

The Association gave fresh impulse to the proletariat's class struggle, helping it to organise, to compare experience acquired by workers in different countries. And above all, it helped Marx, Engels and their followers to disseminate Marxism.

THE LAST YEARS IN MANCHESTER

Work in the firm continued to consume much of Engels' time and strength. True, since June 1864 he was no longer the "corresponding clerk and general assistant in the business of Mr. Ermen",[2] but, by virtue of his inheritance, one of the firm's partners. This improved his financial situation. He was able to support Marx more effectively, and was a man of independent means until the end of his life. But by the terms of his agreement with his brothers he could not leave the firm until July 1, 1869. Until then, he could only yearn for deliverance from the "accursed commerce" which, he wrote, "completely demoralises me with its waste of time".[3] He had to spend most of the day in the office, to associate with businessmen, and participate in their amusements. Out of these only the hunt gave him pleasure, much to Marx's dismay, who feared an accident. And on one occasion, indeed, Engels had a very bad fall, and was seriously injured.

Only in the little cottage on the outskirts of the city Engels found peace and quiet with Lizzie Burns, who had become his wife after Mary's death. There, as before, he received all his friends.

Following the death of Wilhelm Wolff and Carl Siebel's return to Germany, the circle of Engels' Manchester friends shrank. He saw Moore and Gumpert, and also associated with Karl Schorlemmer, a gifted chemist. From time to time he saw Ernst Dronke and other German emigrants, and his rare meetings with Marx and the Marx family were, as ever, a most joyous occasion. In 1867, Engels met Paul Lafargue, then already active in the French labour movement and a member of the International's General Council. Lafargue, who became one of his closest friends and disciples, recalled years later how they met: "Now that you are my daughter's fiancé, I

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 17.
[2] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 293.

must introduce you to Engels, Marx said to me, and we set out for Manchester."[1]

Though Engels had very little leisure, he did not give up his academic pursuits. His interests still ranged far—to literature, old German folklore, ancient Nordic law, Old English, the history of the ancient Germans, their languages and dialects, physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, geology, and the history of economics. In letters to Marx he presented judgments of books recently read, and set forth new hypotheses and discoveries.

Residing in Manchester, Engels could not take direct part in the work of the London-based General Council. But from the outset he did his utmost to help Marx, plunged zestfully into all the ideological battles, and projected, defended and disseminated the propositions of revolutionary Marxism.

The almost daily exchange of letters with Marx shows how swiftly he responded to all developments in the International. Nothing was too trifling to be discussed, and the two friends battled consistently for international workers' unity and the fusion of scientific communism with the working-class movement. Engels corresponded with IWA leaders, elucidating the line of the General Council and the standpoints he shared with Marx. To the best of his ability, he also engaged in organisational work, distributing IWA cards of membership, financing the IWA press in England, and often campaigning for financial help to striking workers. Organising campaigns in support of strikers was, in fact, an important area of IWA activity. It gave the International added prestige and augmented its membership, but, above all, helped to unite and educate the workers. As Marx put it, it was an important way "to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation".[2]

Last but not least, Engels maintained very close ties with the labour movement in Germany.

GERMAN WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

Marx and Engels were eager to build up the International into a mass organisation embracing workers in both Europe and America. The main objective was to enlist the existing workers' societies in different countries, and assure united action. First and foremost, this applied to Germany, where two large workers' organisations were founded in 1863—the General Association of German Workers, and the League of German Workers' Societies formed under the auspices of bourgeois liberals and democrats as a centre for the

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 87.
[2] *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. Minutes*, p. 341.

many workers' educational societies in different parts of the country.

Engels who never lost touch with the movement in Germany, knew of the many impediments to the German workers' affiliation with the International. To begin with, there was the Prussian legislation, which forbade workers' societies to affiliate with foreign organisations. But there were also the Lassallean leaders of the General Association of German Workers, the publicist Bernhard Becker, lawyer Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, and others.

The General Association of German Workers' affiliation with the International would doubtless have delivered it from Lassallean dogmas and helped turn it into a really proletarian body. More, it would have been a big gain for the International Working Men's Association.

So, Marx and Engels accepted Schweitzer's suggestion that they should write for the *Social-Demokrat*, a newspaper he had begun publishing in Berlin on December 15, 1864. That he approached them spoke of their prestige among German workers. And since particular Lassallean ideas were absent from the newspaper's prospectus and Liebknecht was one of its editors, Marx and Engels consented. "It is very good that we shall again have a medium," Engels wrote to Marx, "and very good that Liebknecht ... will be co-editor; that is surely some guarantee."[1] Though certain that the Lassalleans would use the paper to advocate their views, Engels, like Marx, was not inclined to let slip this opportunity of propagating the ideas of the IWA and, of course, criticising Lassalle's theories and tactics.

The second and third issues of the paper printed the Inaugural Address, thus bringing it to the notice of German workers, and in February 1865 Marx's article, "On Proudhon", essentially directed against Lassalle, appeared in three instalments. Simultaneously, Engels sent in his translation of the old Danish folksong, *Herr Tidmann*, describing an episode from the peasants' struggles against feudal lords. In a postscriptum, he wrote: "The song shows ... how the peasants humbled the nobility's arrogance. In a country like Germany, where the propertied class contains as much feudal nobility as the bourgeoisie and where the proletariat contains as many or even more farm labourers than industrial workers—the zestful old peasant song will certainly be appropriate."[2] This was indirect criticism of the Lassalleans, who ignored the revolutionary potential of the peasants.

Engels was deeply troubled by the posture of the General Association's Lassallean leaders, who would not support the general democratic movement and instead continued flirting with Bismarck in the hope of cardinal concessions to the working class. This robbed

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 23.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 16, S. 34.

the workers of revolutionary perspective. It was therefore high time to countervail Lassallean policy with scientifically-grounded proletarian revolutionary tactics. The opportunity came in January 1865, when, through Marx, Liebknecht asked Engels for an article for the *Social-Demokrat* on one of the two then most topical subjects— the Prussian army reform and the American Civil War. On January 27, Engels replied that he would write on the military reform.

He chose this subject chiefly because it allowed him to deal with the acute problems of working-class tactics, to show the anti-popular essence of Bismarck's policy and, at the same time, strike out at Lassallean dogma. The theme was relevant, because a constitutional conflict had been kept alive for several years in Prussia by the refusal of the liberal majority in the Lower Chamber of the Landtag to approve the government's project of reorganising the army. Twice already the government had dissolved the Landtag, and finally launched the reform in spite of the parliamentary body's refusal to approve the expenditure this would entail.

Engels completed his article, "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party", in several days. On February 9 the manuscript went to Marx, and on receiving the latter's remarks on February 11 and 12, Engels put in the finishing touches and dispatched it to Germany. The text, about 50-55 pages, was too long for the newspaper. Also, its political orientation precluded its appearance in the Lassallean paper. Instead, it was published as a pamphlet in Hamburg by Otto Meissner.

The purpose of the article was set forth by Engels in an announcement to the press: "In contrast to the latest 'Social-Democratic' party tactics, the pamphlet returns to the standpoint held by the literary representatives of the proletariat in 1846-51."[1]

Although the pamphlet dealt with a seemingly specific matter—the attitude of the working class to the army reform—it went far beyond its subject. Lassalle's idealistic concepts and erroneous political tactics were weighed in a materialist analysis of the changes in Germany since the 1848-49 revolution.

The point of departure was the fact that the bourgeois-democratic transformations had not yet been completed.

Examining the position of the German bourgeoisie in the constitutional conflict, Engels showed its cowardice and inconsistency in battling for its own interests against the ruling feudal aristocracy. The reasons for this Engels traced to its relative economic weakness and, chiefly, to its fear of the proletariat. With the independent working-class movement growing stronger, he stressed, the bourgeoisie shied from an alliance with the masses against feudal reaction even more than during the 1848-49 revolution, and displayed a decided preference for the policy of compromise. It would "stop at nothing," he wrote, "to betray itself".[1]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 16, S. 80.

Germany, Engels showed, was a country where a struggle for power was in train between feudal-absolutist reaction and the bourgeoisie, and where "the most amazing antediluvian fossils still wandered about alive—feudal lords, courts of probate, cabbage-Junkers, flogging, government councillors, district presidents, guilds,... etc".[2] The working class had to make clear its attitude. Past experience showed that the two forces aspiring to power would try to woo the workers. "The feudal and bureaucratic representatives of the sinking society," Engels wrote, "call on the workers to join them and assail the bloodsuckers, the capitalists, the sole enemies of the workers, while the bourgeoisie tells the workers that both of them represent the new social epoch and that, therefore, their interests coincide, at least with regard to the sinking *old* society."[3]

The working class should know, however, that it is a special class with independent interests. The German workers, like those of other countries, face the same question: what tactics to follow in regard to the hostile exploiting classes. The foremost workers of Germany, Engels wrote in a reference to the members of the General Association of German Workers, demand emancipation from capitalists "through transfer of state capital to associated workers for the conduct of production on public account and without capitalists". And the means of achieving this, he pointed out, the working class sees in "the conquest of political power through universal and direct suffrage".[4] Neither reaction nor the liberal bourgeoisie would ever voluntarily accede to these demands.

Engels produced a lucid analysis of the true intentions harboured by the reactionary forces. "Reaction, if consistent, naturally wishes to abolish the proletariat," he wrote, "not through its advance to association, but by again turning the modern proletarians into guildsmen and half or complete peasant serfs."[5] Apart from being unacceptable to the workers, he added, this is reactionary and utopian. Every victory of the reactionary forces retards social development and inevitably postpones the workers' victory. Reaction's occasional concessions detrimental to the bourgeoisie do not and cannot strengthen the workers' political potential.

Engels did not confine himself to general statements. He examined the policy of the Bismarck government and showed that it was a special variety of reaction—Bonapartism. He complemented Marx's earlier analysis of the substance of Bonapartism, based on the example of Louis Napoleon's empire in France, with a description of the

[1] Ibid., S. 65.
[2] Ibid., S. 67.
[3] Ibid., S. 68.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., S. 69.

Prussian variety—Bismarck's regime as a special political form of feudal-bureaucratic reaction. "Bonapartism," he wrote, "is a necessary form of state in a country where the working class, highly developed in cities but outnumbered by small peasants in the countryside, was defeated in a great revolutionary struggle by the capitalist class, the petty bourgeoisie and the army.... It defends the bourgeoisie against the violent attacks of workers, encourages small pacific skirmishing between the two classes, but in other matters denies both of them the slightest political power."[1] The Bonapartist government, though holding the upper hand over the bourgeoisie in Prussia and maintaining the power of the feudal-bureaucratic element, he showed, could not help protecting the basic interests of the capitalist class. Engels produced a clear picture of the anti-popular character of Bismarck's government. "It would be the height of folly," he wrote, "to expect more for the workers from a government that exists precisely for the purpose of keeping the workers in check in relation to the bourgeoisie."[2]

Engels' description of the German bourgeoisie, the political history of which since 1848 he examined, was annihilating. "The Prussian bourgeoisie," he wrote, "...is able to drag out its political existence with a lack of courage unequalled in the history of even this none too courageous class."[3]

He raised yet another important matter ignored by the Lassalleans—the question of the rural proletariat. "In Germany," he wrote, "struggle against feudal and bureaucratic reaction—for in our country the two are now inseparable—is synonymous to struggle for the spiritual and political emancipation of the rural proletariat, and as long as the rural proletariat is not drawn into the movement, the city proletariat in Germany cannot, and will not, achieve the slightest success."[4] To win the farm labourers to its side, he pointed out, the city proletariat and its party must take a firm stand against the remnants of feudalism.

In conclusion, Engels defined the aims of the workers' party in Germany. Following the tactics suggested by Marx and himself during the 1848-49 revolution, the working class should act resolutely against reaction, refusing to swallow the bait of social demagogy, supporting the liberal bourgeoisie against the reactionary elements and encouraging it to battle for bourgeois-democratic reconstruction. However, the working class should support the bourgeoisie "*so long as it is faithful to itself*", Engels wrote, and if it is not, "continue to agitate for civic freedom, freedom of the press, assembly and association in spite of the bourgeoisie."[5] Above all, the workers' party must be an independent political force; it must always stress the antithesis between the class interests of the working class and bourgeoisie, building its own organisation as a counterweight to the party organisations of the bourgeoisie.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 16, S. 71.
[2] Ibid., S. 72.
[3] Ibid., S. 56.
[4] Ibid., S. 74.
[5] Ibid., S. 76, 77.

At the end of February 1865 the pamphlet came off the press and at once gained an audience throughout Germany. It was received with enthusiasm by the associates and followers of Marx and Engels. Wilhelm Liebknecht organised a discussion of it in the Berlin workers' societies. Carl Siebel, a member of the working-class movement in Elberfeld, wrote to Engels on March 6: "I have read the pamphlet through twice. I liked it very much. I do not think that the gentry will be able to ignore it however much they would like to."[1] Johann Klein of Cologne, a friend from the Communist League days, referred to it in glowing terms and reported that it was selling well.[2] Reviews in the democratic and bourgeois press paid tribute to Engels' brilliance.

The pamphlet gave the foremost German workers the correct guidelines and helped them consolidate. Setting the objective of a really independent revolutionary political party, it provided them with an effective strategy and tactics. Engels studied the general situation in the country, weighed the strength of the contending political forces and showed the error of the Lassallean policy. It was Engels' first public act relating to the working-class movement after a long interval, and was a model of how to combine scholarly knowledge with the experience of a proletarian revolutionary. He drew for his conclusions on British, French and German political and economic history and contemporary affairs, on the history of the labour movement, and his reflections on the problems of bourgeois and proletarian revolutions.

BREACH WITH EDITORS OF THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*

Shortly before Engels began writing the pamphlet, a letter from Liebknecht sent on to him by Marx (on January 26, 1865) confirmed earlier suspicions of a deal between Lassalle and Bismarck in 1864. In return for the General Association of German Workers' support of Prussia's annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Bismarck had promised Lassalle universal suffrage. On January 27 Engels wrote to Marx: "Honest Lassalle turned out to be a common rogue. We have never judged of people by what they thought of themselves, but by what they were in reality.... Subjectively, on account of his vanity, he may have imagined the whole thing to be plausible, but objec-

[1] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[2] See *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1964, S. 45.

tively it was pure knavery, a betrayal of the entire working-class movement to the Prussians."[1]

It was obvious from the first issues of the *Social-Demokrat* that Schweitzer worshipped Lassalle and advocated his tactics. In a veiled manner at first, but gradually more and more frankly, the paper supported the Bismarck government.

Schweitzer, it was clear, was following in his teacher's footsteps and prodding the working class into a deal with Bismarck. Marx's attempts to influence the paper's policy proved in vain. A rupture with Schweitzer became unavoidable. In their letters Marx and Engels discussed the matter at length.

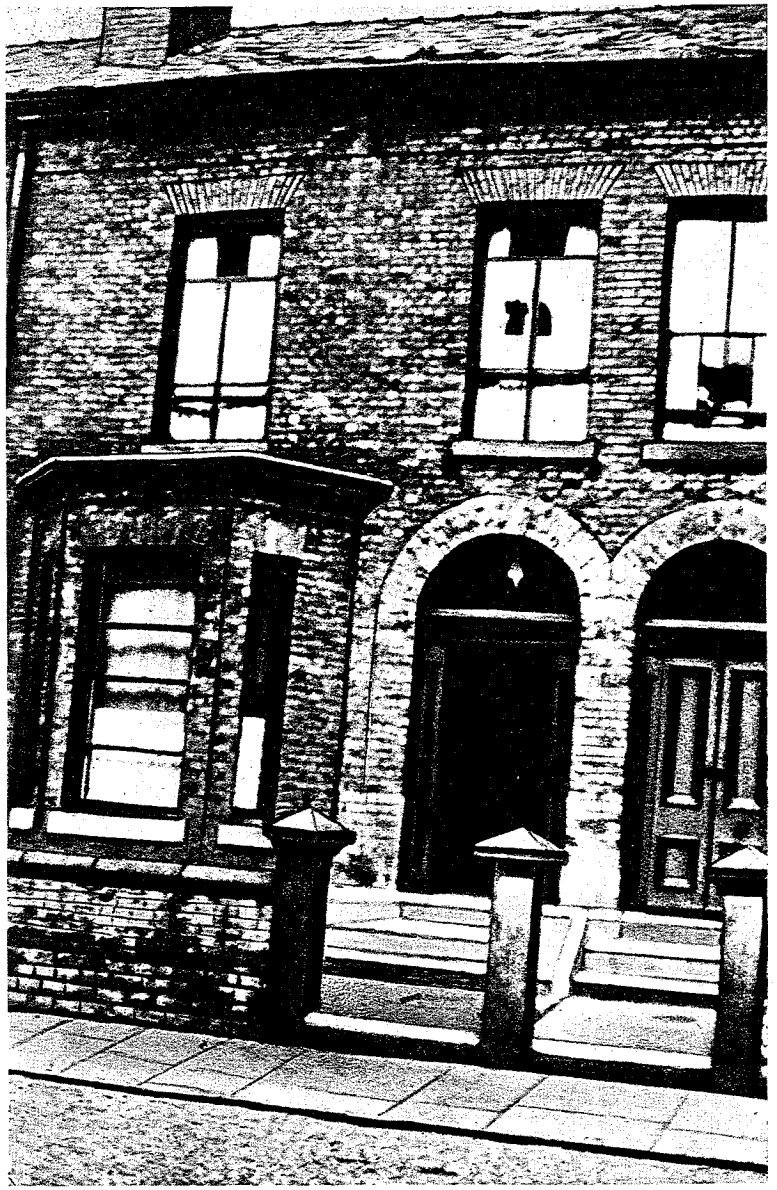
The two friends protested when the *Social-Demokrat* of January 13 and February 1 published reports from Paris by Moses Hess accusing the leaders of the International's Paris sections of collusion with the Bonapartists. Seeing this as an attempt to compromise the International among German workers, Marx wrote a statement accusing Hess of "absurd and slanderous insinuations".[2] On February 6 he sent the text to Engels to be signed, then mailed it to Schweitzer. When Hess admitted his fault, however, Marx and Engels did not insist on their statement being published. They decided to wait for a more opportune time to speak out against the paper's policy and Lassalleanism in general.

On February 1, 1865, a *Social-Demokrat* editorial backed the Lassallean leaders' point of view on the public campaign for the repeal of the legislative ban on strikes and coalitions. Started by the Progressists, a liberal bourgeois party, the campaign was joined by workers from both the General Association of German Workers and the League of German Workers' Societies, laying the groundwork for united action in struggles for common interests. The Lassalleans ignored the campaign, giving precedence to agitation for government aid to productive associations.

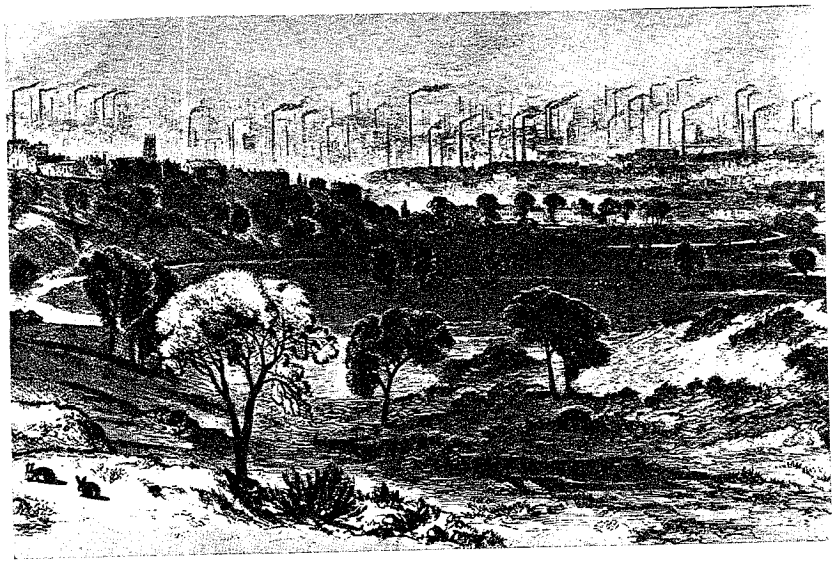
In a letter to Schweitzer, Marx made another attempt to sway him and explain the importance of coalitions, which give birth to trade unions. But his message had no effect. Schweitzer's reply on February 15, 1865, made it clear that he had no intention of altering his paper's policy. Marx sent the letter on to Engels.

Meanwhile, the *Social-Demokrat* put out a series of Schweitzer's articles, "Bismarck's Ministry", candidly apologising for the Prussian government and its policy of uniting Germany under Prussian rule. Now it was clear to Marx and Engels that nothing could be done about the paper's policy and that their names were being used by Schweitzer for purely advertising purposes; further collaboration with him would clearly do more harm than good to the working-class movement.

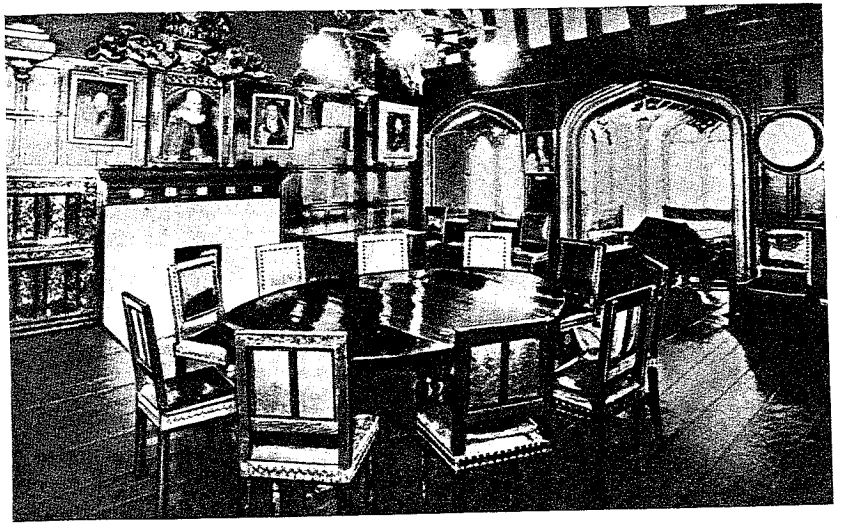
[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 45-46.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 162.



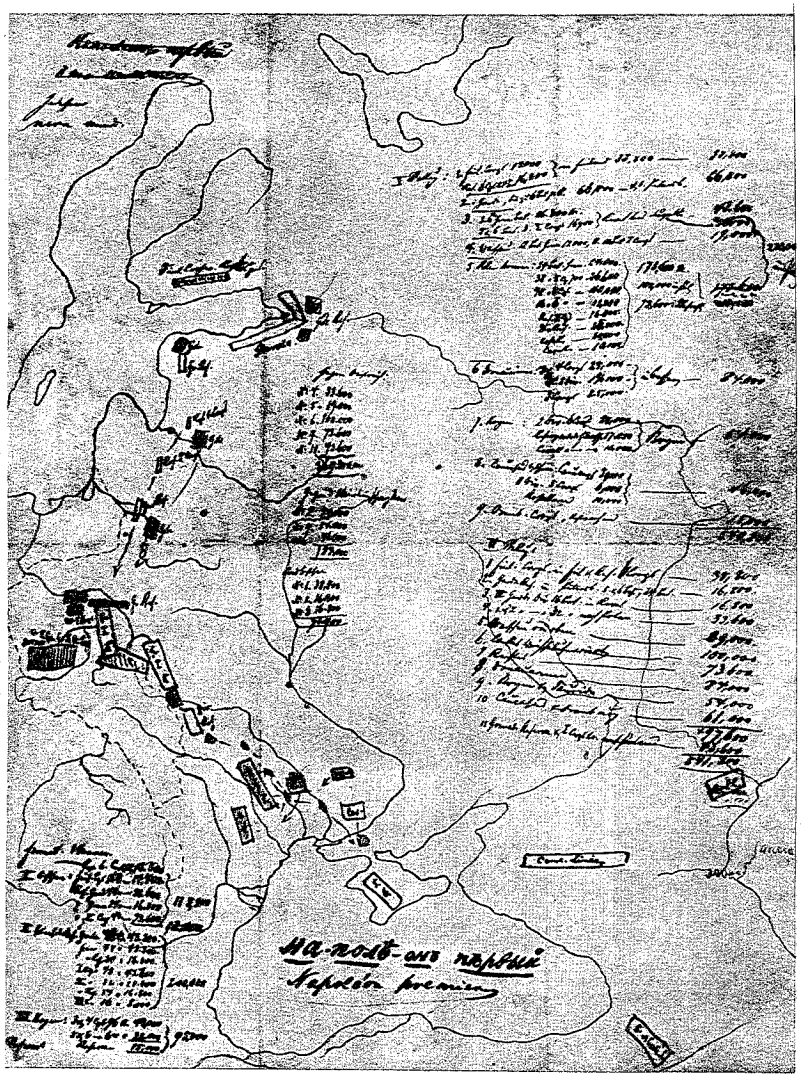
Engels' Manchester house



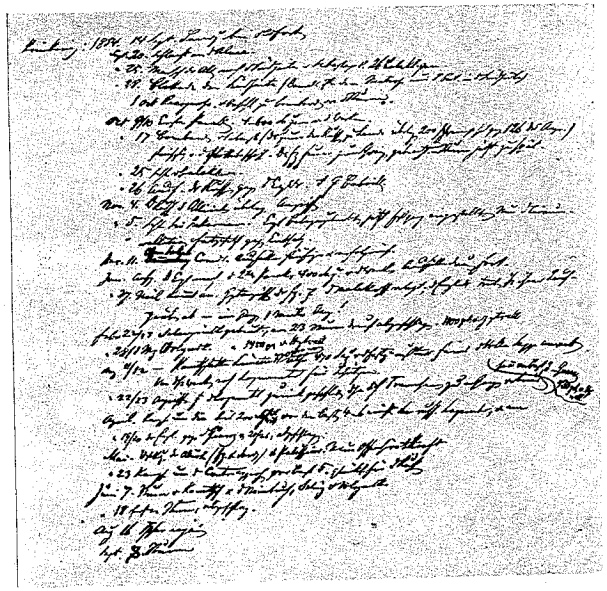
A view of Manchester



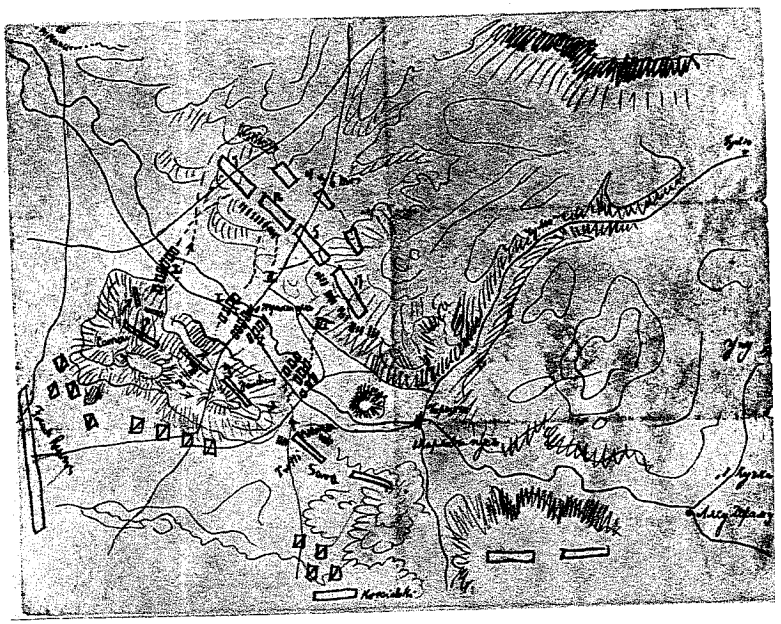
Chatham's Library in Manchester



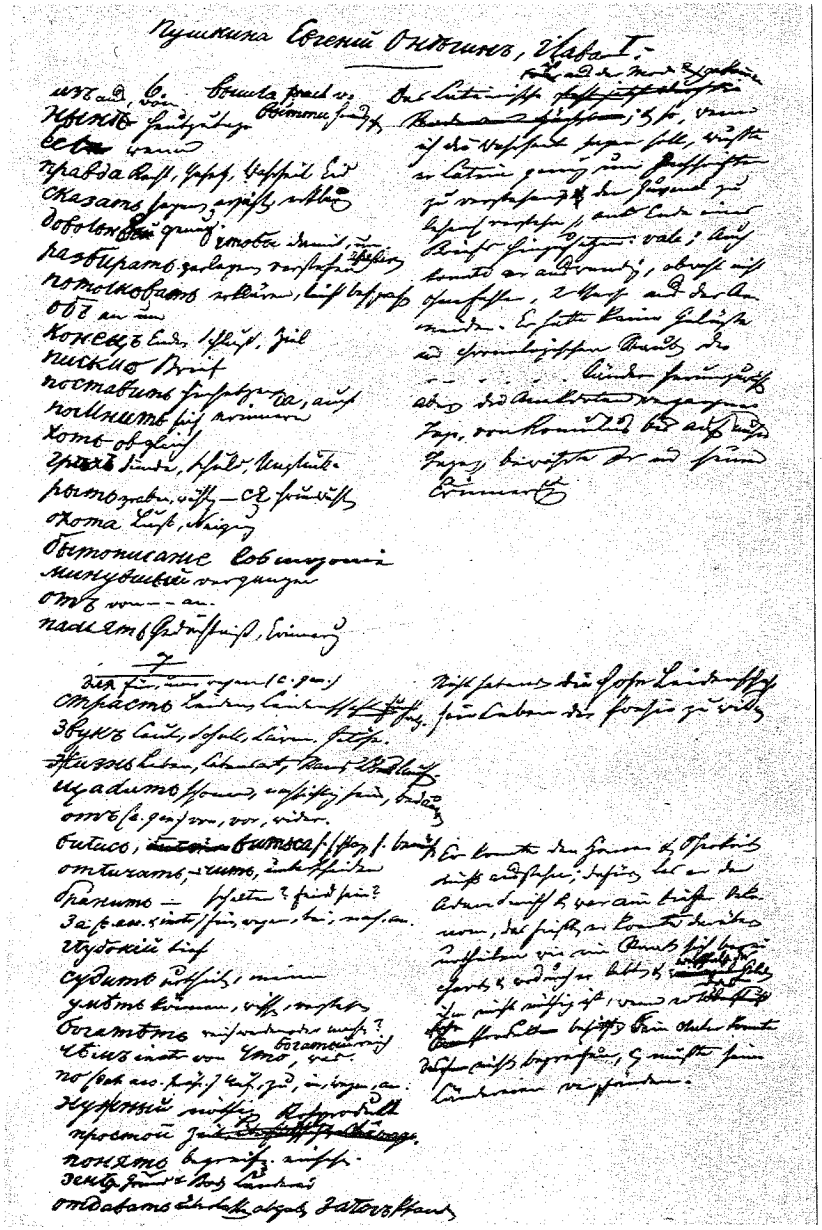
A page from Engels' notes for his article, "The Russian Armed Forces"



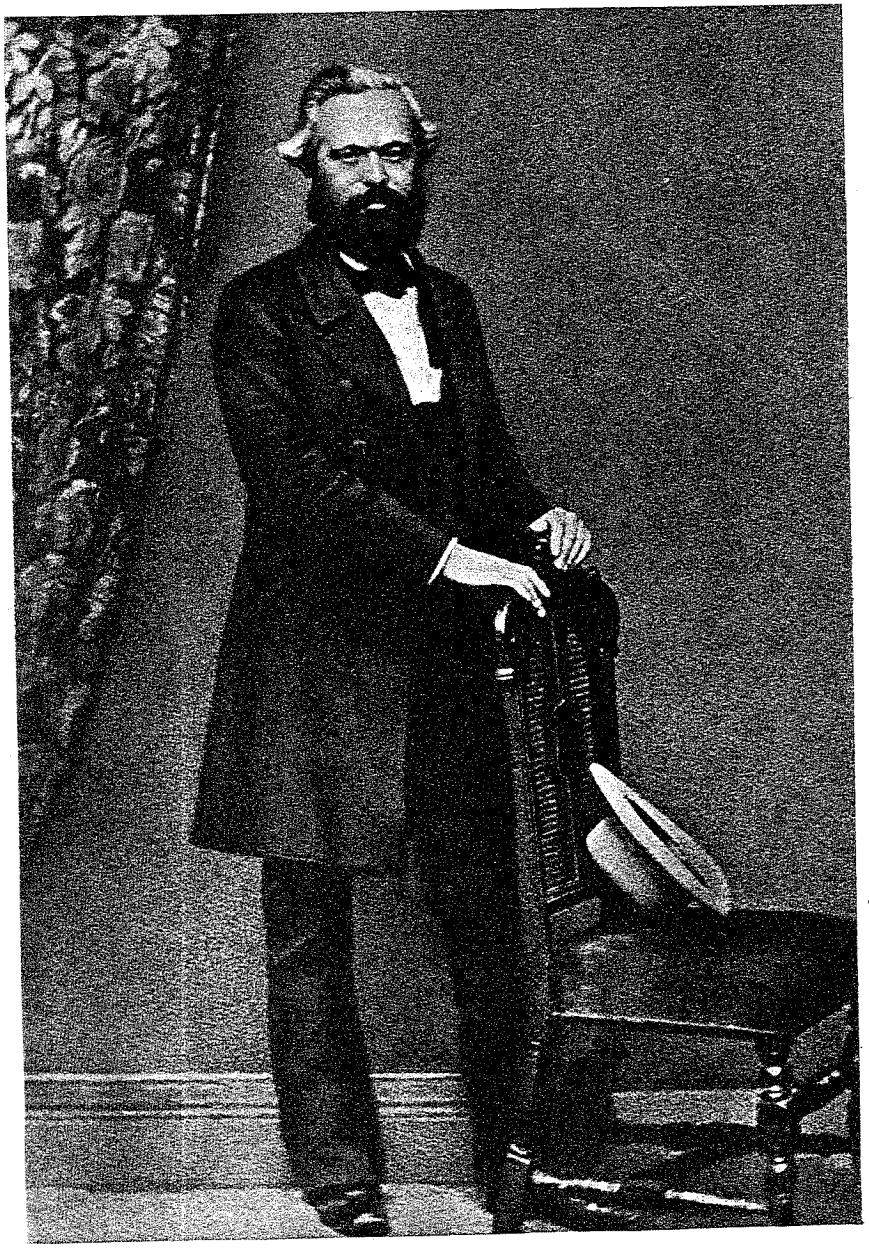
Engels' chronological listing of the highlights of the Crimean War



A diagram by Engels of the battle on the Black River, August 16 (4), 1855

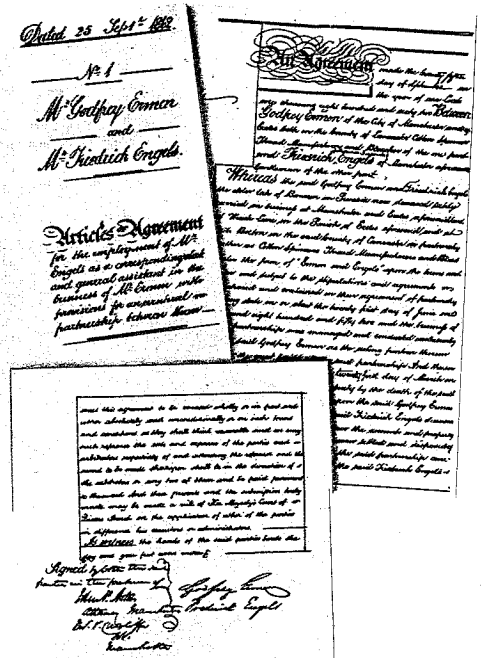


Abstracts by Engels from Alexander Pushkin's poem, *Eugene Onegin*

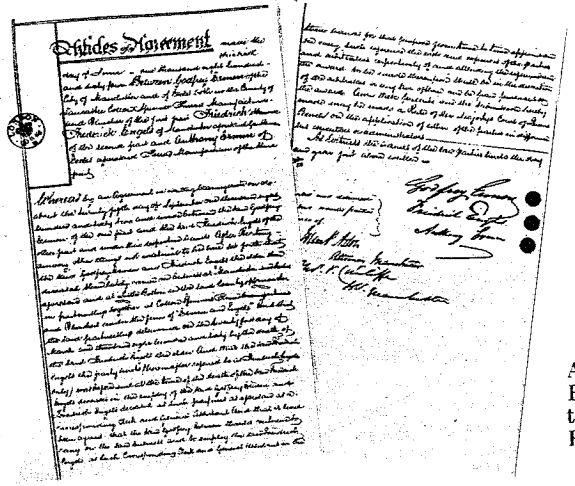


Marx, 1861

Engels, 1864

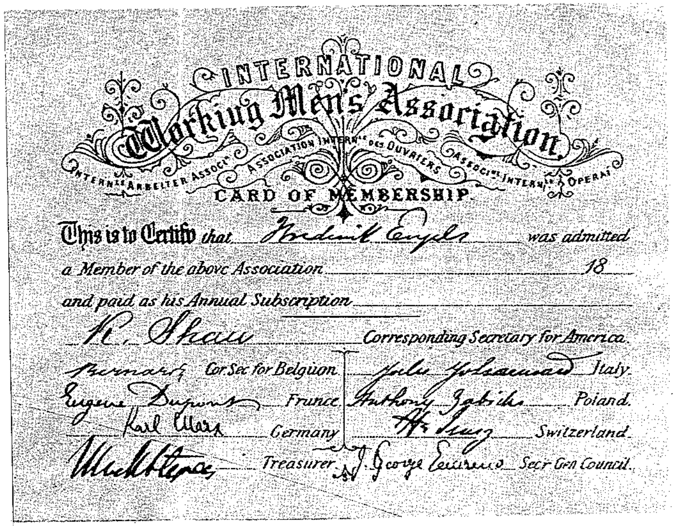

Dated 25 Sept^r 1862.
No 1
Articles of Agreement

Articles of Agreement for the employment of Engels in the business of Godfrey Ermen, concluded on September 25, 1862


Articles of Agreement

Articles of Agreement on Engels' partnership in the firm of Ermen and Engels, concluded on June 30, 1864

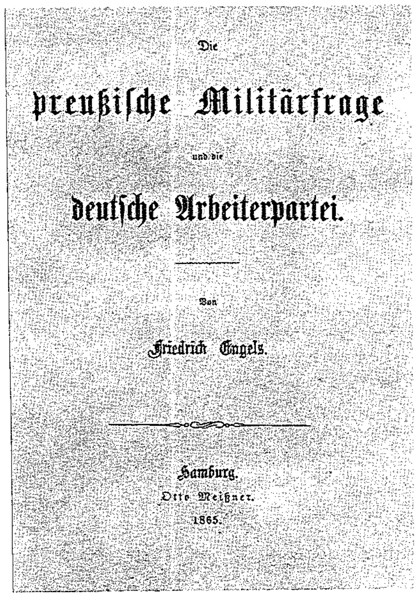
Marx, Engels and Marx's daughters in the 1860s



INTERNATIONAL
Working Men's Association
INTERNLE ARBEITER ASSOCN ASSOCIATION INTERNLE DES OUVRIERS ASSOCNE INTERNLE OPERAI
CARD OF MEMBERSHIP

This is to Certify that Frederick Engels was admitted
a Member of the above Association 18
and paid as his Annual Subscription
R. Shaw Corresponding Secretary for America.
Bernard Cor.Sec for Belgium | Emile Holtorp Italy.
Eugene Dupont France | Anthony Zabicki Poland.
Karl Marx Germany | H. Jung Switzerland.
W. Dell Treasurer | J. George Eccarius Secr Gen Council.

Engels' Card of Membership in the First International

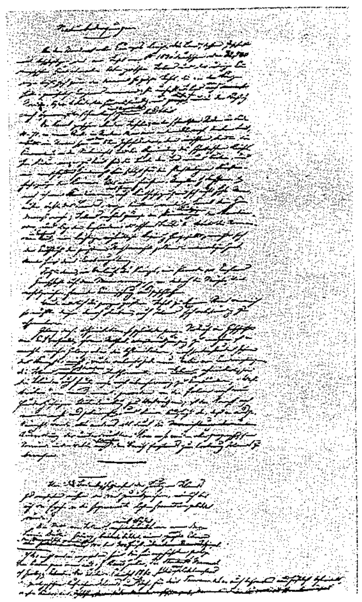


Die
preußische Militärfrage
und die
deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

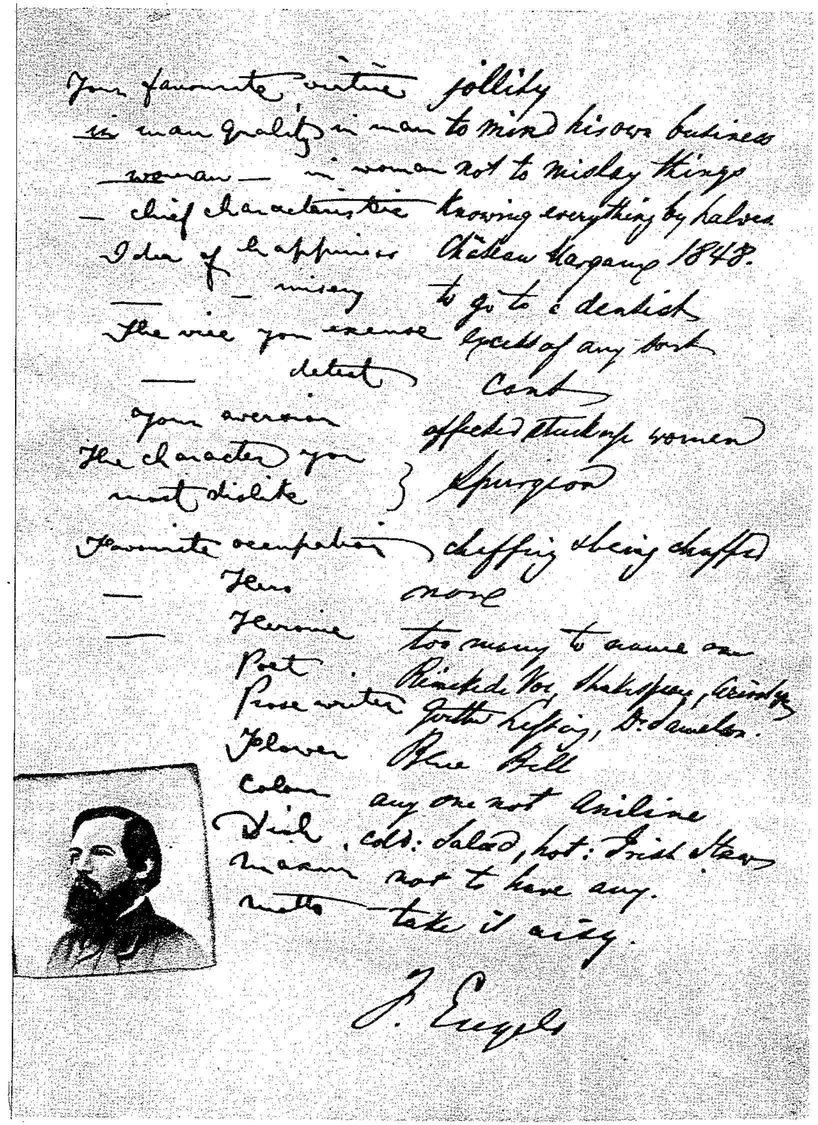
Von
Friedrich Engels.

Hamburg.
Otto Meißner.
1865.

Title page of Engels' pamphlet. *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party*

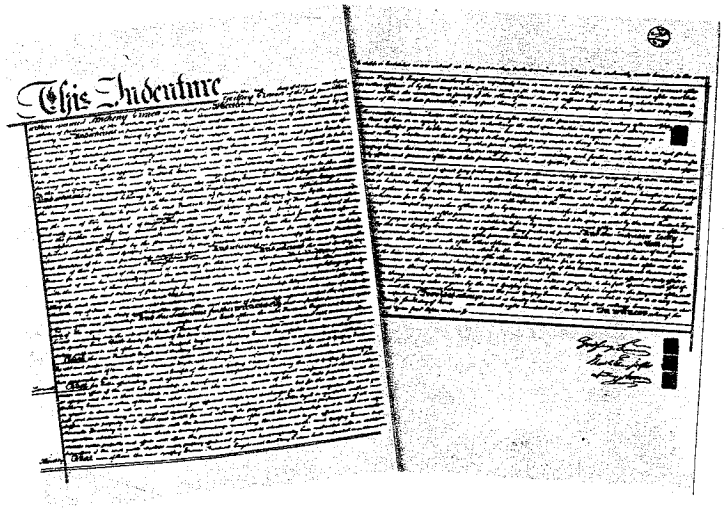


First page of Engels' manuscript, "The History of Ireland"



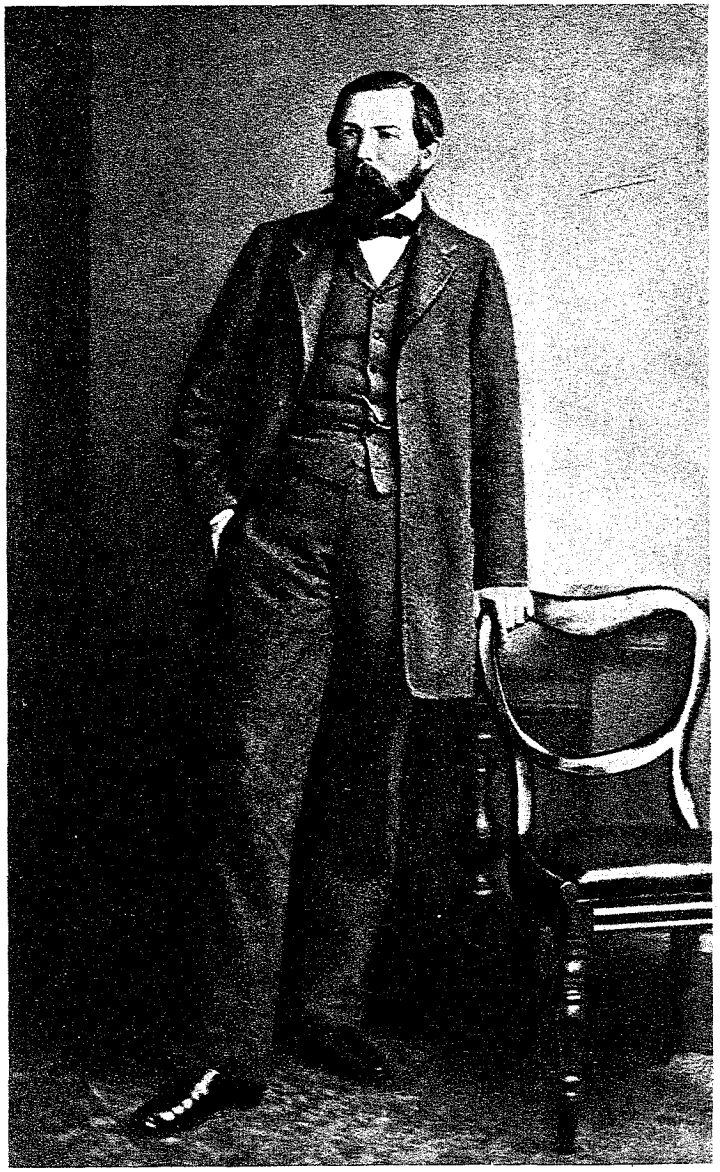
Your favourite virtue — jollity
in man quality in man — to mind his own business
woman — in woman — not to mislay things
— chief characteristic — knowing everything by halves
Idea of happiness — Château Margaux 1848.
— of misery — to go to a dentist
The vice you excuse — excess of any sort
— detest — Cant
Your aversion — affected stuck-up women
The character you most dislike — Spurgeon
Favourite occupation — chaffing and being chaffed
— Hero — none
— Heroine — too many to name one
Poet — Reineke de Vos, Shakespeare, Ariosto
Prose writer — Goethe, Lessing, Dr. Samelson.
Flower — Blue Bell
Colour — any one not Aniline
Dish — cold: Salad, hot: Irish Stew
Maxim — not to have any.
Motto — take it aisy.
F. Engels

Engels' playful "Confession" in the album of Jenny, Marx's daughter



Indenture formalising Engels' withdrawal from Ermen and Engels

The London house (122 Regent's Park Road), in which Engels lived from September 1870 to October 1894



Engels in the 1860s

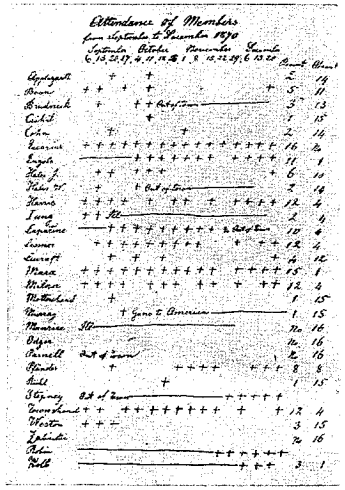
Samuel Moore

Karl Schorlemmer

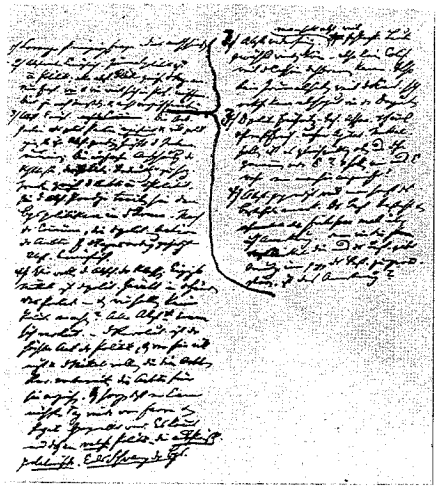
Wilhelm Liebknecht

Paul Lafargue

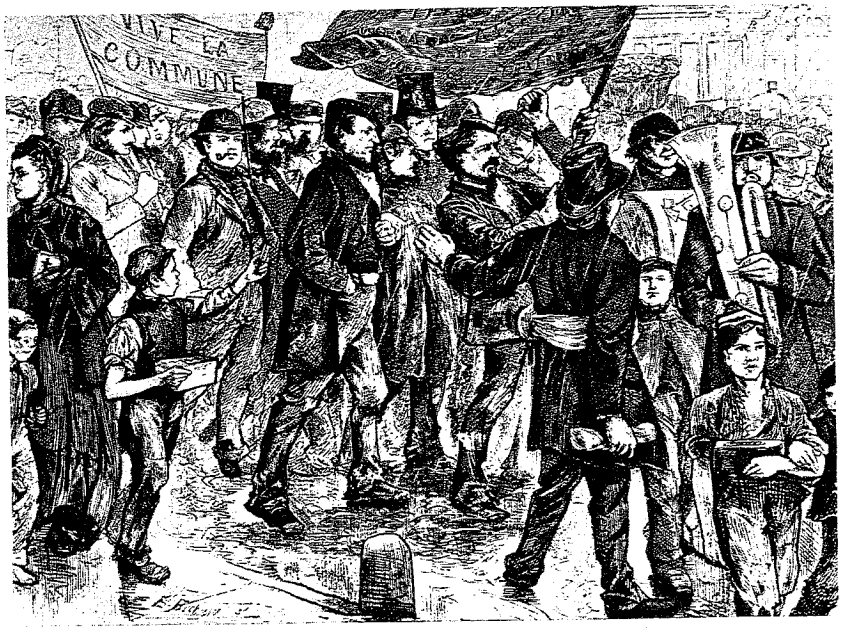
Battle of the Communards in Père-la-Chaise Cemetery



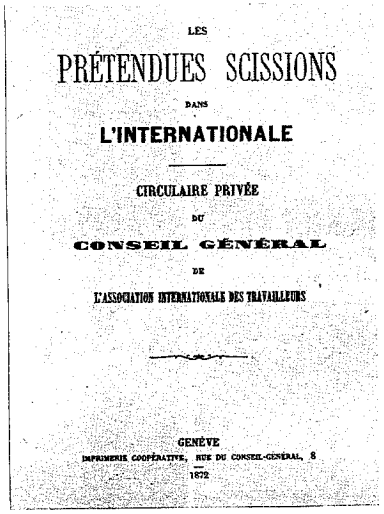
Attendance list of the IWA General Council (September-December 1870)



Plan of Engels' speech on working-class political action at the London Conference, 1871



London demonstration of solidarity with the Paris Commune



LES

PRÉTENDUES SCISSIONS

DANS

L'INTERNATIONALE

CIRCULAIRE PRIVÉE

DU

CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

DE

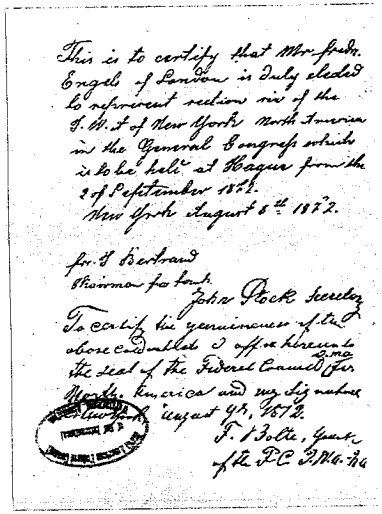
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

GENÈVE

IMPRIMERIE COOPÉRATIVE, RUE DU CONSEIL-GÉNÉRAL, 8

1872

Title page of the pamphlet, *Fictitious Splits in the International*, by Marx and Engels



This is to certify that Mr. Fredk. Engels of London is duly elected to represent section six of the F. W. A. of New York North America in the General Congress which is to be held at Hague from the 2 of September 1872.

New York August 6th 1872.

for F. Bertrand
Chairman for 1872.

John Stock Secretary

To certify the genuineness of the above endorsement I affix hereunto the seal of the Federal Council for North America and my signature

August 9th, 1872.

F. A. Bolte, Secretary of the F.C. for N.A.

Engels' credentials to the Hague Congress

On February 18, Marx informed Engels of Liebknecht's resignation from the paper's editorial staff, which, naturally, could not but influence their own position. At the same time, Marx sent Engels his text of a joint statement announcing their rupture with the *Social-Demokrat* because of their negative view of the "royal Prussian government socialism". Engels endorsed it wholeheartedly.

Schweitzer's series of articles provided the grounds for a politically-motivated breach which the masses were bound to understand. Marx's and Engels' statement to this effect was published in many German newspapers at the end of February and early in March 1865, and was met with approval by the foremost German workers. Johann Klein wrote to Engels: "All our local acquaintances were deeply heartened by your and Marx's statement, though it was by no means unexpected; it has created the due effect."[1] The statement was also acclaimed by the Berlin Compositors' Union, to which Liebknecht reported about the reasons for the rupture.

The move of Marx and Engels, soon followed by some other prominent figures (Johann Philipp Becker, Friedrich Wilhelm Rüstow, Georg Herwegh, and others), touched off a sharp controversy in the General Association of German Workers. Schweitzer and the other Lassallean leaders viciously attacked Marx and Engels, endeavouring to distort their attitude to Lassalle, to the General Association and the *Social-Demokrat*. Engels was in a mood to retort.[2] So was Marx. On behalf of both of them, he made several statements against Schweitzer, Bernhard Becker and other Lassallean leaders.

Marx's followers in Germany, and most notably Liebknecht, acted to the same effect. Liebknecht started a campaign in the Berlin branch of the General Association, and was able to win the support of its more advanced, revolutionary members, though the majority was still under the spell of Lassallean dogmas. Unfortunately, he was soon sent out of Prussia.

Abandoning the idea of recruiting the Lassallean General Association for the International, Marx set out to form small, unassociated sections in Germany. They sprang up in different parts of the country (in 1866) and devoted themselves to disseminating the ideas of the IWA.

This was important, for it helped to segregate and consolidate the foremost elements in the German working-class movement and to combat Lassallean influence. And it was important for the International as well. The German workers could now send their representatives to IWA congresses and reinforce the nucleus of Marxist proletarian revolutionaries. At the earliest congresses (1866 in Geneva and 1867 in Lausanne) the German workers were, indeed, Marx's pillar of support.

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[1] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland*, S. 45.
[2] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 102.

The battle against Lassallean ideas and the elaboration of revolutionary proletarian tactics gained fresh impulse during the upswing of political activity in Germany in 1866. A conflict was brewing between Austria and Prussia caused by the struggle for power in Germany. Bismarck was quite obviously planning a war, hoping to unite Germany under Prussian hegemony. In a letter to Marx early in April 1866, Engels observed that Bismarck was "leading matters up to a war".[1] Democratic development and the interests of the working class, Marx and Engels held, would be best served by uniting Germany by revolutionary means rather than under the aegis of reactionary Prussia or the just as reactionary Austria.

The country's unity and the forms it would adopt was on the workers' minds. Influenced by the leaders of the General Association of German Workers, some tended to support Bismarck's government, but an ever greater number of workers' societies was beginning to see that the national question required a democratic revolutionary solution.

Prominent in the movement was August Bebel, a young lathe operator who in July 1865 set out to unite the workers' societies in Saxony. He was determined to deliver them from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie. In August 1865 he met Liebknecht, who had moved to Leipzig after his eviction from Berlin. And they worked in close contact ever since. In fact, Liebknecht was largely instrumental in Bebel's acceptance of scientific communism. Their attacks on Prussian reactionary policies and Lassallean dogma won an ever broader response and fortified the prestige of the International. But it was not easy to work out consequent tactics in the prevailing situation. Liebknecht, too, committed mistakes. Criticising Prussian policy, he tended at times to lean over too far in support of the Austrians. At one point he even advanced plans for a federative arrangement—a concession to the particularist aspirations of the bourgeoisie in the smaller German states, represented, among others, by the People's Party, a body of petty-bourgeois democratic elements chiefly in Southern Germany and Saxony.

Engels hoped that Prussia's defeat would touch off a revolutionary explosion, making possible a bourgeois-democratic "revolution from below" in place of Bismarck's "revolution from above". The reactionary governments of the big and small German states would then be swept out and the working class would have its say. "In Germany," Engels wrote to Marx on the eve of the Prusso-Austrian war, "matters look more revolutionary every day.... In a fortnight, I think, things will begin popping in Prussia."[2]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 200.
[2] Ibid., S. 226.

On the face of it, Engels' view appeared to be justified. In the purely military field, he observed in the *Manchester Guardian* in June-July 1866, the Austrian army seemed to have an advantage over Prussia. Besides, Prussian morale was not attuned to an offensive war. But superior Prussian arms—the Prussians had needle-guns—tilted the balance. In the first battles of the war, which began in June 1866, Austria suffered a crushing defeat. The emergence of the North German Confederation under Prussian dominance, and the annexation of several smaller German states, was a feather in Bismarck's cap. "Bismarck will in any case establish the Little-German Empire [excluding Austria] in the dimensions intended by the bourgeoisie," Engels wrote to Marx on July 25, 1866.[1] A revolutionary solution of the German question became impossible. The influence of the Prussian militarists and Bismarckian Bonapartism shot up in Europe, as well as Germany. The German working class had new problems to cope with. Engels wrote: "In my opinion, therefore, all we can do is simply to accept the fact, without approving it, and use, as far as we can, the greater facilities now bound at any rate to become available for the *national* organisation and unification of the German proletariat."[2]

Engels' opinion had a certain amount of influence on the German workers. Liebknecht wrote to him in December 1866 that he was essentially in accord with his views, and any differences that there were applied to but minor practical issues.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE POLISH QUESTION

In the latter 1860s the national question stood high on the agenda in the European working-class organisations and the IWA. The Polish insurgency of 1863-64, which had won the sympathy of workers and democrats throughout Europe, had just been suppressed. Public attention centred on the unification of Italy, and of Germany. Bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic groups in all countries put forward programmes, designed to win the masses, including the workers, to their side. Most European monarchs, too, tried to vindicate their reactionary national policy. Especially dangerous was the specious oratory of Bonapartist France, covering up her piratic plans of conquest and seeking to exploit national movements for her own, counter-revolutionary ends.

Nihilist sentiment ran high among some workers, especially the French Proudhonists. Maintaining that liberation from the tyranny

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 181.
[2] Ibid., p. 182.

of capital was the workers' sole aim, they held that workers' organisations, including the International, should occupy themselves with economic issues only, and that the national liberation struggle and political activity in general should be left entirely to the bourgeoisie.

There were long arguments in the General Council and various sections of the International on whether or not to put the demand for Poland's independence on the agenda of the Geneva Congress (1866). The Proudhonists were against it, but the London Conference of the IWA in September 1865 decided in favour. The need to substantiate the reasons for supporting the demand for Polish independence provided an opportunity for elaborating a comprehensive working-class standpoint on national liberation. Besides, it made the International more conscious of the need for independent political struggle and of the workers' position vis-à-vis bourgeois-democratic movements.

Engels contributed substantially to the framing of the International's approach to the national question. On January 5, 1866, Marx asked him for an article on Poland. He worked on it intermittently, and finally on March 24 the *Commonwealth*, the journal of the International, printed the first of his three articles which were entitled, "What Hav eth eWorking Classes To Do With Poland?" The articles showed that the national liberation movement is a revolutionary force meriting every possible support from the working class.

Criticising the Proudhonists, Engels maintained that non-interference was tantamount to encouraging the oppression of Poland by tsarist Russia, Austria and Prussia. The working class, he said, should declare war on reaction, whatever form it assumed and in whatever field it operated. He urged the workers to end the enslavement of nation by nation. The liberation and self-determination of oppressed nations, he said, should be part of the workers' platform. In contrast to the Proudhonists, he favoured supporting essentially bourgeois-democratic movements and showed the vital stake that workers had in democratic reconstruction.

The right of the great European nations to "separate and independent existence"[1], as advocated by the proletariat, he showed, had nothing in common with the Bonapartist demagogy about independence for every nationality on the sole basis of ethnic origin, regardless of where its members resided. What the Bonapartists wanted to achieve thereby was a revision of the borders of historically and economically developed states, promoting Louis Napoleon's plans of conquest and his ambition of dominating Europe politically to the detriment of the truly democratic movements. Engels exposed the substance of the Bonapartist "principle of nationalities" as an

[1] *Commonwealth* No. 160, March 31, 1866.

attempt to exploit national movements for counter-revolutionary ends.

He pilloried the Russian, Prussian and Austrian monarchies' policy of oppressing Poland, stressing the reactionary role of tsarist autocracy. He also exposed the disgraceful role of Poland's aristocracy in helping to destroy the national Polish state. To preserve the outdated feudal relations, Polish magnates had opposed the country's progressive development and thereby obstructed the battle against foreign intervention. "No doubt the aristocracy *did* ruin Poland, and ruin her thoroughly,"[1] Engels stressed. Taking advantage of the venality of the Polish aristocrats, reactionary foreign forces robbed the country of its independence. The partition of Poland was a welcome development for international reaction.

Engels drew the conclusion that "the working men, not only of Prussia, but of all Germany have a greater interest than those of any other country in the restoration of Poland".[2]

Thus, using the then topical Polish question, Engels advanced one of the most important propositions of the IWA Inaugural Address: the need to combat the foreign policy of the ruling classes, which the working class should counter with its own foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Engels' articles went a long way in conceptualising and championing Marx's standpoint on Poland in the International Working Men's Association.

A MASS WORKERS' PARTY IN GERMANY

The varied activity of Marx and Engels in the German labour movement began to yield fruit. Far-reaching changes were coming about. The dissemination of scientific socialism, the propaganda —with Engels' active involvement—of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, which appeared in September 1867, the workers' knowledge of the programme of the International, coupled with their own experience, paved the way for an independent proletarian party.

Eager to relieve Marx of at least part of the immense burden of work in the International, Engels undertook to conduct most of the correspondence with Germany.

In their letters to each other, Marx and Engels examined the problems of the German labour movement in great detail and shaped a common tactical line. The problems were, indeed, difficult ones.

In 1867, the workers had gained a major victory—two of their best men, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, won seats in the North German Reichstag. They were the first representatives of the orga-

[1] *Commonwealth* No. 160, May 5, 1866.
[2] Ibid., No. 160, March 31, 1866.

nised proletariat ever to gain admission to a reactionary landlord-bourgeois parliament. Marx and Engels helped them as best they could, rejoiced at their successes, and commended their bold criticism of the Prussian government.

On receiving word of Liebknecht's election, Engels wrote to Laura Marx: "Your friend Library [Liebknecht's nickname in Marx's family] has been happily elected to the great North-German Reichstag from Schneeberg in Saxony against Count zur Lippe, and will soon probably make his maiden speech."[1] And following the maiden speech he wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann, a socialist and Marx's friend, whom he had met in the summer of 1867 during a short trip to Germany: "Liebknecht is making out very well in the Berlin cattle barn."[2]

In his letters to Liebknecht, Engels urged him to be not simply negative towards the reactionary Prussian government, but also to "assail the enemies of Bismarck just as fiercely as Bismarck himself, because they, too, are worthless".[3] Here Engels was referring to the opposition, comprising the South-German particularists and federalists. Time and again he rebuked Liebknecht for concessions to the People's Party. Deputies of the working class, he wrote, should expose both the frankly reactionary forces and the inhibitions of the bourgeois democrats, and should set forth the workers' revolutionary political line clearly and accurately.

Keeping close track of Liebknecht's and Bebel's speeches in the Reichstag, criticising their mistakes and helping them work out correct proletarian attitudes on all possible issues, Engels aided them in developing into consistent revolutionary fighters skilled in the use of all weapons, taking advantage of all situations to advance the emancipation of the people. It was with his participation, under his guidance, that the foundations were laid for the proletarian party's tactics in parliament.

A great revolutionary strategist, Engels unfailingly warned friends and comrades against the dangers of separating specifically working-class goals from the national and democratic aims. When Liebknecht argued in favour of postponing the struggle for the workers' immediate class interests until the completion of the struggle for democracy, he explained that this "queer deferment theory"[4] was wrong, and stressed that the two aims were interlaced.

Thanks primarily to the efforts of Marx and Engels, to persistent propaganda in the press and at public meetings by Liebknecht and their other followers in Germany, the ideas of the International, Marxism, took deeper root and became widespread.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 559.
[2] Ibid., S. 563.
[3] Ibid., S. 413.
[4] Ibid., Bd. 31, S. 579.

The success of the followers of scientific communism in Germany at the congress of the League of German Workers' Societies, on September 5, 1868, in Nuremberg, was highly important for the International. The majority of the League broke off relations with the liberal bourgeoisie. The proletarian revolutionary course triumphed. The Nuremberg programme was brought into line with the IWA platform. The ideas of the International, borne out by the practice of the labour movement, began to be accepted by some Lassalleans.

Opposition to the Lassallean leaders of the General Association of German Workers was rising. The publication of *Capital* had an extremely strong impact: a general convention of the General Association in Hamburg in 1868 heard a special report on Marx's book.

Conscious of Marx's popularity, Schweitzer had invited him to the Hamburg convention. Marx discussed the invitation with Engels, and the latter recommended to turn it down. But he urged Marx to use the occasion and in his reply show Schweitzer the gulf between the genuine labour movement and Lassallean sectarianism. Marx agreed.

By this time, Schweitzer had been compelled by mass pressure to abandon the sharply negative Lassallean attitude to trade unions and strikes. To wrest the initiative from Liebknecht and Bebel, he advanced the project of a single centralised union headed by a president elected by general vote and vested with dictatorial powers. Marx objected to such a union, founded on the same undemocratic principles as the General Association of German Workers.

In a short article, "Apropos of the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association", written in September 1868 following the police ban on the General Association and published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, the Leipzig workers' newspaper, Engels tried to convince members of the Association that rather than try to revive it on the old basis, they should help build up a united proletarian party. Criticising the cult of Lassalle and blind faith in his infallibility, Engels said he hoped members of the Association would abandon their Lassallean misconceptions. "Ever since the moment the members of the dissolved Association began thinking instead of believing," Engels wrote, "the last hindrance disappeared to the fusion of all German Social-Democratic workers in a large party."[1]

The growing influence of scientific socialism, and discontent over the dictatorial methods of the leadership, had finally split the General Association of German Workers. The revolutionary group, notably Wilhelm Bracke, Theodor Yorck and Julius Bremer, broke off relations with Schweitzer and accepted Liebknecht's and Bebel's offer, made on behalf of the League of German Workers' Societies, to send a representative to its congress in Eisenach. There delegates of the revolutionary wing of the General Association, the League of

[1] Ibid., Bd. 16, S. 329.

German Workers' Societies and the German sections of the IWA, which included a few of the more advanced Lassalleans, and of some of the trade unions, decided to found the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The Eisenach Congress (August 7-9, 1869) thus constituted the first mass party of German workers espousing the basic ideas of scientific communism.

The founding of the first all-German proletarian party which adhered in the main to the principles of scientific communism was a triumph for the teaching of Marx and Engels and an important milestone in the history of the German and international working-class movement. Now the International had a dependable medium to exercise its influence in the centre of Europe, and the Marxist wing of the International Working Men's Association had a reliable supporter.

The party declared its adherence to the principles of the International and plunged into the work of uniting the German proletariat. Engels was of great help with his advice, and with articles for the party's newspaper, *Volksstaat*.

In the summer of 1868, to publicise *Capital*, Engels sent a brief biography of Marx to the German literary paper, *Gartenlaube*, but its editors did not publish it. In the beginning of August 1869, on the eve of the Eisenach Congress, *Zukunft*, a democratic Berlin paper, published a revised version—the first short biography of Marx. In several pages Engels managed to portray Marx and his lifework, showing its significance and the importance of his scientific theory for the emancipation struggle of the working class.

Engels accentuated Marx's role in building up the German labour movement. Countering attempts to depict Lassalle as the founder of the labour movement in Germany, he showed that it had been Marx and his Communist League that laid the first stones. And deliberately on the eve of the founding of the Eisenach Party, Engels described the Communist League as a "well organised socialist party".[1] He stressed that Lassalle had followed a path already blazed by the League.

Engels' article, entitled "Karl Marx", pointed out Lassalle's basic faults, and called on the German workers to keep alive the revolutionary traditions of the Communist League.

The new 1870 edition of Engels' *Peasant War in Germany*, and especially the objective analysis of the contemporary situation in Germany in his preface to that edition, helped the German Social-Democrats in mapping out their tactics. Among other things, Engels pointed to the sharp clash between the champions of private landownership and exponents of scientific socialism at the Basle Congress of the International Working Men's Association, which had culminated in a resolution demanding collective ownership of

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 16, S. 361.

land. The Congress had set the practical aim of forging an alliance between the working class and the working peasants. However, some of the leaders of the Eisenach Party were slightly confused over the issue. Liebknecht was uncertain. The Basle resolution, he held, should not apply to countries where small peasant property predominated. This was why Engels showed specially in his preface what the German proletarian party's attitude should be to the farmers, and dwelled on the significance of the Basle resolution and its practical use in German conditions.

He called for a differentiated approach to the different groups of peasants and demonstrated what groups, and for what reasons, could be an ally of the proletariat. The big farmers, who exploited the labour of others, Engels classed with the bourgeoisie. The small peasants, on the other hand, whom he put into three categories—feudal peasants, tenant farmers and peasants who have their own little patches of land—could expect deliverance only from the working class.

He singled out the farm labourers. These would be rescued from their hideous misery only when the land they worked was withdrawn from the private ownership of the feudal lords and big peasants, transformed into public property and cultivated by cooperative associations of agricultural workers on their common account.

Engels stressed the extreme importance of the agrarian problem. "The day the farm labourers will have learned to understand their own interests," he wrote, "a reactionary, feudal, bureaucratic or bourgeois government will become impossible in Germany."[1] In sum, Engels regarded the small peasants and farm labourers as the main allies of the industrial proletariat.

But the preface to the 1870 edition of the *Peasant War in Germany* transcended the mere purpose of substantiating the position of the workers' party on the peasant question. To elucidate to its leadership the tasks of the Eisenach Party in the new conditions, Engels produced a general picture of the alignment of class forces and spelled out the strategy and tactics for the German Social-Democrats. His analysis of the political and economic development of Germany was truly a masterpiece. He showed that some of the half-hearted post-1866 reforms had not eliminated the aim of battling the feudal Prussian Junker reaction. On the other hand, he averred, the higher rate of Germany's economic growth was impelling a polarisation of class forces.

He described the position of the German bourgeoisie and its various factions and groups, and drew the conclusion that, as before, it was unfit to fight for political rule. Since 1848-49, when it "looked round for allies, sold itself to them regardless of the price" for fear of the proletariat, it had not advanced one step. "These allies are all

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 165.

reactionary by nature," he wrote. "There is the monarchy with its army and its bureaucracy; there is the big feudal nobility; there are the little cabbage-Junkers and there are even the priests."[1]

The counter-revolutionary complexion of the bourgeoisie became more pronounced after 1866. The notorious constitutional conflict ended in its complete surrender to the Bismarck government. The only consistently revolutionary class, Engels maintained, was the proletariat, which had many social and political successes to its credit. The election of workers' representatives to the Reichstag was, as he saw it, a particularly important victory. "It redounds to the credit of the German workers that *they alone* have succeeded in sending workers and workers' representatives into parliament—a feat which neither the French nor the English have so far accomplished," [2] he wrote.

Engels regarded the problems raised in the preface significant for the German movement and therefore discussed it beforehand with Marx. "Your preface," Marx wrote back, "is very good. I know of nothing that should be changed or added. I agree completely with your handling of 1866."[3]

The preface helped the Eisenach leadership to work out the party's revolutionary tactics. In 1870 its Stuttgart Congress adopted a resolution on the agrarian question wholly in the spirit of the Basle decisions. Engels' call for close relations with the small peasants and farm labourers was ardently supported by Liebknecht. "I share your opinion," he wrote to Engels, "that to win over the peasants, that is, the small landholders and farm labourers, is our main task.... The industrial workers cannot alone perform a revolution in Germany, and I am most grateful to you for saying so!"[4]

STUDYING THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

In 1869-70, having acquired more time for scholarly pursuits, Engels took up the history of Ireland. He had long wanted to study it. His plan was big—to write a capital work encompassing all aspects of the life of the Irish people since ancient times. The project was also needed by the International, for it would substantiate its Irish platform framed and advocated by Marx. For Marx this approval of his closest friend, and also Engels' aid as a specialist, was highly welcome.

The Irish question figured prominently in the General Council in the autumn of 1867, when there was a fresh upsurge of the national liberation movement in Ireland. The Sinn Feiners tried starting an insurrection; however, their organisation was crushed in March 1867, precipitating arrests and mass reprisals. Engels felt keenly that their conspiratorial tactics were wrong. But this did not prevent him from looking on the movement with sympathy. His second wife, Lizzie Burns, was also an ardent supporter of the Irish revolutionaries. "More than one Sinn Feiner," Lafargue recollected later, "found hospitality in Engels' house and it was thanks to his wife that the leader in the attempt to free the condemned Sinn Feiners on their way to the scaffold was able to evade the police."[1]

Marx insisted that the International should demand Ireland's secession from Britain and the right for Irishmen to handle their own affairs. Speaking at the General Council and in the German Workers' Educational Society, he explained the link between the liberation struggle of the workers in England and the national liberation of Ireland. In Marx's opinion, the conquest of Irish independence could, in the temper of the times, give fresh impulse to the English revolutionary working-class movement.

This was the first formulation of the idea of the unity of the two revolutionary streams—the struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement.

Defying this view, the trade-unionist leaders—conductors of chauvinism in the working-class movement—condemned the Irish "rebels" in unison with the bourgeois parties. Some British members of the General Council followed their cue. And in 1869, during the campaign for the amnesty of the condemned Sinn Feiners, the trade union leaders and General Council members tainted with trade-unionist ideology, who supported the limited liberal reforms of the Gladstone government, took the side of the police against the Irish revolutionaries.

But the majority in the General Council saw eye to eye with Marx. Meanwhile, the stormy demonstrations and mass meetings showed that England's workers were casting off their chauvinist prejudices. Marx's exposure of the colonial essence of British policy concealed behind the government's liberal rhetoric helped the English workers to see the truth and overcome bourgeois influence. Many years later, Lenin wrote that the policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question served "as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense *practical* importance".[2]

The anarchists, who denied the link between the workers' struggle for emancipation and the national liberation movement, also attacked the platform of the General Council. Political struggle, they

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 162.
[2] Ibid., p. 163.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 442.
[4] Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1963, S. 96.

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 88.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 442.

said, was the business of bourgeois parties and accused the General Council of neglecting the vital needs of workers while occupying itself with the Irish problem and thereby diverting the International from its basic purpose. Marx was compelled to retort, showing the fallacy of the anarchist viewpoint. "If England is the bulwark of landlordism and European capitalism," he wrote, "the only point where one can hit official England really hard is *Ireland*."[1]

This was the situation when Engels began his study of Irish history. Ireland was in the focus of public attention. And since the attitude towards her was largely shaped by the official English science and journalism, it was important to produce as a counterweight a scientific work explaining the essence of colonial exploitation and showing, with Irish history as an example, "what a misfortune it is for a nation to have subjugated another nation" (Engels to Marx, October 24, 1869).[2] Engels set out to expose colonialism of all forms, to advocate working-class tactics on the national question, and to present the proletarian standpoint on Ireland.

To gain a better knowledge of the country, Engels went to Ireland in September 1869, accompanied by his wife and Eleanor, Marx's youngest daughter. "The country itself ... seems downright depopulated," he wrote to Marx after his return. "And one is immediately led to think that there are far too few people. The state of war is also noticeable everywhere ... and there are soldiers literally everywhere."[3]

Engels collected a vast amount of material about the past and present of the Irish people. His work with sources of reference required special linguistic studies. Engels read Latin and Old Scandinavian texts with ease, but this was not enough. So, in a very short time he also mastered Old Irish.

The nature and volume of the preparatory work reveal Engels' qualities as a scholar. The variety of the material he studied is astonishing—works on history, geography, economics, and especially agriculture, the history of law, ethnography, philology, and folklore. Nor was he content with secondhand information. He gathered material with amazing thoroughness, checking the authenticity and trustworthiness of every scrap of information. His list on Irish history contains more than 150 titles, the notes fill 15 notebooks, and are often accompanied by marginal remarks calling attention to the hypocritical attempts of bourgeois authors to conceal or justify the oppression of the Irish people. About Goldwin Smith's *Irish History and Irish Character*, for example, he made the following remark: "What is more amazing in this work, which, under the mask of 'objectivity', justifies English policy in Ireland—the ignorance

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 175.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Moscow, 1971, p. 274.
[3] Ibid., pp. 273-74.

of the professor of history or the hypocrisy of the liberal bourgeois?"[1]

All this wealth of material was to have been the basis of the projected book. But it was not destined to be completed. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and then the Paris Commune, and his activity in the International, diverted Engels from his undertaking. He only completed the first chapter, "Natural Conditions", and wrote the beginning of the second, "Ancient Ireland". He did not even begin writing the last two most important chapters—"English Conquests" and "English Rule".

The completed part of the book is about Ireland's geology and climate, and her remote past. All the same, it abounds in topical political references and denounces the British rulers' policy in Ireland.

Engels ridiculed the attempts to justify colonial rule with references to geographic conditions or the "ignorance and laziness" of the indigenous population, which allegedly precluded independent economic development. It was a falsification of the facts to the benefit of Britain's ruling classes, he showed, to say "Ireland is condemned by her climate to provide not Irishmen with bread but Englishmen with meat and butter".[2] He tore to shreds the conception of Ledwich, an English historian, a "common liar who only wants to show that the Irish were incorrigible barbarians and got all their civilisation from outside".[3]

The manuscript denied the reactionary theory ascribing to the Normans the founding of many of the European states. The Norman conquests, Engels showed, were in effect nothing but piratic raids. Depicting the result of the Norman conquests, he wrote: "Their advantage which they bequeathed on historical development is infinitesimal in comparison with the immense and fruitless (even for the Scandinavians themselves) disturbances they caused."[4] In the case of Ireland, Norman rule, which had lasted for several centuries, interrupted progressive development and paved the way for the country's subsequent conquest by the English feudal lords.

Engels was as vehement in denouncing yet another side of colonialism—distortion of the history of the national liberation struggle, portraying it as banditism and its motives as purely religious. Concealment of the resistance of the Irish people, he showed, was meant to vindicate British rule. "*The Irish are expected to be docile while their hide is being stripped off*!"[5] This is how, with a deep

[1] Ibid., p. 184.
[2] Ibid., p. 185.
[3] Engels, "Exzerpte aus George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*" (Central Party Archives).
[4] Marx and Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, p. 203.
[5] *Marx-Engels Archive*, Vol. X, p. 187.

sense of outrage, he summed up the tendency of bourgeois histories.

Working on his manuscript, Engels discovered the link between the conquest of Ireland and reaction in England.

Though he did not finish his book (part of the extant sketches and précises did not see print until 1948[1]), his preparatory research added considerably to his knowledge of the sources and essence of colonialism and the struggles for national liberation. Many of his observations and conclusions, particularly on clans, families, communities, and the like, served him in good stead later on, in other fields, when these problems became an object of special study.

"HURRAY, I'M A FREE MAN!"

At long last, when Engels' contract with Gottfried Ermen, his partner, ran out on June 30, 1869, he was able to end his hateful work in the firm. Knowing that Engels was depressed by his part in commerce, Ermen offered to pay out his capital a year earlier and make provisions for his retirement. Generally speaking, Engels was pleased with the offer, but wanted a compensation that would enable him to support Marx and his family more substantially. After long negotiations, the matter was settled to his satisfaction.

On July 1, 1869, he was able to write to his friend: "Dear Moor! Hurray! Today, it's all over with *doux commerce* and I'm a free man!"[2]

Eleanor Marx later recollected: "I was with Engels when he reached the end of this forced labour and I saw what he must have gone through all those years. I shall never forget the triumph with which he exclaimed: 'For the last time!' as he put on his boots in the morning to go to the office....

"A few hours later we were standing at the gate waiting for him. We saw him coming over the little field opposite the house where he lived. He was swinging his stick in the air and singing, his face beaming. Then we set the table for a celebration and drank champagne and were happy."[3]

At long last, Engels could devote himself entirely to party work and science. "Of course, I need not say how glad I am that I am free of this damned commerce and can again do what I choose, and especially that it happened now, when things in Europe are getting warmer and when, one fine day, the storm may break out quite unexpectedly,"[4] he wrote to Kugelmann in July 1869.

[1] Ibid., pp. 59-263.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 329.
[3] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 185-86.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 620.

Chapter Nine

BATTLE FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL

> The First International laid the foundations for the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.
>
> *V. I. Lenin*

WORKING-CLASS TACTICS IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The war between Bonapartist France and Bismarckian Prussia predicted by Engels broke out on July 19, 1870. Large French and German armies were sent into the field.

The impending war had been articulately opposed by workers of different countries affiliated with the International. Now that it had broken out, they continued to display their anti-war sentiment. Their actions grew to unprecedented proportions. And the General Council worked hard to equip them with a knowledge of their class objectives and to impart to the anti-war movement a true proletarian orientation.

Marx and Engels assessed the war in terms of what it meant for the international working-class movement. Defeat of the Second Empire, they saw, would rejuvenate France and remove one of the main obstacles to Germany's unification, objectively in the workers' interest. "Centralisation of state power," Marx wrote in a letter to Engels, "is beneficial for the centralisation of the German working class."[1] And consolidation of the German working-class movement, which was more advanced than the French in its grasp of theory and also in organisation, would help consolidate the whole international movement. This view was set out in the General Council's Address on the Franco-Prussian War, drafted by Marx and published at the end of July.

On the German side, Marx pointed out, the war was a war of defence. But he drew a clear line between the national interests of the German people and the dynastic interests of Prussia. The Prussian militarists, he warned, were liable to turn the war into a war of conquest.

Countering chauvinism, Marx called for international working-class solidarity, and first and foremost between the French and Ger-

[1] Ibid., Bd. 33, S. 5.

man workers. Hailing the fact that the working men of France and Germany were sending each other messages of goodwill, and that the English working class was backing the workers of the two belligerent countries, he described this as an indication that "the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war". He wrote: "...In contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose International rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*! The Pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association."[1]

Engels was in complete agreement with the Address and used every available opportunity to disseminate it. "The Address," he wrote to Marx, "will teach the *populus* of all classes that nowadays only the workers have a *real* foreign policy."[2]

Throughout this turbulent time, Engels closely followed the *Volksstaat* reports and the Reichstag speeches of Bebel and Liebknecht, and was pleased to note that the foremost German workers had not succumbed to flag-waving jingoism.

But the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, he saw, were not all what they should be. Taking the war to be one of defence for Germany, the leadership, known as the Brunswick Committee, did not clearly enough expose the Prussian militarists' plans of conquest, concentrating the full power of its criticism on French Bonapartism. Liebknecht, editor-in-chief of the *Volksstaat*, on the other hand, tended to overlook the defensive nature of the war in its initial stage.

To iron out their differences, Liebknecht and members of the Brunswick Committee sought Marx's advice, and he, before replying, sought that of Engels.

Engels set out his view of the Franco-Prussian War and the German Social-Democrats' tactics in a letter to Marx dated August 15, 1870. A victory for Napoleon III, he wrote, would not only strengthen reactionary Bonapartism for years ahead, but also break Germany for years, perhaps for generations, and with this the German working-class movement. If French Bonapartism were defeated and the Second Empire fell, the main obstacle to the national unification of Germany would be removed. In France, too, the workers would then have a freer field. This, as Engels saw it, was determinative for the tactical aims of the German socialists. Distinguishing between the German national and dynastic Prussian interests, they should work against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and seek peace as soon as a republican government was installed in Paris. The German Social-Democrats, he wrote, should "constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other".[1] Marx replied two days later (August 17, 1870): "Your letter tallies completely with the plan of the answer which I have already thought out in my head. Nevertheless, in such an important matter—*...instructions as to the line of conduct to the German workers*—I did not want to act without first consulting with you."[2]

[1] *The General Council of the First International 1870-1871. Minutes*, p. 328.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 15.

The last week in August Marx spent with Engels in Manchester, drawing up the final text of the letter to the Brunswick Committee. Passages from it were subsequently incorporated in the Manifesto on the War, issued as a leaflet by the Committee on September 5. It also helped the German Social-Democrats in the next stage of the Franco-Prussian War, following the collapse of the Second Empire.

After the French rout at Sedan, the capture of Napoleon III and the proclamation of a republic in France on September 4, the nature of the war changed completely. No longer was it for Germany a war of defence, but of conquest. The IWA required a new tactical line. But before drawing it up, Marx again turned to Engels, his "war ministry" in Manchester, for advice and help. Prussia's claims to Alsace-Lorraine, which the Prussian military camarilla motivated by German security, had to be fully exposed. And Engels responded instantly. What he wrote was incorporated by Marx into the Second Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War, adopted on September 9, 1870.

The Second Address showed the predatory policy of the Prussian Junkers and German bourgeoisie, arguing that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was not justifiable by strategic considerations. If the borders of states were to be fixed by military interests, it said, they would always "carry within them the seed of fresh wars".

It called on workers in Germany and other countries to work for a peace treaty with the French Republic without annexations or contributions, and urged the French workers to take part in defending their country from the hostile invasion, and to use the newly gained political liberties to form and consolidate their own class organisations. It also outlined the political line for the English workmen and those of other countries: to campaign for the recognition of the French Republic.

The Second Address helped the IWA sections and the foremost workers in different countries to take an internationalist stand, particularly in Germany, where anti-war resolutions were adopted at numerous mass meetings and Social-Democratic conferences. Bebel and Liebknecht condemned the anti-people's war of conquest. Speaking in the Reichstag, and through the press, they urged the German workers to defend the French Republic and declare their fraternal solidarity with the French workers and revolutionary democrats.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 243.
[2] Ibid., p. 244.

The Prussian government launched reprisals. Members of the Brunswick Committee were placed under detention in a fortress, whereupon Bebel, Liebknecht and Adolf Hepner, one of the *Volksstaat* editors, were jailed.

The courageous behaviour of the progressive workers in Germany was a source of deep satisfaction for Engels. "During this war", he wrote to Liebknecht's wife Natalie, "the German workers have displayed an insight and energy that at once put them in the van of the European working-class movement, and you will understand how proud we are of this."[1]

Marx and Engels were highly active during the Franco-Prussian War, and their efforts bore fruit: despite a few mistakes, the German and French workers acquitted themselves splendidly. United in the International, the proletariat acted as an independent social force for the first time on such a grand scale, openly challenging the ruling classes. The IWA stood for the workers' earnest desire to end wars between nations for all time.

Engels set out the General Council's viewpoint in his military reviews for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, an influential London newspaper, for which he wrote from July 1870 to February 1871. The reviews, entitled "Notes on the War", of which he produced 59, were published unsigned. They examined the course of the Franco-Prussian War chiefly from the military and political angles.

The analyses of military operations were masterly. Despite the relatively meagre information, Engels guessed the plans of the belligerent armies at the outset of the war: it was still the end of July 1870, the armies were still only being deployed, when he anticipated the pattern of the Prussian offensive and named the locations where the first clashes later occurred. The operations mounted on August 6 confirmed his predictions. And a few days before the battle at Sedan, he predicted the French disaster and even approximately named the place where the French army subsequently surrendered.

But his was not the approach of a purely military expert. He pinpointed the reasons for the French collapse. Apart from lack of due military preparation and poor organisation, he also blamed the political system, the evils of Louis Napoleon's regime, which paralysed the people's resistance. "...A noble and gallant nation," he wrote, "finds all its efforts for self-defence unavailing, because it has for twenty years suffered its destinies to be guided by a set of adventurers who turned administration, government, army, navy—in fact, all France—into a source of pecuniary profit to themselves."[2] His "Notes on the War" are filled with facts and figures, depicting the régime of the Second Empire.

After Sedan and the collapse of the Second Empire, Engels urged the people of France to resist the Prussian invaders in a popular war,

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 167.
[2] *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 31, 1870.

combining defence of fortresses with guerrilla warfare. "While the whole forces of the invader ... are laid fast in the conquered territory," he wrote, "the remaining five-sixths of France might raise armed bands enough to harass the Germans on every point, to intercept their communications, destroy bridges and railways, provisions and ammunition in their rear."[1]

The articles won public acclaim. Even bourgeois newspapers (*The Times*, and others) quoted and commended them, and admired their author's unerring forecasts. "If the war continues a little longer," Marx wrote to Engels, "you will soon be recognised as *the first military authority in London.*" [2] For Marx's family Engels was "General" ever since.

REMOVAL TO LONDON. A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

Having wound up his affairs in Manchester, Engels moved to London on September 20, 1870. He lived at 122 Regent's Park Road, ten minutes' walking distance from the Marxes. At last he and Marx had the yearned-for opportunity of seeing each other every day. Their daily discussion of scientific and political events was a powerful stimulant for creative thought. "Every day at about one," Lafargue recollected, "he went to see Marx, and when the weather was fine and Marx was so disposed they went for a walk together on Hampstead Heath; if not, they chatted for an hour or two, walking up and down in Marx's study, one diagonally in one way, the other in the other.... In the intervals between their meetings they studied the disputed question in order to form a common opinion. No other criticism of their thoughts and work was as valuable for them as their mutual criticism. They held the highest opinion of each other."[3]

Engels entered Marx's family as its closest and dearest friend. His understanding and concern, his even temper and good cheer, and his keen sense of humour won him the affection and respect of all its members.

He spent many hours each day in his large and well-lit rooms filled with bookcases, which, Lafargue attested, were always kept in model order.

He was thorough to the point of pedantry with his correspondence: all the more or less important letters were filed away, with usually a note stating when they were received and when he had sent the reply. This habit paid off, especially when his organisational activity expanded and the flow of letters increased. It left him little time for scholarly pursuits. But he worked quickly and easily.

[1] Ibid., October 11, 1870.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 27.
[3] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 90.

He was always smartly dressed and alert, though most of his day was crowded with engagements. Lafargue wrote that he knew no one "who wore the same clothes for such a long time without creasing them or making them shabby".[1] His needs were modest, and his ways frugal. To his last days, he was outwardly and inwardly collected.

On October 4, 1870, nominated by Marx, Engels was unanimously elected to the General Council. He had helped Marx work out and advocate General Council policy in the past, had corresponded on behalf of the IWA, and had written for the press. Now he plunged directly into Council activity, sharing with Marx in the practical guidance of the Association. He displayed surprising skill in dealing with people of different character and outlook, quickly saw their faults, appreciated their virtues, and knew how to criticise or praise. He never used his vast knowledge and experience to browbeat anyone, always listened attentively, and was understanding and considerate. Devoted to the working men's cause, he admired the finest among them, and wrote about them proudly. He exercised a strong influence on his comrades-in-arms and his friends.

Following his election to the General Council, Engels handled a variety of assignments. He was one of the Council's most punctual members, never missing any of the meetings. In the winter and spring of 1871 he was its corresponding secretary for Belgium, and as such concerned himself with the big Antwerp cigar-makers' strike. He kept the Council informed of the details and the help he was marshalling in support of the strikers. He wrote about it to Germany, solicited aid from the British trade unions, and informed workers in all countries of the Belgians' struggle through the IWA press. And that the Antwerp strikers were able to hold out for several months they owed to workers' donations (more than 15,000 francs). Engels tried to use the solidarity campaign he had organised to enlist the Belgians in the International. The cigar-makers' affiliation with the IWA, he held, would be fitting recompense for the fraternal aid they had received from workers of other countries.

Engels helped work out the independent standpoint of the English members of the International towards the Franco-Prussian War. English workers welcomed the constitution of a republic in France in September 1870, expressing their acclaim at meetings and solidarity demonstrations across the country. On Marx's insistence, the General Council joined in. But its members were at odds with each other over the tactics of the British workers.

Engels urged the Council to discuss the English workers' attitude to this stage of the Franco-Prussian War. He opened the discussion with an introductory speech on January 31, 1871, and together with Marx insisted that the English working class should have an independent policy and press for the official recognition of the

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 93.

French Republic by the British government. However, Marx and Engels firmly opposed the English bourgeois radicals and trade union leaders (George Odger, and others) who idealised the bourgeois French Republic. They maintained that a democratic republic was for the workers merely a phase in the battle for political power.

The discussion helped many of the English General Council members to take a correct view of the events that were soon to unfold in France.

THE TIME OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

On March 19, 1871, Marx and Engels learned that the Paris workers had taken up arms. The proletariat in the French capital had performed a revolution, and the Paris Commune was proclaimed a few days later. The way for it had been cleared by the international and French working-class movement, by the changes in the workers' consciousness wrought by the IWA. The Commune, Engels wrote later, "was without any doubt the child of the International intellectually".[1]

The insurrection did not come as a surprise for either Marx or Engels. The situation in France had been discussed repeatedly at meetings of the General Council. The reports from France had been alarming. Marx and Engels clearly saw the implications of the French government's conduct of affairs, that it could drive the workers to an ill-timed rising. In September 1870, Engels wrote to Marx: "If anything at all could be done in Paris, the workers should be prevented from letting fly before peace is concluded.... They... would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years."[2] In letters to leaders of the International in France, and through August Serraillier, a special messenger sent to Paris in September 1870, Marx and Engels warned the French workers against premature action, stressing that the main aim for the moment was to use the favourable situation and organise their own party, which was an important precondition of victory.

But when the Paris workers rose and set up the first working-class power in history, they stood by them to the bitter end.

On March 21, 1871, Engels spoke before the General Council about the revolution in Paris. He was the first to point to its proletarian character and that of the Central Committee of the National Guard. He also stressed the popular, profoundly democratic nature of the event.

Marx and Engels followed the Parisian developments very closely, noting the Thiers government's flight to Versailles, examining Bismarck's attitude and that of the Prussian command. They read dozens

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 288.
[2] Ibid., p. 249.

of newspapers, sifting the deluge of specious and slanderous reports in the reactionary bourgeois press for impartial information. News directly from Paris was of special value, and the two friends spared no effort to establish contact with the beleaguered city.

They sent their advice through Serraillier, again dispatched to Paris at the end of March, through Lafargue, who then resided in Bordeaux and frequently visited the capital, through Pyotr Lavrov, a Russian revolutionary and IWA member, and others. The contacts were chiefly kept up by Marx, but his advice and recommendations to the Communards, particularly on military matters, he worked out jointly with Engels. The latter recommended fortifying the northern part of the Montmartre heights, near which the Prussian troops were stationed, and rebuked the Communards for their slowness and indecision, because he was sure that Thiers must be feverishly gathering troops for a massacre. Speaking before the General Council, Engels presented important tactical points concerning the armed struggle of the insurgent workers, stressing the importance of initiative, of determined offensive action.

On April 11, Engels told the Council that "it seemed that Versailles was getting the upper hand and driving the Parisians back. ...They lost ground, their ammunition was spent to little purpose and they were eating up their provisions. ...Their case was a bad one and the chances were not so good as a fortnight ago."[1] The Parisians, he held, had been too hasty in electing the Commune (it was proclaimed on March 28, 1871), and he regretted that power had now passed out of the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, which should have concentrated all strength, all energy on crushing the counter-revolutionaries who had fled to Versailles. "As long as the Central Committee of the National Guard had managed the affair," he said, "it had gone on well, but after the elections there had been talk and no action. The time for action against Versailles had been when it was weak but that opportunity had been lost...."[2] The same thoughts were later set forth by Marx in his *Civil War in France*.

Marx and Engels admired the heroism of the Paris workers, the grandeur of their exploit, the unheard-of creative initiative of the masses storming capitalism in the name of a new society.

The Commune was the first attempt in history to break up the old state machine and establish a proletarian dictatorship. "From the very outset," Engels wrote later, "the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously

[1] *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, pp. 171-72.
[2] Ibid., p. 171.

used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment."[1]

The Versailles troops thrust into the city on May 21. Street fighting began. And as Engels had predicted, it was bitter, and lasted a week. The Commune was crushed, and a reign of terror swept the city.

ADVOCACY OF THE COMMUNE

On March 21, when at Marx's urging the General Council undertook to tell the truth to the world about the Paris events, Marx and Engels launched a campaign of solidarity with the Parisian proletariat.

Its purpose was to tear down the "wall of lies" which, as Marx wrote, the Versailles government had thrown up round Paris.[2] The two friends rallied public opinion in favour of the Commune, unmasking the government chiefs who had fled to Versailles, and exposing their betrayal. They urged workers affiliated with the International to hold mass solidarity meetings and demonstrations.

Discussing the London solidarity meetings at the General Council on March 28, Marx and Engels raised the question of the International's tactics with regard to the republican movement in Britain. Engels opposed some of the English members of the Council, who thought that it obstructed the working-class movement. Deposing the monarchy, he showed, was a necessary phase in the battle for social change. Stressing that "no republican movement could go on in England without expanding into a working-class movement," he called on the International "to take part in it and try to shape it",[3] that is, give it a social complexion.

The campaign of solidarity with the Paris Commune also gained momentum in Germany, with the newly formed Social-Democratic Party, its main organiser, taking a true internationalist stand. Participation in the solidarity movement sharpened the workers' class-consciousness and added to the influence of the Social-Democrats. Liebknecht defended the Commune ardently in the *Volksstaat*, and Bebel's speech in the Reichstag created a sensation. Addressing the deputies during the blood-stained week in May, he said: "Gentlemen, no matter how objectionable the aspirations of the Commune may be to you, ... you may rest assured that the entire European proletariat and all who still have a feeling for freedom and independence, are looking to Paris.... And even though Paris is crushed at this moment, I am reminding you that the struggle in Paris is merely a small skirmish of outposts, that the main thing in Europe still lies ahead, and

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 187.
[2] *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. III (VIII), Moscow, 1934, p. 294.
[3] *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, p. 165.

that before a few decades the battlecry of the Paris proletariat, 'War to the palaces, peace to the cottages, down with poverty and idleness!', will be the battlecry of the entire European proletariat."[1]

Engels praised the revolutionary stand of the German Social-Democrats. The German workers, he wrote to Liebknecht, had behaved splendidly: "They were very ably represented by Bebel, whose speech on the Commune has been carried by the whole English press and has made a big impression here."[2]

Campaigns of solidarity were also organised by IWA sections in Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries.

The Paris Commune galvanised the European working-class movement and greatly enhanced the prestige of the International Working Men's Association. The solidarity movement organised by the IWA under Marx's and Engels' leadership stimulated the world movement of workers, augmented its revolutionary current, and gave the workers a more profound idea of proletarian internationalism.

CONCEPTUALISING THE PARIS COMMUNE

A new, relatively peaceful period followed the Paris Commune, a period when, to use Lenin's words, "the West had finished with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet risen to them".[3] The working class had to regain strength. Independent national proletarian parties became vitally necessary. And the tasks facing the International were also new. The most urgent one was to conceptualise the lessons of the Commune, and elucidate them to the workers.

The ideas set forth by Marx and Engels before the General Council and in their letters, were expanded by Marx, on the basis of exhaustive analysis of available material, in the well-known Address of the General Council, *The Civil War in France*. On May 30, when the battles were over, Marx acquainted the Council with the text, and it was unanimously approved. The Address described the causes of the revolution, outlined the events during the Commune's rule, showed its significance for world history as the first proletarian dictatorship, and noted that it confirmed a key postulate of scientific communism—the necessity of tearing down the bourgeois machine of state.

The Civil War in France was the first official General Council text reflecting the changes in the labour movement, and is part of scientific communism's ideological armoury. Through it, Engels wrote, the General Council declared publicly "for communism"[4]—an important step forward in the ideological development of the International and the elaboration of its theoretical programme.

[1] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland*, S. 586.
[2] Marx and Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Moscow, p. 290.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 583.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 668.

At the meeting, Engels proposed that 1,000 copies of the Address should be printed at once. He took it upon himself to get it published, and helped disseminate the first, and then the second and third, English-language editions, seeing to it that it reached every section of the IWA. He translated it into German, and also had it translated into Spanish, Italian, French, Danish, Dutch, and other languages.

It reached a big public. "For as long as London stands," Engels wrote, "nothing printed has ever made such a stir as the Address of the General Council of the International.... The press admits unanimously that the International is a great European power, one to be reckoned with, that it cannot be brushed aside by simply not speaking about it."[1]

And for this Engels, too, deserves much of the credit.

Well circulated in Europe and America, the Address helped consolidate the truly revolutionary IWA forces, equipping the foremost workers with a sound theory and drawing an ideological line between them and the reformists and anarchists. Frightened by the revolutionary content of the Address and the reaction to it of the bourgeois press, George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft, two English Right-wing union leaders, withdrew from the General Council. The Council denounced their action. In an article for the *Volksstaat*, Engels wrote that Odger and Lucraft had betrayed the proletariat at the hour of decision.[2]

The situation was difficult. The Commune had been drowned in blood. Those who had by a miracle escaped the wholesale shooting and the forced labour, fled to Switzerland or England—hounded by reaction, deprived of a livelihood, and with but slight hope of finding work. When the first refugees arrived in London, Engels became the moving spirit of a campaign collecting funds and finding jobs for them under the auspices of the General Council and, later, a special aid committee.

He corresponded prolifically with labour leaders, and in the press exposed foes of the Commune, who slandered its participants.

The defeat of the Commune gave impetus to a reactionary offensive against the working class in all countries. The French government urged the European powers to wipe out the International. The press mounted a ferocious campaign. "A universal International-witch-hunt has been launched," Engels wrote. "All the powers of the old world, the military tribunals and civilian courts, the police and the press, the cabbage-Junkers and the bourgeois are trying to outdo each other in the chase, and there is scarcely a spot in the whole of the continent where everything possible is not being done to place

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 17, S. 381.
[2] Ibid., S. 382.

the fear-inspiring great brotherhood of workers outside the pale of the law."[1]

Particularly ferocious were the attacks on Marx and Engels. Their courageous stand in defence of the revolutionary Parisians aroused the hatred of all the enemies of the workers' emancipation movement. The German bourgeois press, especially, flung mud at the Communards and IWA leaders. But neither the outpouring of dirt, nor the outright threats, could shake Marx and Engels.

Answering his mother's letter, in which she reproached him for supporting the Commune, Engels wrote: "A great cry is raised over a few hostages shot after the Prussian manner, over a few palaces burned down after the Prussian example (everything else is lies), but nobody mentions the mechanical massacre by the Versaillians of 40,000 men, women and children, *after* they had been disarmed! To be sure, you cannot have any knowledge of all this; you have to rely for information on the *Kölner* and the *Elberfelder Zeitung*; lies are literally crammed down your throat."[2] He referred proudly to his choice: "You know that nothing has changed in my views, which I have held for nearly 30 years, and it could not have come as a surprise that I should not only advocate them if the events compelled me to do so, but that I should also perform my duty in other ways. You would be ashamed of me if I did not."[3]

Engels' example was contagious. In August 1871 one of his Spanish correspondents wrote: "The enthusiasm which you display for the great cause of the International despite your age, impels me to work with enthusiasm as well and to hope that though my head is turning grey and I am bent by the burden of the years, there is enough fire in my heart to continue the work begun with so much ardour, until this iniquitous society that obliges us to live like beasts of burden is demolished."[4]

START OF THE BATTLE AGAINST BAKUNINISM

Engels played a conspicuous part in IWA work after the Paris Commune. His knowledge of the working-class movement in different countries, of the situation in which it developed, and his immense energy, won him prestige among the members of the General Council. Along with Marx, he became the recognised ideological leader of the International.

Proletarian socialism was gradually winning a big following. The resolutions on collective property adopted by the Brussels (1868)

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 17, S. 475.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 33, S. 299.
[3] Ibid., S. 299-300.
[4] Francisco Mora to Engels, August 12, 1871 (Central Party Archives).

and Basle (1869) congresses were a triumph for scientific communism over petty-bourgeois reformism and Proudhonism. Lassalleanism, too, was, in effect, defeated. But a new and serious foe had appeared —the anarchists grouped round Bakunin.

Like all anarchism, Bakunin's was expressive of the petty-bourgeois protest against capitalist exploitation and ruin. Bakunin's calls to destroy the existing system and end all oppression betrayed his total ignorance of the laws of social development. He preached extreme individualism, demanding absolute freedom of the individual, and pitted the individual against society. His demand of "social liquidation" was vague and incoherent—abolition of the state and all its institutions, elimination of all "authority", and equalisation of classes and individuals. He wanted to convert private property into the property of associations of producers, rather than into national collective property.

Nothing but revolutionary violence by the masses, he argued, could accomplish this. By revolution he meant spontaneous rebellion by masses that were ostensibly prepared for action at any time. Rebellion, absence of organisation and the extreme individualism typical of politically unstable groups such as the lumpenproletariat, the students and peasants, Bakunin regarded as decisive in the battle against the bourgeois state and the rule of capital.

This voluntaristic view of the revolution could not but lead to adventurist tactics.

It also lay at the bottom of Bakunin's concept of proletarian organisation. Centralised workers' organisations, let alone mass political parties of the working class, he rejected completely. As he saw it, workers' societies (including the International) should be "free" autonomous federations of a professional type. Apart from them, there should be a secret strictly centralised body of conspirators blindly obeying the orders of their superiors. It would conduct anarchist-type propaganda and direct the spontaneous mutiny, once it broke out, towards "social liquidation".

Bakunin began propagating his ideas through the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, founded in 1868 as an independent organisation, which, however, claimed to be affiliated with the IWA and even to have participated in drawing up its programme.

On December 16, 1868, Engels received from Marx, attached to a short letter, the programme of the Alliance and its request of admission to the International. Marx asked him to "*earnestly* study" the paper and send it back as quickly as possible with his comments.[1]

In his reply on December 18, Engels said he had never seen "anything more pitiful"[2] than this project aiming to attain the "political,

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, S. 234.
[2] Ibid., S. 237.

economic and social equalisation of classes" by abolishing the right of inheritance, seeking a "great natural equality of individuals", negating the state and the necessity of political struggle, etc. He also advised Marx when drawing up his answer to focus especially on the desire of Bakunin's followers to have inside the International an organisation with its own specific programme and rules, its own congresses and a governing body. Engels saw this as an attempt to gain control of, and disorganise, the IWA. And Marx's answer to the Alliance was composed in just this spirit, and thereupon approved by the General Council.

The General Council decision and the objections of local IWA federations compelled Bakunin to alter his tactics. He announced the dissolution of the International Alliance. Its initiating committee entered the International as a local section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Once this was done, Bakunin began building a secret organisation which operated clandestinely under the IWA umbrella.

Aided by this secret body and the Geneva section of the IWA, which was the rallying point of all his followers, Bakunin launched disruptive activities with the aim of seizing control first of the International's Romance Federation. There followed endless conflicts and quarrels. Yet the dangers of this were initially obscured by the Franco-Prussian War and then the Paris Commune. However, after the fall of the Commune the struggle against anarchist ideology, and especially its Bakuninist variety, was renewed.

Engels knew of the Bakuninists' activities in Switzerland. And the information he received from Italy and Spain, too, spoke not only of a swift growth of the working-class movement stimulated by the Commune, but also of a mounting anarchist threat. The fact that relatively backward sections of the working class had begun to join the movement created a favourable situation for the spread of Bakunin's influence. Later (in 1877) Engels recollected: "The beginnings of the movement in Italy are traceable to Bakuninist influences. With a fierce but most unclear class hatred of their exploiters gripping the working masses, a band of young lawyers, doctors, literati, clerks, etc., under the personal command of Bakunin, seized the leadership wherever the revolutionary working-class element was active."[1]

A similar situation was emerging in Spain. Abstention from politics, immediate spontaneous mutiny and negation of all authority—ideas such as these evoked a broad response among the politically backward workers. Besides, the Bakuninists identified them with the programme of the International. Bakuninist agitation thus not only harmed the local labour movements, but also threatened to involve the International.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 91.

The theoretical conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels from the experience of the Paris Commune had to be incorporated in the programme documents of the IWA. But this was within the sole competence of a congress, and with reaction on the rampage all over Europe after the defeat of the Commune, it was impossible to convene one. This and the disruptive activity of the Bakuninists prompted Engels to propose at the General Council meeting on July 25, 1871, that the IWA should call a closed conference in London.

The preparations for it were assigned to the Sub-Committee (the General Council's executive body), though the actual work fell almost entirely to Marx and Engels. The latter did most of it, because Marx was overworked and left London for a short spell in August to regain his strength.

When the draft resolutions drawn up by Engels and Marx came before the General Council, Engels urged that it should frame a common platform. Much energy went into the purely organisational arrangements: finding a suitable conference hall, notifying the sections, and receiving arriving delegates. A not unimportant objective was to make the conference sufficiently representative. And in all this, Engels was staunchly assisted by the group of Commune refugees inducted into the General Council and reinforcing its proletarian revolutionary wing—the Polish revolutionary Walery Wróblewski, a general of the Commune, the Hungarian socialist Leo Frankel, who became a friend and associate of Marx and Engels, the Blanquist Edouard Vaillant, a prominent Commune veteran, and others.

The conference opened in London on September 17, 1871. Not all sections of the IWA had been able to send delegates, and instead delegated members of the General Council to represent them. Engels, for example, who as the General Council's Corresponding Secretary represented Italy, was also delegated by Bebel and Liebknecht, who were unable to come to London, to represent the workers of Saxony.

There were no fixed rules of procedure. Delegates exchanged opinions informally, touching on all the matters of common concern, and reported on the state of the IWA organisations in their respective countries. With consummate skill, Marx and Engels guided the debate along the desired lines, working for a uniform standpoint.

Engels spoke more than 30 times. He supported and complemented Vaillant's proposal that the proletariat should be organised for political action, and at the sitting on September 21 sharply criticised the Bakuninists, showing that by preaching political abstinence they were, in effect, driving the workers into the "embrace of bourgeois politics".

"The morning after the Paris Commune," Engels said, "which has made proletarian political action an order of the day, abstention is entirely out of the question. We want the abolition of classes. What is the means of achieving it? The only means is political domination of the proletariat."[1]

Though professing to be the only true revolutionaries, Bakunin and his followers opposed political action. In his retort, Engels said: "Revolution is a supreme political act and those who want revolution must also want the means of achieving it, that is, political action, which prepares the ground for revolution and provides the workers with the revolutionary training.... However, our politics must be working-class politics. The workers' party must never be the tagtail of any bourgeois party; it must be independent and have its goal and its own policy."[2]

Left petty-bourgeois sectarianism, which renounced political struggle, and the opportunist trade-unionist leaders, who confined political action to petty reforms and support of bourgeois groups, were thoroughly criticised. The well-reasoned stand taken by Marx and Engels in favour of political action and independent proletarian political parties was crowned with success. The majority sided with them, and the General Council was instructed to draw up the final text of a resolution, "Political Action of the Working Class".

Resolutions sponsored by Marx and Engels, which banned secret conspiratorial bodies with specific aims that diverged from those of the International, and decisions to fortify IWA unity and discipline, dealt a crippling blow to the Bakuninists.

The conflict instigated by the Bakuninists in the Swiss sections of the International was discussed at length, and Engels was made a member and elected secretary of the special committee appointed by the conference to investigate the matter. Testifying before this committee, Nikolai Utin, one of the founders and a delegate of the Russian section of the IWA, and Henri Perret, another delegate, revealed many new facts about the Bakuninists' disruptive activity in Switzerland, their attempts to seize control of the Romance Federation, and Bakunin's connections with Sergei Nechayev, a revolutionary conspirator whose reckless tactics and impermissible methods, such as blackmail and intimidation, had so badly harmed the Russian revolutionary movement.

The conference reaffirmed the earlier General Council decision, offering the anarchist sections to form their own federation, distinct from the Romance Federation. This would localise their activity and eliminate one of the causes of internal friction. Neither Marx nor Engels, none of the other members of the Council, nor the delegates to the conference, knew then of the secret Bakuninist organisation

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 245.
[2] Ibid.

active in the IWA. Shortly before the conference, the Bakuninist section in Geneva, one of the centres of disruptive activity, announced its dissolution. Acting on this information, with the resolutions blocking further access to the IWA for anarchist sections, the conference declared the question of the Alliance to have been settled.

Like Marx, Engels held that this would cement the unity of the Association, while the tasks outlined in the decisions of the conference would help isolate the Bakuninists.

On September 23, the London Conference closed. A resolution declaring mass political parties of the working class indispensable for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the building of a new classless society set the main task of the working-class movement for the period ahead. And by recording the lessons of the Paris Commune, the conference became an important milestone in the battle waged by Marx and Engels against "Left" opportunism and reformism. The conference decisions blocked Bakuninist attempts to seize key positions in the International through those sections where they held sway.

The conference did not produce the final texts of some of the resolutions. The agreeing of different proposals and opinions, the editing and publication of the texts of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, was left to the General Council. Several commissions were formed, with Engels appointed to the one finalising the resolution on working-class political action. The text of the resolution, drawn up by Marx and Engels, stressed that "against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes; that this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes."[1]

The decisions of the conference, which unlike those of a congress were not binding, now had to be approved by the local federations and sections of the International. They were published as a circular of the General Council and sent to the local organisations.

The Bakuninists raised a howl, and mounted a vicious campaign against the General Council.

On November 29, Engels received an issue of the Bakuninist newspaper, *La Révolution Sociale*, appearing in Geneva, with the resolutions of a congress of Swiss Bakuninist sections held in Sonvillier on November 12.

Fourteen Bakuninists representing eight sections drew up a circular to all sections of the International, describing the London Conference as unlawful and accusing the General Council of authoritarianism, etc., and demanding the convocation of an extraordinary

[1] *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, p. 445.

congress of the International to annul the London resolutions. The circular declared war on the "school" demanding "conquest of political power by the working class" and scorned the idea of discipline and centralisation. "This is too much, and we shall act",[1] Engels wrote to Liebknecht on reading the circular. He and Marx began collecting evidence in order to compose an exhaustive reply on behalf of the General Council.

In the meantime, Engels exposed the lies and slanders of the Bakuninists, showing the disruptive nature of their activity, in an article for the *Volksstaat*, "The Congress in Sonvillier and the International". "At precisely the time of universal, forcible disorganisation by the powers of the old society," he wrote angrily, "the time when unity and cohesion are more necessary than ever, at this very time a small ... number of followers of the International in a remote corner of Switzerland chose to issue a public circular and throw an apple of discord into the midst of its members."[2]

He sharply criticised the Bakuninists' suggestion of reorganising the International to suit the anarchist ideal of a future society—without any authority whatsoever. "Particularly now, when we are having to defend ourselves hand and foot, the proletariat is told to organise not in conformance with the needs of the struggle imposed on it every day and every hour, but in accordance with the notions of a few dreamers about an indefinite future society."[3] Strict party discipline, Engels stressed, is imposed by the needs of the proletarian revolutionary movement, the needs of the class struggle.

He mailed the article to Liebknecht on January 3, 1872, and pleaded that it should appear in the *Volksstaat* on the earliest possible date, and when it was printed sent copies of the paper to his correspondents in different countries.

Sometime in mid-January Marx and Engels sat down to write the pamphlet, *Fictitious Splits in the International*, and completed it in the beginning of March. They demonstrated the imperfections of the Bakuninists' theoretical constructions and recapitulated their disruptive activities. In an analysis of sectarianism, they showed that though it may be all but inevitable in the first phase of the workers' struggle for emancipation, when the workers were "not yet developed sufficiently to act as a class",[4] it raised impediments to the growth of a mass movement in the subsequent period, and was therefore reactionary.

Marx and Engels examined the points of the Sonvillier circular, and buttressed their denial with irrefutable facts. The Bakuninists' true purpose was to gain control of the international labour movement and impose dogmas and ideas that were "nothing but a heap of

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 368.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 17, S. 475.
[3] Ibid., S. 477.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 271.

pompously worded ideas long since dead and capable only of frightening bourgeois idiots or serving as evidence to be used by the Bonapartist or other prosecutors against members of the International".[1]

The idea of international proletarian unity runs through the entire pamphlet. The handful of Bakuninist dissenters, Marx and Engels stressed, could not disrupt the unity of the International.

The *Fictitious Splits in the International* (the title was in itself an answer to the bourgeois press, which was alleging a split in the IWA) was printed in Geneva at the end of May 1872, and disseminated as a confidential circular of the General Council. Engels undertook to despatch copies of the pamphlet to local sections, federal councils and individual IWA members.

Furthermore, in letters to IWA functionaries in Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain, the U.S.A., Switzerland and Belgium, Marx and Engels criticised anarchism and advocated the resolutions of the London Conference. Engels wrote to Carmelo Palladino, a member of the Neapolitan section, that no society—even the most revolutionary—could survive without rules binding on all its participants, without jointly adopted decisions, etc. "Do not forget," he wrote, "that the International has its own history and that this history—of which it has every reason to be proud—furnishes the best commentary to its Rules; the International has not the least intention of disavowing this glorious history.... Whatever your fears may be about the great responsibility assumed by the General Council, it will always remain faithful to the banner which the workers of the civilised world have for seven years entrusted it to defend."[2]

In another letter, this time to a leader of the Turin IWA organisation, Engels showed the futility of the Bakuninists' outcry against authority and centralisation, arguing that it was precisely lack of centralisation and authority that had been the undoing of the Paris Commune. "...The fight needs to have all our forces brought together in a fist and concentrated at the central point of attack," he wrote. "And when I hear people speak of authority and centralisation as of two things deserving condemnation whatever the circumstances, I feel that those who say this either have no idea of what revolution is or are revolutionaries only in word."[3]

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR SPAIN AND ITALY

From the day he was elected to the General Council, Engels in effect acted as its corresponding secretary for Spain and Italy. In Feb-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 271-72.
[2] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964, p. 79.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, p. 292.

ruary 1871 he was officially empowered to correspond with Spain on behalf of the Council and lost no time in contacting members of the Spanish Federal Council in Madrid. On August 1, the General Council also elected him corresponding secretary for Italy.

Engels' ties with the Spanish Federal Council grew closer during and after the Paris Commune. One of the reasons, doubtless, was that Paul Lafargue, who had emigrated to Spain from France, had forged close ties with the leaders of the IWA organisations in Madrid.

Vastly important, of course, was that Engels was thoroughly conversant with the situation in Spain, where a bourgeois revolution was then under way. It was this that assured him success. The first IWA organisations in Spain were formed by Bakuninists and were under anarchist influence. But really broad sections of workers had joined the movement, seeking a way to escape poverty, yearning for civil rights and eager to organise and overthrow the hateful exploiting system.

For Engels the main objective was to establish contacts with the workers. In April 1871, during the textile workers' strike in Barcelona, he organised collections for the strikers among the British and German sections of the International, which added to the prestige of the International and its General Council, and made the Spanish working men conscious of proletarian internationalism. Engels apprised the General Council of the strike. His contacts with the Barcelona sections were especially close, and he was able to send articles to the *Federacion*, the newspaper of the Barcelona Federation.

Re-elected corresponding secretary of the General Council for Spain and Italy after the London Conference, Engels' stand proved decisive in advocating and substantiating the course set by the conference, combating anarchist ideology in general and the disruptive tactics of the Bakuninists in particular. And we should remember that Spain and Italy were then the Bakuninists' mainstay. Establishing the organisational ties, Engels acquainted the workers with the aims of the International and spared no effort to expose anarchist and reformist ideology. He never missed an opportunity to consolidate groups of proletarian revolutionaries, even if small in number, to oppose the Bakuninists and propagate scientific communism in those two countries.

Among Engels' correspondents in Spain were José Mesa y Leompart, a printer and a brilliant organiser and publicist, Francisco Mora, a shoemaker and a self-taught man whose honesty and devotion had won him the respect and affection of the workers, and Pablo Iglesias, a young student and publicist. Under Engels' influence these three men became loyal Marxists and later played a conspicuous part in founding and strengthening the Socialist Party in Spain.

Engels informed the Spanish members of the IWA about the International's activity in other countries, using examples of the

struggle to substantiate the essential postulates of scientific communism and the IWA programme. In his first letter to the Spanish Federal Council, welcoming the Spanish workers' wish to be independent of the bourgeois political parties, he wrote: "Experience has everywhere proved that the best means of liberating the workers from this domination of the old parties is to found in each country a proletarian party with its own policy, one that is clearly different from that of other parties.... The details of this policy may vary, depending on the particular circumstances in each country; but since the fundamental relations between labour and capital are the same everywhere and the political domination of the propertied classes over the exploited classes exists everywhere, the principles and the aim of proletarian policy will be identical, at least in the Western countries."[1] The propertied classes, he explained, exploited working men by virtue of their economic power. But to do so they needed the support of the state, which, in effect, represented their interests. So, to win emancipation the workers could not avoid political action.

Engels supplied Madrid with accounts of the General Council meetings and other IWA events. These were used for articles and reports, many of them written by Lafargue, in the *Emancipacion*, the newspaper of the Madrid sections, showing that anarchist dogma, narrow and incompatible with the aims of the proletarian struggle, would get the workers nowhere.

It was important that the Spanish workers should get to know Marxist literature. Engels sent them the IWA documents, including *The Civil War in France* and the resolutions of the London Conference. He also sent them a copy of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and, somewhat later, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* and the French edition of *Capital*. The *Emancipacion* introduced them to its readers in Spain and Portugal. However, it was not until 1872 that Engels made his first direct contacts with the leaders of the Portuguese sections of the International.

In letters to Spain, which he wrote in Spanish, Engels elucidated the aims of the working-class movement, criticised anarchist views, and described the resistance encountered by the Bakuninists in other countries.

His correspondence with Lafargue was more specific: to Lafargue, Engels outlined the tactics to be used against Bakuninism, accentuating criticism of the Bakuninists' nihilistic attitude to working-class organisations. The Spanish workers, though they had only just organised trade unions and sections of the International, had already won some significant gains through them, and were naturally receptive to criticism of the Bakuninist dogma opposing organisations of the proletariat.

So in a short time, Engels achieved results important for the entire

[1] *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, p. 347.

International. At his urging, the Spanish Federal Council clarified its attitude to the London Conference, extending formal approval to its decision on working-class political action. In December 1871 Engels wrote to Liebknecht: "We are in the clear with *Spain*. We have scored a decisive victory. The pertinent decision of the conference has been *recognised*."[1]

Under his influence and that of Lafargue, the Spanish Federation also rejected the Sonvillier circular and its call for an extraordinary congress, which contributed to the collapse of the Bakuninists' plan.

As corresponding secretary for Italy, Engels had to contend with a still more complicated situation. In Italy anarchist ideas were nourished not only by the extensive personal connections of Bakunin, who had lived in the country for some time, but also by the objective conditions—the appalling economic and political oppression, the wholesale pauperisation of the people, and the undeveloped state of the working class, which had only begun to awaken to independent action. Besides, the influence of the bourgeois republicans (Mazzinists), who preached class cooperation with the bourgeoisie as a sure remedy for all ills, was still alive. And what made matters worse was that the General Council had no immediate connections in the country.

It was not until May 1871 that an opportunity arose to establish contacts through Carlo Cafiero, who was returning to Italy. Engels had met the young Italian revolutionary in London at the end of 1870, and with Marx prevailed on him to join the International. Soon, Cafiero volunteered to help the General Council set up IWA organisations in his homeland. Engels furnished him with practical advice and instructions to establish contact with already existing labour organisations and sections of the International.

Cafiero put Engels in touch with the editors of the *Gazzettino Rosa*, the Left republican newspaper in Milan, the workers' society in Turin, and the editors of *La Plebe*, a democratic newspaper in Lodi. A lively correspondence ensued as a result with the socialist Enrico Bignami, a veteran of Garibaldi's campaigns and editor of *La Plebe*. The paper and its supporters helped Engels to combat Bakunin's influence. Good though irregular contacts were also established with Rome, and with Girgenti (Agrigento) in Sicily.

Engels was now able to begin disseminating some of the more important IWA texts in Italy: the Inaugural Address, the General Rules and the Administrative Regulations, resolutions of congresses, *The Civil War in France*, resolutions of the London Conference, accounts of General Council meetings, etc. The Italian working-class movement thus became associated with the international struggle of the proletariat and learned of the objectives of the International Working Men's Association. Some of the texts sent by Engels were

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 361.

published. A new force emerged on the ideological battleground: scientific communism came forward to challenge the various petty-bourgeois and bourgeois doctrines.

In his letters to Cafiero, Engels explained the principal Marxist postulates—why the proletariat needed an independent party, how important it was to combat sectarianism and maintain close ties with the masses, why the dictatorship of the proletariat was the central aim of the working-class party, and how necessary was alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasants as the basic condition for proletarian revolution. "We must liberate ourselves from landowners and capitalists," he wrote on July 28, 1871, "by replacing them with the allied classes of agricultural and industrial workers, and urging these to take possession of all the means of production."[1] In another letter, Engels criticised Mazzini's slanderous insinuations against the International. Part of this letter Cafiero published as an article in several Italian newspapers, prevailing on many a worker to turn his back on the Mazzinist organisations. In his correspondence with Cafiero, Engels discussed the workers' tactics in relation to the peasants, stressing a differentiated and concrete approach to their different segments.

Cafiero apprised members of the Neapolitan section of Engels' letters, thereby helping the Italian socialists to resist the influence of Mazzini's petty-bourgeois democratism and Bakunin's anarchist ideas.

The difficulties were of course numerous. The police continuously harrassed the workers' and democratic organisations and newspapers. Barely established, many of Engels' contacts quickly petered out. Besides, his correspondents and the newspapers he had contacted were far removed from scientific communism. Most of them gravitated towards anarchism. Even Cafiero went over to the Bakuninists and broke off his correspondence with Engels after the London Conference.

Engels attached prime importance to ties with Milan and Turin, the industrial cities in Northern Italy. The *Gazzettino Rosa* in Milan had originally been a centre for socialists, and established contacts with the General Council in September 1871; it printed the accounts of its meetings and other material sent by Engels. It also published his article repulsing Mazzini's attacks on the International[2].

Closer still were the ties with the Milan section, in which Theodor Cuno, the German Social-Democrat, played a prominent role. Having come to Milan in the autumn of 1871 as an engineer of one of the biggest local industrial enterprises, Cuno wrote a letter to Engels on November 1, starting what was to become a long and lively correspondence and a close association. Engels helped Cuno to establish a section of the International in Milan and regularly supplied

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 668.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 17, S. 390-92.

him with recommendations as to its activity. With Engels' help, Cuno succeeded in proving to the members of this section that the working class must take part in political action to gain its aims, and warned against the intrigues of the Bakuninists. Not only did he side with, but also helped Marx and Engels and the General Council in the battle against Bakuninism, until his activity was abruptly terminated by his arrest and expulsion from Italy late in February 1872.

To the Turin workers' society, too, which became a section of the International, Engels imparted the ideas of the IWA. He elucidated the resolutions of the London Conference with extraordinary patience, and outlined the aims and means of the workers' struggle. And it was on Engels' initiative that Vitale Regis, a Paris Communard and member of the General Council, was sent to Italy to study the situation and organise resistance to the Bakuninists. Regis succeeded in preventing members of the Turin section from falling in with Bakunin, but only for a time. Gradually, Bakunin's influence grew, and there was no one left in the section on whom Engels could rely. Furthermore, the police soon broke up the section altogether.

ENGELS AND THE STRUGGLE IN THE BRITISH FEDERATION

Reformist sentiment ran high among a part of the English members of the IWA, and following the Paris Commune it was on the order of the day to mount a battle against it.

The hostility to the Paris Commune displayed by many British trade-unionists was evidence of a strong shift rightwards in Britain's labour movement. As Marx and Engels repeatedly noted, bourgeois trade-unionism had become its dominant ideology. There was also the evidence of Odger's and Lucraft's behaviour after the publication of *The Civil War in France*. True, the Address had been signed, among others, by 26 English workers' representatives in the Council, but these were not directly associated with the big trade unions and sided with the revolutionary wing at the London Conference. Among them was John Hales, a man of many gifts, highly active, a vigorous speaker and good organiser, who did not hesitate to support the Paris Commune and to back the London Conference resolution, "Political Action of the Working Class".

Yet by the autumn of 1871 it was clear that some of the English members of the International, including Hales, conceived workers' political action in an entirely reformist spirit as action for partial reforms, denying the need for revolutionary reconstruction.

But there was also a group in the General Council and the English IWA sections which gravitated towards scientific communism and represented the revolutionary wing of the British labour movement.

Marx and Engels pinned their hopes on the British Federal Council formed in October 1871 by decision of the London Conference (priorly, the functions of the Federal Council for England were vested in the General Council), which they regarded as a beach-head for an independent British working-class party. Somewhat later, Engels wrote in a message to the British sections that the decision of the London Conference "calls here in England upon the working class to refuse any longer to serve as the fag-end of the 'great Liberal party', and to form an independent party of their own."[1] The work of buttressing the British Federal Council, organising the revolutionary forces and isolating the bearers of the reformist ideology, fell chiefly to Marx. But Engels, too, helped a great deal.

He had good connections in the Manchester sections and corresponded with their leaders, Edward Jones and Eugène Dupont, thanks to whom these sections became a pillar of support for the revolutionary wing in the British Federation. Also, he was in close touch with many of the members of the British Federal Council, and with one of the organisers of the Irish sections in England, Joseph MacDonnell, a member of the General Council.

The constitution of Irish sections in England, as well as in Ireland, and their subsequent union in one federation, Marx and Engels hoped, would in due course serve as the beginning for an Irish proletarian party. And, in fact, assisted actively by Engels, MacDonnell succeeded in summoning a conference of Irish sections in April 1872, some of which had included in their statutes the demand for Ireland's independence. But all measures to bring together the more advanced Irish workers on a platform combining national and proletarian objectives, was resisted by the reformists in the British Federal Council. Hales and his followers, who held that the International should not support the national liberation movement in Ireland, wanted to bring the Irish sections into subjection to the British Council. On May 14, 1872, the matter came up for discussion at a General Council meeting. Engels spoke articulately against Hales, who, he said, overlooked Britain's oppression of Ireland. "There was the fact of seven centuries of English conquest and oppression of Ireland," he said, "and so long as that oppression existed, it was an insult to Irish working men to ask them to submit to a British Federal Council.... If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'sink national differences' and so forth, that was no Internationalism, it was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and to perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism."[2]

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[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 199.

[2] *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, p. 298.

Engels won over the majority of the General Council, including the English. But, defeated on the Irish question in the governing body of the IWA, the reformists redoubled their efforts in the British Federal Council. They campaigned for a curtailment of the powers of the General Council and at the First Congress of the British sections asked for the resignation of its members.

The congress took place in Nottingham on July 21-22. Though elected a delegate to it by the Communist German Workers' Educational Society in London, which was a section of the British Federation, Engels was unable to attend, but rendered vital help to the revolutionary wing through Dupont and Lessner. Eugène Dupont, Friedrich Lessner, William Riley, Edward Jones, John Hales and others succeeded in pushing through important decisions, and it was on their insistence that the reformists' motion of limiting the powers of the General Council was defeated. The congress approved all the resolutions of the London Conference and endorsed the work of the General Council. This, and the Federation's organisational consolidation, was an important victory for the Left.

DISCOVERY OF A SECRET ALLIANCE

In mid-April 1872 Engels was informed by Lafargue that a secret Bakuninist organisation—the Alliance—was active in the IWA in Spain. The Bakuninists' demands of absolute autonomy and attacks on "authority" were but a cover for a well-organised conspiracy against the International. This altered the complexion of the struggle against Bakuninism: the IWA could now go over from purely ideological criticism to a breach of relations and expulsion of the alien body.

On receiving Lafargue's information and the issue of the *Liberté*, the International's Brussels publication, in which Lafargue publicly exposed the secret Alliance, Engels immediately passed on the news to Cuno in Italy and Liebknecht in Germany.[1] To Liebknecht he recommended reprinting Lafargue's report in the *Volksstaat*. And anticipating the strong impression which the exposure would make in Switzerland, centre of Bakuninist intrigues and scene of sharp opposition to Bakuninism by Nikolai Utin, Johann Becker, Henri Perret and others, Marx and Engels helped Lafargue to communicate with the *Egalité*, the Geneva organ of the Romance Federation.

Collecting documentary evidence about the secret Alliance now became one of the main preoccupations of Marx and, especially, Engels. In May-August 1872, the latter corresponded diligently on this score with Utin, Becker, Lafargue, Mesa and others.

[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 458, 466.

The matter was urgent because of the impending general congress of the International, which was crucial for the triumph of the programme and organisational principles of scientific communism in the Association.

The General Council had decided on June 11, 1872 to begin preparations for the congress. The situation was a complicated one, and the right choice of venue was of the utmost importance. It was impossible due to political conditions to hold the congress either in Germany or France, and ill-advised to hold it in Switzerland, though this was urged by the anarchists and some of Marx's and Engels' own associates, for the Bakuninists could then gain a numerical advantage by sending delegates from the smaller Swiss sections. And to hold it in England was also unwise, for it would provide the opposition with an excuse to attack the General Council, and, moreover, give certain advantages to the reformists in the English working-class movement.

Having thoroughly considered these factors, Marx and Engels supported the proposal to convene the congress in The Hague.

Engels was instructed by the Council to compose the announcement. It read: "The General Council ... places on the order of the day as the most important question to be discussed by the Congress of The Hague: The revision of the General Rules and Regulations."[1]

The congress was to sum up the results of the battle against anarchist and reformist ideology since the preceding congress in Basle (1869) and incorporate them, along with the required amendments, in the main programme document of the IWA—the General Rules. The aim was to formalise the resolutions of the London Conference, that is, to complete the political programme of the International. As Marx and Engels saw it, modifications were also long overdue of the structural principles of the International. On the one hand, the General Council had to be fortified to assure the unity of the IWA and, on the other, the International needed a more clearly defined structure.

Engels was most concerned with the delegates from Germany, the only country that had an independent proletarian party. In letters to Liebknecht, Bebel and other leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party he pointed out that the German delegates had to help workers' delegates from other countries to chart the correct course and repulse the anarchists and reformists. The German Social-Democrats, Engels stressed, should not keep aloof from the international movement and shut themselves in with their national problems. This would be damaging not only to the international movement, but also to the ideological development of the German party. And thanks to Marx and Engels, the German Social-Democrats were strongly represented in The Hague.

[1] *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, p. 419.

Engels was the rapporteur at the General Council discussion of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations, which were to be placed before the congress for its approval. He read the texts, and proposed the amendments, which he explained and substantiated. His suggestion to extend the powers of the General Council was approved. And on July 23, on Vaillant's initiative, seconded by him and Marx, the Council incorporated in the Rules the London Conference resolution on working-class political action. Article 9 of the Rules was enlarged to include the provision that not less than two-thirds of the members of any newly admitted section should be wage labourers.

Any proposals contrary to the main orientation of the Rules and Administrative Regulations Engels swept aside with unassailable logic.

His preparations for the disclosure of the Bakuninist Alliance were more than thorough. The address to all members of the Association which he drafted on behalf of the General Council, said: "For the first time in the history of the working-class struggles, we stumble over a secret conspiracy plotted in the midst of that class, and intended to undermine, not the existing capitalist *régime*, but the very Association in which that *régime* finds its most energetic opponent. It is a conspiracy got up to hamper the proletarian movement."[1] The congress, it said, should "expel from the International all and every member of the Alliance and ... give the Council such powers as shall enable it effectually to prevent the recurrence of similar conspiracies".[2]

The importance Engels attached to the address is evident from his letter to Johann Becker of August 5, 1872: "...Tomorrow night we shall throw a bomb that will cause no small panic among the Bakuninists, namely, a public address that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy continues to exist as a *secret society*. At last we have the necessary material and damning evidence from Spain."[3]

A sharp controversy broke out over the draft of the address, revealing the English reformists' tendency to range themselves with the Bakuninists. Though it was tentatively accepted, many Council members demanded conclusive documentary evidence which Engels did not yet have at his disposal. It was not until the end of August, virtually on the eve of the congress, that the authentic charter of the secret Alliance and its secret addresses, circulars and letters reached him from Switzerland (sent by Utin and others) and Spain. He lost no time in compiling them and preparing a report to the congress on behalf of the General Council.

[1] *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, p. 444.
[2] Ibid., p. 445.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 513.

Engels arrived in The Hague on September 1, 1872, with Marx and his wife. On the following day, at the opening of the congress, he was pleased to see that his efforts had not been in vain. The Hague Congress, attended by 65 delegates from 15 countries, was the most representative of the IWA congresses. Engels attended as a delegate of the Breslau (Wroclaw) and U.S. No. 6 sections. He and Marx met many of their associates and old friends. Paul and Laura Lafargue came from Portugal, where they had spent several weeks and where Paul was given his mandate to the congress from the local IWA Federation. Johann Becker came from Switzerland, and Ludwig Kugelmann, the self-taught philosopher and worker Josef Dietzgen, and Adolf Hepner, a *Volksstaat* editor, from Germany. Friedrich Adolf Sorge was the delegate from the United States. Engels first met Sorge, an extraordinary man and veteran of the 1848-49 revolutionary battles, in London where the latter had stopped en route, and their acquaintanceship gradually grew into a close and lasting friendship.

The congress reflected the real correlation of forces in the IWA. Marx and Engels were able to marshal an impressive majority. As Engels recorded, the strength of the minority—anarchists and British reformists—"did not exceed 20 votes for 64 delegates, and was usually in the range of 12 and 16".[1]

Theodor Cuno, who took part in the congress, produced a lively sketch in his memoirs of one of the sittings, and of his first personal meeting with Engels:

"I arrived at The Hague when the congress had just been called to order. The meeting took place in a common dancing hall in Lombard Straat, about 50 by 20 feet, with a balcony on one side, where a few spectators were sitting, among them reporters of several local and foreign papers.... When I entered the hall I saw a number of tables arranged like a horseshoe, around which the most interesting assembly had gathered I have ever seen in my life....

"Then I saw Engels: he was sitting to the left of the presiding officer, smoking, writing, and eagerly listening to the speakers. When I introduced myself to him he looked up from his paper, and seizing my hands he joyfully said: 'Everything goes well, we have a big majority'....

"Engels' face I knew from a photograph, but he was thinner than the picture showed him to be. He is a tall, bony man with sharp-cut features, long, sandy whiskers, ruddy complexion and little blue eyes. His manner of moving and speaking is quick, determined and convinces the observer that the man knows exactly what he wants and what will be the consequences of his words and actions. In conversation with him one learns something new with every sentence he

[1] *La Plebe*, October 5, 1872.

utters. His brain contains a mighty treasury of scientific knowledge; Engels speaks more than a dozen languages...."[1]

The central item on the agenda were the Rules, which were to be augmented with new points of theory. Marx, Engels and the other supporters of scientific communism were determined to have the London Conference resolution on working-class political action, a programme point, incorporated in them. The congress also discussed proletarian dictatorship as the main instrument for building socialist society and the necessity of independent working-class political parties.

The main opponents were the anarchists headed by James Guillaume. Guillaume fiercely attacked the idea of proletarian dictatorship as defined in the *Communist Manifesto*, and harped on Bakunin's dogma about the immediate destruction of the state and its replacement with a free federation of autonomous groups. In his retort, Engels emphasised the connection between the *Manifesto* and the political programme of the International. The experience of the Paris Commune, he argued, had completely corroborated the IWA principles.

By a considerable majority, the congress decided to include the London Conference resolution in the Rules as a separate article. A key proposition of the Marxist programme had thus triumphed, signifying an important theoretical and ideological victory over anarchism.

Anarchist attempts to reduce the General Council to an office for correspondence and statistics, or even to dissolve it, were firmly repulsed. On the contrary, the Council's powers were substantially extended to enable it to "secure in each country strict observance of the principles of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International".[2] Besides, it was now empowered to suspend sections, and even whole federations, pending the decision of the next congress.

On September 7, the congress deliberated the question of the Bakuninist secret Alliance. The matter had arisen at the beginning, during the examination of mandates, when the Bakuninists contested Lafargue's qualifications, with Engels opposing the attempt to discredit the true revolutionary who had had the courage to expose the secret Alliance. The following is a record of his statement:

"*Engels* says we must decide whether the IWA shall still be administered under democratic principles or be ruled by a clique (shouts and protests at the word "clique") secretly organised against the Rules of the IWA. There are six persons present who belong to this secret society, the four Spaniards and Schwitzguebel and Guillaume.

"*Guillaume* interrupts: 'That is false!'

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 208, 209.

[2] *La Première Internationale. Recueil de documents*, tome II, Genève, 1962, p. 374.

"*Engels* continues: 'I have the evidence here' (he draws it out of his pocket)."[1]

Marx took the floor after Engels. Summing up what had been revealed at the sitting, he moved "*to expel the Alliance* from the IWA" and requested that "a committee be appointed to examine the documents and investigate the entire affair."[2]

The five-man committee based itself on the report which Engels had drawn up on behalf of the General Council concerning the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and which he complemented with a large number of documents testifying to the disruptive activity of the Bakuninists. "...The aim of the Alliance," he wrote, "is to impose its sectarian programme on the whole International by means of its secret organisation."[3]

The organisational principles of the secret Alliance, Engels showed, citing authentic documents, were hostile to the idea of a massive proletarian organisation. The Bakuninists' assault on the powers of the General Council, on authority in general, he maintained, concealed their wish to win absolute and unlimited power for their leader, Bakunin.

A clear majority at the Hague Congress expelled Bakunin and Guillaume, the leaders of the Alliance, from the International.

To protect the IWA from infiltration by police agents and from disruptive acts by Blanquists and Bakuninists, Marx and Engels proposed that the seat of the General Council should be moved from Europe to America. This would prevent the Bakuninists and British trade-unionists, whose leaders Marx publicly branded at the congress as mercenary politicians, from gaining control of the guiding bodies of the IWA. Engels pointed out in the debate that the General Council had had its seat in London because this enabled the IWA to maintain its international nature, and because the Council members and archives of the IWA had been safe there. But "party differences in London have become so acute," Engels continued, "that it is *necessary* to change the Council's seat."[4] As the most suitable place he suggested New York.

Opinion was divided. A fairly large number of delegates wanted the IWA leadership to remain in London, and it was not until after Marx and Engels had refused to re-enter the Council that the majority approved transferring the body to the United States.

The Hague Congress was an important milestone in the history of the international working-class movement, the culmination point of the International and of Marxism's ideological battle against anarchism and reformism.

[1] *The First International. Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872*, Madison, 1958, p. 185.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, p. 467.

[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 689.

AFTER THE HAGUE CONGRESS

The stormy discussions in The Hague were over. The speeches and friendly debates lasting into the small hours, showed convincingly that the working-class movement had reached adulthood, that the ideological competence of Marx's and Engels' followers and comrades had grown. The postulates of scientific communism had become widespread and had entered the consciousness of the foremost workers. The reformist ideas of remedying the failings of bourgeois society, the anarchist advocacy of rebellion, of destroying the state while rejecting the party and proletarian dictatorship, had been repulsed by Marx's theory of socialist revolution. The congress, Engels said, had clearly and unequivocally reaffirmed the political programme of the International.[1]

The anti-Marxist forces, however, were hastily marshalling their strength. While the congress was still in session, the Bakuninists summoned separate conferences and at the closing session in The Hague the dissenters read out a "minority declaration" stating their refusal to recognise its decisions. The anarchists were busy hammering out a platform of their own.

On returning to London, Engels learned at the end of September about an anarchist congress held in Saint-Imier, Switzerland, on September 15, which had adopted a series of resolutions and an address to IWA sections. This amounted to an outright split, for all the Hague decisions were rejected out of hand, the ideological and organisational principles proposed were hostile to the International, and a call was issued for a new international organisation.

Earlier, the Jura Federation and a group of Russian emigrants in Switzerland had openly defied the Hague Congress, and on December 25-26 at a congress of the Belgian Federation in Brussels the Bakuninist majority disavowed the Hague decisions as well. The Spanish Federation split, with some of the local organisations declaring in favour of the Hague decisions while others, which were under the influence of the Bakuninists, rejected them at a congress in Cordoba on December 25.

The reformist elements in the British Federation followed the Bakuninists. In letters to anarchist newspapers, John Hales declared that his group was in complete accord with Bakunin, and in December in a special circular stated the group's objections to the decisions reached in The Hague.

The French Blanquists, refugees of the Paris Commune, publicly ruptured relations with the International, accusing it of "shying from revolution".

Engels worked hard to propagate the Hague decisions, to rally the foremost sections of the working-class movement to the revolutionary programme of the International. His articles in *La Plebe* ("The Congress in The Hague", "Letters from London. Once More About the Hague Congress") and *Emancipacion* ("Imperative Mandates at the Hague Congress") were, in a way, outlines of the decisions adopted in The Hague. Engels drew attention to the more essential aspects of the congress and disclosed facts about the secret Bakuninist Alliance, showing that it was oriented on disrupting the existing working-class organisations. The Hague decisions, he stressed, were binding on all, and those sections which refused to recognise them were, in effect, rupturing their connection with the IWA.

Engels urged the General Council to take swift and firm action, and to start by expelling the Jura Federation, a wasps' nest of Bakuninist activity. He and Marx hoped that this would end the anarchists' divisive activity and have a definitive effect on the position of the Spanish and Belgian federations. The General Council took this step on January 5, 1873. However, its move was belated and indecisive. "We deeply regret," Engels wrote on February 8, 1873, "that instead of stating simply that by spurning the Hague resolutions and founding a separate body the Jura people had *quit*, the General Council merely suspended them."[1]

In letters to members of the General Council, Marx and Engels elaborated the most advisable course of action to prevent the Bakuninists and reformists from using the name of the International and to preserve in purity the programme and organisational principles of the IWA. The right thing to do, Marx and Engels pointed out, would be not to expel a dissenting federation that had violated the Rules and scorned the binding resolutions of general congresses, for expulsion had still to be confirmed by the next congress, but to declare that the Bakuninists and reformists had excluded themselves from its ranks and could no longer be regarded as its members. Engels set out this approach in detail, supporting it with foolproof arguments, in letters to Sorge.

On May 30, 1873 the General Council adopted a resolution, saying: "All national and local federations, sections and individuals who took part in, and acknowledged the decisions of, the above-mentioned congresses and assemblies in Brussels, Cordoba and London *have placed themselves outside, and ceased to be members of, the International Working Men's Association*."[2]

Although Engels was no longer a member of the General Council, he was still, like Marx, its real leader. The two friends helped to elaborate its organisational structure to suit the new conditions: a General Secretary was put at the head of the body, and on their insistence Sorge agreed to assume this post. An institution of authorised representatives was created to maintain communications between the

[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 169.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 314.
[2] Ibid., S. 693.

General Council and the local federations. Engels was appointed the authorised representative for Italy and, in fact, performed the same function also for Spain and Britain. He followed the development of the movement in these countries and corresponded with the respective labour leaders, supplying them with General Council texts and information. He saw to it that these should be widely circulated and published. It was also part of his duties to keep the General Council informed about the movement in the three countries, and about the situation in the local IWA sections.

In mid-September, Marx and Engels, whom the Hague Congress had elected to the committee for publishing its resolutions, applied themselves to this highly important and urgent job. The resolutions of the congress appeared in French in London at the end of October, and were printed in the main IWA periodicals somewhat later. Engels, who helped to translate them into other languages, took it upon himself to disseminate them.

The publication of the Hague resolutions, their broad dissemination, and the rebuff to anarchist and reformist attacks on the congress, yielded results: the Hague decisions were acknowledged in Germany, Austria-Hungary and the United States. The Romance Federation, the German sections in Switzerland, the IWA organisations in Portugal, Denmark and South America, the Polish and French sections, the section in Lodi (Italy) and some other organisations, also declared in favour.

The Hague Congress called for the full exposure of the Bakuninist secret Alliance and required conclusive documentary evidence to support the further course of action of the General Council. But the committee formed by the Hague Congress to investigate the Alliance failed in its task, and Marx and Engels decided to do the job themselves. In October 1872 they began collecting evidence, and obtained some new material from Nikolai Utin. In April-July 1873 Lafargue and Engels wrote a pamphlet, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*. Marx wrote the concluding part, and edited the final text. A careful examination and study of numerous documents had proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of a secret Alliance, and this was now publicly exposed. The pamphlet described the disruptive activity of the Bakuninists in the working-class movement of a number of countries, and harshly criticised Left sectarianism for its dogmatism and methods of operation. Revolutionary rhetoric, rejection of all compromises and refusal to participate in the general democratic struggle, it showed, were evidence of anarchism's petty-bourgeois essence, of voluntarism—the tendency to ignore the real conditions of the working-class struggle.

The pamphlet, which appeared in August 1873 (soon its translation into German was edited by Engels and published in Germany and the United States; parts of it also appeared in Spanish in the *Emancipacion*), provided the working-class movement with an effective ideological weapon against Left sectarianism.

In December 1872, at the request of the Manchester Foreign Section of the International, Engels drew up a reply to the reformists' circular, declaring that by refusing to accept the Hague resolutions they had placed themselves outside the International. The reply was published as a separate leaflet. Engels and Marx also sent an open letter to the *International Herald*, denying the malicious slander spread by Hales.[1]

The opportunist attempt to gain control of the British Federation failed thanks to the vigorous and timely intervention of Marx and Engels. Only 12 delegates attended the congress of British sections convened by the dissident elements in London in January 1873. Most of the sections remained loyal to the British Federal Council of which Marx and Engels became the ideological leaders. The British Federal Council was the only working-class organisation in Britain which through Engels maintained regular ties with the General Council of the IWA in New York. Engels wrote for its organ, the *International Herald*, on the state of the international working-class movement and labour activity in various countries, promoting the international contacts of the British Federation.

The Second Congress of the British Federation, held in Manchester in the beginning of June 1873, adopted sound Marxist resolutions. It chose the red flag as the Federation banner and proclaimed nationalisation of all means of production, as well as of land, as its basic aim. Its resolution on political action pointed to the need for a political party independent of, and opposed to, all the existing parties. Engels commended the congress for having "doubtlessly made history in the English labour movement",[2] though he was aware that, like the Federation as a whole, it expressed the sentiment of but a small vanguard. The vast majority of the organised British workers followed the reformist trade union leaders.

RALLYING REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN ITALY AND SPAIN

Engels supported and directed the opponents of Bakuninism in Italy and Spain. The *Plebe* group was at this time Engels' only base of operations in Italy, and on his advice it constituted itself as a section of the International, taking the name Society of Workers and Tillers of Lower Lombardy. When the authorities took repressive action against *La Plebe* and the Lodi section at the end of December 1872 and the beginning of January 1873, Engels appealed for aid to

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke* Bd 18, S 194-96.
[2] Ibid., S. 473.

the IWA organisations in Britain, Germany, Austria and Spain, and to the General Council in New York. He wrote in his letters that aid to the Italian comrades was of the utmost significance as a practical act of fraternal solidarity. "It is of the *utmost importance*," he wrote to Sorge on January 4, 1873, "that Lodi should receive outside help, for it is our strongest post in Italy.... When these people see that the International is something more than a name, it will be a hard blow for the Alliance.... *Send something*, and *quickly*."[1]

Although the Lodi section did not live long, the fact that a body of true IWA followers had been formed in Italy separate from the anarchist organisations, was in itself a success for Engels.

His ties with *La Plebe* were still more important. True, its readers were not a politically advanced lot, and, besides, Engels had to consider its editors and Bignami himself, none of whom were consistent Marxists. He supplied factual information about the life and struggle of the masses in different countries, showing the absurdity of the anarchist dogma and stressing its dissonance with the real requirements of the struggle of the Italian proletariat.

Bignami welcomed Engels' contributions, and named him in the 1873 *Plebe* advertisements as a permanent associate of his newspaper. Planning to publish his *Almanacco Repubblicano*, he asked Engels to make a contribution. Engels responded by sending him an article, "On Authority", at the end of October 1872, but by that time Bignami was under arrest, and the manuscript was lost. Following Bignami's release from jail, Engels sent him a duplicate, which was published in December 1873.

The article demolished the very foundations of anarchism—the theory of unlimited freedom of the individual, and the negation of all authority, by which the anarchists implied not only the state, but all guidance and organisation. The anarchists' ideology, it showed, was expressive of the mentality of the small proprietor seeking so-called individual freedom and independence from the centralising and all-controlling power of large-scale industry. The anarchist ideal was obviously hostile to the progressive development of society's productive forces, for the transition from individual small-scale to social large-scale production is inevitably accompanied by greater centralisation, an emphasis on authority, and coordination of the efforts of large groups of people. "Everywhere," Engels wrote, "combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?"[2]

Engels showed that authority would also prevail in socialist production. He illustrated his ideas with examples from the history of big

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 557.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 376.

industry, stressing that normal production requires in each factory the subordination of all concerned to the general order and accurate performance of the instructions of the manager or the collegiate body. "Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry," he pointed out, "is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."[1]

The anarchist idea that social revolution will at once abolish every kind of state, Engels showed, was wholly absurd. The victorious revolutionary party must maintain its rule "by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries".[2] If anything, he said, the Paris Commune should be reproached for not having used the authority of its power freely enough.

Engels' ideas on the relation of authority to autonomy, and of state compulsion to the freedom of the individual, are fundamental. "It is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good," he wrote. "Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society.... The social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable."[3]

Police persecution, Bignami's arrest and the Lodi section's dissolution, on the one hand, and a general decline in the labour movement, on the other, caused Engels to suspend his association with *La Plebe* in the latter half of 1873. But what he had accomplished by then had impelled processes that culminated in the founding of an independent political working-class party in Italy and the elimination of Bakuninist sectarianism.

Tangible success also crowned Engels' efforts of uniting the revolutionary labour forces in Spain.

Following the Hague Congress, the Bakuninists, backed by the Spanish Federal Council which had fallen under their control in April 1872, had mounted a malicious public campaign against the General Council, the ideas of scientific communism, and members of the revolutionary wing in the IWA. For the Spanish members of the IWA, Engels' friendly support and aid became indispensable. Before the congress, too, Engels had been instrumental in achieving their dissociation from the Bakuninists and had helped forge organisational unity. The New Madrid Federation had been constituted, opposing the Bakuninists' programmatic and structural dogma. And to the ideological consolidation of this relatively small body of Spanish proletarian revolutionaries Engels devoted the closest attention.

[1] Ibid., p. 377.
[2] Ibid., p. 379.
[3] Ibid., p. 378.

He corresponded with Mesa, who was then putting out the *Emancipacion* virtually on his own. The paper was the organ of the New Madrid Federation, and Engels supplied it with information and financial aid.

"We are in complete accord with your view of forming a new Spanish federation," Mesa wrote to him on October 5, 1872.[1] A provisional federal council was formed in January 1873, declaring allegiance to the General Rules of the IWA. In May it held a congress of sections, which broke off relations with the Bakuninists and constituted a Spanish Federation.

Engels made the most of the *Emancipacion* to propagate scientific communism. He sent it his own and Marx's works, and the *Emancipacion* was the first to publish the Spanish translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, whose basic postulates it defended staunchly in the battle against Bakuninism.

While working on the pamphlet, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, Engels sent the *Emancipacion* rough outlines of its chapters, which the paper published.

Engels knew of the state of affairs in Spain and the Spanish sections of the IWA not only from the press, but from communications sent by his friends. Mesa briefed him constantly and in great detail on the revolutionary events in the country, crowned in February 1873 by the constitution of a republic. He described the postures of the bourgeois parties and the putschist tactics of the Bakuninists, who had initiated a series of disjointed and abortive local risings. This had fragmentised the forces of the working class and strengthened the hand of the reactionaries. However, the letters from Mesa showed that he and his mates often unconsciously gravitated towards anarchism and an immediate "social" revolution. The New Madrid Federation showed signs of confusion on other issues.

The Spanish proletariat's revolutionary elements had to take stock, and work out a political line. Responding to Mesa's requests, Engels analysed the situation in Spain and drafted the tactics of the Spanish workers. He spelled out a series of measures bolstering the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and advised the members of the IWA, and all workers, to participate in the cortes elections as an independent political party with its own candidates and its own platform. Mesa and his mates responded gratefully and incorporated his recommendations in articles in the *Emancipacion*. But the Federation was as yet unable to exercise a decisive influence on the course of events. Spain's working class, the majority of which was still under the spell of Bakuninist ideas, suffered a crushing defeat.

This negative experience, deplorable though it was, was seized upon by Engels as a fresh confirmation of scientific communism.

[1] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

It provided new evidence to substantiate and develop the Marxist propositions. In the wake of the Spanish events he produced one of the most brilliant and profound of his works—a series of articles, "The Bakuninists at Work"—which appeared in the October 31 and November 2 and 5, 1873, issues of the *Volksstaat*, widely read by socialists in most of the European countries.

Using the example of the Spanish 1873 revolution, Engels showed the damage caused by anarchism. "The Spanish Bakuninists have given us an unsurpassed example of how *not* to make a revolution," he wrote.[1]

Challenging the anarchists, Engels argued that the proletariat in Spain could do no more at the time than just participate in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. "Spain is such a backward country industrially," he wrote, "that there can be no question of *immediate* and complete emancipation of the working class. Spain will first have to pass through various stages of development and remove a considerable number of obstacles from its path. The Republic offered a chance of passing through these stages in the shortest possible time and quickly surmounting these obstacles. But this chance could only be made use of through the active *political* intervention of the Spanish working class."[2]

The course of the revolution, Engels pointed out, required of the workers not only to participate in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, but also to have their representatives in the revolutionary government. The anarchists, meanwhile, with their far-fetched schemes and dogmas of "political abstention", autonomy of cantons, and the like, and their denial of the possibility of influencing the further course of the revolution "from above", through the revolutionary government, obstructed this working-class tactic, which, in the circumstances, had been the only correct one.

The adventurous actions of the anarchists prevented the Spanish proletariat from marshalling its forces as a mighty political power, making it a mere appendage of the extreme bourgeois-republican party of "Intransigents". This state of affairs, the blame for which lay with the anarchists, Engels regarded as their political suicide. He criticised them for their idea of a general economic strike, which with their typical disregard for political struggle they considered to be the main lever of social revolution.

Engels' articles, "The Bakuninists at Work", substantially enriched the Marxist teaching on working-class tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the armed uprising as an art, workers' participation in revolutionary governments, and the need to complement revolutionary action by the masses with action by the revolutionary government.

[1] Frederick Engels, *The Bakuninists at Work*, Moscow, 1971, p. 24.
[2] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

In the spring of 1873 Engels plunged into the work of preparing the next IWA congress, scheduled that year in Switzerland. But almost none of the IWA organisations in Europe were able to send delegates. Neither, for lack of money, was the General Council. In Switzerland, meanwhile, some of the leaders of the Romance Federation were drifting towards compromise with the Bakuninists.

Engels saw that, however hard he may try, it would be impossible to convene a representative congress. He discussed the matter with Marx and they decided that since the forum would not be broadly international, they should stay out of it.

The congress convened in Geneva in September 1873. The delegates were mainly from the Swiss sections. Only two had come from abroad. Though the congress reaffirmed the Hague decisions, the difficulties of convening it were additional evidence of the fact that the International Working Men's Association had outlived its purpose as a vehicle of the organised proletariat. By 1874 it had, in effect, ceased to exist, and was officially dissolved in 1876.

In an appreciation of the now defunct organisation, Engels wrote: "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."[1]

The International Working Men's Association was a necessary historical phase in the workers' liberation struggle, and thanks to the tireless efforts of Marx and Engels constituted a whole epoch in the labour movement. Tens of thousands of workers in Europe and America were won for proletarian internationalism during its ten years, and big strides were made in fusing scientific communism with the mass working-class movement. The bitter ideological battles against various pre-Marxian socialisms, against trade-unionist reformism and anarchist theories, gave the foremost workers a clear idea of the true aims and means of the proletarian struggle.

The working class acquired much experience in economic, political and ideological fighting, and gave notice—the first on such a grand scale—of being the most progressive force of social advancement. A group of splendid proletarian revolutionaries, publicists, organisers and Marxist propagandists grew up in the IWA under the influence and direction of Marx and Engels.

The Paris Commune had been a watershed. It showed the crying need in each country for an independent proletarian party with identical theoretical, tactical and organisational principles based on acceptance of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It proved that trade-unionist reformism, Lassalleanism, Blanquism and anarchism, on the one hand, and scientific communism, on the other, were incompatible. The different attitudes to the Paris Commune and its lessons stemmed from different points of view concerning the tasks of the proletariat and its tactics and ultimate aims. There was an inevitable ideological and organisational differentiation.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p 289

It is a credit to Marx and Engels that the ideological battle in the International culminated in a victory for the programmatic and organisational principles of scientific communism. The International Working Men's Association had thus fulfilled its historic mission. All the tasks that were practicable in its specific organisational framework had been fulfilled. And the fact that the purity of the principles of the International was preserved to the end was an important precondition for the emergence of mass proletarian Marxist parties all over the world.

Neither Marx nor Engels regarded the forms of organising the proletariat as immutable. Always, they were ready for changes in form and method to suit the changing tasks of the working class. If the situation so required, they never hesitated to tear down the structures that no longer fitted the new conditions.

Following the dissolution of the IWA, the international unity of the working class prevailed in other forms.

Before any new international working-class body could be built, Marxist principles had to be affirmed throughout the labour movement, both in the world arena and in each country. "I believe," Engels wrote, "the next International—after Marx's writings have produced their effect for some years—will be directly Communist and will proclaim precisely our principles."[1]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 289.

Chapter Ten

BUILDING THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY

> Both of us, Marx and I, must perform quite definite scientific work which, as far as we can see now, no one else is able or even wishes to do. We must make the most of the present tranquil period in world history to complete it. Who knows how soon some event will again drive us into the thick of the practical movement; all the more must we use the brief respite to elaborate at least a little on the just as important theoretical aspect.
>
> *Frederick Engels*

NEW STAGE IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

In the seventies of the 19th century, the world entered upon a new, relatively peaceful, period. With Italy united at last and a united German state built, the principal tasks of the bourgeois revolution in Western Europe were largely accomplished. Capitalism was firmly established in most of the European countries and in the United States. As industry grew, so did the numbers of factory workers. The First International had helped the working class to become an independent political force. But the Paris Commune showed that despite the sharp class antagonisms, and despite the material preconditions which capitalism was creating for socialism, the proletariat was not yet ready to assume power. There still lay before it a long course of politico-ideological education; it still required steeling in class battles. The curtain was rising on a new stage in the working-class movement—a period of a tremendous spread of Marxism or, as Lenin described it, a period "of the formation, growth and maturing of mass socialist parties with a proletarian class composition".[1]

The conditions were rigorous. Out of fear of the workers' revolutionary mood, the bourgeoisie concluded alliances with the most extreme reactionary forces. However, though the slogans of freedom and democracy were in the main consigned to oblivion, a modicum of bourgeois-democratic freedoms survived in the principal countries of Western Europe.

The growth of capitalist industry caused wholesale ruin among the middle strata and the farmers. The continuous influx of non-proletarians into the working class made petty-bourgeois influences and illusions harder to kill. The Paris Commune epitomised the ideological collapse of petty-bourgeois socialism, but it was still alive in

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 295-96.

practice. Though by the mid-seventies, as Engels later noted, "Proudhonism in France and Lassalleanism in Germany were dying out",[1] a quarter of a century was still to pass after the founding of the International for Marxism to consolidate its ideological victory.

One of the main lessons of the Commune—that the working class must have its own independent political party—was acknowledged by the advanced workers and gradually put into practice. But another, no less important lesson—the need for class consciousness and ideological unity based on the theory of scientific communism—was not yet fully learned even by many socialists who, by and large, had adopted Marxist views.

Marx and Engels remained the recognised leaders of the international working-class movement even after the dissolution of the First International. "The unifying role of Marx and Engels," Lenin wrote, "did not cease. On the contrary it may be said that their importance as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew continuously, because the movement itself grew uninterruptedly."[2]

Despite the absence of a centre, the general decline of the movement and the government repressions, Marx and Engels did not lose contact with those of the new generation of working-class leaders who had joined the movement under the influence of the International and the Paris Commune. There was a close friendship between them and many veterans of revolutionary struggles.

As before, all threads joining revolutionary workers of different countries led to Marx's home, where friends and comrades were still wont to meet. After the Hague Congress, Marx's whole family gathered in London. On returning from Spain, Paul and Laura Lafargue found a home near those of Marx and Engels, and Marx's elder daughter Jenny, who had just married Charles Longuet, a French socialist and veteran of the Commune, lived with her husband in the same neighbourhood.

Engels showed deep concern for Marx's daughters. He grieved over the anguish of the Lafargues who had lost their three children, and he helped the Longuets financially until Charles finally found a job. His optimism, vivacity and humour were a comfort for all of them.

He was now known not only to supporters of scientific socialism, but also to all other active participants in the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat in Europe and elsewhere. He was respected, and his advice was cherished by labour leaders in many countries.

Though over 50, he tackled intricate theoretical and practical problems with extraordinary energy, producing in less than ten years, from 1872, many outstanding works—"The Bakuninists at Work", "On Authority", "The Housing Question", "Flüchtlingsliteratur", *Anti-Dühring*, and others (nearly 100 printed sheets). Other, uncom-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 16.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

pleted, works, and his hundreds of letters on a wide range of scientific and political subjects were often truly profound theoretical investigations in their own right.

One of the main problems following the dissolution of the First International was that of working-class unity. Some former leaders of the International Working Men's Association thought unity could be regained by reviving the International in its old form. Marx and Engels disagreed. Engels pointed out in his letters that an international centre was unnecessary at a time when the main objective was to form independent proletarian parties. Their unity, he argued, could be secured in many other ways—mutual contacts between national working-class organisations, and joint and coordinated action effectively prepared to achieve definite international results. What Marx and Engels stressed especially was ideological unity of the working-class movement.

Two trends, reformism and anarchism, were opposed to proletarian revolutionism. Though Marxism had essentially won an ideological victory in the International, these hostile trends still had some influence on the working-class movement. There was evidence of this even in the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, creating a special danger because supporters of scientific communism in other lands regarded the German party as a model Marxist party, an embodiment, as it were, of proletarian theory and tactics.

WRITING FOR THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PRESS

The events confirmed the observations made by Marx and Engels during the Franco-Prussian War that the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement had shifted from France to Germany. This redoubled the international responsibility of the German socialists. It was therefore particularly important, Marx and Engels held, to consolidate German Social-Democracy in organisation and ideology.

Engels never missed an opportunity to impress on the German Social-Democrats the need for ideological purity. He urged them to work against the various petty-bourgeois pseudo-socialist theories, lest they should gain influence among the workers, and in 1872 began writing for the *Volksstaat*, the central organ of the party. The paper published Engels' latest articles and chapters from his own and Marx's works that were being readied for republication.

In articles such as "The 'Crisis' in Prussia", "The Imperial Military Law", "Semi-Official War Howl", "Prussian Schnaps in the German Reichstag", Engels analysed the economic and political situation and showed the reactionary essence of the German Reich. He described the "German empire of the Prussian nation" as "really an agent of militarism",[1] maintaining that the Prussian Junkers were the chief bearers of chauvinism and militarism driving Germany towards war and more war, and portrayed the cowardice of the German bourgeoisie and its subservience to the Bismarck government. "The Prussian bourgeoisie," he wrote, "*does not want* political power; rotten before it ever ripened ... without ever having ruled, it has descended to the same depth of degeneration as the French bourgeoisie after eighty years of struggle and a long period of domination."[2] The policy of the German bourgeoisie, he added, was shaped by its dread of the proletariat.

The content, revolutionary tenor and bold language of the articles were directed against the reformist illusions planted among the workers chiefly by the Lassalleans. The *Volksstaat* series, "The Bakuninists at Work", assailed not only anarchism, but also, in effect, reformism.

Instilling in the German workers and their party an irreconcilable attitude towards reaction, militarism, chauvinism and the aggressive foreign policy of the ruling classes, Engels helped them to draw the lessons of past history and see the tasks of the day in the light of these lessons.

In the autumn of 1873 he decided to produce a history of Germany. "I had meant to write something about Germany for the *Volksstaat*," he informed Liebknecht on January 27, 1874, "but became immersed in so many economic and statistical studies for this purpose that it will probably be a pamphlet, if not a whole book."[3]

But he never realised his plan. Only sketches, known as "Notes about Germany", have come down to us. Judging from these notes, he had intended to write a history of Germany until 1873, with a closer examination of the period following the late 18th-century French bourgeois revolution. The preceding epoch—from the end of the Middle Ages until 1789—he planned to outline in a long introduction.

The sketches contain the seeds of the Marxist conception of German history. Engels showed the historical reasons for Germany's fragmentation, for her political and economic backwardness, and for the several centuries of reactionary and militarist rule. The adventurist anti-popular policy of the rulers of the German states, and the inability of the bourgeoisie to fight a revolutionary battle against feudalism, he gave as the reasons why it took so long to complete the country's bourgeois reconstruction.

In the summer of 1874, when a third edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* was in preparation, Engels wrote a supplement to his preface for the second edition of February 1870. Lenin described the important ideas in this supplement as instructive for the "German

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 583.
[2] Ibid., S. 295.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 33, S. 615.

working-class movement, which had become strong, practically and politically".[1]

Once again, Engels drew the foremost German workers' attention to their special responsibility as the most organised contingent of the international working-class movement, stressing that this "demands redoubled efforts in every field of struggle and agitation".[2] He emphasised the importance of theory for the socialist and working-class movement, and said that to perform its mission the proletarian party must be guided by scientific socialism. "Socialism, since it has become a science," he wrote, "demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied."[3] The party, he wrote, must combine theory and practice, and the way to do this is by spreading socialist ideas among the mass of the workers.

Engels listed the three sides of the working-class struggle—the theoretical, political and economic. To be invincible, he wrote, all three must form a unity.

Hailing the successes of the German Social-Democrats, and in particular that they won nine Reichstag seats in the January 1874 elections, Engels called on them to win over the masses, including those in the villages.

It was the prime duty of the German Social-Democrats to the international working-class movement, Engels wrote, to "safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise and which readily welcomes every new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes".[4] If the German Social-Democrats accomplish this, he added, "they will not be marching exactly at the head of the movement—it is not at all in the interest of this movement that the workers of any particular country should march at its head—but will occupy an honourable place in the battle-line; they will stand armed for battle when either unexpectedly grave trials or momentous events demand of them added courage, added determination and energy".[5]

In June 1874, Engels wrote the article, "The Polish Proclamation", the first of a series later put out by the *Volksstaat* under the title, "Flüchtlingsliteratur", which analysed some of the new developments and negative trends in the European revolutionary movement. Referring to the connection between the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples and the revolutionary working-class movement, Engels again spelled out the Marxist formula showing the implications behind this connection: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."[6] Again he stressed that Poland would not gain genuine

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 170.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., pp. 170-71.
[6] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 527.

independence until the revolutionary masses, the natural allies of the European working-class movement and the impending Russian revolution, gain it for her.

In a way, Engels' articles on the revolutionary movement in other countries made the *Volksstaat* an international socialist organ.

THE HOUSING QUESTION

Engels was deeply interested in the contents of the *Volksstaat*. In letters to Liebknecht he enjoined its editors not to be indifferent to the ideological orientation of its articles, and deplored that many articles betrayed a residue among some party members of petty-bourgeois reformist illusions and ideas of bourgeois socialism. German socialists, he held, should be shown the basic difference between scientific communism and the varieties of petty-bourgeois socialism; the party press should not spread views alien to the proletariat.

A series of larger articles, written in 1872-73, which were at first published in the *Volksstaat* and later appeared as a pamphlet, *The Housing Question*, defended the essential postulates of scientific socialism against the various currents of petty-bourgeois socialism and the "socialist" theories of bourgeois philanthropists.

Engels was provoked into writing these articles by unsigned tractates on the housing question reprinted in the *Volksstaat* from the Austrian labour newspaper, *Volkswille*, in February-March 1872. The tractates, it was subsequently disclosed, were written by a German physician, the Social-Democrat Arthur Mülberger. Several of Engels' articles, comprising the second part of the pamphlet, took to task the book of the Austrian bourgeois economist Emil Sax, *The Housing Conditions of the Working Classes and Their Reform*, and the concluding piece ("Supplement on Proudhon and the Housing Question") was again a rejoinder to Mülberger, who had objected through the *Volksstaat* to Engels' initial articles.

An illuminating polemical work, *The Housing Question*, is one of the most significant critiques, after Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*, of the petty-bourgeois Proudhonist ideology and petty-bourgeois socialism as a whole, including Lassalleanism. "The only difference between Proudhon and Lassalle," Engels wrote, "is that the latter was a real jurist and Hegelian, while ... Proudhon was merely a dilettante."[1] Taking Proudhon's system as the most characteristic, Engels produced a criticism of the most typical features of petty-bourgeois socialism.

Proudhon's plan of social reforms, his principles of "the organisation of the *forces économiques*", of the "*liquidation sociale*", etc., Engels pointed out, were of no practical value for the working-class

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 364.

movement. In France, for example, the Proudhonists were a numerically rather insignificant sect with no influence to speak of among the workers. Not surprisingly, the Paris Commune, where Proudhonists were strongly represented, acted in practical matters not on Proudhon's theory, but on simple, practical needs. Such economic measures as abolition of night work in the bakeries, prohibition of monetary fines in the factories and confiscation of shut-down factories and workshops and handing them over to workers' associations, were in accordance with the spirit of scientific socialism, and certainly had nothing in common with the Proudhonist prescriptions of "eternal justice". The Commune's decision not to confiscate the Bank of France, it is true, accorded with Proudhon's principles, but, as is known, this was partly responsible for the downfall of the Commune.

All the same, Engels saw that petty-bourgeois ideology was liable to tighten its grip on German Social-Democrats and did his utmost to protect them from its influence, so that they would avoid mistakes and confusion in practical policy, and unnecessary losses. Mülberger's articles he regarded as an attempt "to transplant the Proudhonist school to Germany"[1], and set out to frustrate it with well-grounded arguments.

Like all Proudhonists, the "tearful" Mülberger bewailed the lot of the bulk of the population in the modern cities. He was deeply disturbed by the housing shortage, the many workers' lack of a normal home. To eliminate the gross injustice of people having to live "*below the savages*", he wished to turn society into "a totality of free and independent owners of dwellings"[2] through the gradual payment of the cost of his house by the tenant to the original house-owner. The main object was for the worker to become an owner of property.

Large-scale industry had undermined the pillars of the patriarchal system and the Proudhonists, who mourned over it, pleaded for faith in the practicability of returning to a state of society that had gone never to return. Pretending concern for the majority of the population, they, in effect, hoped to turn back the clock of history.

The condition of the workers had deteriorated since the introduction of capitalist production on a large scale. But should we therefore, Engels asked, "look back longingly"[3] and mourn the passing of rural small-scale industry? The housing shortage, he pointed out, was but one of the evils of capitalism, and, following Marx's economic teaching, he described the consequences of the modern capitalist mode of production.

The development of capitalism signified an end to individual exchange, on which Proudhon built his whole system. It stood for a rapid growth of the productive forces, a proliferation of material resources to satisfy the mass demand in vital commodities. Capitalism created the working class, a class devoid of the "servile soul" of the small proprietor, a class imbued with the conscious will to tear down the social relationships that doomed masses of working people to appalling poverty, including lack of housing.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 305.
[2] Ibid., p. 314.
[3] Ibid., p. 311.

The Proudhonists were either blind to, or deliberately ignored, these consequences, would not acknowledge the growth of capitalism as a historically progressive and necessary process, regarded the conditions created by large-scale capitalist industry as an "excrescence" on a once ostensibly perfect and sound social organism, and called for a forcible return to the extinct or dying forms of the "old, respectable hand labour" and petty-bourgeois property relations which they idealised.

Engels criticised the reactionary negation of capitalism by the petty-bourgeois socialists and the complete utopianism of their appeals to "law" and "eternal justice". The housing question concerned all workers and not just the workers. But this, Engels pointed out, was not the main social problem by far, and certainly not the decisive one. The knot of the contradictions of the capitalist system was in the sphere of production, in the workers' general conditions of life, the terms of the sale and exploitation of their labour, in conditions due to which the surplus value materialised in the surplus product of their labour was gratuitously appropriated.

To really settle the housing question, like all other social questions, it is necessary to change the mode of production, to end the exploitation of wage labour. Decisive for this is conquest of political power by the proletariat and abolition of the bourgeoisie's economic and political rule.

Engels used the concrete example of Sax's book to indict bourgeois "socialism", which professed the wish to eliminate the evils of bourgeois society, yet intended to preserve the economic basis of these evils.

Sax, a bourgeois economist, claimed to have discovered a new science—social economy—to devise miraculous ways of preserving the capitalists, and turning all wage workers into capitalists as well. While a Proudhonist, Mülberger maintained that once workers owned their dwellings, capitalism would cease to exist, Sax held that by acquiring his own little house the wage worker would "become a capitalist" and capitalism would change from an evil into an ideal society. Like all bourgeois "socialists", Sax traced the evils of capitalism not to its nature, but to the ignorance of both sides, capitalists and workers, whom he blamed equally for destroying the harmony of interests of capital and labour. From this he inferred the need of enlightening both sides, perfecting morality and law, and seeking concord and mutual respect of employer and employee without in any way prejudicing capitalist ownership. This was an obvious bid for civil peace, a bid to blunt the class consciousness of working men.

Bourgeois "socialism", Engels showed, was really an ideological prop of the bourgeoisie, a form of protecting its dictatorship. If some "enlightened" bourgeois became concerned over, say, the "poor districts" in the towns, this was not out of compassion for the people crowded into these breeding places of all epidemics, but because they were a threat to the health of the "people of quality". Besides, they were possible seats of social upheavals dangerous for the regime. Bourgeois "socialists" wanted to heal certain social diseases not to improve the workers' situation, but solely to fortify bourgeois society.

Predicting the convergence of all the "labouring classes", Sax in effect made common cause with Mülberger, the petty-bourgeois champion of "eternal justice" and universal equality. "Bourgeois socialism," Engels wrote, "extends its hand to the petty bourgeois variety."[1]

Engels' *The Housing Question* is an important contribution to Marxist theory not only because of its criticism of Mülberger and Sax, of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois socialism, but also because it examines important concepts of scientific communism—the essence of the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasants' passage to collective, socialist ownership, the elimination of the antithesis between town and country, and the ways of socialist social reconstruction.

Engels described the bourgeois state as the organised collective power of the possessing classes, landowners and capitalists, over peasants and workers. What these possessing classes want, their state also wants. It is the "*collective* capitalist", and the most one can expect from it is a measure of superficial palliation by partial reforms and petty hand-outs of the profound contradictions racking the capitalist social system. Engels also cast light on some of the specific features of the Prussian state, one of the varieties of Bonapartism.[2]

The German petty-bourgeois socialists claimed that theirs was not a "class policy", that they did not strive for "class domination". This claim Engels described as typical of petty-bourgeois socialism. The German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, he stressed, just because it was a workers' party, necessarily pursued a consequent "class policy" representing the interests of the working class as contrary to those of the bourgeoisie. And precisely in the interests of the working class, it strove in every way to establish its political rule. "*Every* real proletarian party," he wrote, "from the English Chartists onward, has put forward a class policy, the organisation of the proletariat as an independent political party, as the primary condition of its struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 326.
[2] Ibid., p. 348.

the immediate aim of the struggle."[1] Not until it gains political power, exercising its dictatorship in the name and interest of the vast majority, can the proletariat perform the deep-going social transformations that, among other things, also clear the way for the solution of the housing question.

In his controversy with Engels, Mülberger defended his incompetent economic formulas in the spirit of Proudhon's "general idea"—regulation of taxes, state and private debts, cheap credit, and the like—maintaining that they are of the greatest importance for propaganda in the countryside. In his rejoinder, Engels described it as folly to recommend to peasants this "Proudhonian quackery". It would be absurd, he pointed out, to divide up existing big landed estates into small peasant farms. In France and Western Germany further parcelling of land would be reactionary: once the working class acquired political power, the big estates there, transformed on the principles of association, would be a graphic example for the small peasants of the advantages of large-scale socialist farming utilising the achievements of modern science and technology.

Engels also examined the ways of carrying out socialist transformations. It depended on the specific conditions, he stressed, whether the proletarian revolution was violent or peaceful. "In general," he wrote, "the question is not whether the proletariat when it comes to power will simply seize by force the instruments of production, the raw materials and means of subsistence, whether it will pay immediate compensation for them or whether it will redeem the property therein by small instalment payments. To attempt to answer such a question in advance and for all cases would be utopia-making, and that I leave to others."[2] This is of fundamental significance in combating both "Left" sectarianism, which acknowledges nothing but the violent form of revolution, and Right opportunist trends which associate the perspective of social reconstruction with peaceful means only and, still worse, substitute palliation, or adaptation to the power of capital, for real revolution.

The Housing Question played a distinguished part in propagating and asserting Marxism, and contributed greatly to the theoretical education of German Social-Democrats and members of socialist parties in other countries. Lenin described it as "splendid".[3] In his classic, *The State and Revolution*, he noted in particular that Engels' articles on the housing question took into account the experience of the Paris Commune, dealt with the tasks of the revolution in relation to the state, affirmed the need for the actual seizure of all the instruments of labour, all industry by the working people, and for political action by the proletariat, and for its dictatorship as the

[1] Ibid., p. 356.
[2] Ibid., p. 370.
[3] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

transition to the abolition of classes and, with them, of the state.[1] And on January 30, 1917, he wrote to Inessa Armand: "I have been rereading Engels' *Zur Wohnungsfrage* with his preface of 1887. Do you know it? Wonderful! I am still 'in love' with Marx and Engels, and cannot calmly stand any abuse of them. No, these were real people! We must learn from them. We must not leave that basis."[2]

THE START ON *DIALECTICS OF NATURE*

In 1873 Engels began one of his main works, *Dialectics of Nature*, conceived as a dialectico-materialist conceptualisation of the principal achievements, and a critique of the metaphysical and idealistic views, of mid-19th-century natural science. And the project could not have been more timely, for the ideological battle was at its height.

At about the middle of the 19th century there had been a fairly rapid shift from a rational educational to a purely utilitarian approach to the science of nature represented by vulgar materialism and positivism.

Despite their different gnosiological starting points, vulgar materialism and positivism largely agreed as to the relationship of philosophy and natural science. What bridged the differences between the exponents of vulgar materialism in Germany—Karl Vogt, Ludwig Büchner and Jakob Moleschott—and the founder of positivism, Auguste Comte, was the common tendency to reject philosophy and dialectics as speculative metaphysical "ravings" useless for "positive science".

As the vulgar materialists saw it, spontaneous faith in the reality of nature, faith that nature was cognisable, substituted perfectly for the contrivances of philosophical "metaphysics". And Büchner's idea that science is not idealistic, not spiritualistic or materialistic, but simply natural, tallied completely with Comte's thesis: science is a philosophy for itself. Both schools regarded natural science and its great discoveries as a confirmation of spontaneous materialism, sensualism and the idea of evolution. The dialectical content of the new discoveries was for vulgar materialism and positivism a close-locked secret.

Engels set out to counter the two schools with a dialectico-materialist conceptualisation of the advances of modern science, which would show even metaphysically oriented natural scientists that, unlike their thinking, the material they deal with is in all ways dialectical. As he wrote in the preface to the second edition of his *Anti-Dühring* (1885), for him it was also a question of convincing

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 433-35.
[2] Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 281.

himself "...that in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events".[1]

A letter (Engels to Marx, May 30, 1873, setting out "dialectical ideas on the natural sciences"[2]) is extant showing how Engels arrived at the idea of writing this remarkable book. It was mailed to Manchester, where Marx was then staying. At Engels' request the latter showed it to their mutual friend, Karl Schorlemmer, who fully approved.

Engels' work on *Dialectics of Nature* broke up into two main stages. Engels began collecting material for it in May 1873 and worked on the book assiduously for three years. Throughout this period he did not leave London, save for about a month each year to receive treatment in Ramsgate or Jersey, and twice he went to Germany on family business: in the autumn of 1873, when his mother fell ill and passed away, he spent almost a month in Engelskirchen (from the end of October to November 20) and in 1875 went with his wife to Heidelberg. Stopping over in Rheingau, he called on his old friend, the chemist Philipp Pauli, and on the way back visited Bingen and Cologne, returning to London via Ostende.

During this period he elaborated some of the basic propositions of *Dialectics of Nature*—the relation between philosophy and natural science, the classification of the main forms of the motion of matter and, accordingly, a classification of sciences, and the operation in nature of dialectical laws and categories, proving the necessity of the dialectico-materialist method for natural science. He composed nearly 100 notes and fragments.

But not until 1875-76 did he begin to write the book. He produced the Introduction, showing the main stages in the history of natural science and setting forth his view of the origin and development of the world and human society. His article, "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", which he later included in *Dialectics of Nature*, dates to the same period.

However, in June 1876 he was compelled to break off his work on the book in order to take a public stand against the pseudo-socialist doctrine of Eugen Dühring.

ENGELS ON THE DRAFT OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME

Apart from his preoccupation with natural science, Engels continued to watch closely the state of affairs in the German working-class movement. In the early half of the 1870s, unitarian tendencies

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 16.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 281.

were strong among socialist-minded workers aspiring to the amalgamation of the two political organisations—the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and the General Association of German Workers. But though Marx and Engels were conscious of the objective necessity for a united proletarian party, they accepted unity solely on the foundation of scientific communism. And this required serious ideological and political spade-work.

In 1873, when sentiment to unite with the Lassalleans ran high among the Social-Democratic Workers' Party leaders—due partly to the absence of Bebel, who was serving a prison term—Engels became deeply disturbed. The party, he wrote to Bebel, should consolidate itself as an organisation with an essentially Marxist programme and broad ties with the masses. Amalgamation with an ideologically alien body would do more harm than good. "... There are circumstances," he wrote, "in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things."[1] He counselled against haste and pleaded for patient explanatory work exposing the dogma and practice of Lassalleanism, while striving for united action.

In early 1875, however, Liebknecht and a few other leaders of the SDWP began campaigning for unity at any price, convinced that success would amply compensate for concessions. They did not consult Marx or Engels, and on March 7, 1875, published in the party press the draft of a programme to be adopted at the coming unity congress.

The Social-Democratic party leaders, the draft revealed, had agreed to ideological compromises with the opportunistic current. This Marx and Engels regarded as a grave error fraught with serious consequences, and at once tried to bring the Eisenach leaders to their senses.

In a long letter to Bebel, March 18-28, 1875, Engels maintained that the main condition of unity should be that the Lassalleans drop all their slogans. "Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere and therefore in what is decisive for the programme," he wrote, "but the Lassalleans certainly have something to learn from our party; the first condition of union should be that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans."[2]

Engels made a critical study of the published draft programme. He objected strongly to "Lassalle's high-sounding but historically false phrase" that "in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass".[3] To recognise this, he said, was tantamount to renouncing the workers' alliance with peasants and other groups of working people.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 284.
[2] Ibid., p. 290.
[3] Ibid., p. 291.

Another serious flaw, Engels pointed out, was the disavowal of the international obligations of the proletarian party. "The German workers' position at the head of the European movement," he wrote, "reposes *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war.... And now this principle is to be disavowed by them at the very moment when the workers everywhere abroad are emphasising it in the same degree as the governments are striving to suppress every attempted manifestation of it in any organisation!"[1] The draft, Engels held, should have stressed that the German workers' party "is conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all countries and will always be ready hereafter, as it has been hitherto, to fulfil the obligations imposed upon it by this solidarity".[2]

One of the main faults of the draft, Engels held, was that it contained the Lassallean dogma on the "iron law of wages" and "state aid to production associations". He showed again that this dogma was doing immense harm to the workers' movement, inviting neglect of the economic struggle and the trade unions, a most important form of class struggle. He said the unions were "the real class organisation of the proletariat, in which it carries on its daily struggles with capital, in which it trains itself, and which nowadays even amid the worst reaction can simply no longer be smashed".[3]

Engels deprecated the vulgar interpretation in the draft of the essence of the state. Recalling the experience of the Paris Commune, he faulted the formula "free state", which could connote a supra-class institution. "The state," he wrote, "is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist."[4] This Lenin described as "one of the most, if not *the* most, remarkable observations on the state in the works of Marx and Engels".[5]

Engels also assailed the abstract phrase, "the elimination of all social and political inequality", instead of which he suggested: "the abolition of all class distinctions."[6] A certain inequality in the conditions of life, he wrote, would always exist between countries, provinces and even localities. The most that can be done is to reduce it to the minimum. The vision of socialist society as a realm of absolute equality, typical of the French utopian socialists, was, he wrote, "justified as a *stage of development* in its own time and

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 292.
[3] Ibid., p. 293.
[4] Ibid., p. 294.
[5] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 439.
[6] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 294.

place but ... like all the one-sided ideas of the earlier socialist schools, should now be overcome, for it only produces confusion in people's heads and more precise modes of presentation of the matter have been found".[1]

Describing the draft as a "bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on the part of the whole German socialist proletariat",[2] Engels warned that unity gained at this price could not last and would inevitably culminate in differences benefiting none but the Lassalleans.

Marx, too, criticised the draft programme in what came to be known as his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which he wrote in the beginning of May 1875 and sent to the SDWP leaders. This theoretical and programmatic exposition of scientific communism is an outstanding example of Marx's creativity. It is a general critique of the draft programme, in a way summing up the controversy between Marxism and the petty-bourgeois socialist theories, and also presenting a number of new brilliant concepts concerning the future communist society, the ways of building it, and its phases.

Engels' letter to Bebel and Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* are superior models of guidance of the international working-class movement. "We have hardly ever interfered in any way in internal Party affairs," Engels wrote, "and when we did then only in order to make good, as far as possible, blunders, and *only theoretical* blunders, which have in our opinion been committed".[3]

Unfortunately, only the minimum notice was taken by the SDWP leaders of Marx's and Engels' criticism. The programme adopted at the Gotha Congress, May 22-27, 1875, Engels wrote in a letter to Wilhelm Bracke on October 11, consisted of three parts: "1. Lassallean phrases and slogans which should not have been accepted on any condition.... 2. A series of vulgarly democratic demands.... 3. A number of seemingly communist phrases, mostly borrowed from the *Manifesto* but so reworded that on closer inspection they contain nothing but drivelling nonsense."[4]

Initially, Marx and Engels intended to make a public statement against the Gotha Programme. But since readers saw in it "what should have been there",[5] that is, a revolutionary content, they decided that public criticism and disavowal were untimely. They reckoned with the fact that the amalgamation of the two political organisations of the German working class had become a *fait accompli*. Also, they conceded that the united party created in Gotha had eliminated the split in the German working-class movement, which would ultimately benefit the workers' liberation struggle.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 294.
[2] Ibid., p. 295.
[3] Ibid., pp. 294-95.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 155-56.
[5] Ibid., S. 156.

The theoretical standard of German Social-Democracy declined visibly after the Gotha Congress. The Lassalleans had brought with them their petty-bourgeois views alien to the proletariat, exerting a certain amount of influence on part of the former Eisenach group. The party's central newspaper accorded hospitality to authors of whom Engels wrote to Bebel in October 1875 that their "economic blunders, erroneous views and ignorance of socialist literature furnished the best means of thoroughly destroying the theoretical superiority of the German movement up to now".[1] And somewhat later (July 1877) he observed that since the union a "moral and intellectual decline" had afflicted the party and that in its press and at its congresses there "reigned the semi-ignorance"[2] of half-baked literati. Eclectic views scantily clothed in socialist garb but in effect inimical to scientific socialism, spread inexorably.

The views of Berlin University Professor Eugen Dühring were riding the crest of popularity. In his lectures and writings Dühring expounded a reactionary petty-bourgeois socialism, paraded as the latest word and "final truth".

Dühring's views won devoted supporters in Johann Most, Friedrich Fritzsche, Louis Viereck, Eduard Bernstein and other men prominent in the German Social-Democratic movement. Even Bebel did not escape unscathed and in the *Volksstaat* commended Dühring in an article, "A New Communist". Wilhelm Liebknecht, editor of the party's central newspaper, also at first underestimated the virulence of Dühring's "theories" and printed extracts from his books. However, after Dühring began his crude undisguised attacks on Marx, he had second thoughts, waking up to the injury which the Dühringian system was likely to inflict on the party. "Shortly before Christmas I was at one of this man's lectures: megalomania and consuming envy of Marx, *voilà tout*", he wrote to Engels on February 1, 1875. "He has gained a strong grip on many of our people (notably in Berlin) and must be dealt with *firmly*."[3]

Dühring's growing influence deeply alarmed Marx and Engels. The party's ideological foundation hung in the balance: would the revolutionary proletarian scientific outlook come out on top, or would the party adopt reformist, petty-bourgeois postures?

At first, Engels confined himself to several critical remarks about Dühring in his articles ("Prussian Schnaps in the German Reichstag", and others). But soon he saw that a concentrated criticism in the press was urgently required. "Is it not high time to give serious thought to our attitude vis-à-vis these gentlemen?"[4] he asked in

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 300.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 285.
[3] Central Party Archives.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 13.

a letter to Marx on May 24, 1876. On the following day, Marx replied: "My opinion is that the only 'attitude vis-à-vis these gentlemen' is to criticise Dühring."[1]

While undergoing treatment in Ramsgate in May-August 1876, Engels studied Dühring's books, *A Course in Philosophy*, *A Course in Political and Social Economy*, *A Critical History of Political Economy and Socialism*, and others, and in a letter to Marx on May 28 outlined the general plan of a book against Dühring. He worked on the book intensively in the latter half of the year, and in January 1877 its first instalments appeared in the party's central organ, the newspaper *Vorwärts* (as the *Volksstaat* was renamed in 1876). By the beginning of July 1878 his work was published in the form of three series of articles.

Instantly, it evoked a sharp reaction. "I have just read the beginning of your extraordinary work," wrote Lessner to Engels on January 9, 1877, "and I must say that the new year could not have begun with anything better, and more fittingly.... These fundamental and easily comprehensible explanations of the facts will dispel the illusions of many of our party comrades."[2]

Dühring's supporters tried to interdict the publication of Engels' articles. Johann Most proposed this at the Social-Democratic Congress in Gotha in May 1877. Liebknecht repulsed the idea, declaring that in scientific stature Engels could be compared only with Marx, that he had produced a brilliant critique of Dühring and that the articles were the most significant scientific investigation in socialist literature, second only to Marx's *Capital*.[3]

However, the debate at Gotha revealed the weakness of the German Social-Democratic leaders in matters of revolutionary theory. The Dühring people almost succeeded in blocking the publication of Engels' articles in the party newspaper. A compromise was barely reached thanks to Bebel, whose proposal that they should appear not in the *Vorwärts* but in its scientific supplement was accepted. After appearing in the paper, the series was also published under separate cover as *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, and subsequently became known as *Anti-Dühring*.

Marx helped in compiling the book. "I must note in passing," Engels wrote in the preface to its second edition, "that inasmuch as the mode of outlook expounded in this book was founded and developed in far greater measure by Marx, and only in an insignificant degree by myself, it was self-understood between us that this exposition of mine should not be issued without his knowledge. I read the whole manuscript to him before it was printed, and the

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 14.
[2] Central Party Archives.
[3] See *Protokoll des Socialisten-Congresses zu Gotha vom 27. bis 29. Mai 1877*, Hamburg, 1877, S. 72.

tenth chapter of the part on economics ... was written by Marx."[1]

Anti-Dühring is a unique summing up of Marxism's development over three decades. Not only did it set out and defend the basic Marxist postulates; it also spelled out a number of new, fundamental aspects of revolutionary theory, conceptualising new phenomena in the outside world and the latest achievements of world science, particularly the theory of natural science.

Engels' criticism of Dühring's "system" provided him with an excellent opportunity of presenting his own and Marx's views. He tried to produce, as he put it, an "encyclopaedic survey of our conception of the philosophical, natural science and historical problems".[2]

The three parts of *Anti-Dühring*—"Philosophy", "Political Economy", and "Socialism"—are, in fact, an exhaustive exposition of the sources and components of the teaching of Marx and Engels.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Anti-Dühring is primarily a philosophical work. Advocating the principle of partisanship in philosophy, Engels swept aside all Dühring's attempts to invent a "middle line" in philosophy and obliterate the fundamental antithesis of materialism and idealism. "Engels conducted his *whole* fight against Dühring *completely* under the watchword of consistent adherence to materialism," Lenin wrote, "accusing the materialist Dühring of verbally confusing the issue, of phrase-mongering, of methods of reasoning which involved a concession to idealism and adoption of the position of idealism. Either materialism consistent to the end, or the falsehood and confusion of philosophical idealism—such is the formulation of the question given in *every paragraph* of *Anti-Dühring*."[3]

A strictly materialistic approach to the basic question of philosophy runs through the entire First Part. Consciousness is the product of man's brain, and man is the product of nature. Consequently, if only for this one reason, the laws of thinking and the laws of nature are in accord. Thought is the reflection of the material world, of its being.

Engels countervailed Dühring's eclectic ideas with fundamental propositions of dialectical materialism. He criticised Dühring for his so-called a priori method of formulating the main conceptions of the surrounding reality in total disregard of experience, without studying the outside world, by purely logical means. Engels showed that this concept "is idealistic, makes things stand completely on

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 13-14.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 136.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 338.

their heads, and fashions the real world out of ideas, out of schemata, schemes or categories existing somewhere before the world, from eternity—just like *a Hegel*."[1]

The basic philosophical inferences, Engels shows, are not the starting point but the result of any investigation. It is not nature and history which conform to these principles, but the principles are only valid in so far as they are in conformity with nature and history, and abstracted.

With the growth of concrete sciences and the inception of dialectical materialism, Engels writes, philosophy standing above the other sciences becomes unnecessary. "As soon as each special science," he says, "is bound to make clear its position in the great totality of things and of our knowledge of things, a special science dealing with this totality is superfluous. That which still survives, independently, of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of nature and history."[2]

Criticising Dühring's views, Engels elaborates on the cardinal concepts of materialistic philosophy: the materiality of the world, the objectiveness of space and time. He assails Dühring's contention that the unity of the world consists in its being, and substantiates the most important postulate of materialism that "the real unity of the world consists in its materiality".[3] The infinite diversity of natural phenomena is but different forms of motion and the development of matter. Consciousness is one of the properties of matter at a definite, very high level of development. Consequently, there is nothing in reality but different forms of matter in motion. The materiality of the world is that which unites all these forms.

Dühring separated motion from matter, whereas motion is as uncreatable and indestructible as matter itself. "*Motion*," Engels says, "*is the mode of existence of matter*."[4]

Instead of recognising the objectiveness of space and time, Dühring discoursed on changes in the conceptions of time and space, on the relativity of these conceptions. At the same time, extremely inconsequent, he conceived space and time as some pure forms existing a priori, independently of material objects. Countering Dühring, Engels argues that space and time are the main forms of the existence of matter, of all being, that "being out of time is just as gross an absurdity as being out of space".[5]

He provides an exhaustive description of dialectics and shows its fundamental difference from the metaphysical mode of thinking. "To the metaphysician," he writes, "things and their mental reflexes,

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 48.
[2] Ibid., p. 36.
[3] Ibid., p. 58.
[4] Ibid., p. 75.
[5] Ibid., p. 67.

ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all."[1] Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations in their essential connection, motion, origin and ending.

The dialectical mode of thinking, Engels points out, is the supreme achievement in philosophy. Its origins go back to ancient Greek philosophy, where "dialectical thought still appears in its pristine simplicity".[2] Its conscious, systematic form was developed by Hegel. However, for the idealist Hegel the development of the world was an embodiment and reflection of the Idea existing before the world came into being. This warped idealistic world outlook naturally left a deep trace also on Hegel's dialectics. His way of thinking "turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world".[3]

Hegel's dialectics required a radical revision in the materialistic context. And this was done by Marx and Engels. "Marx and I," Engels writes, "were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history."[4]

Of outstanding theoretical importance is Engels' classic exposition of the main laws of dialectics. The presentation of materialist dialectics in *Anti-Dühring* is used in all textbooks and popular descriptions of dialectical materialism. Engels' dialectico-materialist method of analysing natural and social phenomena is basic for each truly scientific research.

In all things Engels traces the dialectical regularities—unity, interpenetration and struggle of opposites, transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes, and negation of the negation. He discloses the universal connection and interaction reigning in nature and society, and shows the fallacy of the metaphysical view of nature with its ossified categories and immobile classifications.

Demolishing Dühring's metaphysical notion that contradiction is not intrinsically present in things and processes, Engels closely examines the law of the unity and struggle of opposites. Contradiction, Dühring would have us believe, is an absurdity and cannot exist in the real world. Engels proves that contradictions are a characteristic feature of motion, of development. "So long as we consider things as at rest and lifeless, each one by itself, alongside and after each other, we do not run up against any contradictions in them.... But the position is quite different as soon as we consider things in their motion, their change, their life, their reciprocal influence on one another. Then we immediately become involved

[1] Ibid., p. 31.
[2] Ibid., p. 395.
[3] Ibid., p. 35.
[4] Ibid., p. 15.

in contradictions," he writes.[1] Motion, too, Engels explains, is contradiction. Even a simple mechanical change of position can occur only because a body is at one and the same time both in one place and in another place, and because it is in one and the same place and is not in it. "And the continuous origination and simultaneous solution of this contradiction," he writes, "is precisely what motion is."[2]

Engels elaborates on the law of the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes. He traces its operation through numerous examples of natural science, especially chemistry, and of social science, thus showing its universal nature. He observes, among other things, that Marx's *Capital* contains countless examples from the domain of economic relations "in which quantitative change alters the quality, and also qualitative change alters the quantity".[3] The transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes, Engels notes, is a leaplike process. The old quality becomes a new one, a break occurs in the gradualness, marking a turning point in development.

Engels examines the law of the negation of the negation, objectively implicit in nature and society. He describes it as "an extremely general—and for this reason extremely far-reaching and important—law of development of nature, history and thought; a law which ... holds good in the animal and plant kingdoms, in geology, in mathematics, in history and in philosophy".[4] Each separate case, each special process, Engels maintains, has a peculiar form of negation shaped by its nature. He gives concrete examples of the negation of the negation: the transformative cycle of the grain from germination to the death of the fruit-bearing plant, integral calculus in mathematics, and the succession of forms of property, which, as Marx so brilliantly showed in *Capital*, culminates in the expropriation of the expropriators. In dialectics, Engels shows, negation does not mean simply saying "no" or declaring that something does not exist. The negation of the negation implies development, and definite changes not only of the form, but also of the content, crowned by the appearance of a new qualitative structure.

Producing the classic definition of dialectics as a science "of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought",[5] describing its basic laws, Engels also delves into its most important categories: necessity and chance, the essence and the appearance, causality and interaction, and others. And in *Anti-Dühring*, too, Engels elucidates the dialectics of freedom and necessity. Freedom, he points out, is not at all the philistine's imagined

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 144.
[2] Ibid., p. 145.
[3] Ibid., p. 151.
[4] Ibid., p. 168.
[5] Ibid., p. 169.

independence from the laws of nature and society, but is in apprehending these laws, in knowing how to take them into account, to use them. "Freedom of the will, therefore," Engels concludes, "means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject."[1]

Engels demonstrates the connection between dialectical materialism and the development of natural science. "Nature is the proof of dialectics," he writes, "and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, nature works dialectically and not metaphysically."[2]

Anti-Dühring contains a graphic description of the dialectical character of nature's development, buttressed with examples from organic life. "Life," it says, "is therefore also a contradiction which is present in things and processes themselves, and which constantly originates and resolves itself; and as soon as the contradiction ceases, life, too, comes to an end, and death steps in."[3] Even at its lowest stage, organic life is capable, though only in primitive form, of sensation. However, the consciousness, thinking, which develops from sensation, is present only in the highest type of developed organic life, is the product of highly organised matter—the human brain.

Like the world which it reflects, human consciousness is in a state of ceaseless development. Engels stresses the intrinsic, dialectical contradiction at the root of knowledge, which serves as the source of its endless motion. It is typical of human thinking to strive for full, exhaustive knowledge of the world, for the absolute truth. However, since the world develops unintermittently and since our cognitive capacity expands unintermittently, this apprehension of the full, absolute truth is in fact infinite. At each given moment man's knowledge is but relative, incomplete. The absolute truth is compounded from partial relative truths; they are the rungs by which man seeks to ascend to the absolute truth. And in each given relative truth there is an element of the absolute truth.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

In the economic part of *Anti-Dühring* Engels set out the main points of Marx's economic doctrine, principally the material encompassed in the first volume of *Capital*. Its concluding chapter ("From *The Critical History*") was written by Marx.

The chapter on the subject matter and method of political economy for the first time defined the concept of political economy "in the widest sense" as a science of "the laws governing the production

[1] Ibid., p. 137.
[2] Ibid., p. 33.
[3] Ibid., p. 145.

and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society".[1] To this conception, which does not confine political economy to merely the practical cognitive purpose of studying the regularities of the bourgeois formation, Lenin attached exceedingly great significance.

As one of the essential purposes of the political economy of capitalism Engels named the aim of revealing, "within the already dissolving economic form of motion, the elements of the future new organisation of production and exchange".[2] As Engels saw it, criticism of bourgeois economy required both a theoretical investigation of pre-bourgeois relations and a scientific forecast of the economics of communist society which takes over the productive forces created by capitalism and is organised for joint and planned labour in such a way as "to ensure to all members of society the means of existence and of the free development of their capacities, and indeed in constantly increasing measure".[3]

Presenting Marx's ideas about the dialectical interaction of production, exchange and distribution, Engels substantiated the materialist principle of the primacy of social production, stressing that though the mode of distribution is in the final analysis determined by the mode of production and exchange, distribution also exercises a substantial reverse influence on production and exchange. "Each new mode of production or form of exchange," he wrote, "is at first retarded not only by the old forms and the political institutions which correspond to them, but also by the old mode of distribution; it can secure the distribution which is suitable to it only in the course of a long struggle."[4] This Marxist theory, Engels pointed out, was confirmed by the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and system of distribution. Dühring's vulgar idealistic conception, on the other hand, was obviously at odds with the facts of world history. Isolating distribution from production and exchange, Dühring associated it with force, that is, transferred the theory of distribution from economics to the domain of morality and law. Engels demolished this force theory, the main link in the Dühringian vulgar economic conception.

Force was always the effect, not the cause, of economic processes in all stages of history. Examining the origins of private property, Engels drew the conclusion that "wherever private property evolved it was the result of altered relations of production and exchange, in the interest of increased production and in furtherance of intercourse—hence as a result of economic causes. Force plays no part in this at all."[5]

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 177.
[2] Ibid., p. 180.
[3] Ibid., p. 181.
[4] Ibid., p. 179.
[5] Ibid., p. 194.

The main factor of the political force at the disposal of the state, Engels pointed out, is the army; its organisation in all the epochs, and the method of warfare, are directly dependent on economic conditions, that is, "the quality and quantity of the population and on technical development".[1]

Though force is secondary to the economy, this does not go to say that it has no influence on economic processes. All political power is originally based on a definite economic function performed by it for society. But after it makes itself independent in relation to society, it can work to promote economic development, or to hold it back. In the latter case, however, economic development will inexorably force its way through, the contest ending with the downfall of the political power. Engels quoted Marx's apt description of the revolutionary role of force; force, Marx said, is "the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."[2]

Engels tore to shreds Dühring's vulgar theories identifying value and price, and his confusing disquisitions about measuring value by the expenditure of human energy in one case, labour-time in another, cost of production in a third, and by wages in a fourth, etc. He countered with a clear and scientific exposition of the value of commodities as the socially necessary human labour materialised in them, which, in turn, is measured by its duration. He recalled that according to Marx the value of commodities is determined by the human labour contained in them, that is, the expenditure of simple labour-power which, on an average, exists in every ordinary individual. The relatively compound labour is simple labour raised to a power and multiplied, a given quantity of compound labour being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour. The reduction of compound labour to simple occurs behind the backs of the producers by a definite social process and a definite mechanism of commodity, or more precisely, commodity-money relations.

Dühring did not see that labour creates value, but has none itself. It follows from the Marxist postulate—labour can have no value—that socialist society, which wants to emancipate human labour-power from the status of a commodity, cannot regulate distribution of the necessaries of life as a kind of superior form of wages. Distribution, governed by purely economic factors, is regulated by the interests of production. And growth of production is best encouraged by a "mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality."[3]

Dühring held forth about his strictly scientific method of investigation,[4] but, Engels observed, there was no trace of scientific method

[1] Ibid., p. 205.
[2] Ibid., p. 220.
[3] Ibid., p. 239.
[4] Ibid., p. 41.

in his works. He was incontinent in his use of strong expressions and heaped disdain on Marx's theory of surplus value, describing it as a "barren conception", but in place of it offered what was only an inferior variant of the conception of capital, widespread among vulgar economists, as "a means of production already produced",[1] as any totality of means of production yielding an income to its owner. This would mean, Engels noted, that capital is any wealth—the wealth of the slave-owners of the antique world, of the large Roman landowners of the time of the empire, and equally the wealth of the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, etc.

Criticising this quasi-scientific conception that could have originated only in the mind of a man who had no inkling of history and was far removed from economics, Engels reproduced the basic propositions of Marx's theory of surplus value. He pointed out that Marx was the first to discover the origin of surplus value, lifting the veil on the mechanics of capitalist profit. Marx solved the problem "in a *purely economic* way, excluding all cheating and the intervention of any force".[2] This is Marx's most epoch-making achievement. It spreads the clear light of day through the economic domains in which socialists no less than bourgeois economists previously groped in darkness. Indeed, scientific socialism dates from the discovery of this solution.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

In contrast to Dühring, who treated Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen with the utmost contempt, Engels noted the immense services rendered by these great utopian socialists. He praised their brilliant criticism of bourgeois society, and regarded their systems, which originated as a protest against capitalist exploitation, as containing the germs of many fruitful ideas later substantiated and further elaborated in Marxism. Among these he listed the assumptions concerning the future communist society—that the antithesis between town and country would be eliminated, that the state would wither away and political rule over men turn into an administration of things and a direction of the processes of production.

However, Engels was not unaware of the limitations of the great utopian socialists, who could not yet, in their time, show a realistic way to the new social system. "To the crude conditions of capitalistic production and the crude class conditions," he wrote, "corresponded crude theories.... These new social systems were foredoomed as utopian; the more completely they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure fantasies."[3]

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 241.
[2] Ibid., p. 243.
Ibid., p. 305.

Unlike the utopians, who held that to build a new social order was the task of reason, Engels ascribed the decisive part to the objective and subjective preconditions of socialism. Scientific socialism, he explained, is based on an analysis of the contradictions of the capitalist system, the ever sharpening conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production that leads bourgeois society to inevitable destruction. He formulated the classic definition of the main contradiction of capitalism: the contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifests itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.[1]

Expropriation of the expropriators, stripping the bourgeoisie of state power as a class that has become a parasite, Engels shows to be necessary because economic reform and initiative as such, or change of the productive forces in the framework of the capitalist system, cannot abolish the latter's exploiting essence. As the capitalist mode of production develops, private forms gradually give way to production of a collective nature. Joint-stock companies of capitalists come into being, and the state as the official representative of capitalist society is compelled to take over the management of some enterprises and whole industries. "But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies, or into state ownership," Engels says, "does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces."[2] Abolition of the capitalist mode of production, abolition of exploitation, and establishment of the socialist system, are not possible until after a socialist revolution when "*the proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production in the first instance into state property*".[3]

This completely repudiates the idea that capitalism can be dressed up. The developed capitalist state is an instrument for exploiting the working class and plundering the people in the interests of the dominant bourgeoisie. Referring to such a state, Engels wrote: "The more it proceeds to the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians."[4] Here Engels anticipated tendencies that burst into flower much later, under state-monopoly capitalism.

Anti-Dühring deals with a whole series of other important aspects of Marxist theory—the emergence of classes, the state, family, education, religion, etc.

In contrast to Dühring's utopian and narrow-minded philistine "prophecies", Engels outlined the contours of communist society with scientific visionary power.

[1] See Ibid., p. 321.
[2] Ibid., p. 330.
[3] Ibid., p. 332.
[4] Ibid., pp. 330-31.

Instead of the old division of labour, which condemned the rural population to mental torpidity and the people of the towns to lifelong drudgery at some monotonous and uniform operation—instead of this division of labour which stunts and impoverishes man, undermines his physical and mental faculties, communism produces a new organisation of labour affording the broadest scope for the all-round development of the human personality. In the communist system, productive labour turns from a burden into a pleasure.

The Marxist conception of equality, as set out by Engels, is of the utmost importance: while eliminating class distinctions, Communists do not reduce people to a common denominator, forcibly equalising their tastes and faculties, or suppressing their individuality. "...The real content of the proletarian demand for equality," Engels writes, "is the demand for the *abolition of classes*. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity."[1]

Engels showed that the conditions of life that hitherto encompassed and ruled man, come under his dominion and control once communism is built. For the first time, man becomes "the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation".[2]

An extraordinary efflorescence of economy, science and culture ultimately does away with all prejudices, including the religious. Engels defined religion as the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life. He traced the development of religious notions, disclosed their social roots. Ridiculing Dühring's contention that in the future society religion should be simply outlawed, Engels showed that religion will die a natural death when the causes that nourish it disappear.

Not until communism is built will people become conscious makers of their social life, will they achieve genuine freedom. Engels described it as "the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom".[3]

He emphasised the historical mission of the proletariat to accomplish this radical transformation of human society. He set socialists the task of comprehending the historical conditions and nature of this act, of imparting to the working-class movement the ideas of scientific socialism, teaching workers to understand the laws of social development.

Engels' book made a tremendous impact. It demolished Dühring's system of views, it nullified his influence on German Social-Democracy. Also, it helped to complete the theoretical demolition of the pre-Marxian trends in the working-class movement, and first and foremost in Germany. Now the German Social-Democrats could apprehend Marxism as an integrate world outlook encompassing philosophy,

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 128.
[2] Ibid., p. 336.
[3] Ibid.

political economy, socialism, and the strategy and tactics of the workers' class struggle.

Anti-Dühring rendered an inestimable service also to socialists in other countries, including Russia, where many Narodniks[1] had come under Dühring's influence. In 1884, Engels was able to note that his book had created an unexpectedly strong impression, especially in Russia.[2]

The publication of *Anti-Dühring* was a really big event. The international working-class movement acquired an encyclopaedia of Marxist knowledge, which helped bring up many generations of socialists in all countries.

Anti-Dühring, to use Lenin's words, became the handbook of every politically conscious worker. It played a substantial part in the workers' struggle for emancipation, and is one of those very few books that never grow old and disclose ever new facets of their inexhaustible wealth at each new turning of history.

LIZZIE'S ILLNESS AND DEATH

Lizzie, Engels' wife, became seriously ill at the height of his work on *Anti-Dühring*, and on and off in 1876 and 1877 he took her to seaside resorts. The treatment there gave her temporary relief, but could not save her life. In the summer of 1878 her condition deteriorated, and she passed away on September 12.

For Engels this was a staggering blow. They had been married for more than 15 years. A plain, uneducated girl, Lizzie possessed natural wit, vivacity, and was wholly devoted to her husband's lifelong cause. His friends liked and respected her.

"My wife," Engels recalled many years later, "was real Irish proletarian stock, and her ardent inborn feeling for her class was for me worth infinitely more, had at all critical times supported me far more securely, than all the refinements and subtleties of the 'educated' and 'sensitive' daughters of the bourgeoisie."[3]

BACK AT WORK ON *DIALECTICS OF NATURE*

Anti-Dühring was an important phase in Engels' scientific studies. For the first time, in *Anti-Dühring*, he published some of his preceding research into the use of dialectics in natural science, though a few

[1] Followers of a petty-bourgeois trend in the Russian revolutionary movement. They held that capitalist relations were impossible in Russia, and therefore they regarded the peasants, and not the proletariat, as the main revolutionary force. With the object of rousing the peasants to the struggle against the autocracy they went to the villages, "to the people" (in Russian—"v narod", hence their name—Narodniks), but found no support there.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 136.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 38, S. 298.

years later, in the preface to its second German edition, he wrote: "Whatever else I should have liked to alter ... concerns the section dealing with theoretical natural science. There is much that is clumsy in my exposition and much of it could be expressed today in a clearer and more definite form."[1]

Now, Engels returned to his work on *Dialectics of Nature*, though, as always, he could not devote himself to natural science regularly and completely: much time and energy was consumed by his many other affairs, the topical aspects of the theory and tactics of the proletarian party, and the workers' movement.

But he did succeed in making considerable progress. During this period, until March 1883, he drew up the plan of the book and wrote a substantial number of fragments and a few of the chapters—"Dialectics" (beginning of chapter), "Basic Forms of Motion", "The Measure of Motion.—Work", "Tidal Friction", "Heat" (not completed), and "Electricity". In the beginning of 1878 he also wrote an article, "Natural Science in the Spirit World", which he evidently first planned to publish separately in some journal and only later incorporated in *Dialectics of Nature*. And he included in the book his "Old Preface to *Anti-Dühring*. On Dialectics", dating to May-June 1878.

The "Old Preface", which contained a more or less complete account of the contemporary state of theoretical natural science, its relation to philosophy, and a compact history of the development of dialectical thinking, indeed belonged in the fabric of the book. In the sketch of his general plan, which he drew up in August 1878, the second point said: "Course of the theoretical development in Germany since Hegel (old preface). The return to dialectics takes place unconsciously, hence contradictory and slowly."[2]

The outline plan of 1878 covers all of Engels' book, though the material in *Dialectics of Nature*, gathered at intervals over a number of years, does not entirely coincide with all its points. However, the identity is there, and the structure of the manuscript accords with that of the plan: a) historical introduction, b) general questions of materialistic dialectics, c) classification of sciences, d) ideas about the dialectical content of science, e) examination of some of the methodological problems of natural science, and f) transition to social science.

Unfortunately, the book was not finished. Shortly before his death, Engels divided the articles and notes related to it into four folders, which he inscribed 1) "Dialectics and Natural Science", 2) "The Investigation of Nature and Dialectics", 3) "Dialectics of Nature", 4) "Mathematics and Natural Science. Miscellaneous".

Dialectics of Nature was published part by part after Engels' death. Two articles incorporated in the book appeared before 1925—

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 15.
[2] Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Moscow, 1972, p. 17.

"The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" (1896) and "Natural Science in the Spirit World" (1898)—while the rest of the material reposed in the archives of the German Social-Democrats. The book was published in full only in 1925 in the Soviet Union, in German and Russian.

Engels' biggest scientific feat was the elaboration in *Dialectics of Nature* of the teaching on the basic forms of the motion of matter, and his classification of sciences.

His interpretation of the forms of the motion of matter, from the lowest—mechanical motion—to the highest—thinking—was of course completely dependent on the level of knowledge attained in his time. This is why mechanics is conceived in the book as the motion of bodies in space, physics as the motion of molecules, chemistry as the motion of atoms, etc.

As the basis for his classification of sciences Engels employed the general principle of subordination inferred from the passage of the lower forms of the motion of matter to the higher forms, and the motion of knowledge from the particular to the general and the concrete to the abstract. The subsequent development of natural science necessitated substantive corrections in Engels' classification, but his scientific approach in the context of materialist dialectics has retained its validity to our time.

The examination of some of the forms of the motion of matter studied in mechanics, astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology is not meant to substitute for concrete research, but is completely bound to the analysis of concepts, investigation of their quality, origin and gnosiological meaning. Engels' skill in singling out in the content of concrete scientific fields those crucial problems whose solution requires dialectico-materialistic analysis, is still a model of the philosophico-scientific approach to the facts and values of concrete science. Engels stands before us as a theorist and methodologist of natural science. In each field, he shows, dialectical analysis of general concepts, theories and hypotheses is, alongside experiment and mathematical calculation, of fundamental significance.

Making a critical analysis of the concepts "force", "work", "polarity", of the fundamental concepts and methods of mathematics, the biological concept of "the struggle for existence", and others, Engels shows the real meaning of dialectical thought for his contemporary natural science. "Where it is a question of concepts," he points out, "dialectical thinking will carry us at least as far as mathematical calculation."[1]

Analysing the law of the conservation and transformation of energy, Engels accentuated the indestructibility of energy as a quantity and a quality, stressing that the specifically new element in this discovery was the absolute law that any form of motion can and

[1] Ibid., p. 87.

must change into any other form of motion, and cannot disappear completely.

From this dialectical angle Engels examined other aspects of natural science: the origin and development of the solar system in astronomy, atomistics and the periodic law of elements in chemistry, and the origin and essence of life in biology.

In so doing, he expressed the remarkable thought about the complexity, discreteness and inexhaustibility of atoms: "Atoms ... are in no wise regarded as simple, or in general as the smallest known particles of matter."[1] He anticipated the existence of particles, analogues of the infinitely small mathematical magnitudes of different orders. And the modern science of the structure of matter has confirmed Engels' view.

He supported and propagated advanced theories. Particularly, he was captivated by the scientific exploit of Dmitry Mendeleyev, who discovered the periodic law of the atomic weights of elements.

Engels' analysis of the peculiarities of mathematical abstractions, his definition of the subject of mathematics and its role in cognition are of the utmost methodological value. He saw not only the objective origin of the fundamental concepts of mathematics, but also the objective origin of the methods of mathematical research. In particular, he examined the prototypes of mathematical infinites in the real world and the analogy between differentiation and integration in mathematics and in nature.

Special significance in the book attaches to the article, "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", based on the labour theory of anthropogenesis. Engels showed the part played by labour, by the manufacture of implements, in developing man, his faculties, in forming human society, explaining how, as the result of a long historical process, a thinking, creating and entirely different being evolved from its ape-like ancestor.

Until the mid-19th century, natural science and philosophy as a rule entirely overlooked the influence of men's activity on their thought. As Engels put it, both knew only nature, on the one hand, and thought, on the other. "But it is precisely *the alteration of nature by men*, not solely nature as such," he wrote, "which is the most essential and immediate basis of human thought, and it is in the measure that man has learned to change nature that his intelligence has increased."[2]

The central problem posed and resolved by Engels in *Dialectics of Nature* is that of the inter-relationship of philosophy and natural science, and he produced a profound and exhaustive substantiation of the positive part played by dialectico-philosophical thought in the development of natural science.

[1] Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 270.
[2] Ibid., p. 231.

While official bourgeois philosophy degenerated and shallow empiricism and ideological confusion reigned among bourgeois natural scientists, Engels proved the significance for science of the materialist world outlook and dialectical thinking.

In all his notes and fragments on the history of knowledge he showed the positive impact on natural science of past progressive philosophical doctrines and hypotheses, including the ancient philosophy of nature, the philosophy of the Renaissance, the 17th- and 18-th century materialism, German classical philosophy and the 18th- and early 19th-century philosophy of nature. The foremost philosophy of an epoch, stemming in content from particular fields of knowledge and existing social practices, Engels showed, is not only the ideological basis of the contemporary theoretical thinking, but also often outdistances the concrete fields of science and anticipates future discoveries.

Demonstrating the significance of philosophy as the science of theoretical thought, Engels emphasised its historical character, showing that with each new epoch, each great discovery, it altered its content and form. The development of scientific knowledge, he showed, is at once the objective making of materialist dialectics, which natural science requires by virtue of its objective content. "In every epoch, and therefore also in ours," he wrote, "theoretical thought is a historical product, which at different times assumes very different forms, and therewith, very different contents.... It is precisely dialectics that constitutes the most important form of thinking for present-day natural science, for it alone offers the analogue for, and thereby the method of explaining, the evolutionary processes occurring in nature, interconnections in general, and transitions from one field of investigation to another."[1]

Engels shows the objective content of dialectics as a science of the universal connections, the most general laws of all motion, the laws of development of nature, society and human thinking. He distinguishes the objective dialectics of the real world from its reflection—the subjective dialectics of thinking—and stresses the significance of subjective dialectics as dialectical logic and the theory of knowledge. He defines the three main laws of dialectics: the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, the law of the interpenetration of opposites, and the law of the negation of the negation.

Dialectics of Nature makes a comprehensive study of such problems and categories of dialectics as causality and reciprocal action, necessity and chance, classification of judgments, the relation of induction and deduction, and the part played by hypothesis in advancing natural science.

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 392.

Rejecting the speculative, a priori constructions of the old philosophy of nature with regard to yet unknown connections in nature, Engels proves the validity of rational philosophical hypotheses relating to laws of nature that cannot yet be explored by direct experiment. In the history of science he finds striking examples of how philosophy by its assumptions and conclusions anticipated concrete natural science and set it new tasks.

Apart from the remarkable assumptions of the ancient philosophers, Engels referred to the philosophical hypotheses of Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, Kant, and other thinkers. He stressed, among other things, that modern natural science has no choice but to borrow from philosophy the postulates on the indestructibility of motion, the atomistic structure of matter, and others.

Elucidating these facts, Engels showed that along with precise experimental material, natural science is frequently compelled to operate with incompletely known concepts and magnitudes. And he added: "Consistency of thought must at all times help to get over defective knowledge."[1]

In *Dialectics of Nature* he also developed a general conception of the laws and regularities of scientific progress, and its prospects. Since man is changing nature with the help of natural science and industry, compelling it to serve his aims and acquiring power over it, he pointed out, scientific progress provides him with the ever increasing ability to foresee and forestall the more remote natural and social consequences of his activity. All the hitherto existing modes of production aimed at the most immediate and directly useful effects of labour, and were unable fully to regulate its consequences. "This regulation," Engels wrote, "requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order."[2]

The development of science in the succeeding decades left far behind many of the concrete conceptions of classical natural science analysed by Engels. But the significance of his *Dialectics of Nature* is still tremendous, for it contains an inexhaustible wealth of philosophical and natural-science ideas.

[1] Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 36.
[2] Ibid., p. 182.

Chapter Eleven

THE LAST YEARS WITH MARX

> Wherever we look in Europe, the working-class movement is progressing, not only favourably but rapidly, and what is more, everywhere in the same spirit. Complete harmony is restored, and with it constant and regular intercourse, in one way or another, between the workmen of the different countries.
>
> *Frederick Engels*

SPOKESMAN FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

No matter how occupied Engels was with his many scientific pursuits, he was also actively involved in all the battles of the international working class. Though in the latter seventies and early eighties he and Marx devoted their attention mainly to Germany, they never allowed the activity of socialists of other countries to escape their field of vision. "We belong to the German party hardly more than to the French, American, or Russian," Engels wrote, "... and we attach value to this special standing as spokesmen of *international* socialism."[1]

Under the influence of the International independent proletarian parties were springing up everywhere in Europe. Towards the end of the seventies socialist parties were formed in Austria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, and Portugal. Then the Socialist Labour Party of North America came into being, formed from the local sections of the IWA, and somewhat later there appeared the General Workers' Party of Hungary, the Social-Democratic Union in the Netherlands, and the Workers' Party in Northern Italy.

Not all of them at once adopted the platform of scientific communism in full. Not all quickly acquired influence. But that they existed at all stood for tremendous progress. And, naturally, their leaders turned for aid to Marx and Engels, the recognised leaders of the international working-class movement.

Due to Marx's chronic, progressing, and sometimes quite ominous illness, Engels assumed an ever bigger portion of the practical work.

Apart from the German Social-Democrats, the French socialists, and leaders of the workers' movement and socialists in Britain, Engels also had more or less regular contacts with socialist parties and organisations in many other European countries, and in the United States.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 442.

He was in close touch with socialists in Italy, Spain and Portugal, his relationship with them dating to the time when he was the General Council's corresponding secretary for these countries. He continued to correspond with Enrico Bignami, and in 1877 renewed his collaboration with Bignami's *Plebe*, and also corresponded with Osvaldo Gnocchi-Viani, one of the founders of the Italian socialist movement. As before, he was on friendly terms with José Mesa and Pablo Iglesias, formerly active members of the IWA in Spain and veterans of the battle against Bakuninism. In fact, Mesa visited him in London in the summer of 1875. The Portuguese socialists, too, notably Eudóxio Gneco, editor of *O Protesto*, the socialist weekly in Lisbon, were among his regular correspondents.

Information about the state of affairs in Switzerland came regularly from Engels' old friend, Johann Becker, who also facilitated contacts with socialists of other countries.

Leo Frankel, a Paris Commune veteran, acted as an intermediary in contacting workers' and socialist organisations in Hungary. And in the early 1880s Engels began corresponding with the young Vienna journalist, Karl Kautsky, who supplied information about the socialist and working-class movement in Austria.

Engels and Marx influenced the socialist organisations in the United States through letters to Friedrich Sorge. From him they received the American socialist press and information about the local labour and socialist organisations. A few other former members of the International who had emigrated to the U.S.A., were among Engels' American correspondents, notably Joseph Patrick MacDonnell, who in 1878 as editor of the New York socialist weekly, *Labor Standard*, invited Engels to contribute to it.

In 1874-75 Engels also corresponded with Adolph Wegmann, a German socialist emigrant in Rio de Janeiro, who informed him of the condition of the Brazilian workers and their struggle.

The press was another important source of information. In the seventies and early eighties there were labour newspapers in most countries: Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Austria, Belgium, the United States, etc. The Russian and Polish revolutionary emigrants also had their own periodicals. And Engels was familiar with all of them; many were sent to him regularly by his friends.

Chiefly due to his illness and the tension of working on *Capital*, Marx could not contribute to the workers' press as extensively as before. So the mission fell mainly to Engels. "As a consequence of the division of labour that existed between Marx and myself," Engels later recalled, "it fell to me to present our opinions in the periodical press ... in order that Marx should have time for the elaboration of his great basic work."[1]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 297.

Engels' articles appeared in the German, French, Italian, English and American labour press. In the past, even at the time of the International, Marx and Engels had often had to rely on progressive bourgeois publications to print their works and statements. Now, this was no longer necessary: numerous newspapers were at their disposal, read chiefly by advanced workers and intellectuals.

Engels' articles of the late seventies show how well acquainted he was with the international working-class movement. One series, "The Working Men of Europe in 1877", published in the American *Labor Standard* in March 1878, contained a remarkably accurate analysis of the revolutionary movement in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, and Russia. None but a man in close touch with workers' and socialist organisations, abreast of all the important events, could produce this exhaustive survey of the struggle of the European proletariat.

From his analysis Engels drew the conclusion that the few years since the dissolution of the International Working Men's Association left no doubt as to the deep impact it had made on the working-class movement, showing that the decisions of the Hague Congress had been entirely correct. The harm and fallacy of the anarchist doctrine of negating political action was now indisputable. Anarchist organisations had lost prestige, while many proletarian parties made their appearance. "Now the Belgian workmen, like those of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Hungary, Austria and part of Italy," Engels wrote, "are forming themselves into a political party ... aiming at the conquest of their emancipation by whatever political action the situation may require."[1]

Despite the absence of a formal organisation like the International, Engels noted, the bonds between the embattled proletariat in different countries had grown more solid and varied. In one of the articles he wrote: "Not only has the work of the great proletarian organisation been fully accomplished ... it continues to live itself, more powerful than ever, in the far stronger bond of union and solidarity, in the community of action and policy which now animates the working class of all Europe, and which is emphatically its own and its grandest work."[2]

In the latter half of the 1870s, the anarchists attempted to revive the International and put themselves at its head. This disturbed Engels. He prevented working-class organisations from taking part in the international congress the anarchists convened in 1876. In 1877 another international congress was held in Ghent, which voted down the resolutions drafted by anarchist delegates and adopted a decision emphasising the need for proletarian political parties and their political action.

[1] *Labor Standard*, March 17, 1878.
[2] Ibid., March 10, 1878.

All the same, even after the 1881 international congress in the Swiss town of Chur which the anarchists did not attend, Engels held that the situation was not yet ripe for reviving the International. When Johann Becker broached the subject in the beginning of 1882, he explained that it was premature until Marxism would gain a more dependable footing. Besides, he wrote, "the International actually continues to *exist*. There *is* connection between the revolutionary workers in all countries, as far as that is feasible. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milano threads run in all directions and cross and recross one another."[1]

BATTLE AGAINST THE ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW

Towards the end of the 1870s policy in the German Reich shifted visibly to the right. The bloc of Junker agrarians and big capitalists, whose interests the Bismarck government represented, wanted a bigger share in the scrimmage for foreign markets. Protective tariffs, colonial conquests and expansion were the main tools, entailing higher direct and indirect taxes and consequently a deterioration of the people's life. Bismarck, who had earlier leaned chiefly on the National-Liberals, now wooed the extreme Right. With the latter's aid he hoped to buttress his militarist regime, intimidate the liberal opposition and suppress the working-class and socialist movement.

Naturally, he aimed his blow at the Socialist Workers' Party, whose impressive progress was striking fear into the ruling class. In 1877 the party had at least 32,000 active members, was publishing more than 40 periodicals, wielded considerable influence, and in the January elections to the Reichstag polled nearly half a million votes, seating 12 deputies.

To suppress the socialist working-class movement Bismarck invoked draconian legislation, using the successive attempts on the life of Kaiser Wilhelm I on May 11 and June 2, 1878, as a pretext. Though the socialist party had no relation to these terrorist acts, the reactionaries placed the blame for them at its door. Capitalising on the philistine's fear of the "red danger", the government dissolved the Reichstag and held new elections, in which the conservatives won a larger number of seats. Bismarck prevailed on the National-Liberals to support his police tactics, and on October 19, 1878, by 221 to 149 votes the Reichstag passed the Exceptional Law Against the Socially Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, to be enforced for three years. Prolonged several times after expiry of this term, it remained in force until September 1890.

[1] Marx and Engles, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 349.

Socialist organisations and workers' unions, and publications, meetings and campaigns in any way connected with the propagation of socialist ideas, were banned. The authorities were empowered to proclaim a "lesser state of siege" in towns and localities. Assemblies of every kind required police permission, dissemination of printed matter in public places was prohibited, politically unreliable persons and their families could be transported, etc.

It was a grim time for German Social-Democracy. Would the proletarian party show the required tenacity and stamina? Would its leaders find the right tactics, and new forms of revolutionary activity? Its ability to act as the vanguard of the German workers depended on this, and so did its international prestige, won in hard battles over the preceding years.

Engels appreciated the difficulties. He and Marx did their utmost to help the party leaders face up to rampant reaction. Letters from London to Germany contained advice and fortified the courage of the German Social-Democrats. Besides, Engels helped the German comrades financially, since many of them were deprived of a livelihood.

The workers were firmly resolved to carry on the struggle despite the police persecutions. "The socialist movement," Engels wrote in March 1879, "cannot be gagged. On the contrary, the Anti-Socialist Law ... will complete the revolutionary education of the German workers."[1] The party's rank and file displayed extraordinary self-control. In place of the party branches disbanded by the authorities, they formed new underground organisations, arranging for contacts and propaganda, and making skilful use of the few remaining opportunities for legal activity. A year after the law had come into force, Engels extolled the admirable conduct of the German workers.[2]

But the revival of the movement did not come about at once. At first, the party leadership was confused and unable to provide the rank and file with the correct orientation. When the anti-socialist bill was still before the Reichstag, the Central Election Committee in Hamburg, which was the party's acting governing body at the time, announced its own dissolution despite Bebel's vehement objections, and also called for the dissolution of local party branches. This reflected the mood of the Right-opportunist element, which favoured wait-and-see tactics. Many of the Lassalleans in the unified party had retained views alien to the workers. Besides, many people of a non-proletarian background, with petty-bourgeois ideas and aspirations, had joined the Social-Democrats simply because the latter were the party of radical opposition to the Bismarck government.

The Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag did not live up to its mission either. It had no definite line of behaviour; in some

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 148.
[2] See Ibid., Bd. 34, S. 430.

matters its members were allowed to act at their own discretion. As a result, some of their statements in the Reichstag were clearly opportunist. Engels was outraged. He denounced Max Kayser's support of protective tariffs, described his posture as a blot on the honour of the workers' party and in a succession of letters to Bebel explained how the Social-Democratic deputies should behave in debates concerning purely bourgeois undertakings. The main principle, he stressed, should be "not to condone anything strengthening the government's power over the people".[1] He gave his wholehearted backing to Karl Hirsch, who had attacked Kayser's opportunist line in the *Laterne*, a newspaper he was putting out in Brussels, and patiently argued in Hirsch's favour with Bebel, who reacted over-sensitively to the criticism. "Whatever impression Hirsch's attacks on Kayser may have created among the deputies," Engels wrote to Bebel on November 14, 1879, "they reflect the impression which Kayser's irresponsible conduct made on the German, as well as non-German, Social-Democrats abroad. It is high time to agree that one must keep the party's reputation untarnished not only in one's own four walls, but also in Europe and America."[2]

Even the leaders of the party's proletarian revolutionary wing—Bebel, Liebknecht, August Geib, and others—inclined towards conciliation with the Right opportunists. Liebknecht was prone to underestimate the dangers of reformism; more, his own utterances were sometimes out of tune with the revolutionary line. On March 17, 1879, for example, he said in the Reichstag that being a party of reforms and having renounced the idea of "violent" revolution as senseless, the Socialist Workers' Party would not violate the Anti-Socialist Law.

His speech drew sharp criticism from Engels. "It is quite understandable," the latter wrote to Johann Becker on July 1, 1879, "that Liebknecht's untimely meekness in the Reichstag should have created a very unfavourable impression in Latin Europe as well as among Germans everywhere. And we expressed this immediately in our letter."[3] He amplified: "No matter how the present state of affairs may end, the new movement begins on a more or less revolutionary basis and must therefore be much more resolute in character than the first period of the movement, now past. The phrase about the peaceable attainment of the goal will either no longer be necessary or anyhow will not be taken seriously any longer."[4]

Engels was also critical of the "Report of the Social-Democratic Members of the German Reichstag", made public in October 1879. He called Bebel's attention to its "concessions to the German philistine", to the "kowtowing to 'public opinion' which in Germany will always be that of the beerhouse philistine", to the obliteration of the Social-Democratic movement's class character, and the "entirely unnecessary self-debasement of the party deputies before the philistines".[1]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 424.
[2] Ibid., S. 419.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 320.
[4] Ibid., p. 321.

With Right-opportunist elements gaining a stronger foothold, anarchist sectarian sentiments revived. Johann Most, a former worker who was now a professional writer, was their main bearer. Expelled from Berlin with other Social-Democrats at the end of 1878, he went to London and became editor of the *Freiheit*, the newspaper of the German Workers' Communist Educational Society. Started in January 1879, the paper soon became a vehicle of ultra-Left, semi-anarchist views. It opposed all legal activity—participation in elections, use of the parliamentary rostrum, and the like, and called for clashes with the authorities, for terrorism.

Engels urged the party leaders to take resolute action against the "Left". Most's pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric, he said, had nothing in common with true proletarian revolutionism. "*Freiheit* is labouring to bacome the most revolutionary newspaper in the world," Engels wrote. "But repeating the word 'revolution' in every line will get it nowhere."[2] He denounced Most's public statements against the Socialist Workers' Party leadership.

"CIRCULAR LETTER"

Marx and Engels attached paramount importance to the press in reviving and reorganising the party's work after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law. With party newspapers outlawed in Germany, they advised Liebknecht to set up an underground paper abroad, and assisted in determining its political orientation and selecting its editors.

Throughout July-September 1879 they kept in close touch with the German Social-Democrats, discussing the preliminaries for the founding of a paper in Zurich—the *Sozialdemokrat*—and welcomed the intention of appointing Hirsch as editor. It developed, however, that there would be a committee of observers, in effect an administrative body, in addition to the Leipzig editorial board. It would have its seat in Zurich, and would consist of Karl Höchberg, Karl August Schramm and Eduard Bernstein. This Marx and Engels considered unacceptable. They knew Höchberg, editor of the journal *Zukunft* in 1877-78, as a social-reformist, a bourgeois who, as Marx put it, "is buying himself into the Party and wants to remake it to suit his own ideas".[3] And as for Bernstein and Schramm, they had been enthusiastic admirers of Eugen Dühring. In a letter to Bebel on August

[1] Ibid., p. 329.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 440.
[3] Ibid., S. 65.

4, 1879, Engels stated explicitly on his own and Marx's behalf that both of them would have nothing to do with the paper if it was controlled by "social-*philanthropist*" Höchberg.[1] He praised Hirsch's refusal to be editor on these terms, writing: "Our consent to collaborate applied to a real party organ, and therefore concerns only such an organ, not Herr Höchberg's personal paper disguised as a party organ. We shall certainly not collaborate with it."[2]

It was soon clear that Marx and Engels were right. In the beginning of September 1879, the first issue of the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, a journal that Höchberg was putting out in Zurich in place of the banned *Zukunft*, published an article, "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect", which was virtually a manifesto of the Right-opportunist elements. Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm berated the Social-Democratic Party for being a "one-sided workers' party" and for earning the disfavour of the bourgeoisie by defending the Paris Commune. They blamed its "lack of moderation" for the Anti-Socialist Law, and proposed that it should renounce revolutionary methods and aims, use legal methods only, and plead with the government for specific reforms. Decrying the party's proletarian character, the "Three Zurichers" wanted the Social-Democrats to cease their attacks on the bourgeoisie and to open up the party to bourgeois elements. More, they suggested that in view of the workers' lack of education, bourgeois intellectuals should occupy the top party posts.

Deeply angered, Marx and Engels could not pass over this "manifesto" in silence. "Here is where indulgence ends,"[3] Engels wrote. He did not mince words with Höchberg, who visited London in mid-September. "I explained to him," he informed Johann Becker, "that it would not enter our heads to drop the proletarian banner that we have held aloft for nearly 40 years any more than to make common cause with the petty-bourgeois brotherhood fuddle, which we have likewise been fighting for nearly 40 years. Briefly, now he knows where he stands with us and why we cannot go along with him and his like."[4]

Marx and Engels made the ultimative demand that opportunists should be denied control over the party's newspaper. On September 17-18, 1879, Engels wrote an official letter to the Leipzig members of the *Sozialdemokrat*'s editorial board—Bebel, Liebknecht, Fritzsche, Geiser and Hasenclever. It was also addressed to Bracke, a Social-Democrat in the Reichstag. On Marx's return from Ramsgate, where he had been recuperating for nearly a month, Engels discussed the letter with him, and mailed it to Leipzig with both their signatures.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 386.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., S. 392.
[4] Ibid., S. 393.

Known as the "Circular Letter", it is one of Marx's and Engels' most important criticisms of Right opportunism. "It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie," it says, "who are here making themselves heard, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may 'go too far'. Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against government and bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill-treatment from above, humble submission and confession that the punishment was deserved."[1]

The letter bared the ideological and class roots of opportunism. "It is an inevitable phenomenon," it said, "rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling classes should also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements."[2] However, along with enlightenment, these people of non-proletarian origin also introduce elements of non-proletarian ideology. Clearly and convincingly, the "Circular Letter" showed the necessity for a consistently proletarian line and defined the revolutionary party position with unassailable logic. "As for ourselves," Marx and Engels wrote, "in view of our whole past there is only one road open to us. For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to cooperate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement."[3]

The "Circular Letter" had the desired effect. On October 23, 1879, Bebel wrote to Engels: "I have read it [the article "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect"] and appreciate your indignation. To say nothing of the howlers in principle, it is a didactic piece of writing worse than which I have never set my eyes on."[4] "I am at my wit's end over the article in Richter's *Jahrbuch*,[5]" Bracke wrote. "*This* is what you call undermining the party's foundation, endangering its *existence*."[6] The party leaders scrapped the idea of inviting Höchberg and his friends to help put out the central organ.

The trial issue of the *Sozialdemokrat* appeared in Zurich on September 28, 1879. Its editor-in-chief was Georg Vollmar, and Bebel, Liebknecht and Fritzsche were members of its editorial board.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 325.
[2] Ibid., p. 326.
[3] Ibid., p. 327.
[4] August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1961, S. 657.
[5] The reference is to the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*—social-reformist journal published in Zurich in 1879-81 by Karl Höchberg (under the pen-name Ludwig Richter); three issues appeared in all.
[6] Marx, Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke (1869-1880)*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, S. 208.

The choice of the editor-in-chief was not of the best. Though in a letter to Engels (October 23, 1879) Vollmar promised to abide by the spirit of the "Circular Letter", he failed to steer a consistently revolutionary line, was prone to opportunist deviations and not firm enough in combating Rightist sentiment.

Marx and Engels reacted vigorously to the paper's mistakes. Engels insisted that Bebel straighten its line and deny the Right opportunists the chance of expounding their views in it.

Marx's and Engels' criticism and the influence of the rank and file helped the party leaders to hammer out the correct tactics in face of the Anti-Socialist Law. "The German movement," Engels wrote on this score, "is distinguished by the fact that the leadership's mistakes are invariably corrected by the masses."[1] Steps were taken to build an underground organisation and unfold clandestine activity. An important part in this was played by a group of party activists who disseminated the *Sozialdemokrat*: illegal but regular delivery of the paper to Germany despite police roadblocks and reprisals was incontestable evidence that the party was alive and active.

The party congress in Wyden, Switzerland, August 20-23, 1880, was an important milestone, showing that the period of uncertainty had ended: the main accent was on combating departures from the revolutionary course. The anarchist leaders Most and Hasselmann were expelled, and the programme of the Gotha Congress was amended in the teeth of Right-opportunist resistance. The word "lawful" was deleted in the clause saying that the party strove for its aims by "all lawful means". This was a call to combine legal and underground methods.

The mutual understanding between the "grand old men" in London and the German Social-Democratic leaders, forged largely by Engels, was sealed by Marx's and Engels' personal meeting with August Bebel in December 1880.

Marx and Engels were full of admiration for Bebel's revolutionary work since the mid-sixties. Engels regarded him as one of the best speakers in Germany. His gift as organiser, his fighting spirit, his ability in leading the masses and learning from them, served the party in good stead during the time of the Anti-Socialist Law. Gaining the support of the foremost party members, he succeeded in reviving the party branches, and the Central Aid Committee which he formed in November 1878 ultimately became the party's clandestine headquarters.

On December 9, 1880, Bebel came to London to discuss Vollmar's replacement as *Sozialdemokrat's* editor-in-chief. He was accompanied by Bernstein, who had then disavowed his reformist views under the influence of Marx's and Engels' criticism. Hirsch, too, was in London, and Paul Singer, another prominent Socialist Workers' Party leader,

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 442.

was to come as well. This was a favourable opportunity for settling some of the more pressing party business.

"On our arrival in London," Bebel recalled, "we first went to see Engels.... He gave us a friendly reception and was at once on familiar terms with me. So was Marx, whom we visited in the afternoon. Engels ... invited me to live with him and the time of my stay was naturally used for a thorough exchange of opinion on all subjects."[1]

During the visitors' week in London Engels gladly acted as their guide. Though sixty, he was young in spirit, always amiable and cheerful. Bebel carried away many happy memories.

Vollmar was replaced as editor of the *Sozialdemokrat* by Bernstein. And on February 2, 1881, Engels observed in a letter to Bernstein that "the five issues of the *Sozialdemokrat* since New Year's show substantial progress.... It has become a lively paper conscious of its purpose; if it carries on in the same way it will no longer pacify the spirit, but will rather be an encouragement for people in Germany".[2]

Engels could now influence the *Sozialdemokrat*—its orientation and the nature of its articles. Bernstein heeded his opinions, his advice, and quickly corrected whatever mistakes he pointed out.

In letters to Bernstein, Engels reviewed a few of the issues, praising some articles and giving his friendly criticism of others. His ideas were reflected in the paper, in its editorials and articles. He supplied Bernstein with information about the working-class movement in other countries and about international affairs. Under his direct influence the *Sozialdemokrat* gradually became a militant revolutionary newspaper.

But even after the change of editors, Engels did not at once consent to contribute to the *Sozialdemokrat*. The party leaders had made statements that put Marx and Engels on their guard, and they wished to see their criticism taking effect before associating their names with the newspaper. Not until he convinced himself that the revolutionary course had prevailed did Engels begin to write for it. This was in December 1881. And ever since, as long as the paper existed, he was its regular contributor, attentive reader, and severe but well-meaning critic.

THE FOUNDING OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY

The suppression of the Paris Commune and subsequent demolition of the French sections of the International dealt a staggering blow to the working-class movement in France. For a time, the workers' capacity for action was all but paralysed. Several years after the Commune, Marx and Engels had not yet restored direct ties with the French labour leaders.

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 215.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 153.

Yet the developments in the country's working-class and revolutionary movement were for Engels always an object of the greatest interest. In June 1874, in one of the *Volksstaat* articles of the "Flüchtlingsliteratur" series, he examined the programme published by a London group of Blanquist Commune refugees and former IWA General Council members, notably Edouard Vaillant. The points raised in it were relevant for the workers' political activity in any country, and Engels set out to give a critical analysis of the Blanquists' views. His ideas proved important not only for socialism in France, but also for proletarian parties rising elsewhere in Europe. He disparaged the Blanquists' voluntarist notion that revolution is made by a relatively small minority according to a plan, and that the revolution may "soon begin."[1] He also showed the fallacy of renouncing all compromises in the revolutionary struggle and of rejecting the need for "intermediate stations" on the plea that they "put off the victory". The Blanquists "imagine that as soon as *they* have only the good will to jump over intermediate stations and compromises everything is assured," he wrote, "and if, as they firmly believe, it 'begins' in a day or two, and they take the helm, 'communism will be introduced' on the day after tomorrow.... What childish naïveté to advance impatience as a convincing theoretical argument!"[2]

Engels countered the Blanquists with the scientifically grounded views of the Communists who "through all intermediate stations and compromises, created not by them but by historical development, ... clearly perceive the ultimate aim: the abolition of classes, the inauguration of a society in which there will be no private ownership of land and means of production."[3]

He focused on a new tendency in the French working-class movement. Though the Blanquists had in effect tendered no practical proposals before the Paris Commune concerning the rearrangement of society, they now declared themselves as proponents of a socialist programme coinciding in the main points with the *Communist Manifesto*[4]. Engels regarded this as evidence that the Blanquist-oriented workers had begun to accept scientific communism.[5] The new tendency is summed up in his well-known phrase: "...The Commune was the grave of the *old*, specifically French socialism, but also the cradle of the international communism, which was new for France."[6]

The French workers' militant revolutionary traditions Engels cited as a model for the international working-class movement. In his article, "The Working Men of Europe in 1877", he outlined the

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 381.
[2] Ibid., p. 385.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 384.
[5] See Ibid., p. 386.
[6] Marx. Engels. *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 227-28.

history of the French workers' struggles for emancipation and stressed their revolutionary potential.

Only a few years after the Commune, in 1877, Engels pointed out proudly, the French workers proclaimed the maintenance of the Republic to be their chief immediate objective, which was largely instrumental in frustrating a reactionary conspiracy to restore the monarchy. He described this as proof "of the high instinctive political intelligence of the French working class".[1]

For the workers, as Engels saw it, it was important to preserve the republican system. "...However contemptible the present Republican government of France may be," he wrote, "the final establishment of the Republic has at last given the French working men the ground upon which they can organise themselves as an independent political party, and fight their future battles, not for the benefit of others, but for their own."[2]

In France the 1870s saw a rapid expansion of industry and the consequent decline of small-scale production. The numbers of the industrial proletariat grew, with craftsmen and peasants accounting for most of the influx. The dissimilar social background of the factory workers determined the degree of their theoretical development. The remnants of pre-Marxian socialism, principally Proudhonism, still dominated in the movement. The petty-bourgeois outlook of the cooperativists and anarchists was fairly influential, and the Blanquists, too, had a substantial following. The workers' thirst for unity materialised mainly in the founding of trade unions and cooperative societies, which engaged in purely economic matters and rejected all violent action, including strikes.

However, socialist propaganda, associated chiefly with the name of Jules Guesde, was renewed. A group of socialists acquainted with the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, founded a newspaper, *Égalité*, in Paris in November 1877. It soon became a vehicle of Marxist ideas, and its editors asked Marx and Engels for contributions, also requesting their help in founding a revolutionary socialist party.

The results were soon felt. By the end of the 1870s, groups of revolutionary socialists were formed in the industrial centres, and in the summer of 1879 Engels was able to inform the German Social-Democrats that Marx and he had direct contact with Paris and that "generally speaking, the ties knitted at the time of the International have not become undone".[3]

Substantially, they owed this to Lafargue. His stay in London, where he associated with Marx and Engels every day and participated under their guidance in the ideological battles of the IWA, had had a decisive effect on his outlook. He developed into a prominent

[1] *Labor Standard*, March 24, 1878.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 381.

leader of the socialist movement, a resourceful and gifted propagandist of Marxism. Through him the contacts between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and the socialists in France, chiefly Jules Guesde, on the other, were kept alive. In letters to Guesde, Lafargue ranged far afield, touching on problems of the international and French workers' movement—the necessity of combining the workers' struggle for the ultimate aims with the struggle for the daily demands, the socialists' place in the trade unions and cooperatives, etc. In many cases he presented not only his own opinion, but also that of Marx and Engels. "Marx and I," Engels recalled later, "have now and then given Guesde advice through Lafargue."[1]

Thanks to their contacts with Guesde and other *Égalité* editors, Marx and Engels gave the French socialists practical aid in propagating scientific communism and, more important, in elaborating the theoretical foundation of the burgeoning Workers' Party.

In October 1879 a congress of workers' organisations in Marseilles proclaimed itself a Socialist Workers' Congress, with most delegates voting for the principle of public ownership of all instruments of labour and means of production. The congress resolved to found an independent workers' party and instructed Guesde to draft a programme that would also be its platform in the next Chamber of Deputies election.

But the new party's theoretical views were still immature and unclear on such crucial aspects of theory as the revolution, the state, role of the party, and the like. A kind of "indefinite socialism", Engels remarked, still reigned among the workers, one that "has in the course of time distilled from the ideas of Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, etc."[2] Engels ascribed this mainly to the absence of genuinely scientific socialist literature in France. The French edition of *Capital*, he said, was still "a book behind seven seals".[3] The cardinal objective was to acquaint socialists with the basic Marxist postulates.

Engels displayed a selfless willingness to help. In the spring of 1880 at Lafargue's request he arranged three chapters of *Anti-Dühring* (Chapter I of "Introduction" and chapters I and II of Part III) into a work in its own right, which appeared in the Paris journal *Revue socialiste* in March-May under the title: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*.

By and large, the *Anti-Dühring* texts were unaltered, and only to the chapters of Part III Engels made a few additions "to render", Lafargue said, "the dialectical movement of the economic forces of capitalist production more intelligible to the French reader"[4].

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, 232.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 36, S. 378.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Engels, *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*, Avant-propos par Paul Lafargue, Paris, 1880, p. 5.

That year the pamphlet appeared in France under separate cover, and later it was brought out under the present title: *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. At Engels' request Marx wrote an introduction to it, in which he gave the highlights of the biography of Engels, "one of the most eminent representatives of contemporary socialism".[1]

The pamphlet was later translated into many European languages and played a conspicuous part in the propagation of Marxist ideas. And as Lafargue noted, it exerted a strong influence on the theoretical development of the French socialist movement.[2]

Lauding the *Égalité* for its good work, Engels helped it expand its international ties. Marx, Engels and Lafargue solicited contributions for it from Bebel, Liebknecht, Mesa, De Paepe, and other prominent European socialists. When Lafargue went back to France in April 1882, he became one of its editors.

In March 1880, the *Égalité* published two articles by Engels against Bonapartist social demagogy: "Herr Bismarck's Socialism". His skilful presentation of the facts showed the essential identity of the Bismarckian and Bonapartist regimes. He argued against those socialists who advocated state socialism and trusted that eventually the capitalist state would enact socialist reforms.

In the beginning of May 1880, Guesde came to London to seek Marx's and Engels' aid in drafting a party programme. This was the first time he met the two friends and Lafargue in the flesh. The meeting was in Engels' home, and Marx immediately dictated to him the preamble, defining the historic mission of the working class and the functions of its political organisations. Engels described it later as "a masterpiece of cogent argumentation rarely encountered and couched in a few clear words for the masses; I myself was astonished by this concise formulation. The rest of the programme's contents was then discussed; here and there we put something in or took something out".[3] The preamble, as dictated by Marx, he said, amounted to a communist substantiation of the purposes of the Workers' Party.[4]

A clear majority at the Havre Congress in October 1880 adopted the programme, thus equipping the party with a solid theoretical instrument. But there also resounded voices against it (even before the Havre Congress); some socialists wished to blend postulates of scientific communism with pre-Marxian socialism. After the congress the battle against the programme became still more acute. The reformist wing, represented in the party's leadership by Benoît Malon and Paul Brousse, countered scientific socialism with their own "integral socialism", a mishmash of Proudhonism, Lassalleanism, "true socialism", neo-Kantianism, and so forth. In 1881, Brousse set

[1] Ibid.
[2] See Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1959, p. 297; Vol. 3, Moscow, 1963, p. 335.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 344.
[4] Ibid., p. 352.

forth the platform of the reformist elements, renouncing revolutionary reconstruction and advancing the aim of "transforming the form of ownership" in the bourgeois state, i.e., placing some of the industries under local self-administration. This he styled as municipal socialism. For reformists their policy was a "policy of possibilities" (*politique des possibilités*), that is, of objectives feasible in existing conditions. Its supporters became known as Possibilists.

Engels showed the essential difference between the Left and Right in the Workers' Party. "The issue is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted *as a class struggle* of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie," he wrote, "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, is everywhere to be dropped."[1] He warned specifically against the Possibilists' plan of opening up the party to petty-bourgeois elements, which would inevitably alter its proletarian character.[2]

Marx's and Engels' feelings were with the revolutionary wing. "All our sympathy," Engels wrote, "is of course on the side of Guesde and his friends."[3]

The inevitable split came at the party congress in St. Etienne in September 1882. Two parties resulted—a revolutionary one (the Guesdists), which retained the original name, and the opportunist (Possibilists). Unlike the Guesdists, who declared their allegiance to the 1880 Marxist programme, the Possibilists rejected it and, moreover, declared the local organisations completely autonomous in programme matters.

Engels defended the Guesdists before the international socialist movement, for some of the European socialist leaders, primarily the Germans, the vanguard of the international movement, did not see the fundamental issues at stake and misunderstood the reasons for the split. What was worse, the *Sozialdemokrat* editors sided publicly with the Possibilists.

In letters to Bebel, Bernstein and others, Engels exposed the opportunism of the Possibilists and explained the reasons for the clash in the French party. He wanted the comrades in Germany to know the situation as it really was.

He portrayed the social and political image of the Possibilists and their kinship with the reformist currents in the working-class and socialist movements of other countries. The Possibilists' reformism, he pointed out, was in substance identical to the trade-unionist reformism in Britain and that of the Right opportunists in the German Social-Democratic movement. All of them, he showed, aspired in effect to merely improving capitalism by reforms, keeping intact the pillars of the existing system.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 354.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 238-39, 335-36.
[3] Ibid., S. 257.

It took some effort to correct the *Sozialdemokrat*'s attitude towards the French socialists. But Engels was finally successful: the paper changed its tone, switching its support to the Guesdists.

Engels' examination of the social roots of Right opportunism in Germany and France led him to the conclusion that the two opposite and warring trends—revolutionary and reformist—were unavoidable. "The development of the proletariat," he wrote to Bebel in October 1882, "proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception."[1]

Though he staunchly supported the revolutionary wing of the French socialists, he did not mince words in criticising the Guesdists' sectarian mistakes. He told Guesde and Lafargue, for example, that they erred in denying all reform in bourgeois society; also, he thought it wrong of Guesde to attack the petty-bourgeois radical republicans who in the early 1880s sought the democratisation of the French Republic. Guesde simply overlooked the law of history, he explained, that the French working class would on its way to socialism probably pass through the stage of a democratic republic.

By and large, however, Engels praised Guesde, saying that he was far superior theoretically to other French socialists, had a perceptive mind, was upright and trustworthy, and one of the best speakers in Paris.[2]

Engels commended the resolutions of the Guesdists' congress in the autumn of 1882, which reaffirmed the Havre programme and in a special resolution defined the party's main aim: conquest of political power by the working class. This was tantamount to yet one more declaration of allegiance to Marxism.

THE EARLY SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

The British Federation ended its existence in 1873. Leadership of the workers' movement passed completely into the hands of the trade-unionist élite representing the most privileged section of the working class. Reformism ruled supreme; from the mid-seventies the movement strove for nothing but economic gains.

Engels studied the reasons why reformism held sway in Britain's labour movement. In a *Volksstaat* article in 1874 he explained the absence of an independent political working-class party in England: "This is understandable in a country in which the working class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantages of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market."[3] And to Johann

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 354.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 231.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1971, p. 368.

Becker he wrote in December 1876 that the English workers' movement had "foundered on the petty Trades-Union stuff, and the so-called leaders... running after the liberal bourgeoisie."[1]

When in September 1882 Kautsky asked Engels what the English workers thought of their country's colonial policy, he replied: "Exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think. There is no workers' party here, you see, 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."[2] Somewhat later, in the preface to the English edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, he observed that the trade-unionists' views reposed on the conviction that the existing wage system is a "once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members".[3] The outlook of the labour aristocracy, Engels said, reflected a "bourgeois level of thinking".[4]

But Engels made it clear that the victory of reformism in the English working-class movement was temporary, for when the British magnates lose their monopoly in the world market, and this is inevitable, the British workers will be stripped of their privileges, the working-class movement will reawaken and "there will be Socialism again in England".[5]

Despite the stagnation of the British working-class movement, Engels did not lose contact with some of the workers: he corresponded regularly with Thomas Allsop, an ex-Chartist and friend of the Marx family, with whom he discussed home affairs and foreign policy, the condition of the workers' and democratic movement, and many other matters. Through Allsop, too, Engels became acquainted with members of London's radical republican clubs, many of them workers. He was friendly with Adam Weiler, secretary of the Cabinet-Makers' Union, member of the London Trades Council, and a former member of the British Federal Council of the First International. Weiler was faithful to his revolutionary ideals all his life, and one of the reasons for this was his friendship with Engels. He kept Engels briefed on the trade union movement, while Engels helped in his campaign for an eight-hour working day. At an advanced age Weiler lost his eyesight and was saved from starvation by the support of his friends, mainly Engels.

In May 1881, at Weiler's request, Engels began contributing to the *Labour Standard*, a new London newspaper, whose editor, George Shipton, was a young member of the London Trades Council. Though Engels had consented to write for it, he was not unaware

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 236.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 351.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 32.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 487.
[5] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 31.

of the difficulties ahead. Later he explained to Johann Becker that by writing for the trade-unionist paper he had "tried to link up with the old Chartist movement and spread our ideas through the *Labour Standard*" and "wanted to see if there would be any response".[1] In letters to other correspondents he wrote that he hoped to exercise some influence on the paper and gain a medium for socialist propaganda.

Almost every week from the beginning of May until August 1881, the *Labour Standard* printed leading articles by Engels, twelve in all.

To begin with, Engels gave a popular description of the fundamentals of Marxist political economy, showing to the workers the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. He scrutinised the main trade-unionist demand, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work", and proved that in the circumstances the "fairness is all on one side—on that of Capital". To deliver themselves from oppression, he wrote, the workers should hoist the slogan: "*Possession of the Means of Work—Raw Material, Factories, Machinery—by the Working People Themselves.*"[2]

Thereupon he demonstrated the significance of organised economic struggle. Using the example of the British trade unions, he explained the part played by them as organisers of the working class,[3] showing how important they were in winning better living conditions. However, Engels maintained, unions could not deliver the workers from capitalist slavery. The working-class movement should centre on "abolition of the wages-system".[4] He also showed the fallacy of the trade-unionist tactic of leaving the defence of the workers' political interests "almost entirely in the hands of Tories, Whigs and Radicals, men of the upper class". As a result, he said, "for nearly a quarter of a century the working class of England" had been "the tail of the 'Great Liberal Party'".[5]

Engels proved the historical necessity of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, showing that "in every tstruggle of class against class, the next end fought for is political power".[6] Hence the conclusion: to be successful, political struggle against the bourgeoisie requires the workers to have their own independent party. This Engels explained in a special article, "A Working Men's Party".

"... In England a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party..." he wrote. "But no democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character."[7]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 349.
[2] *Labour Standard*, May 7, 1881.
[3] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 516.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., p. 517.
[6] Ibid., p. 514.
[7] Ibid., p. 519.

Among the many problems raised in his *Labour Standard* articles, Engels also examined the chances of the British workers' coming to power by peaceful means. In England, he said, "democracy means the dominion of the working class, neither more nor less. Let, then, that working class prepare itself for the task in store for it.... And the best way to do this is to use the power already in their hands, the actual majority they possess in every large town in the kingdom, to send to Parliament men of their own order."[1]

This, by and large, was a conclusion Engels and Marx had arrived at in the Chartist days, based on a careful analysis of the specific socio-political development in Britain, her political system, and the class relationships. The numerical superiority of the industrial and agricultural proletariat over the other classes, the weakness of the military and bureaucratic machinery, and the country's democratic traditions—all this Marx and Engels gave as reasonable grounds for assuming that the British workers had the chance to avoid revolutionary violence. However, neither Marx nor Engels ever denied that peaceful conquest of power could be followed by a civil war, for the bourgeoisie would be sure to resist expropriation. Engels stressed this somewhat later in the preface to the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which appeared in 1887. Marx's study of the economic history and condition of England, he wrote, had led Marx to the conclusion that in Europe "England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a 'pro-slavery rebellion', to this peaceful and legal revolution."[2]

In the beginning of August 1881 Engels stopped writing for the *Labour Standard*. To its editor he explained that it was "the same vehicle of the most various and mutually contradictory views on all political and social questions.... One column a week drowned as I might say amongst the remaining multifarious opinions represented in the *L.St.*"[3] And on August 11 he wrote to Marx: "A total lack of any influence by my articles on the rest of the paper and the public.... The paper is still the same agglomeration of all possible and impossible crotchets.... The response that seemed to resound in one or two issues, is sunk in slumber again."[4]

But Engels was not entirely right to think that his articles had had no effect on *Labour Standard* readers. Weiler and other former members of the British Federation of the IWA showed them to young workers. James MacDonald, later an active member of the Marxist

[1] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, p. 518.
[2] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1972, p. 17.
[3] Engels to Shipton, August 15, 1881 (Central Party Archives).
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 20.

wing of the English socialists, recalled that Engels' *Labour Standard* articles had been decisive in his acceptance of scientific socialism.[1]

In the early 1880s a great number of workers joined clubs and societies in industrial towns and, of course, London. Gradually, these acquired a clearly political, partly socialist, complexion. Marx and Engels made a note of this.[2] Interest in socialist theories was alive in many of London's radical clubs and newly formed democratic organisations.

Marx's *Capital* aroused the interest of democratic intellectuals. On December 1, 1881, the monthly *Modern Thought* published a large article by a young British journalist, Ernest Belfort Bax, outlining *Capital*, to which Marx referred approvingly.[3] There was a definite demand for the other works of Marx and Engels. George Harney, a former revolutionary Chartist leader and Engels' friend, wrote to him about it, and urged him to arrange for translations into English.

In the autumn of 1880, a young bookbinder, Robert Banner, son of a Scottish Chartist, approached Marx and Engels with a similar request. English readers need your works, he wrote in December 1880, because socialist literature is a lever for democracy to stride on.[4] On behalf of a group of his mates, he also asked for help in preparing the inaugural conference of the Scottish Socialist Party and organising socialist agitation.

In June 1881 the Democratic Federation, a half-bourgeois and half-proletarian body, was founded in London, declaring its adherence to Marx's economic doctrine as expounded in *Capital*. It was headed by Henry Hyndman, a bourgeois radical and journalist who knew Marx, had visited him frequently, and corresponded with him.

The programme of the Democratic Federation, drafted by Hyndman, consisted of bourgeois-democratic political demands. But the commentary (a pamphlet, *England for All*, by Hyndman) included large passages from *Capital*, verbatim or almost so, without referring to their author. Hyndman's interpretations of some of Marx's postulates were distinctly bourgeois-democratic, and the pamphlet also contained frankly chauvinist ideas, claiming that the Anglo-Saxon race was superior to others.

This manner of presenting his ideas outraged Marx. He wrote to Hyndman that the passages borrowed from *Capital* "are altogether out of place in a commentary on a Programme with whose professed aims they are not at all connected". Marx stressed that their inclusion might have made sense only "in the *Exposé* of a Programme for the foundation of a distinct and independent Working-class Party".[5]

[1] MacDonald, *How I Became a Socialist*, London [1896], pp. 61-62.
[2] See Engels to Lavrov, January 23, 1882 (Central Party Archives).
[3] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 346.
[4] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[5] *Annali*, Anno Terzo 1960, Feltrinelli Editore, Milano, 1961, p. 626.

This ended the relations between Marx and Hyndman. Engels, too, would have nothing more to do with the man. But despite their critical attitude, Marx and Engels acknowledged the objective benefits of the propaganda of *Capital* by the Democratic Federation. The rising socialist sentiment among a section of democrat intellectuals and in the working-class milieu was also reflected in the composition of the Federation. By the beginning of 1883 many of the bourgeois democrats had resigned, while workers joined it.

STUDY OF POST-REFORM RUSSIA

In the seventies, Engels' attention turned on Russia. Apart from Germany and Austria, he wrote in 1875, the country "we have to watch most remains Russia".[1] His interest was aroused principally by the far-reaching socio-economic changes and the accumulation of a revolutionary crisis in Russia. She became prominent in the world revolutionary process. And quite naturally her revolutionary intelligentsia and early workers' societies began taking an interest in the experience of the West-European labour movement, in the theoretical and practical activity of Marx and Engels.

Engels, whose interest in the country was of long standing, continued to polish his knowledge of the Russian language. In the mid-seventies he wrote that it was a "language really worth learning for its own sake, as one of the richest and most forceful living languages, and for the sake of the literature encompassed by it."[2]

He was deeply interested in Russian social relations following the abolition of serfdom through the 1861 Reform. He had begun studying its implications in the mid-sixties, but at that time chiefly in connection with the Polish question, sporadically. Then, in 1868 he read *Land and Freedom*, a book by P. Lilienfeld, a landowner in the Baltic provinces. From this book, which appeared in St. Petersburg, he learned how capitalism was penetrating the Russian village community. And in the early seventies he read the Russian democratic sociologist N. Flerovsky's (V. V. Bervi), *Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, about the content of which he had learned first from Marx's letters.

On moving to London, Engels had a better opportunity for studying Russia. At his disposal now were the treasures of the British Museum and Marx's own library with its large collection of Russian source literature. Engels delved into scores of volumes, official manuals and statistical surveys. He studied special investigations by Russian scholars and publicists of different schools, and the legal and underground publications of the revolutionary Narodniks.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 300.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 545.

He also read some of the works of liberal authors—Koshelev's *On Communal Landownership in Russia* and *Our Condition*, published in Berlin in 1875, and Skaldin's *The Backwoods and Capital*, which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1870. He also knew of Skrebitsky's four-volume study, *The Peasants in the Reign of Emperor Alexander II*. And among his main sources of information about the post-Reform period was the two-volume study by the progressive Russian economist Janson, *Comparative Statistics of Russia and the West-European States*.

Some Russian authors sent their works to Engels directly. Among them were the economists N. A. Kablukov and Minna Gorbunova (Kablukova), who were Narodniks, whereupon he exchanged letters with Gorbunova on the development of handicrafts in Russia, on professional training, the village community and its decay.

Russian journals, especially the democratic *Slovo* (1878-81), were another important source of information. Charles Victor Jaclard, a French socialist, former member of the First International and veteran of the Paris Commune, who resided in St. Petersburg at this time, was associated with *Slovo* and in his letters to Marx invited him to contribute to it.

Engels made a study of an article by Alexei Popelnitsky, "The Importance of Reassessing Peasant Impositions", which *Slovo* printed in March 1881. The progressive Ukrainian scholar, close at that time to the People's Will (Narodnaya Volya)[1] movement, examined the pre-history of the 1861 Reform, the tsar's ukase, and its results. In his notes, Engels singled out passages pinpointing the class nature of the "liberation" of peasants, effected exclusively for the landowners' benefit.[2]

His preoccupation with the growth of capitalist industry, home and foreign trade, the development of railways, and the expansion of the working class prompted Engels to translate "The Shuya-Ivanovo Railway", an article by Academician Vladimir Bezobrazov.

In the early 1870s Engels probably also read the works of Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov, which Marx had in his library. He was acquainted with Chernyshevsky's "Unaddressed Letters", a critical examination of the 1861 Reform, and is known to have referred to Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov in glowing terms, describing them as profound thinkers and gifted writers, as "two socialist Lessings".[3] He looked upon Chernyshevsky's socialist ideas with deep understanding and respect, though deploring their utopian quality. Particularly, he could not agree with Chernyshevsky that the village community was for Russia a means of direct passage to socialism.

[1] A secret political organisation of Narodnik terrorists, formed in August 1879.
[2] See *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. XI, Moscow, 1948, pp. 157, 158, 161, 164.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 540.

Working on his pamphlet, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, he studied Chernyshevsky's place in Russia's social movement of the 1860s. Not Bakunin but Chernyshevsky, he saw, was the real leader of the Russian "educated youth, saturated with socialist ideas".[1] A constellation of progressive publicists and students was rallied round Chernyshevsky in those days. And Engels deplored Nechayev's and Bakunin's attacks on the Russian thinker and revolutionary, describing them as malicious slander. In later years, too, he was deeply troubled by the lot of the writer to whom, he said, "Russia owes so much and whose slow destruction by long years of exile ... will forever remain an ignominious stain on the memory of Alexander II the 'Emancipator'".[2]

TIES WITH RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

Marx and Engels, Lenin pointed out, "followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries".[3] Russian progressives, too, sought ties with Marx and Engels, and revolutionaries associated with the International Working Men's Association, chiefly revolutionary emigrants, disciples and followers of Chernyshevsky, and members of secret study-circles and societies of the 1860s, maintained close relations with its leaders.

In February-March 1870, when still living in Manchester, Engels learned from Marx about the founding in Switzerland of a Russian section of the International. In 1871 he met one of its organisers, Nikolai Utin, at the London Conference. Utin concurred with Engels on the question of political action and denounced the anarchists. In the subsequent two years, Engels met him again on numerous occasions, and the two men corresponded diligently.

In the autumn of 1870 Engels met Hermann Lopatin, who had come to London from a St. Petersburg group of young revolutionaries to begin translating Volume I of *Capital* into Russian under Marx's supervision. Marx was impressed by the splendid qualities of the young man, his courage, energy and intellect. On Marx's nomination, Lopatin was elected to the General Council of the IWA, where Engels met him. Like Marx, Engels was deeply impressed and quickly developed an affection for him. Though their more or less regular meetings finally broke off, the warmth and sympathy they felt for each other remained.

Engels followed Lopatin's revolutionary activity in Russia. Like Marx, he fretted about the outcome of Lopatin's daring attempt

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 397.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 399.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

to organise Chernyshevsky's escape from exile in Siberia in 1870-71. After it had failed and Lopatin was arrested, Engels waited impatiently for news of his fate, and when Lopatin managed to escape from prison and reappeared in London in November 1873, he was overjoyed.

Lopatin, too, liked and respected Marx and Engels, and his affection extended to their families. On the death of Engels' wife, Lizzie, he wrote to him on January 15, 1879: "My dear Engels, it was with profound grief that I received news of the death of Madame Engels. I shall never forget her cordiality and how much my lonely life in London was graced by the friendly reception I could always count on at Marx's and in your house. May the earth rest lightly upon her poor soul!"[1]

Engels was also friendly with Pyotr Lavrov, a prominent member of the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1870s and one of the ideologists of revolutionary Narodism. Having escaped from his place of exile with Lopatin's help, Lavrov settled in Paris in 1870, where he met Paul Lafargue. He joined the International, took part in the Paris Commune, and on the Commune's instructions came to London in the beginning of May 1871 to make contact with the General Council. There he met and soon became a friend of Marx and Engels. He corresponded with them to the end of their lives. Engels respected Lavrov as a convinced revolutionary, forceful publicist and serious scholar. He presented him with his books, writing friendly dedications, and did all he could to help him acquire the literature he requested. Lavrov, for his part, introduced some of Russia's foremost men to Marx and Engels. Through Lavrov, for example, they met the progressive Ukrainian scholar and political figure, S. A. Podolinsky, in the summer of 1872.

Engels' ties with Lavrov were particularly close in the mid-seventies, when the latter was editor of the journal *Vperyod* (1873-77) and a newspaper of the same name (1875-77). Devoted to the international working-class movement, the journal printed numerous reviews, including those of Marx's and Engels' works. Both of them were regular readers of Lavrov's publications.

Engels knew, and corresponded with, other *Vperyod* editors and associates—IWA member V. N. Smirnov, economist and publicist N. G. Kulyabko-Koretsky, and economist and geographer D. I. Richter, whom he had met at Marx's.

Though a friend of Lavrov's, whose learnedness he respected, Engels made no allowances for the eclecticism and subjectivism of his outlook and his mishmash of Marxism and Narodnik doctrine. When the interests of the international working-class movement so required, Engels did not hesitate to criticise Lavrov publicly.

[1] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

This was the case, for example, when *Vperyod* gave an unfavourable review of the pamphlet, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, put out by a Hague Congress decision and written mainly by Marx and Engels. Lavrov's journal opposed public polemics with the Bakuninists and public exposure of their disruptive activity in the International. Lavrov held that this would benefit the foes of the revolutionary movement.

In an article in two successive issues of the *Volksstaat* in October 1874 (the third article in the "Flüchtlingsliteratur" series) Engels showed the fallacy and harm of Lavrov's political tactics, which amounted to conciliation with the anarchists for the sake of a spurious unity. Engels wrote: "Every struggle contains moments when one cannot avoid giving certain comfort to the adversary if one wants to prevent positive damage to oneself. Fortunately, we have reached a stage when we are able to give the adversary this private satisfaction if it yields real results."[1]

Yet Engels sided with Lavrov in the latter's polemics with Pyotr Tkachov, another Narodnik ideologist, over the tasks of revolutionary propaganda in Russia. Lavrov's earnest approach to preparing revolution by socialist propaganda won Engels' praise, while he described as "childish" Tkachov's conception that revolution was possible "at any moment", because the Russian people were "ever ready"[2] for it.

Engels' articles were acclaimed by the Russian revolutionaries, particularly Lopatin. "As to me," he wrote to Engels on October 15, 1874, "I read them with much interest and cannot but recognise the truth of the argument. But as to the form it is rather biting. Really you *are* wicked. I could not help laughing though it was with my friends that you have dealt so severely."[3] Frank criticism did not impair Engels' friendship with Lavrov.

Like Marx, Engels regarded Narodism as objectively a revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement and a natural ally of the West-European working-class movement.

With deep sympathy the two friends followed the heroic struggle of the Russian revolutionary Narodniks—members of the People's Will organisation—against tsarism, especially bitter at the end of the seventies and in the early eighties. The founding of the People's Will organisation in 1879 Engels described as an important event. At last, he wrote, Russia had "an active party with an unheard-of capacity for sacrifice and energy".[4]

Opposed in principle to terrorist tactics, Marx and Engels held, however, that the People's Will organisation was to some extent

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 538.
[2] Ibid., S. 551, 552.
[3] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 449.

historically justified in using them. "Their manner of fighting is prescribed to the Russian revolutionaries by necessity, by the actions of their adversaries. For the means they use they are responsible to their people and to history."[1]

Throughout 1880-82 Engels corresponded with, and also on several occasions saw, L. N. Gartman, a member of People's Will who had escaped abroad after an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Alexander II in 1879. Engels knew of the letter to Marx from the Executive Committee of People's Will dated November 6, 1880, thanking him for supporting Russian revolutionaries. It hailed the importance of *Capital*, which it described as "a constant companion of educated people".[2]

Marx and Engels were eager to help unite the Russian fighters against autocracy. In 1880 they agreed to collaborate with the *Russian Socio-Revolutionary Library*, a joint publication abroad of two Narodnik organisations—People's Will and General Redistribution.

A new, second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated by Plekhanov, then one of the leaders of General Redistribution, was to be published on the latter's initiative. Through Lavrov, Plekhanov asked Marx and Engels to write a preface for it. They responded willingly, and it appeared in 1882. The translator's preface said: "The names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are so well and favourably known in our country that to speak of the scientific merits of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is merely to repeat a universally known fact."[3]

The preface by Marx and Engels dealt with a question that had long troubled the Russian revolutionaries: the future of the village community in Russia and whether or not this quite substantially decayed form of primeval common ownership of land could pass directly to a higher, communist form of ownership. "If the Russian revolution," Marx and Engels wrote, "becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development."[4] The writers enumerated the historical changes in the world since the first Russian edition of the *Manifesto*, translated by Bakunin in 1869. Capitalism had gained ground since then not only in Western Europe, but also in Russia and the United States. At that time, they pointed out, the Russian edition looked to the West as "only a literary curiosity",[5]

[1] Ibid., Bd. 21, S. 189-90.
[2] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[3] *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Russian Contemporaries*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1969, p. 231.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 12.
[5] Ibid., p. 11.

for Russia was seen by many as the last great reserve of all European reaction, whereas now she "forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe".[1]

THE TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY

His deep study of post-Reform Russia, of her home and foreign situation, led Engels to believe that the country was fraught "with events of the highest importance with regard to the future, not only of the Russian working men, but those of all Europe".[2]

His view of the Russian revolution coincided completely with Marx's. He was writing prolifically for the press at the time, and presented his standpoint in a number of articles in the latter half of the seventies, particularly in connection with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, which appeared in the labour and socialist press of Europe and America ("The Labour Movement in Germany, France, the United States and Russia", "The Working Men of Europe in 1877", "The Anti-Socialist Law in Germany. The Situation in Russia"). Besides, there are many references to the Russian revolution also in Engels' letters.

The fullest exposition of Engels' views on social relations and revolution in Russia is contained in his fifth article of the "Flüchtlingsliteratur" series, which appeared in successive issues of the *Volksstaat* in April 1875. It was also published under separate cover, entitled "On Social Relations in Russia", with a short introduction. This and the preceding article of the same series were motivated by two pamphlets: *Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia. Letter to the Editor of "Vperyod"*, which appeared in London in 1874, and *An Open Letter to Mr. Frederick Engels*, which appeared simultaneously in Zurich in German. Both were by Tkachov, who expounded the Narodnik idea of Russia's unique social development, the supra-class character of the Russian state, ostensibly lacking roots in the country's social system, the people's readiness for revolution, and the village community as Russia's specific way to socialism. Tkachov endeavoured to justify conspiratorial tactics as the most effective for an immediate political overturn.

Engels could not leave Tkachov's pamphlets unanswered. As he put it, they "produced an entirely false impression of the state of affairs in Russia".[3] With his typical sarcasm and audacity, he showed the fallacy of Tkachov's utopian Narodnik conceptions and countered them with Marxist views relating to the basic problems of Russia's social development.

"On Social Relations in Russia", the first of his examinations of the Russian question, bore witness to his profound knowledge

[1] Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p 12.
[2] *Labour Standard*, March 31, 1878.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 546.

of the country. He also reached conclusions relevant for Marxist theory as a whole. Lenin described the survey as a very valuable contribution to the literature on Russia's economic development.[1]

Engels analysed the condition of different sections of Russian society, first of all the main antagonistic classes—the peasants and the nobility, providing factual data on the distribution of land following the 1861 Reform. "In European Russia," he wrote, "the peasants possess 105 million dessiatins, the nobility (as I shall here term the big landowners for the sake of brevity) 100 million dessiatins of land, of which about half belongs to 15,000 nobles, who consequently each possess on the average 3,300 dessiatins. The land of the peasants is, therefore, only a trifle bigger than that of the nobles."[2] Using these incontestable figures, Engels showed the fallacy of Tkachov's view of the autocratic state as a supra-class power "hanging in the air". It "not only took the greater part but also the best part of the land from the peasants and gave it to the nobles," he pointed out, "and for this worst land the peasants had to pay the nobility the price of the best".[3] The state put almost the entire burden of the land tax on the peasants, while the nobility was virtually exempted. In addition, peasants paid various local government-endorsed imposts. A new type of exploiter, created by the spread of capitalism to the village—usurer, grain dealer, and every kind of speculator—had appeared. "In short," Engels wrote, "there is no country in which, in spite of the pristine savagery of bourgeois society, capitalistic parasitism is so developed."[4]

He also pointed to the increasing influence of the big bourgeoisie, "which has developed with unheard-of rapidity during the last decade, chiefly due to the railways",[5] and to its stake in backing up the autocratic state.

Nor did the countless army of officials, who constituted a real social estate swarming all over Russia and plundering the country, escape his notice. And he summed up: "Not only the Russian state in general, but even its specific form, tsarist despotism, instead of hanging in the air, is the necessary and logical product of Russian social conditions."[6]

Engels also examined another Narodnik doctrine—the alleged special role of the Russian village community whereby, as the Narodniks held, the people of Russia would bypass the capitalist stage in their passage to socialism. Communal ownership of land, Engels showed, was not an exclusively Russian institution; it was old, and "to be found among all Indo-Germanic peoples on a low

[1] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 25.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 388.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 390.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 394.

level of development, from India to Ireland, and even among the Malays, who are developing under Indian influence, for instance, in Java."[1] Communal landownership merely testified to the backwardness of social relations in the Russian village. The further development of capitalism would finally erode it, as was the case in Western Europe. "It is clear," Engels wrote, "that communal ownership in Russia is long past its period of florescence and to all appearances is moving towards its disintegration."[2]

Refuting Tkachov's "childish" views of revolution, Engels showed that neither the artel nor the community could by themselves be a stepping stone to socialism. "This requires not only a proletariat that carries out this revolution," Engels wrote, "but also a bourgeoisie in whose hands the productive forces of society have developed so far that they allow of the final destruction of class distinctions."[3]

However, Engels conceded the possibility of the Russian village community rising to a higher, socialist form, without going through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holding, provided it would still exist when the conditions mature. "This, however, can only happen if, before the complete break-up of communal ownership, a proletarian revolution is successfully carried out in Western Europe," he wrote, "creating for the Russian peasant the preconditions requisite for such a transition, particularly the material condition which he needs if only to carry through the revolution necessarily connected therewith of his whole agricultural system."[4]

Here and in other articles written at the end of the 1870s, Engels displayed his deep conviction that Russia was closer to revolution than any other European country. "We have all the elements of a Russian 1789", he wrote in 1878, "which will be necessarily followed by a 1793.... The Russian revolution is knocking on the door."[5] And in 1879: "The climax will come soon."[6]

Engels' certainty that the Russian revolution was round the corner was based on his study of the objective preconditions, his scientific appreciation of the profound conflict between the requirements of economic development and the country's backward political system. He was impressed by the widespread discontent among peasants "reduced to a position in which they could neither live nor die .[7] He was conscious of the revolutionary ferment among the intelligentsia and of the sullen opposition in other sections of Russian society. He regarded as signs of a growing political crisis the derangement of finance, the decay of the machinery of state, the diplomatic and military failures of the tsarist government.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 393.
[2] Ibid., p. 395.
[3] Ibid., p. 387.
[4] Ibid., p. 395.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 115.
[6] Ibid., Bd. 34, S. 433.
[7] *Labour Standard*, March 31, 1878.

Like Marx, Engels held that the impending revolution in Russia would be bourgeois-democratic in complexion, and chiefly peasant. Its main purpose would be to destroy tsarism and eliminate the remnants of semi-feudal relations. Nor did he rule out the possibility of the revolution beginning with a coup d'état by the impoverished, opposition-minded nobility. And once the revolution began it would, he was sure, rouse the peasant masses. Then, "there will be scenes before which those of '93 would pale".[1]

Since Russia had no working class yet, and hence no labour movement as an organised political force, Engels associated success in the Russian revolution, and its subsequent development, with victorious struggle by the West-European proletariat. Destruction of tsarism, one of the main citadels of European reaction, he held, would give impulse to the proletarian revolution in Europe. And reciprocal action by the West-European and Russian revolutionary movement, the blending of the latter with the all-European, was an essential condition if the Russian revolution was to win and develop. This interaction would give it momentum, carrying it beyond the bourgeois-democratic coup, and would ultimately, "maybe after long and violent struggles, ... lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune".[2] This view of the Russian revolution Marx and Engels set forth in a joint letter to the chairman of the Slavonic meeting held in London on March 21, 1881, in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Paris Commune.

For Engels, the Russian democratic revolution was a part of the all-European revolutionary process; with it, therefore, he associated radical changes on the rest of the continent. The Russian revolution, he wrote in 1878, "means such a change in the whole situation of Europe as must be hailed with joy by the working men of every country as a giant step towards their common goal—the universal emancipation of Labour".[3] The end of tsarism would deliver Germany from Prussian hegemony and facilitate the liberation of Poland and other oppressed European peoples. "The overthrow of the Russian tsar," wrote Engels in May 1875, "... is therefore one of the prime conditions for the final victory of the German proletariat."[4] The impending revolutionary overturn in Russia, he held, would be "the next turning point in world history"[5].

Waiting eagerly year upon year for the revolution in Russia, Marx and Engels, as Lenin put it, erred only in "determining the proximity of revolution".[6] But they did deduce the certainty of a people's revolution in Russia and foresaw its tremendous impact on world history.

[1] *La Plebe*, January 22, 1878.
[2] Central Party Archives.
[3] *Labour Standard*, March 31, 1878.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 585.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 34, S. 433.
[6] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 12, p. 377.

STUDYING THE HISTORY OF GERMANY

In the beginning of the 1880s, Engels conceived the idea of writing a history of the origin and development of class society based on the history of the ancient Germans. The genesis of class society and the emergence of the state were subjects that had always attracted him, and he now determined to tackle them in earnest. Two weighty manuscripts resulted in 1881-82.

The first concerned the history of the German tribes since their appearance in what is now Europe and until the beginning of the migration of the peoples. His investigation of various German tribes was based on historical sources, archaeological facts, antique authors, and also a close linguistic analysis of the ancient German tongues and dialects.

The second manuscript was about the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, with a study of agrarian relations in the early feudal epoch. Engels recapitulated the more important phases in the genesis of feudalism, the emergence of the main classes of feudal society, basing himself on the history of the Frankish kingdom, the specific development of the feudal state in this period, and its military organisation. A special section was devoted to the Frankish dialect—a comparative study of ancient and contemporary dialects still encountered in Western Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, contributing significantly to linguistics and certifying to Engels' solid knowledge of this highly specialised discipline.

But Engels did not complete the book. And what there was did not get published until many years later. Yet it was definitely important. He used the compiled material for a smaller article, published as an appendix to the German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Entitled, "The Mark", it is a concise history of landownership in Germany from the ancient Mark until the 1870s. Operating with a wealth of factual material, Engels lucidly described the main stages in the conversion of peasants from free members of the community into serfs, and showed the true worth of the half-hearted agrarian reforms in Germany in the early 19th century. He showed why the small peasant cannot shake off poverty as long as capitalism dominates in agriculture. For this, he wrote, there is only one way: to revive the community, but not in its old form; it must give peasants access to all the advantages of large-scale agriculture and modern technology, "not with capitalism, but by the association itself".[1]

The article, which soon also appeared as a pamphlet, *The German Peasant. What He Was? What He Is? What He Could Be?*, was meant by Engels to arouse the German Social-Democrats' interest in working among peasants. "This seemed all the more necessary at

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 330.

a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural labourers and peasants had to be taken in hand,"[1] he wrote later.

BEREAVEMENT

After the death of Engels' wife, the house-keeping fell to Lizzie's niece, Mary Ellen Burns, who had stayed with the Engelses for some years. As before, Engels resided near the Marxes and visited his friend almost daily. All the adversities of the Marx family he took close to heart, doing what he could to alleviate them. And adversities there were many.

In the summer of 1880 Jenny Marx fell ill. By autumn it was clear that she had cancer of the liver. Obviously, there was no hope of recovery. In June 1881, when Marx and Jenny were to visit their elder daughter and her family in France, Engels warned Jenny Longuet about her mother's health. "Whatever the nature of the complaint may be," he wrote to her, "this constant and increasing loss of flesh and strength seems a very serious feature, especially as it does not seem to come to a stop."[2] In autumn Jenny Marx's health deteriorated, and to make matters worse Marx also fell ill. Engels was deeply disturbed. On November 4, 1881, he wrote to Johann Becker about Jenny's condition and Marx's dangerous illness. Less than a month later, Jenny passed away. Marx was confined to his bed and could not go to the funeral.

Engels took Jenny's death very close to heart. There had been several dozen years of close and sincere friendship between them, and at her graveside he spoke with deep affection of her extraordinary virtues, her services and loyalty to the working-class movement. "I have no need to speak of her personal virtues," he said in conclusion. "Her friends know them and will never forget them. If ever there was a woman who derived her greatest happiness from rendering others happy, it was this woman."[3] In an obituary for the *Sozialdemokrat* Engels said that Marx's friends would always miss "her bold and clever advice—bold without swagger and clever without ever transgressing on honour".[4]

Engels did what he could to help Marx bear his loss. He consulted doctors, and arranged for medical care. On the doctors' advice Marx spent nearly all 1882 at health resorts—first in Ventnor on the Isle of Wight and then in Algiers, the French Riviera, in Southern France and Switzerland. He did not return to London until early October, and a few weeks later again went to the Isle of Wight.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 96.
[2] Engels to Jenny Longuet, June 17, 1881 (Central Party Archives).
[3] *L'Égalité*, December 11, 1881,
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 292.

That whole year the two friends kept in touch by correspondence. Engels kept Marx abreast of all important events in the working-class movement, while protecting him from importunate visitors and correspondents. "Don't expect too much from Marx," he wrote to Kautsky on September 12, 1882. "... He is still forbidden to talk much, and in the evenings must have quiet or he sleeps badly at night."[1]

In the autumn of 1882 Engels still hoped that Marx would get better. "Marx is completely recovering and if his pleurisy does not come back," he wrote to Bebel on October 28, "he will be stronger next autumn than he has been for years."[2] But a new blow fell, from which Marx never recovered: his daughter Jenny died on January 11, 1883, leaving five children. Now Engels had to deal with all the family affairs of the Marxes. He and other friends did their best to help Marx in his distress. At one time it seemed that his health was improving. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue on March 10 that the doctors hoped he would recover. But a few days later, in the morning of March 14, there was a sudden deterioration. There had been a haemorrhage, and Marx began to sink rapidly. When Engels came to visit him at the usual hour, half past two in the afternoon, he found the house in tears. He climbed the stairs to Marx's study, and saw that he had passed away. "Yesterday at 2.45 in the afternoon, left alone for barely two minutes, we found him quietly asleep in the armchair, but never to wake again. Our party's most powerful mind had stopped thinking, the staunchest heart I have ever known had stopped beating,"[3] he wrote to Johann Becker on the following day.

Engels took it upon himself to inform old friends. He was aware more keenly than anyone of the irreparable loss to the international working-class movement, and wrote to Liebknecht: "Though I have seen him this evening laid out in his bed, the rigidity of death in his face, my mind rebels at the thought that this brilliant mind has ceased to enrich the proletarian movement of both worlds with its powerful thoughts. What we all are we owe to him; what the present-day movement is it owes to his theoretical and practical work. If it were not for him, we should still be immersed in confusion, still groping in the dark."[4]

Three days later, on March 17, 1883, Marx was buried at the side of his wife in London's Highgate Cemetery. Not many came to the funeral, for Marx had a distaste for elaborate ceremony. But the dozens of telegrams from all over the world—from St. Petersburg to New York—showed that the foremost proletarians, fighters for

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 357.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 355.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, S. 458.
[4] Ibid., S. 457.

the workers' cause, eminent scholars and students, shared the pain and grief that engulfed Engels and Marx's daughters.

At the funeral, Engels spoke briefly but forcefully of the magnitude of Marx's scientific discoveries and revolutionary activity: "Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were a cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"[1]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 163.

Chapter Twelve

ENGELS AND MARX'S CAPITAL

> "So *this volume is finished*. It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible."
>
> *Marx to Engels, August 16, 1867, 2 o'clock at night*
>
> Adler, the Austrian Social-Democrat, has rightly remarked that by publishing volumes II and III of *Capital* Engels erected a majestic monument to the genius who had been his friend, a monument on which, without intending it, he indelibly carved his own name. Indeed these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels.
>
> *V. I. Lenin*

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

Their contemporaries compared Marx and Engels to the Dioscuri, the twins of Greek mythology glorified for their good deeds and selfless friendship.

The friendship of Marx and Engels is epitomised by the long history of *Capital*.

For several dozen years, from the autumn of 1843, with but relatively short intervals, Marx occupied himself mainly with the problems of political economy, while Engels' scientific pursuits following the publication of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and until the day of Marx's death, took him chiefly to other fields. But all this time Engels helped his friend in economic research and in putting together and popularising *Capital*. First and foremost, *Capital* is the achievement of its author. But world science, all people, pay a tribute of gratitude also to Engels, placing his name beside that of Marx in referring to Marxist economic theory, to *Capital*.

Engels collaborated with Marx in many ways. More than any of Marx's close friends, he anticipated the tremendous impact that *Capital* would make on science, the international working-class movement, the struggle for communism.

For Marx, too, no other judge and consultant was more trustworthy than Engels. Their spiritual affinity played a very big part in the production of *Capital*. Their extant correspondence shows that they exchanged opinions regularly on the main problems examined in the book.

In January 1851 Marx informed Engels of his discoveries relating to ground rent. He criticised the essential flaws of David Ricardo's rent theory, and showed why it was in conflict with history, with the growing productivity of agriculture.

Ricardo held that land fertility was declining. This gave Malthus the ground for his vulgar theory of population. Yet Marx showed Ricardo's mistake in a letter to Engels. And Engels saw that Marx was right. Ricardo's views had evoked questions in his mind, too, he wrote back, though he had not gone deeper into the matter.[1] Engels noted that in his ground rent theory Ricardo overlooked progress in agricultural techniques by maintaining that capital invested in a lot of land yielded an ever smaller profit. In effect, this contention provided a theoretical basis for the law of diminishing returns, which Engels regarded as incorrect and which he had criticised in one of his early articles, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy". True, his criticism had been sketchy. Now, Marx had made things clear. His view of ground rent, Engels wrote, should be published in some English journal, and offered to arrange for the translation of a possible article.[2]

In another letter to Engels, on February 3, 1851, Marx "illustrated the currency theory"[3] showing the fallacy of the quantity doctrine according to which commodity prices, exports and imports, and consequently the trade balance and currency exchange rates, depended on the volume of money in circulation. The cause of economic crises it also ascribed to money circulation. Yet he had found no proof of this, Marx wrote. On the contrary, the movement of prices refuted the idea. Money circulation and its laws were derivative. The credit system, Marx maintained, was a condition of economic crises, but certainly not a cause, though inept intervention by the state in regulating money circulation could make a crisis graver.

Engels hailed this as a "new economic discovery"[4] and wrote to Marx: "Quite correct; this will contribute considerably to reducing the insane circulation theory to simple and clear fundamental facts."[5]

On March 31, 1851, Marx asked Engels to tell him how merchants and factory owners calculated the part of the profit that covered their private expenses. Did they take money out of the bank for this purpose? Four days later, Engels sent him a detailed reply.[6]

And at the height of his work on *Capital*, on April 11, 1875, Marx enquired: "What about the cotton crisis? I want information on that point. Urgently." The following day, Engels told him at length about the course and nature of the crisis, as a result of which the bourgeois "are in a blue funk".[7]

Mutual consultation about new developments in economics, about new economic literature, was a rule for them.

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[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 27, S. 170.
[2] Ibid., S. 171.
[3] Ibid., S. 173.
[4] Ibid., S. 187.
[5] Ibid., S. 200.
[6] Ibid., S. 227, 230, 231.
[7] Ibid., Bd. 31, S. 105, 106.

At the end of the 1850s Marx began summing up the results of his long research. In some ten months he produced the first rough draft of his study of political economy, now known as the Economic Manuscript of 1857-58; the first part of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which appeared in 1859, was the finalised version of just one portion of this manuscript.

Engels witnessed the birth of this remarkable work, and was its author's most intimate assistant. Marx acquainted him in advance with the content and plan of his investigation, and at Marx's request Engels searched for new books, which Marx, with his rare thoroughness, wanted to see before his ready manuscript went to the printer. Furthermore, Marx lacked the money to mail the manuscript, and it was Engels again who came to his aid.

New cares appeared after the book was published. A response to it had to be organised in the press. The greatest possible number of people had to be given an idea of its content. This task, too, Engels took upon himself.

His review of the book, which had come off the press in June 1859, was ready by the beginning of August. In his usual masterly style, with deep knowledge, he set out the main points of the materialist conception of history which Marx had formulated in his preface and which renounced "all traditional and customary views on everything historical" and demolished the traditional mode of political thinking.[1] The new world outlook became the basis for a logically clear and coherent exposition of the laws of bourgeois production and exchange.

Engels defined the specific features of Marx's materialist dialectics as set forth in the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and demonstrated its advantages as a method of scientific research over the abstract and speculative dialectics of Hegel and the metaphysical method of the bourgeois economists. Marx was the only one, he stressed, who dug down to the kernel of Hegelian logic containing Hegel's real discoveries, and divested dialectics of idealistic trappings, giving it that ultimate shape in which it became the only true form of the development of thought.

In his review, Engels formulated for the first time the principle of the relation of the logical to the historical in economic research, showing that for political economy the logical method is the only appropriate one. This method, he wrote, is "nothing else but the historical method, only divested of its historical form and disturbing fortuities".[2] Engels explained how Marx had succeeded in analysing the various aspects of commodities in their developed form by this method, which he had himself elaborated, and that by doing so he conquered the difficulties that presented themselves in the study

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 509.
[2] Ibid., p. 514.

of value, difficulties that had humbled bourgeois political economists, including Adam Smith.

Ideas close to these we shall also find in Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1857-58, notably the Introduction.

HELPING TO PREPARE VOLUME I OF *CAPITAL*

Marx had intended to follow up the first part of his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* with a second one. But as he continued his research he found that the plan should be changed: the decision ripened of writing *Capital*, a work of several volumes.

During the tensest periods of his work on *Capital*, Marx could, as usual, rely on Engels' help. He kept him informed of his plans, and of his discoveries. Constantly, by word and deed, Engels displayed his deep interest in the earliest possible completion of this, Marx's capital work, helping him cope with the "everyday muck of living", giving him his views on scientific points, and urging him on. Besides, on many occasions Marx referred to Engels' own theoretical works.

The proofs of Volume I of *Capital* Marx and Engels read together. Apart from minor, inconsequential corrections, Engels made important suggestions as to the structure of the book as a whole, and the text of some of the sections.

On June 3, 1867, Marx asked Engels what points in the presentation of the *form of value* in the Appendix he thought "should be made to read more popularly".[1] On June 16 Engels replied: "At most the points here [Chapter "Commodities and Money"] established dialectically might be set forth historically at somewhat greater length, the test to be made from history, so to speak.... You can certainly still make quite a good digression upon it, which will demonstrate to the philistine from history the necessity for the development of money and the process which takes place in connection with it.

"In these more abstract developments you have committed the great mistake of not making the sequence of thought clear by a larger number of small sections and separate headings."[2]

On June 22, Marx let Engels know that he had followed his advice and in the Appendix to the first chapter ("Commodities and Money") "divided each step in the development into paragraphs, *with separate headings*".[3]

Marx regarded this Appendix as an important element of the volume, because all previous economists had overlooked "the extremely simple point" that the form of the equation of one commodity to another (for example, 20 yards of linen = one coat) "contains the *whole secret of the money form*".[4]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 301.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 186-87.
[3] Ibid., p. 188.
[4] Ibid., p. 189.

Engels agreed. However, he wrote, the relatively abstract exposition of the essence of commodity and money, the form of value, does not lead directly to revolutionary conclusions, despite the fact that "the whole bourgeois abomination is denuded in the development of the forms of value",[1] namely, that all the main contradictions immanent in the bourgeois mode of production are rooted in commodity and money.

The special significance of the Appendix is underscored by Marx in his preface to Volume I of *Capital*. He recommended readers unaccustomed to dialectical thinking to omit the part of the first chapter that examines the evolution of the form of value and instead read the Appendix, "Form of Value". "An attempt is made here," he wrote, "to set out the question so simply, even in such a schoolboy manner, as a scientific exposition permits."[2] Engels was full of praise: "My compliments for your appendix on the form of value," he wrote to Marx on September 9, 1867. "In this manner it is brought home to the most rebellious mind. Ditto the preface."[3]

During his work on *Capital*, which taxed all his creative faculties, Marx suffered "a thousand adversities"—his own illness, the illness of his dear wife, the illness and death of four of his children. Poverty and semi-starvation were his constant companions. Marx took his personal belongings to the pawnbroker, appealed in vain for help to savings and credit societies, was up to his neck in debt to shopkeepers, and frequently threatened with eviction for being in arrears with the rent. The danger of going to a debtor's prison arose time and again. Tormented by these nightmares, this difficult and humiliating condition, seeing no other escape, Marx often issued "distress calls" to Engels. And never did his pleas go unheeded.

Here is what Lenin wrote: "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 been crushed by want."[4]

Everything that concerned Marx—his victories and his setbacks—Engels took very close to heart. Marx's grief was his grief and Marx's joy his joy. "I am very glad," he wrote to Marx on August 7, 1865, "that the book is making good progress.... On the day when the manuscript [Volume I, *Capital*] is sent off, I'll drink till I reel, unless you come the following day and we'll do it together."[5] And on November 11, 1866, he was jubilant: "The news that the manuscript has been sent off has lifted a load off my shoulders."[6]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 308.
[2] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Erster Band, Hamburg, 1867, S. VIII.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 341.
[4] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 137.
[6] Ibid., S. 264.

BATTLING THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

When Volume I of *Capital* came off the press on September 14, 1867, Marx and Engels assumed—and proved right—that bourgeois scholars would pass over the event in total silence, just as in the case of the first part of the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

The two friends had a plan for breaking the conspiracy of silence, and as a first step, at Engels' suggestion, intended to "attack" the book "from the bourgeois standpoint". Marx accepted the scheme as "*the best means of warfare*".[1]

In the meantime, Engels contacted his own and Marx's friends, asking them to arrange for a press campaign. "The main thing," he wrote in a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann on October 12, 1867, "is not *what* and *how* to write, but *that* the book is discussed and the Fauchers, Michaelises, Roschers and Raus [German vulgar economists] are *compelled* to declare themselves: in as many newspapers as possible, political and otherwise, wherever possible; long and short notices, but numerous. The policy of silence, which these gentlemen will surely try to follow, must be aborted, and this *as quickly as possible*."[2] On November 8, 1867, he addressed Kugelmann once more: "The German press is still silent about *Capital*; yet it is extremely important that something should happen.... The main thing is for the book to be discussed again and again, all the time. And since Marx cannot act freely in the matter, and is also as shy as a maid, this has to be engineered by us."[3]

Popularising *Capital* was for Engels an important party assignment, and he was "as ever, ready to serve the party".[4]

He wrote nine reviews. The one for *Zukunft* was patterned as an objective bourgeois evaluation of *Capital*. It opened with references to the lamentable state of official political economy in Germany, which, by and large, devoted itself to "watering down the harmonies of a Bastiat"[5] and to refuting David Ricardo. And against this generally wretched background, the appearance of Volume I of *Capital*, Engels wrote, could not be more opportune. "The investigations contained in the book," he pointed out, "are of the utmost scientific accuracy." He drew attention first and foremost "to the masterly dialectical structure of the whole investigation", to the theory of commodity and money, the transformation of money into capital, the introduction of the new category of surplus value, and

[1] Ibid., S. 345, 346.
[2] Ibid., S. 563.
[3] Ibid., S. 567.
[4] Ibid., S. 568.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 16, S. 207.

the differentiation of surplus value and profit (which Ricardo had not made), proving that not labour but labour-power was active on the market. He went on to say that Marx's book displayed a historical approach, which enabled its author to present economic laws not as eternal truths, but as "definitions of the conditions of existence of certain transitory states of society"[1]. Having touched on Marx's basic discoveries, Engels addressed himself to the official German economists: "May the severe lesson which this book administers arouse them from their lethargy and remind them that economics is not just a milchcow supplying them with butter, but also a science requiring serious and zealous worship."[2]

In a review for the bourgeois *Rheinische Zeitung*, which its editors rejected, Engels predicted that revolutionary Social-Democrats would welcome Marx's book "as their *theoretical bible*, as the arsenal from which to draw their most conclusive arguments".[3]

One of Engels' reviews appeared in the liberal bourgeois *Elberfelder Zeitung* on November 2, 1867. Marx proved, Engels wrote in it, that capital is the accumulated unpaid labour of the working class. Marx's book, he added, "contains more than enough of the new, daring, audacious", and all this "in a thoroughly scientific shape"[4].

In 1868 Engels produced a summary of the first four out of the total six chapters of the first edition of Volume I of *Capital*. The purpose of what he described as "this critical resumé"[5] is unknown. Perhaps he had intended to put out a concise, popular exposition of *Capital* in order to equip the foremost workers, as many as possible of them, with its ideas.

The resumé was of course useful for Engels also as a means of assimilating the vastness of Marx's economic thoughts.

Engels' extraordinary efforts and the participation of Marx's other close friends and associates in propagating *Capital*, proved fruitful. The first printing of the book was soon sold out. The conspiracy of silence was broken. The volume met with acclaim among German workers. The world of science in Germany and other countries learned about it. And soon after the appearance of the first German edition, preparations were begun in St. Petersburg for a Russian translation—the first translation of *Capital* into a foreign language. Published in 1872, the Russian translation was followed by the French authorised translation, made in 1872-75.

This was the beginning of the spectacular spread of Marx's capital work across the world.

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[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 208.
[2] Ibid., S. 209.
[3] Ibid., S. 210.
[4] Ibid., S. 215.
[5] Engels to Knowles, April 17, 1883 (Central Party Archives).

PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION OF VOLUME I

The second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* was prepared by Marx, and appeared in separate parts in 1872 and 1873. It was quite substantially reworked: Marx changed the structure and made substantive alterations also in the text.

The need for a third German edition became pressing somewhere at the end of 1881. By this time, Marx had completed his work on the French translation and had found places which he thought should be improved or complemented in the coming new German edition.

The proposal of the German publisher, Otto Meissner, to put out a third edition, however, came at an inopportune time. Marx's wife had passed away, and he, too, was gravely ill and incapable of a sustained effort. He lacked the strength and peace of mind even to occupy himself more or less regularly with volumes II and III, which for him held top priority.

Yet, despite the exceedingly unfortunate circumstances, Marx did manage some important preparatory work, writing a few insertions and marking off passages in special copies of the French edition to be inserted in the corresponding pages of the German. But this was all he could do. The further cares about the third edition fell to Engels.

At first, he helped Marx to collect new material. In letters to Bernstein (October 27 and November 4, 1882), for example, he asked on Marx's behalf for the authentic texts of the Swiss and German factory laws.

After Marx's death, he carried on alone. Though Marx had left behind manuscripts, and instructions as to what parts in the old text should be replaced with passages from the French edition, we should not underestimate the responsibility which Engels assumed.

Firstly, the texts of the second German and the French edition differed substantially. This meant that mechanical transfer to the German of paragraphs and pages marked off in the French was impossible. The business of preparing and collating was a complicated one and, furthermore, the insertions had to be made to harmonise with the body of the text.

Secondly, the French had still to be translated into German. This was anything but easy in many cases, for it had to be creatively reworked to fit in with the peculiarities of the German language and with the style and subtle manner in which Marx's thoughts developed. The most difficult job was to work out the terminology—adequate as regards the French presentation and also precise in expressing Marx's ideas, and yet not alien to the general fabric of the German text.

The greatest number of corrections and insertions was made in Part VII, "The Accumulation of Capital".

Engels read all the proofs. Also, he wrote a preface in which he

briefly described the special features of the third German edition and the work performed on it at first by Marx and then by himself. "Upon me," Engels wrote in the preface, "who in Marx lost the best, the truest friend I had—and had for forty years—the friend to whom I am more indebted that can be expressed in words—upon me now devolved the duty of attending to the publication of this third edition."[1]

To speed up matters, Engels spared neither strength nor time, putting aside all other work, all other commitments. "The third edition of *Capital* is keeping me busy,"[2] he wrote to Sorge. And to an Italian correspondent, Pasquale Martignetti, he wrote on August 22, 1883: "The necessity of finishing in the briefest space of time my work on the third German edition of *Capital* obliges me to suspend all my correspondence."[3]

By the end of 1883 the edition was at last ready, and to Engels' satisfaction the printing moved ahead quite swiftly. "I am sorry," he wrote to Laura Lafargue on September 19, 1883, "Mohr has not lived to see how well this time the thing is done."[4]

The third edition of Volume I of *Capital* was Engels' first act of duty to his late friend.

VOLUME I IN ENGLISH

Even before the appearance of the first German edition of Volume I, Marx and Engels planned the book's translation into English.

On June 24, 1867, Engels let Marx know that he had shown the proofs of the chapters on the transformation of money into capital and on the origin of surplus value to his friend Samuel Moore, who, he said, had understood and praised them. "Simultaneously, I solved the problem of *who* is to translate your book into English: Moore.... It is understood that all the work will be done under my direct supervision. Once you have a publisher who, *Nota Bene*, will *pay* him something for his work, he will undertake it with pleasure."[5] Three days later Marx replied that he was trying to find someone in London to publish the book and reward the translator and author generously.

In May-June 1868, to arouse interest in the book among publishers and readers in England, doing so at Marx's request, Engels wrote a fairly exhaustive review of *Capital* for the *Fortnightly Review*. Here he evidently made use of his resumé, for some passages are almost identical. In simple language Engels reproduced the proofs

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1972, p. 23.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 45.
[3] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964, p. 300.
[4] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868-1886, Moscow, 1959, pp. 147-48.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 31, S. 308.

given in the book of how money, the form of the existence of value, turns into capital, and how according to Marx capital originates in circulation "and yet *not* in it".[1] Referring to the production of surplus value, Engels drew attention to Marx's division of capital into constant—invested in machinery, raw materials and all other accessories to labour—and variable, expended on purchasing labour-power. Constant capital is merely reproduced in the value of the product, but does not create surplus value, he pointed out, whereas variable capital is not only reproduced, but is also the direct source of surplus value.

Engels confined himself to examining the production of surplus value in unchanging technical conditions, by the simple lengthening of the working day, that is, surplus value in its absolute form. He intended to write another article on relative surplus value, which originates from a rising productivity of labour and, consequently, a declining value of labour-power and a reduction of the socially necessary labour-time.

However, the first article was rejected on the pretext of being "too dry" for the English reader and, understandably, Engels did not write the second. The bourgeois editors of the *Fortnightly Review* were as apprehensive of Engels' review as they were of Marx's book. A scholarly examination of capital was for their class interests a "knock on the head".

The initial search for a suitable publisher in England failed, and Marx cooled somewhat to the idea of an English edition. He had had a "sad experience" with the French edition in 1872-75, which, he said, had consumed more work than if he were to have made the translation himself.[2] Besides, the manuscripts of volumes II and III occupied most of his time. Arrangements for an English edition, therefore, were not renewed until after his death and after the completion of the third German edition of Volume I, which, by the way, was used as the basis for the English translation.

To translate the book Engels enlisted the services of Samuel Moore and, as from the spring of 1884, also of Edward Aveling, husband of Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor. Edward was a much weaker translator than Moore, and Engels evidently had his hands full helping him understand the text and more or less learn the art of translating a scholarly work. "The English translation of *Capital*," Engels wrote to Sorge on December 31, 1884, "is slowly making headway; more than half is ready. Tussy's husband, Aveling, is helping along, but not as thoroughly as Sam Moore, who is doing the main job."[3] While Moore and Aveling translated, Eleanor Marx-Aveling checked quotations with English sources, substituting the originals for their German versions.

[1] Engels, *On Marx's "Capital"*, Moscow, 1972, p. 31.
[2] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 564.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 36, S. 264.

The translated texts went to Engels, who corrected inaccuracies and assured harmony of style and terminology. "The English translation of the *Capital* is awful work," we read in Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue on April 28, 1886. "First they [Moore and Aveling] translate. Then I revise and enter suggestions in pencil. Then it goes back to them. Then conference for settlement of doubtful points. Then I have to go through the whole again, to see that everything is made ready for the press, stylistically and technically, and all the quotations, which Tussy has looked up in the English originals, fitted in properly."[1] On November 9, 1886, Engels wrote: "All this time I have been busy with the English translation of Volume I.... It was very hard work, as after all I shall be held responsible for the text. I have not been able to do anything else...."[2]

He wanted the English edition published as quickly as possible, because chapters from *Capital*, translated by D.Broadhouse (nom de plume of Hyndman, leader of the Social-Democratic Federation) had begun appearing, from October 1885, in the journal *To-Day* and were totally unsatisfactory, a sample of how precise ideas can be reduced to balderdash. However, they were being disseminated, and had to be superseded without delay.

Reacting to Hyndman's translation, Engels wrote an article, "How Not to Translate Marx", for the journal *Commonweal* in November 1885. In it he ridiculed the translator's blunders, exposing him as dilettante, showing that he had not the faintest idea of "what is really conscientious scientific work"[3] and spelling out some of the main qualities the translator of *Capital* should possess: perfect command of German and the language into which the book is being translated; skill in putting Marx's powerful German into a similarly powerful other language, and a thorough grasp of the subject matter. Hyndman, he pointed out, possessed none of these qualities.

The first English edition of *Capital* (Volume I), of which Engels was editor, appeared in two books in the beginning of January 1887. The preface by Engels specially stressed that the conclusions arrived at in *Capital*, often called on the continent as "the Bible of the working class", were "becoming the fundamental principles" of the international working-class movement, and that "everywhere the working class more and more recognises, in these conclusions, the most adequate expression of its condition and of its aspirations".[4]

In two months the printing (500 copies) was sold out, nearly half of it in the United States. So publisher William Swan Sonnenschein made a second stereotyped printing in April 1887, and in 1889 and 1891 two more printings, this time in one book.

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Engels to Danielson (Central Party Archives).
[3] *The Commonweal*, November 1885, p. 98.
[4] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 16.

WORK ON THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

In the autumn of 1889 Engels began preparing the fourth German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, the last one in his lifetime. It was painstaking and responsible work, though not as varied, extensive and complicated as on the preceding editions.

The aims in preparing the fourth edition Engels defined in a letter to Sorge on September 26, 1889: "Only a few changes and additional notes will be required, but these have to be all the more carefully selected and worked on, and the printed text carefully read so that no distortions of meaning should slip in."[1] And in a letter to Conrad Schmidt on October 17 he amplified: "Since the English edition has appeared in the meantime and the various quotations have been compared with the originals by Mrs. Aveling, who had found *formal* departures here and there, but chiefly slips of the pen and printers' errors in the factual data, I cannot let the fourth edition appear without correcting them."[2]

In letters to Bebel on November 15, 1889, and N. F. Danielson, the translator of *Capital* into Russian, on December 5, 1889, Engels summed up some of the results: "The job was not a small one," he noted.[3] "In the meantime I have got ready the 4th edition of Volume I now in the press, there are two or three fresh additions from the French edition; the quotations have been looked over with the help of the English edition, and I have added a few notes of my own, especially one about Bimetallism."[4] The latter reference is to a long addition to a footnote in Chapter III, in which Engels analyses the relative changes in the value of gold and silver over the preceding twenty-five years and arrives at the conclusion that despite artificial pegging by bankers and governments, silver, the price of which was dropping, was "more likely" to forfeit "its money function more and more in the markets of the world".[5] Subsequent developments fully confirmed his prediction.

All the new additions, made after yet another check of the German text against the French copy with Marx's notes and markings, were listed by Engels in his preface to the fourth edition dated June 25, 1890. Thereby Engels produced the final variant of both the body of the text and of the footnotes.

In this preface Engels specially dealt with the "professorial cobweb"[6] spun out over two decades, calling in question the accuracy of some of the quotations in Marx's book. Although Marx had himselfin the press proved the charge groundless, the bourgeois maligners

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 276.
[2] Ibid., S. 291.
[3] Ibid., S. 302.
[4] Central Party Archives.
[5] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 142 (footnote).
[6] Ibid., p. 40.

were trying to drag out the issue after his death. Engels briefly described the history of this polemics, which began on March 7, 1872, when an anonymous article appeared in the Berlin journal *Concordia*, alleging that Marx had, at first in the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association and later in Volume I of *Capital*, deliberately falsified a passage from the Budget Speech of Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone. Once more Engels showed the speciousness of the accusations and the impropriety of the methods used by the bourgeois critics.

PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPTS FOR VOLUME II

After Marx had gone, the foes of Marxism, never too discriminating in their choice of ammunition, spread the rumour that Marx had not progressed any farther than Volume I of *Capital* and that, indeed, it had "never entered his head" to write a second volume; the talk about a second volume, they maintained, was nothing but "a clever dodge" to sidestep a scientific controversy with the critics of the "exceedingly abstract" theories of value and surplus value developed in Volume I, which fell short of expressing the real relations of the capitalist mode of production.[1] But the insinuations were groundless.

Marx's home was filled with cases, packages, bundles and books. And among these, on March 25, 1883, Hélène Demuth found a bundle of manuscripts for the second and third books of *Capital*.

One could not tell at once what condition they were in and to what extent they were ready for the printer. Even Engels did not know. "You ask how it could be that even I did not know how far the thing was ready?" he wrote to Bebel on August 30, 1883. "Very simple: had I known, I should not have given him any peace night and day until it had been completely ready and printed. This Marx knew better than anyone else; furthermore, he knew that if worse came to the worst, as is the case now, the manuscript could be put out by me to his taste; this he told Tussy."[2]

Socialists all over the world were legitimately worried about the fate of Marx's uncompleted work. Engels answered: the manuscripts shall be published. Not a syllable—each worth its weight in gold—shall be lost. Complying with the will of the deceased, he took it upon himself to prepare the manuscripts for the printer. It was a formidable job, but for Engels a pleasant one, for, as he put it, he would thus again commune with his old friend.[3]

Marx had intended the second volume to consist of two books—

[1] See *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, p. 296.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 56.
[3] Ibid., S. 28.

one on the circulation of capital and the other on the process of capitalist production as a whole. Yet the matter he had left and its considerable magnitude persuaded Engels to publish the books independently as volumes II and III.

Several manuscripts were discovered for Volume II, consisting of two complete texts written at different times, and a large number of sketches and notes.

The manuscripts, especially the later ones, as Engels pointed out in the preface to the volume, "show far too frequent places of an intense struggle against depressing ill health". Manuscript VIII, the last of the lot, contains the theory of reproduction and circulation of social capital, but in it "the logical sequence is frequently interrupted, the treatment of the subject gappy in places and very fragmentary, especially the conclusion".[1]

With this mass of manuscripts, as Marx assured his daughter Eleanor shortly before his death, Engels would "do something"[2]. First of all, he had to decipher them, and this was no simple matter due to the complicated subject, Marx's illegible handwriting, his habit of abbreviating words, using Anglicisms, words composed of elements from different languages, and the like.

However, Engels wasted no time. By September 18, 1883, he could write to Kautsky that "the second book will disappoint the vulgar socialists considerably, for it contains almost only strictly scientific, very delicate investigations of things that occur in the capitalist class, and nothing they could use to produce catchwords and high-sounding phrases".[3]

At first, Engels hoped to have Volume II ready for the printer fairly soon, but in October 1883 fell victim to an "accursed illness", thereby losing at least six months. This was a rude reminder that anything could happen to him at any time, and that being "*the only one alive* who can decipher this handwriting and these abbreviations of words and of style",[4] he must get the "rough work" done as quickly as possible and dictate the manuscripts to a specially hired scribe. On June 20, 1884, he wrote to Johann Becker that he was in the midst of dictating Volume II, and that, by and large, the progress was good, though the job was immense, took much time, and some of the passages made him cudgel his brains. Relapses of ill health compelled him frequently to leave his desk, but he went on dictating from the couch 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day and in the evening edited the transcribed material.

Having compared the various manuscripts sentence by sentence, Engels used the latest variants as the basis for the final text, supplementing them with suitable passages from earlier texts.

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1971, p. 5.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 61.
[4] Engels to Lavrov, February 5, 1884 (Central Party Archives).

He patterned the structure of the volume along the same lines as the second and later editions of Volume I. As in the case of the first edition of Volume I, Marx had planned to break up the book merely into chapters with a few sub-sections. Engels converted the chapters into three parts, and divided each part into several complete chapters. He used some of the headings he had found in the manuscript, but where none were available used his own discretion.

The final editing was anything but a mechanical compilation of ready pieces; nor was it a simple literary touching up of the text. It was an exceedingly complicated and highly creative job which none but Engels, a knowledgeable economist and connoisseur of Marx's thoughts and manner of writing, could cope with. None but Engels could make out of it a text consonant with the spirit and style of the author, a monument to the great teacher and leader of the proletariat. And none but Engels was able to produce one manuscript out of several, filling in the gaps, eliminating the omissions in the logical sequence, and clothing sketchy phrases and propositions in faultless scientific language.

In his preface Engels mentioned the amount and nature of the work which Volume II had entailed, but obviously belittled his contribution.

In the second part of the preface, he refuted the Katheder-Socialists who were accusing Marx of robbing Johann Karl Rodbertus, the German economist, of his discovery of the sources of surplus value. Rodbertus' writings were unknown to Marx until the end of the fifties, when he had already completed his own critical analysis of political economy not in mere general outline, but also in important detail. All Marx knew of Rodbertus at the time were his three *Soziale Briefe an von Kirchmann* (Social Letters to von Kirchmann). But he had never set eyes on Rodbertus' *Zur Erkenntnis unsrer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände* (Contribution to the Knowledge of Our National Economic Conditions), from which he was alleged to have borrowed without mentioning the author's name.[1]

Rejecting the claims of Rodbertus, the misunderstood "genius", and his followers, Engels showed that the so-called discoveries by Rodbertus were, in effect, an inferior rehash of what Adam Smith and David Ricardo had in general terms known perfectly well and reflected in their conception of the category of value and surplus value. Marx had drawn on the doctrines of Smith and Ricardo, but had gone farther. Here, Engels made a very accurate study of the merits, as well as the limitations and demerits, of English classical bourgeois political economy. And he showed the new in Marx's theory of surplus value, which "struck home like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky".[2]

[1] See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 8.
[2] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, p. 15.

Unlike his predecessors, including Ricardo, Marx had investigated labour, inasmuch as labour created value; investigated the relation between commodities and money; worked out the first conclusive theory of money and resolved the problem that had had Ricardo stumped—that of exchange between capital and labour on the basis of the law of value; established the division of capital into constant and variable; studied surplus value and discovered the two of its forms (absolute and relative), and was the first to develop a rational theory of wages.

In the preface Engels acquitted himself as a brilliant historian of economics, an outstanding theorist and polemicist. Johann Becker wrote to him on January 28, 1886: "Your 'Preface' to Volume II by Marx is by itself a giant piece of work and polemical masterpiece. I was delighted to read how thoroughly and dextrously you plucked the feathers of the vain Rodbertus."[1]

The volume came off the press in July 1885.

DIFFICULTIES WITH THE MANUSCRIPTS OF VOLUME III

The difficulties of preparing for the printer the manuscripts of Volume III, dealing with the process of capitalist production as a whole, were far greater than Engels had expected. In a letter to Johann Becker on June 20, 1884, he had estimated that Volume II would appear before the end of the year and Volume III in the following year. He was not far wrong in the case of Volume II, but his work on Volume III took up not one, but nearly ten years: at the end of February 1885 he started in by deciphering Marx's manuscripts and notes, but it was January 12, 1894, when he was at last able to announce in the *Vorwärts* that the long-awaited third volume had been sent to the printer and would appear not later than the coming September. Volume III, to which Engels devoted so much time and energy, was, indeed, one of the summits of his life's work.

The main manuscript, produced by Marx in 1865, consisted of nearly 1,000 pages. Engels referred to it in his preface to Volume III: "In the case of the third volume there was nothing to go by outside a first extremely incomplete draft. The beginnings of the various parts were, as a rule, pretty carefully done and even stylistically polished. But the farther one went, the more sketchy and incomplete was the manuscript, the more excursions it contained into arising side-issues whose proper place in the argument was left for later decision, and the longer and more complex the sentences, in which thoughts were recorded in *statu nascendi*. In some places handwriting and presentation betrayed all too clearly the outbreak and gradual progress of the attacks of ill health, caused by overwork, which at

[1] Central Party Archives.

the outset rendered the author's work increasingly difficult and finally compelled him periodically to stop work altogether."[1]

Apart from the main manuscript, there were several variants of the first chapter and shorter notes and studies. Engels also found a notebook containing calculations of the relation between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit, and a large number of notes and extracts, especially from Russian sources, which Marx had meant to use in his elaboration of the theoretical aspects of agrarian relations, particularly ground rent.

Engels was literally overwhelmed by the prodigious discoveries contained in this vast legacy. On March 8, 1885, a mere fortnight after he had begun working on the volume, he wrote to Laura Lafargue: "The 3rd book *Capital* is getting grander and grander the deeper I go into it.... It is almost inconceivable how a man who had made such tremendous discoveries, such an entire and complete scientific revolution in his head, could keep it there for 20 years."[2] And somewhat later, on April 23, 1885, to Danielson: "I am now busy with No. III which is the concluding and crowning part, and will eclipse even No. I. I dictate from the original, which is positively illegible to any living man except myself, and shall have no rest until it is all transferred to a manuscript which at all events will be legible to others. Then I can take my time with the final redaction, which will be no easy task, seeing the imperfect state of the original. But anyhow, even if I should not be spared to finish that, it would be saved from being utterly lost, and could be published as it is in case of need. This No. III is the most astounding thing I ever read, and it is a thousand pities that the author did not live to work it out and publish it himself and see the effect it is destined to create. After this lucid exposition, no candid opposition is any longer possible. The most difficult points are cleared up and disentangled as if they were a mere child's play, and the whole system acquires a new and simple aspect."[3]

The deciphering and rewriting of the author's original manuscripts were completed in November 1885. Then Engels set about mapping the structure of the volume, dividing it into seven parts and into 52 chapters in place of the seven chapters planned by Marx.

Then the material was regrouped, complete paragraphs and even chapters were compounded from different fragmentary notes, and all factual data, calculations and tables were thoroughly checked. This was the case with Chapter XX, "Historical Facts about Merchant's Capital", and Chapter XXVII, "The Role of Credit in Capitalist Production".

When filling in the "gaps", Engels discovered that some chapters had, in effect, to be composed anew. All there was to go by in Marx's

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1971, p. 2.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 271.
[3] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

manuscript of Chapter IV, "The Effect of the Turnover on the Rate of Profit", for example, was the heading and a note that the author would set out the matter at some later stage. He did not live to do so, and it was written from beginning to end by Engels.

The text of Chapter III, "The Relation of the Rate of Profit to the Rate of Surplus Value", was not put in parentheses by the editor, and not marked with Engels' initials, as was the case with Chapter IV. All the same, it was largely written by Engels. It says in the preface that for this chapter Marx had provided a set of uncompleted mathematical calculations and also the notebook of equations showing the relation between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit. At Engels' request, Samuel Moore, being an old Cambridge mathematician, processed the calculations and equations, and produced a summary. On the basis of this summary, with occasional reference to the main manuscript of 1865, Engels composed the final text, and provided it with the following footnote: "The manuscript contains also very detailed calculations of the difference between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit ($s'-p'$), which has very interesting peculiarities, and whose movement indicates where the two rates draw apart or approach one another. These movements may also be represented by curves. I am not reproducing this material, because it is of less importance to the immediate purposes of this work, and because it is enough here to call attention to this fact for readers who wish to pursue this point further."[1]

Editing Part V, "Division of Profit into Interest and Profit of Enterprise. Interest-Bearing Capital", presented what Engels described as "the greatest difficulty".[2] Marx had left behind "just a disorderly mass of notes, comments, and extracts".[3] Three times Engels set out to fill in the gaps and elaborate on the barely indicated thoughts, so that the text should at least approximately contain everything the author had intended. To succeed, he found, he should have had to go through all the voluminous literature on this subject, and would in the end "have produced something that would nevertheless not have been a book by Marx."[4] So, having lost some time, he finally confined himself to making an as orderly arrangement of the available matter as possible, with only the most indispensable additions.

The total number of insertions and notes by Engels exceeds sixty. Many of them contain theoretical generalisations and analyses of new phenomena in capitalist economy, heralding the "scandalous bankruptcy" of free competition, exacerbation of all the contradictions of capitalism, and the imminent substitution of monopoly capitalism for free competition.

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 69.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

Engels' chief concern was "to produce as authentic a text as possible, to demonstrate the new results obtained by Marx in Marx's own words as far as possible",[1] and he intervened in the text of the manuscripts only where absolutely unavoidable.

He wrote an exhaustive preface to Volume III, describing the condition of the available manuscripts and his work on them, and exposed the bourgeois falsifiers of Marx's materialistic conception of history and his economic teaching—Julius Wolf, Wilhelm Lexis, and Achille Loria. These would-be critics maintained that the theory of surplus value was incompatible with the equal general rate of profit, and that Marx had lost his way in the jungle of his own logico-theoretical constructions. The publication of Volume III put Marx's foes to shame. Engels showed how primitive and improper, and totally ineffective, were their methods of refuting Marx's scientific arguments.

However, the attacks on Marx's economic theory did not cease after the publication of Volume III. This time the bourgeois critics and even some Social-Democrats seized on a fancied contradiction between the first and third volumes. Volume I showed that commodities were sold at their value, they maintained, while according to Volume III they were sold not at their value, but at the price of production, that is, the cost price plus the average profit.

The price of production is defined in Volume III as being a converted form of value, the form in which the law of value manifests itself in the reality of the capitalist market. To elucidate Marx's conception—"to bring more to the fore important aspects whose significance is not strikingly enough evident in the text, and to make some important additions to the text written in 1865 to fit the state of affairs in 1895"[2]—Engels decided to take up his pen despite acute relapses of his fatal illness.

In May-June 1895 he wrote the first of the two planned supplements to Volume III of *Capital*—"Law of Value and Rate of Profit". Here, he rejected the bourgeois economists' denial of the objective nature of value and their attempts to introduce instead of value as the materialised socially necessary labour-time the category "value" which, in effect, is established in exchange and is identical to market-price. Then, with illustrations from history he showed the changes that had occurred in the exchange of commodities since its original form, simple commodity production, until production and exchange entered the capitalist stage.

In capitalistic economies, Engels pointed out, the rate of profit of different industries and of commerce with different organic compositions of capital levels out into a general rate of profit. Due to competition, industries with a relatively high share of constant, as compared with variable, capital receive part of the surplus value that is not their own. Other capitalist producers consequently lose the corresponding part of "their" surplus value. Competition thus impels a transfusion of capital from the less profitable to the more profitable spheres. Commodities are sold actually not at the value of the industry concerned, but at the prices of production, a certain mean expressing the cost price and the general rate of profit for all branches of production. This practice, which occurs behind the backs of the capitalists and outside their consciousness, does not abolish the law of value, and merely modifies the form in which it manifests itself.

The first part of the supplement was published soon after Engels' death in the *Neue Zeit*, the German Social-Democratic theoretical journal.

Unfortunately, the second part was never written. Engels had time only to produce a short sketch, "The Stock Exchange", evidently planned to show the changed role of the stock exchange since the 1866 crisis, the gradual appearance in industry and commerce of joint-stock companies, the technical revolution in farming, the more prominent part played by banks and the stock exchange in agriculture, export of capital in the form of stocks and shares, and the division of colonies among European powers in the interests of the stock exchange.

Engels had also planned to put out a fourth volume of *Capital*. Its first and only variant, *Theories of Surplus Value*, was written by Marx in January 1862-July 1863. In a letter to Laura Lafargue on December 17, 1894, Engels described it as "a *very* rough manuscript".[1]

He was no longer able to work on it as he had on volumes II and III, or even to dictate the text to his secretary. "My eyesight," he complained, "would break down completely before I was half through."[2] This was why, indeed, several years before the appearance of Volume III, he had decided to teach someone of the younger generation (Kautsky and Bernstein) to read Marx's handwriting. But this schooling, evidently on a "commercial" basis (with payments from Engels' own savings), proved feasible only in Kautsky's case, who deciphered and rewrote by hand part of the manuscripts.

Eleanor Marx-Aveling would, Engels hoped, decipher the rest. Shortly before his death he intended to begin working on the texts which Kautsky had by then rewritten. But his illness intervened.

Engels' work on Marx's *Capital*, especially on volumes II and III, was truly an exploit performed in the name of a long-lasting friendship, of science and the interests of the international working-class movement.

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 889.
[2] Ibid., p. 890.

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891-1895, Moscow, 1963, p. 348.
[2] Ibid.

Chapter Thirteen

BATTLE FOR THE VICTORY OF MARXISM

> After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone as a counsellor and leader of the European socialists.
>
> *V. I. Lenin*

THE MECCA OF ALL SOCIALISTS

For several weeks after Marx's funeral, Engels occupied himself with his friend's papers and library. Apart from many economic manuscripts he discovered a great many abstracts, fragments, letters, and documents of the working-class movement. "Almost everything dating to before 1848 has been saved," Engels wrote to Sorge at the end of June 1883. "Not only his and my manuscripts of that period almost complete, ... but also the correspondence. Naturally, everything since 1849 complete, and since 1862 even in more or less good order. Also quite a lot of papers about the International, which, I think, will suffice for a complete history of the IWA."[1] It took a long time to put Marx's papers in order. Not until the end of March 1884 was the job finished, though odds and ends still remained. Now, the flat in which Marx had lived the last years of his life could be vacated. Engels transferred all the manuscripts and correspondence to his own house. Hélène Demuth also moved in with Engels and became his house-keeper.

Now Engels had many things to attend to. Apart from preparing Marx's uncompleted works, chiefly volumes II and III of *Capital*, for the printer, he intended to write an exhaustive biography of Marx, interweaving it with the history of the German and international working-class movement. This biography, he wrote to Johann Becker on May 22, 1883, "will also be the history of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the 1848-49 movement on the Lower Rhine, the history of the wretched London émigré period of 1849-52, and also the history of the International".[2] In addition, Engels was now responsible for guiding the international movement, a job he had previously shared with Marx. "We do want, so far as it is in my power,

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 46.
[2] Ibid., S. 28.

to preserve the many threads that had stretched voluntarily from all countries to Marx's study."[1]

To exercise influence on the socialist parties and organisations in different countries, Engels corresponded prolifically with their leaders and members. The scale of his correspondence was tremendous, and kept growing. He received letters from Germany, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, the United States, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Rumania. He corresponded with English socialists outside London, and with Russian and Polish revolutionary emigrants. "His advice and directions," Lenin wrote later, "were sought for equally by the German socialists, whose strength, despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age."[2]

Among his correspondents were old friends, veterans of the Communist League, the revolutionary battles of 1848-49 and the First International, and younger socialists. His help and advice were sought by leaders of socialist parties and workers' strikes, translators and publishers of Marxist works, novice socialist journalists, propagandists of Marxism and liberal professors, and numerous refugees asking for financial support. Letters arrived almost daily—at the rate of several hundred a year. And not one did Engels leave unanswered.

For his friends and followers, his letters were priceless. They gave them guidance in difficult and confused situations, and helped work out the right tactics conforming with the basic interests of the proletariat. Whatever mistakes his supporters made, Engels criticised them impersonally, showing why they should be remedied.

For Engels the letters were a fount of information; they gave him food for thought and for generalisation. What he learned from them about the state of affairs in the labour movement he could never have obtained from the press or other printed sources. So, he always had a complete picture of the movement, and was always able to analyse its condition and perspective.

His relations with old comrades, people with whom he had associated over decades, were especially warm. Friedrich Lessner was a frequent visitor at his home. In the autumn of 1886, shortly before his death, Johann Becker spent nearly a fortnight with him. And when Becker died, Engels wrote a moving obituary, an eulogy of that devoted revolutionary. And from time to time, he went to Hastings to see his gravely ill friend, the publicist and veteran of the 1848-49 revolution, Sigismund Borkheim.

[1] Ibid., S. 21-22.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

George Harney, former leader of the Chartist revolutionary wing, called on Engels during his visits to London, and at the end of 1886 Domela Nieuwenhuis, leader of the Dutch socialists, spent several days with him as his guest. The British socialists were, of course, the most frequent visitors. "Who that was present, only once even, will ever forget those wonderful Sundays...!" Edward Aveling recalled soon after Engels' death. "It was a little like the Tower of Babel business.... Socialists from other countries made 122 Regent's Park Road their Mecca."[1]

PROPAGANDA OF MARXISM

A far more favourable situation than before had evolved by the 1880s for the spread of Marxism in most European countries. As large-scale industry expanded, the structure of the working class changed, its class consciousness grew firmer, and the workers' interest in socialism increased. No longer was socialist literature read by only the intellectually superior proletarians. Those whom only recently it had never reached, were reading it now with deep involvement. But even the main works of Marx and Engels were still relatively little known, especially outside Germany. Most of them had not yet been translated into other languages, and in the eighties Engels devoted much of his time to new editions of Marx's and his own works, arranging for and editing translations, and looking through articles and pamphlets that interpreted the Marxist teaching for the general reader.

He welcomed the initiative of the German Social-Democratic publisher in Zurich, who launched a modestly-priced Social-Democratic Library series in 1884, and helped him in selecting and editing some of the new books.

Especially eager was he to promote the broadest possible dissemination of the *Communist Manifesto*. It appeared in German, French, Russian, Danish and English, and he was the editor of all of them, and wrote new prefaces for many. To translate the *Manifesto*, he said, was "devilishly hard", and therefore he edited the French translation by Laura Lafargue, the English by Samuel Moore, and the Danish by the prominent socialist Gerson Trier.

When he could, Engels supervised the publication of his own and Marx's works in other languages. His main concern was to control the quality of the translations. "There are always numerous translations into French, English, Italian and Danish that I have to look through," he wrote to Johann Becker in December 1885, "and most of them need it badly."[2] In two years, 1884 and 1885, he edited

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 310.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 400.

the English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, the Italian and Danish of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, the French of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and the English of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* published in the United States.

Also, he edited the German translation by Bernstein and Kautsky of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, selected the supplements for it, wrote a long preface, and appended numerous notes.

The prefaces and introductions, which he wrote for nearly all the new editions and translations put out under his supervision, were essentially new, original researches. They were, in fact, an important outlet for his theoretical analyses and, as a rule, also appeared as articles in the socialist press in Germany and other countries.

Some were closely related with his plan of writing the biography of Marx and history of the German working-class movement. Essentially, they were fragments of that broadly conceived, but regrettably unrealised work. Take his introduction to Marx's pamphlet, *Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*, entitled "On the History of the Communist League" (1885). It is a brilliant portrayal of that first international proletarian organisation. His preface to the pamphlet *Karl Marx before the Jury in Cologne* (1885) describes one of the most dramatic episodes in the battle by Marx and his friends against the offensive of reaction. The article, "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-1849)", he wrote on the first anniversary of Marx's death. All of them display his profound insight, but also his knack of tying up depictions of relatively remote historical events with the current objectives of the working-class movement.

Engels described the tactics which Marx and he followed during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany to prove that the workers should participate in the battle for general democratic demands under the leadership of their own, independent political party representing their class interests, and working for their ultimate aim. His articles countered bourgeois historians who distorted the story of the early stage of the German labour movement, and also opportunist elements in the German Social-Democratic movement prone to abandoning the revolutionary struggle in exchange for minor concessions by the ruling classes. Engels portrayed Marx's speech before the jury in Cologne as a model of integrity and courage. The way Marx defended "the revolutionary standpoint", he observed, could serve as an example for some also today".[1]

In January 1887, Engels wrote a preface for the second edition of his book, *The Housing Question*. Examining some of the special features of Germany's industrial development, he confuted the petty-bourgeois illusions surfacing here and there in the Social-Democratic party, whose bearers regarded what he described as "mere social

[1] Ibid., Bd. 21, S. 200.

patchwork" and the notorious Bismarckian "state socialism" as the main line of march in improving the condition of the working class.

The preface he wrote in the spring of 1888 for the U.S. edition of Marx's *Speech about Free Trade* also dealt with economic matters. Here Engels examined some of the new phenomena in capitalist development, particularly the emergence of large industrial monopolies.

In 1884, Engels set out to rewrite his *Peasant War in Germany*. He had written it nearly 35 years before and it no longer satisfied him. The subsequent several decades—especially after the unification of Germany—suggested a new view of many events in German history. He could now understand more deeply the specific developments in Germany up to the most recent times. The available fragments and plans reveal, for one thing, that Engels intended to examine the reasons for the long feudal fragmentation of the country and its negative effects on Germany's subsequent history. For him the Peasant War of 1525 was the culmination of the Reformation, the first bourgeois revolution in Europe, and he wanted to show the consequences of its defeat. However, diverted by many other urgent matters, he was unable to complete his project.

He also regarded as useful to republish some of the old, but still relevant works of his friends and comrades. For Wilhelm Wolff's pamphlet, *The Silesian Milliard* (a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849), which exposed the semi-feudal exploitation of peasants by the Prussian Junkers, he wrote an introduction entitled, "Apropos of the History of the Prussian Peasants"—a forceful portrayal of agrarian relations in Eastern Germany and a model of Marxist historico-economic research.

In December 1887, Engels set out to write a pamphlet about the part force played in history. It was to consist of three partly revised chapters of *Anti-Dühring*, entitled "The Force Theory", setting out the Marxist conception of the relation of economy and politics, and one new chapter based on the history of Germany of the latter half of the 19th century. His intention was to show the class essence of Bismarck's policy, to examine "Bismarck's force practices and the reasons for their temporary success".[1] He worked on the manuscript through the following January and February, expecting to finish it in a few months. It was to have brought matters up to date and provided his comrades in Germany with new ideological ammunition against the Bismarck regime.

However, Engels did not finish the chapter. He was occupied with other things while the uncompleted manuscript reposed in the drawer of his desk. Even unfinished, however, it is a magnificent specimen of Marxist research—a deep-going study of events blended

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 15.

with brilliant writing, and the acute problems of the times closely tied up with preceding history.

Engels showed the social and political reasons why Germany was unified not by revolutionary-democratic means but by a "revolution from above" under the dominion of Junker Prussia, by Bismarckian methods of "iron and blood".

He showed the Bonapartist character of Bismarck's policy, designed to Prussianise Germany, and Bismarck's lack of scruples in choosing his political means. His description of the German liberal bourgeoisie, which bowed to the "Iron Chancellor", was annihilating. He produced a magnificent study of the class structure of the German Reich, its constitution, Bismarck's administrative reform of the seventies, and the various German political parties.

The surviving outline plan for the concluding chapter shows that Engels also intended to prove that Bismarck's policy could not succeed and that the German Reich would ultimately collapse. The situation in Germany, he observed, was pushing the working class closer and closer to a revolution. He anticipated the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law and, as a result, a rapid growth of the Social-Democratic movement.

Engels responded enthusiastically to the request of a young French socialist, Gabriel Deville, to look at his summary of Volume I of *Capital*. He spent part of his summer vacation reading it, and returned it to the author in the beginning of October 1883, suggesting several important changes. However, Deville ignored his recommendations, and the book appeared in its original form. Hence, though Engels basically approved of it, he advised Kautsky against translating it into German because, he wrote, "the *historical* part, as well as the descriptive, should be reworked".[1] He suggested that Kautsky write his own summary of *Capital*, which Kautsky did: his book, *The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx*, was edited by Engels in the autumn of 1886.

Engels attached special importance to polemical writing against Marxism's ideological foes and various critics and "confuters" of Marx's theory. In the summer of 1884 he approved Lafargue's project of a critique of the then recently published anti-Marxist book of the French bourgeois economist P. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le collectivisme. Examen critique du nouveau socialisme*. Before sending the critique to the printer's, Lafargue mailed the manuscript to Engels, and soon received a detailed reply. Engels' recommendations, of lasting relevance as guidelines on how to criticise bourgeois literature, urged objective analysis and persuasive, strictly scientific arguments. He advised Lafargue to "reread *Capital* seriously".[2]

[1] Ibid., Bd. 36, S. 108.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

Criticism of the ideological foes and vulgarisers of Marxism was sorely needed in Germany. The bourgeois economists known as Katheder-Socialists, though critical of some aspects of capitalist reality, endeavoured to justify Bismarck's "state socialism" and extolled his "social reforms", though they were clearly designed to deceive the masses. Intervention by the bourgeois state in labour-capital relations, they maintained, was the only effective means of improving the condition of the working class. They had followers also among the Social-Democratic literati, who were urging the party to renounce revolutionary struggle. The Katheder-Socialists' theory was built on the works of Johann Karl Rodbertus, a Pomeranian landowner and vulgar economist. Rodbertus and his admirers argued that the foundation for the scientific theory of surplus value had been laid before, and independently of, Karl Marx. They depicted Rodbertus as all but the founder of scientific socialism, and placed him alongside Marx. They even tried to prove that Marx's economic theory was sustained by Rodbertus' conception. It was therefore important, Engels held, to expose the bourgeois essence of Rodbertus' "socialism" and show its close ideological link with the "state-socialist" practices of the Bismarckian Reich. Twice he made critical examinations of Rodbertus' system—in the preface to the German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and in the preface to Volume II of *Capital*. The party's revolutionary wing received them warmly. "I heartily welcome your works against Rodbertus,"[1] Bebel wrote to him in November 1884.

On Engels' initiative and with his backing, the polemics against the Rodbertus crowd occupied a conspicuous place in the *Sozialdemokrat* and the party's theoretical organ, *Neue Zeit*, in the mid-1880s.

And when one of the leaders of the party's reformist wing, Karl August Schramm, who was an active supporter of Rodbertus, issued a pamphlet, *Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle*, enjoining revolutionaries to abandon Marxism in favour of Lassalleanism, Engels strongly urged retaliation in the *Sozialdemokrat*. In June 1884, he edited Kautsky's article, "The *Capital* of Rodbertus", which berated the vulgar economists for using Rodbertus' ideas in criticising Marx, and struck at the man's admirers among the German Social-Democrats. Engels followed the controversy in the *Neue Zeit* between Kautsky and Schramm, corrected the former's mistakes and supplied him with clear and weighty arguments.

At the end of 1885, on Engels' advice, Kautsky wrote a review of the specious book by Georg Adler, a bourgeois publicist, which distorted the history of the German labour movement. Then Engels himself began writing an article, "Juridical Socialism", which was, in effect, a review of the book by a Vienna university professor Anton Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitserrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung* (The Right to Full Recompense for Labour as Presented Historically). However, he could not complete it due to ill health, and this was done by Kautsky under his supervision. Menger maintained that legal relations, not economy, were decisive in social development, and presented juridical and ethical motives for socialism, misinterpreting its historical premises and identifying Marxism with the defunct utopian theories.

[1] *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, The Hague, 1965, S. 201 (further referred to as *Bebels Briefwechsel*).

Engels' prolific journalistic writing in the 1880s deserves much of the credit for Marxism's ideological victory in the working-class movement. It helped the advanced workers and the socialists of Europe to comprehend the real substance of the various schools of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism, thus accelerating the emergence and consolidation of independent proletarian parties.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE

In a mere two months—from the end of March to the end of May 1884—Engels wrote one of his most substantial works, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Its first edition appeared in Zurich in the beginning of October 1884, followed in the author's lifetime by several editions in German, and also in many other languages.

Among Marx's papers, Engels had found a detailed abstract, drawn up in 1880-81, of a book by Lewis H. Morgan, a progressive American scholar, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, Through Barbarism to Civilisation*. The abstract contained Marx's critical remarks and observations. Marx had evidently intended to write a special treatise, examining Morgan's researches from the standpoint of historical materialism, but had not had the time to complete his project.

The abstract, and then also a reading of the book, convinced Engels that Morgan had in his own way—independently from Marx and himself—rediscovered the materialist conception of history. Studying the primitive social structures of the North American Indians, among whom he had lived for a long time, Morgan arrived, in his comparison of barbarism and civilisation, at substantially the same conclusions as Marx and Engels. They had drawn them in the forties, and he in the seventies. Morgan's great merit, Engels wrote, lies in having found in the groups based on ties of sex among the North American Indians the key to the most important riddles of the earliest Greek, Roman and German history, discovering "this pre-historic foundation of our written history in its main features", and in being the first person "with expert knowledge to attempt to introduce a definite order into the pre-history of man".[1]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 192, 204.

Leaning on Morgan, supplementing his findings with new economic material, and using the critical remarks in Marx's abstract and his own notes on the history of Greece, Rome, Ireland and the Ancient Germans, Engels produced a broad canvas, showing the origin of the family, private property and the state. In a way, he held, he was thereby discharging Marx's will

In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* Engels described the primeval communal society, the slave-owning and, to a point, the feudal system. The truly scientific materialist conception of world history benefited greatly from this concrete study. His analysis of the relations marking the pre-capitalist modes of production contributed to economics and, in a broad sense, to some of the crucial questions of political economy.

This classic book contained the first materialist exposition of the early history of human society, showing the evolution of the family through the successive socio-economic formations, the process of decay of the primeval communal system, the emergence of the class society based on private property, the origin and essence of the state, and its historically inevitable disappearance in the classless communist society.

The key topic was the history of the family and its place in the life of society. Initially, Engels maintained, family relations, gentile bonds, considerably influenced the social system. Then, as the productive forces expanded, the situation changed. The development of production, the growth of productivity and the inception of private property saw the old society, reposing on gentile associations, burst asunder. In its place there arose a new society, "in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system, and in which the class antagonisms and class struggles, which make up the content of all hitherto *written* history, now freely develop".[1]

A consistent materialist and dialectician, Engels traced step by step the development and mutation of the forms of the family depending on changes in the mode of producing the means of subsistence.

In the initial period of man's history there were different types of group marriage; then came pairing marriage, a union of single pairs for longer or shorter periods, and finally monogamy.

Not content with Morgan's findings, Engels invoked the researches of other scholars, and made extensive use of available ancient imaginative literature, including Homer's poems, and of folklore. When revising the book for its fourth, considerably complemented, edition (1891), he also used the works of Maxim Kovalevsky with the note that science is indebted to this Russian scholar for the proof that the patriarchal household community of the Slav and Oriental peoples constituted the transition stage between the mother-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3 p. 192.

right family which evolved out of group marriage and the individual family of the modern world.

The earliest forms of the family had for their economic basis a primeval communistic household, in which the woman predominated. The women ruling this household usually belonged to the same gens, whereas the men came from different gentes. Lineage was traced only by the distaff side. As the productive forces grew, the woman's influence in economic matters and social relations declined. And with the inception of private property mother-right collapsed, whereupon lineage began to follow the paternal or spear side. Through the intermediate form of the patriarchal family, mankind finally arrived at the monogamian family, such as prevails in our time. Monogamy, Engels pointed out, is by no means a marriage of reconciled and loving man and woman. "It appears," he wrote, "as the subjection of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto.... Monogamy was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth, that epoch, lasting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of the one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other. It is the cellular form of civilised society, in which we can already study the nature of the antagonisms and contradictions which develop fully in the latter."[1]

Engels is highly critical of the modern bourgeois family which bourgeois ideologues extol as the ideal, as the supreme embodiment of morality. In fact, the bourgeois family is largely based on marriages of convenience. This is why in a bourgeois marriage, by the side of the husband, whose life is "embellished" by hetaerism, stands the virtually neglected wife, who endeavours on every convenient occasion to cuckold her lawful husband.

But in bourgeois society, too, mutual love and respect are decisive in marriages of members of the oppressed classes, principally the proletarians. These Engels describes as voluntary unions of equal people.

Completing his exhaustive analysis of the different forms of the family, Engels examines the transformations to which the family will be subjected "after the impending effacement of capitalist production". He writes: "That will be settled after a new generation has grown up: a generation of men who never in all their lives have had occasion to purchase a woman's surrender either with money or with any other means of social power, and of women who have never been obliged to surrender to any man out of any consideration other than that of real love, or to refrain from giving themselves

[1] Ibid., p 240.

to their beloved for fear of the economic consequences."[1] These new people will turn their backs forever on the abomination and falsehood of bourgeois family relations.

Engels' investigation of the origin and development of the various forms of property is also exceedingly valuable. He refutes the bourgeois economists and sociologists who claim that private property is eternal, and shows that it did not exist until a definite stage in the history of human society. The emergence and development of forms of property he associates closely with the development of the productive forces.

With the evolution of the tools of production and the growth of the productivity of labour, he shows, there evolved the social division of labour; with it the forms of property and social relations changed. The gentile organisation of property broke down. Private property appeared, whereupon society split into classes with opposite economic interests. The first great social division of labour—the separation of cattle-breeding—gave impulse to regular exchange between pastoral and non-pastoral tribes, leading to a higher productivity of labour, to greater wealth and to the institution of slavery. There occurred the first great division of society into classes: masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited. And as a result of the second great social division of labour—the separation of handicrafts from agriculture—there appeared in addition to the distinction between freemen and slaves also the distinction among freemen between rich and poor, and, consequently, also new social classes. Lastly, the third great social division of labour—the separation of a special type of people no longer active in production, but exclusively in exchanging the products of labour—created a new class of exploiters, the merchants—"a class of parasites ... genuine social sycophants".[2]

This is Engels' general description of the development of the productive forces and the accompanying changes in the relations of production in the early stages of the development of society.

Engels proved that communal possession of the means of production had prevailed in the initial stage of the development of all peoples. The society in which the gens and tribe were the main cells that replaced the primordial herd at a certain stage, was not divided into classes, knew nothing of the relations of domination and subjection, or of a public power, the state, separate from the people. But this initial form of communistic property was primitive: it stemmed from the low level of labour productivity, and in this lay its weakness and the seed of its destruction. The growth of the productivity of labour, Engels shows, led to the triumph of private property and served as the basis for the development of its various

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 254-55.
[2] Ibid., p. 323.

forms: slave-owning, feudalistic, and capitalistic. Also, he shows how society broke up into antagonistic classes. Private property attained its highest and fullest degree of development under capitalism, and became an obstacle to man's further progress. It is torn down by the social revolution of the proletariat, which abolishes private ownership of the means of production and makes the passage to common communistic property. This, Engels pointed out, is the dialectics of history.

The exhaustive examination of the origin and essence of the state in Engels' book was a new step forward in the Marxist teaching on the state—a logical projection of such classical works as the *Communist Manifesto*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *The Civil War in France*, and *Anti-Dühring*.

Engels proved that there had been societies which had no state or state power. They had existed for a long time. The state was conceived at a later stage as a result of the disintegration of the gentile organisation of society. It is not a power imposed from outside, but a product of the intrinsic development of society.

The state, he wrote, came into being as a result of the appearance of private property and the accompanying division of society into classes with irreconcilable interests. He referred to the origin of states in ancient Athens and Rome, and among the Germans, to prove that the state is a special power which only appears to stand above society and to alleviate the conflicts of classes and, at most, to permit class struggle exclusively in the economic sphere, within the bounds of "order". Its principal feature is the organisation of people according to territory, and not ties of blood. The second distinguishing feature of the state is the existence of a public power consisting of special units of armed men, and also of "material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion of all kinds".[1] As a general rule, the state is an instrument "of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class".[2]

The book examines various concrete forms of the state, and, in particular, the class nature of the bourgeois-democratic republic, which the apologists of capitalism portray as the supreme form of democracy. In a democratic republic, Engels points out, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. On the one hand, in the form of the direct corruption of officials, of which America provides the classical example; on the other hand, in the form of an alliance between government and Stock Exchange, which becomes the easier to achieve the more the public debt increases and the more joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not

[1] Ibid., p. 327.
[2] Ibid., p. 328.

only transport but also production itself, using the Stock Exchange as their centre".[1]

Warning against the parliamentary illusions in the working-class movement, especially among opportunist Social-Democrats in Germany, Engels wrote that as long as the power of capital prevails, no democratic freedoms as such would ever bring about the social emancipation of working people.

Concluding his examination of the origin of the state, he wrote that classes "will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. Society, which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe".[2]

Lenin praised the book highly. He described it as "one of the fundamental works of modern socialism". In it, he said, "every sentence ... can be accepted with confidence, in the assurance that it has not been said at random but is based on immense historical and political material".[3] It embodies extraordinary creative thought, equipping the working class with scientific arguments to counter and expose apologists of capitalism, the Katheder-Socialists and other foes of social progress, who endeavour to prove immutable the system based on private property.

LUDWIG FEUERBACH AND THE END OF CLASSICAL GERMAN PHILOSOPHY

In 1885 a Stuttgart publisher put out a book about Ludwig Feuerbach by Carl Starcke, a Danish philosopher and sociologist. The editors of the *Neue Zeit* asked Engels to write a critical review. He consented gladly, because this provided an opportunity to present his own and Marx's view on Hegel's philosophy and, chiefly, to show "the influence which Feuerbach ... had upon us during our period of storm and stress".[4] There was one more reason: neither he nor Marx had until then given a coherent account of their relation to these two philosophers, the immediate predecessors of Marx's philosophy.

The time could not have been more opportune. Hegelian philosophy was regaining influence, and idealistic philosophy—particularly the neo-Kantian and positivist—and vulgar materialism, were winning adherents among the bourgeoisie and a section of Social-Democratic intellectuals. A comprehensive exposition of the fundamental principles of Marxist philosophy, therefore, would only benefit the movement.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 329.
[2] Ibid., p. 330.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 473.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 336.

This, briefly, was the pre-history of Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, a classic of scientific communism elucidating the origin and development of the Marxist world outlook and presenting the principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

Originally, it appeared in the *Neue Zeit* in 1886, and then in Stuttgart in 1888 as a book, revised by the author and containing his foreword. During Engels' lifetime it was published twice in Russian, and also in Bulgarian and French. Among its earliest translators were G. V. Plekhanov and Laura Lafargue.

It outlined the philosophical sources of the proletarian world outlook, stressed the fundamental difference between this new outlook and all preceding philosophical doctrines, enumerated the flaws, and demonstrated the historical significance of the philosophies of Hegel and Feuerbach.

The main line of development in philosophy throughout its history was struggle between two opposite philosophical camps—materialism and idealism. And Engels was the first to produce a classical definition of this fundamental philosophical issue. "The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy," he wrote, "is that concerning the relation of thinking and being."[1] And he continued: "The answers which philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other—and among the philosophers, Hegel, for example, this creation often becomes still more intricate and impossible than in Christianity—comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."[2]

This supreme philosophical question also has another side: the relation between being and its reflection in human consciousness; whether or not our thinking is able to apprehend the real world and our ideas and notions of reality are a true reflection of this reality.

Engels showed the power of our reason, man's ability to solve the secrets of the objective world. The most persuasive refutation of agnosticism as of all other philosophical schools which contest man's ability to know the world, or at least to know it exhaustively, Engels wrote, "is practice, namely, experiment and industry. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural process by making it ourselves, bringing it into being out of its conditions and making it serve our own purposes into the bargain, then there is an end to the Kantian ungraspable 'thing-in-itself'.[3]

[1] Ibid., p. 345.
[2] Ibid., p. 346.
[3] Ibid., p. 347.

Following a critical analysis of the Hegelian philosophy, he disclosed its profound contradictions. Hegel's dialectical method was progressive and revolutionary in substance, but his idealistic system, his theory, was conservative, dogmatic and metaphysical. His philosophical doctrine left much room for the most diverse practical conclusions. Those who put the main emphasis on Hegel's system could be conservative in religion and politics; those who regarded the dialectical method as the main thing could belong to the most extreme opposition. "Hegel himself," Engels pointed out, "despite the fairly frequent outbursts of revolutionary wrath in his works, seemed on the whole to be more inclined to the conservative side."[1]

Hegel's famous statement, "All that is real is rational; and all that is rational is real", may be interpreted as a philosophical justification of everything in existence, even the most reactionary political order. In fact, however, Hegel's method recognises as real only that which is necessary. This may lead to the completely opposite conclusion: the necessary is also rational, and that which is rational and necessary, must become real. In the course of development, all that was previously real loses its necessity, its rationality, and thereby also its right to exist, and must be replaced by something that is necessary, that is rational. Consequently, Engels remarks, according to the rules of the Hegelian method, the proposition about all that is real being rational turns into another proposition: all that exists deserves to perish. "In the place of moribund reality," he writes, "comes a new, viable reality—peacefully if the old has enough intelligence to go to its death without a struggle; forcibly if it resists this necessity."[2]

"The true significance and the revolutionary character of the Hegelian philosophy"[3] Engels inferred precisely from its dialectical method, which "once and for all dealt the death blow to the finality of all products of human thought and action".[4] Like knowledge, history cannot come to a complete conclusion. All the successive social systems in history are but transitory stages in the endless development of human society. "For dialectical philosophy," he wrote, "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. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain."[5]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 342-43.
[2] Ibid., p. 338.
[3] Ibid., p. 339.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Yet Hegel did not draw these revolutionary conclusions; on the contrary, his idealistic system required the culmination of the process of development in an absolute truth. Falling prey to his own abstract, speculative scheme, defying his own method, contradicting dialectics, he maintained that the absolute idea in the political sphere is embodied in the estate monarchy promised by Friedrich Wilhelm III, and in the sphere of philosophy in his own system. What this means, Engels wrote, is that "the revolutionary side is smothered beneath the overgrowth of the conservative side. And what applies to philosophical cognition applies also to historical practice".[1]

The followers of Hegel, including the Young Hegelians, who had lost their way in a bewildering maze of contradictions, could not save the Hegelian school from disintegration. The way out of the labyrinth was found in the return to materialism—an exploit performed by Ludwig Feuerbach, who proclaimed the triumph of materialism in his book, *The Essence of Christianity*, which exploded and cast aside the idealistic system. The book had a truly liberating effect on the searching revolution-minded youth. "Enthusiasm was general," Engels wrote. "We all became at once Feuerbachians."[2]

Despite their enthusiasm, however, neither Engels nor Marx were out-and-out Feuerbachians. They quickly spotted the flaws in Feuerbach's new philosophical teaching and passed from what were at first only occasional critical remarks to all-out criticism of Feuerbach in *The German Ideology*. Feuerbach's evolution, Engels pointed out, is that of a Hegelian into a materialist; at a definite stage this necessitated a complete rupture with Hegel's idealistic system. That material sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong, is the only reality; and our consciousness and thinking, however suprasensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter. This initial philosophical view put forward by Feuerbach, Engels observes, is "pure materialism".

However, he writes, having got so far "Feuerbach stops short".[3] He throws together the materialism that is a general world outlook with its 18th-century forms and his contemporary vulgar materialism of Büchner, Karl Vogt and Moleschott. Yet, like idealism, materialism, too, has gone through several stages of development. "With each epoch-making discovery even in the sphere of natural science," Engels points out, "it has to change its form; and after history also was subjected to materialistic treatment, a new avenue of development has opened here too."[4]

[1] Ibid., p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 344.
[3] Ibid., p. 348.
[4] Ibid., p. 349.

Engels showed the flaws and limitations of the 18th-century materialism. To begin with, it was predominantly mechanistic. Out of all the natural sciences, mechanics alone, whose laws materialists applied to processes of a chemical or organic nature, had attained some degree of consummation. Secondly, the old materialism was metaphysical, anti-dialectical. It regarded things as complete and immutable, and was unable to perceive the material world as matter undergoing uninterrupted historical development, an uninterrupted change. Yet nature is in eternal motion. So much was known. And this motion was conceived mechanistically, as an eternal turning in a circle, yielding the same results over and over. Thirdly, this old materialism prevailed also in history, and was equally metaphysical and limited. It regarded history as at best a collection of facts and events, and was blind to their historical interconnection and development. The 18th-century materialists' view of historical facts was, in effect, idealistic.

Feuerbach's materialism had inherited all these failings; it was also mechanistic, metaphysical, limited and inconsistent. Rejecting Hegel's idealism, Feuerbach also rejected the dialectical method. He had been a witness to the three so decisive discoveries—that of the organic cell, the transformation of energy, and Darwin's theory of evolution. But withdrawn from the world, living in rural solitude, he could not appreciate them sufficiently, and comprehend that nature must be conceived dialectically; all the more so since natural scientists were still contesting the significance of these discoveries. In spite of the materialist foundation he had erected, Feuerbach was still in the grip of idealist fetters. As a philosopher, Engels writes, "he stopped halfway, was a materialist below and an idealist above".[1]

Feuerbach's idealism is evident principally in his philosophy of religion and ethics. "The periods of humanity are distinguished only by religious changes"—this Feuerbachian postulate speaks clearly of his idealism in relation to history. He did not wish to abolish religion; all he wanted was to improve it. And, as Engels observed, for him the highest form of the practice of his new religion was love among all, which, in effect, he reduced to sex love. For Feuerbach the kernel of religion was the cult of abstract man seen outside time, outside the environment and historical practice. And his ethical teaching reposes upon this basis.

Man's craving for happiness, his equal right to it, is at the root of the Feuerbachian ethics. Feuerbach's abstract humanism overlooks the real social relationships, the division of society into opposite classes, into exploiters and exploited. Engels showed that "Feuerbach's morality is cut exactly to the pattern of modern capitalist society, little as Feuerbach himself might desire or imagine it".[2]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 361.
[2] Ibid., p. 359.

Far removed from the real and vital interests of people, from social contradictions and political struggle, Feuerbach exhorted one and all to general fraternisation, to general love. At this point, Engels wrote, "the last relic of its revolutionary character disappears from his philosophy".[1] Feuerbach proved unable to escape from the realm of abstraction—for which he had a deadly hatred—into living reality. He embraced nature and man, but both were for him mere words.

Further, Engels showed the substance of the revolutionary overturn in philosophy performed by dialectical and historical materialism. The rupture with Hegelian philosophy was here also the result of a return to materialism, which comprehends the world just as it is, free from preconceived idealistic crotchets. But Hegel was not simply put aside, as this was done by Feuerbach. On the contrary, his dialectical method was adopted as the starting point. But since it was useless in its Hegelian form, it was repatterned upon a materialistic basis, turned from its head and placed upon its feet. "We comprehended the concepts in our heads once more materialistically—as images [*Abbilder*] of real things," Engels wrote, "instead of regarding the real things as images of this or that stage of the absolute concept.... Thereby the dialectic of concepts itself became merely the conscious reflex of the dialectical motion of the real world."[2]

A large section of the book Engels devoted to the fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism. He showed the integrity and consistency of Marxist philosophical materialism, which provides the one correct materialistic conception both of the phenomena of nature and the phenomena of human society. "What is true of nature, which is hereby recognised also as a historical process of development," he wrote, "is likewise true of the history of society in all its branches and of the totality of all sciences which occupy themselves with things human (and divine)."[3] That only blind, unconscious agencies operate in nature, while people endowed with consciousness operate in society, does not alter the case. "This distinction, important as it is for historical investigation, particularly of single epochs and events," Engels stressed, "cannot alter the fact that the course of history is governed by inner general laws."[4] Objective laws governing the development of the material world are active in human society, as well as in nature. This concept of historical development distinguishes Marxism radically from all varieties of idealism, but also from all the old forms of materialism, including Feuerbach's. The old materialism regarded ideal motives as the cause of men's actions. It did not comprehend the more profound causes, the objective laws and regularities of social develop-

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 362.
[3] Ibid., p. 365.
[4] Ibid., p. 366.

ment. It therefore traced historical events to the actions and motivations of individuals, of outstanding men, drifting thus to subjective idealism, to voluntarism.

The Marxist view, on the contrary, reaches deep down to the driving powers behind historical events, to the motives and actions not of individuals, but of large masses of people, of whole peoples, and in each people—of classes. Referring to England and France, where political events reflected the conflicting interests of the feudal elements, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, Engels stressed that precisely the struggle of these three great classes represented "the driving force of modern history—at least in the two most advanced countries".[1] This definition of class struggle as the motive power of the historical process Lenin described as the guideline for the discovery of the laws governing the seeming chaos of social relations.

The roots of all political and ideological relations, Engels showed, should be sought in the material, economic conditions. Relations of production are the basis of society, society's decisive element, while the state, law and ideological systems (philosophy, religion, and the like) are the superstructure, the subordinate element. "In modern history," he wrote, "the will of the state is, on the whole, determined by the changing needs of civil society, by the supremacy of this or that class, in the last resort, by the development of the productive forces and relations of exchange.... The state ... is on the whole only a reflection, in concentrated form, of the economic needs of the class controlling production."[2]

State law and public law, Engels pointed out, reflect and sanction economic relations between individuals. He described Roman Law as the first world law of a commodity-producing society. And all legal institutions of modern times, too, juridically express in one form or other the economic pattern in society.

Engels noted the determinative quality of the material, economic basis also with regard to the higher ideologies, such as are still farther removed from it—including philosophy, religion and ethics. Though in this case the connection between concepts and their material sources becomes more complicated, more obscured by the intermediate links, it exists all the same.

However, he warned against vulgar interpretations of the materialistic conception of history, against ignoring or belittling the political and ideological factors. The political system and the forms of the ideological superstructure are relatively independent; they are subject to specific laws of development and may, therefore, exercise an inverse influence on the economic basis and on each other. Speaking of the active role of the state as an independent political force, Engels inferred the necessity for political action

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 368.
[2] Ibid., p. 370.

by the oppressed class against the dominion of the reactionary classes.

Historical materialism dealt a death blow to the idealistic conception of history, just as the dialectical conception of nature made all philosophy of nature redundant and impossible. Having found the key to the understanding of the whole history of society in the history of the development of material production, the Marxist philosophy addressed itself from the outset principally to the working class and was always expressive of the workers' most cherished aspirations. It won recognition and allegiance as the successor to the finest achievements of all preceding philosophical thought. And none but the working-class movement, Engels stressed, is the real heir to the German classical philosophy.

HAMMERING OUT THE CORRECT TACTICS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

Soon after Marx's death, Bebel invited Engels to return to Germany or move to Switzerland. There was nothing any more to keep Engels in London, Bebel thought, while on the continent he could be of greater help to the German Social-Democrats. But Engels would not go. Though he took the interests of the German proletariat very close to heart, England was the place for him if he wished to do his duty to the international working-class movement: it was a more convenient place for keeping up his well-regulated contacts with the socialist movement abroad, and he was reasonably sure of not being persecuted by the police there. Furthermore, his scientific pursuits would suffer if he were to leave his familiar environment.

All the same, Engels devoted very close attention to the labour movement in Germany, not only because of his past personal involvement in the battles of the German proletariat, but mainly because the German Social-Democracy was then the "leading European workers' party".[1] Despite the gross theoretical errors in the Gotha Programme and the opportunistic shilly-shallying of some of its leaders, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was essentially a Marxist party. Its magnificent stand against the Anti-Socialist Law, steadily rising prestige, election victories, and skilled use of diverse means of struggle, including parliament—all this was immensely useful for the international movement. "Your victories," Engels wrote to Bebel in October 1884, "leave an impression everywhere—from Siberia to California and from Sicily to Sweden."[2]

Defying the Anti-Socialist Law, the German Social-Democrats swiftly restored the dissolved party branches, held their congresses

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 39.
[2] Ibid., S. 215.

regularly abroad, built up a militant press and organised very efficient underground transportation and dissemination of their central paper, *Sozialdemokrat* (published in Zurich). They conducted political agitation on a massive scale, and the foremost workers succeeded, in fact, in replacing the many labour organisations dissolved under the Anti-Socialist Law with a variety of societies, sick funds, mutual aid groups, and the like. In the early 1880s trade unions, too, began to revive, and became even more influential by the mid-eighties than they had been before the Anti-Socialist Law.

Engels admired the courage of the German workers who fought for emancipation. "Such tenacity, perseverance, flexibility, readiness to do battle, and such victory-conscious humour in battling the small and big miseries of German reality," he wrote in August 1883, "are unheard of in Germany's modern history."[1]

Regular participation in elections to parliament Engels described as a "general test"[2] of strength. It enabled the party to conduct mass political agitation and assess its influence in the country and the different provinces. Engels also regarded the Reichstag as an important rostrum from which to expose the anti-people's policy of the ruling classes and to defend the workers' interests. When Bebel once doubted the benefits of parliamentary work in the environment created by the Anti-Socialist Law, Engels objected: "This one still open channel is absolutely not dispensable."[3]

In May 1884, Paul Singer came over from Germany. Engels and he discussed the autumn Reichstag elections, for which Engels advised flexible tactics, not short of agreements with other parties opposed to Bismarck's government.[4]

Engels waited eagerly for news about the outcome of the elections. And great was his joy when Bebel's telegram of October 29 announced a big victory: the Social-Democratic candidates had polled nearly 550,000, or almost 240,000 more votes than three years before. Following the recount, 24 Social-Democratic deputies were seated in the Reichstag, much to the delight of Engels and his friends in London. "This is more than I expected,"[5] he wrote to Bebel that evening, and then, on November 8, 1884, to Kautsky: "The elections will re-echo across Europe and America. It was really a day of triumph.... For the first time in history a solidly united workers' party stands before the world as a real political power, grown and steeled while cruelly persecuted and conquering one position after another irresistibly."[6] Praising the fighting spirit

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 56-57.
[2] Ibid., S. 214.
[3] Ibid., S. 25.
[4] Ibid., S. 150-51.
[5] Ibid., S. 227.
[6] Ibid., S. 229-30.

of the German workers and the "genuinely revolutionary and proletarian language"[1] of the election platform, Engels described the results of the election as proof of the revolutionary tactics that Marx and he had recommended to the German socialists following the enactment of the Anti-Socialist Law. "The elections have shown," he wrote to Bebel on November 18, 1884, "that we have nothing to expect from compliance, that is, from concessions to our adversaries. It was solely by obstinate resistance that we have won respect and become a power."[2]

Engels traced the reason for the steady growth of the Social-Democrats' influence to Germany's peculiar economic and political development following her unification. The rapid industrial growth of a but recently backward country, he said, was accompanied by massive expropriation of the small peasant and craftsman, while a well-developed working-class movement operated under the leadership of a party equipped with the theory of scientific socialism. The spread of capitalism to the village assumed extremely painful forms for the peasants, reducing them either to farm labourers or workers of domestic (cottage) industry. Their attachment to their bit of land enabled the capitalists and Junker landowners to exploit them mercilessly. "Nowhere," Engels wrote, "...are such infamously low wages paid as in the German domestic industries."[3] This had its effect on the condition of all workers. Hence the acuteness of the class contradictions.

In view of the relation of class forces in Germany, Engels urged the Social-Democrats to work among the peasants and rural proletariat. Among other things, he recommended that they should sponsor a Reichstag bill on founding cooperative farm-labourers' societies in Prussia on the basis of state-owned estates, which were then mostly leased to big tenants. "Thus and only thus," he wrote to Bebel in December 1884, "are the farm labourers to be won: it is the best possible way of bringing home to them that they are certain ultimately to run in common the large estates now in the possession of their gracious masters."[4]

The party's election victory motivated Engels to look into its parliamentary tactics. It had become the first working-class party in history that had—by virtue of the size of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag—gained the right to submit legislative projects. Engels urged that this opportunity should be used to the fullest. Apart from criticising the anti-people's policy of the government, he said, the Social-Democrats should submit "positive bills", wording them "firmly, that is, without concession to petty-bour-

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 251.
[2] Ibid., S. 240-41.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 301.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 254.

geois prejudices".[1] This would underscore the defeat of Bismarck's reactionary policy of excluding the proletariat from the country's political life as an independent social force. Engels suggested a number of bills: legislative definition of a normal working day (ten hours, gradually reduced to eight), factory legislation (all-German and international), legislation fixing responsibility for job accidents, legislation to assure maintenance of people crippled at work, etc. These bills, he said, would help expose Bismarck's social demagogy.

Each strong Reichstag speech by the party's revolutionary leaders was a joy for Engels. Bebel's intervention in the debate on prolonging the Anti-Socialist Law evoked the following comment from him: "The spectacle of this whole company—I should say pack of hounds—crowding around you, barking and howling, only to be driven away with cuts of the whip, is delightful."[2] And another of Bebel's speeches, made in the beginning of 1888, he described as a "real masterpiece".[3] Time and again, his friends benefited from his advice relating to their Reichstag speeches, and on several occasions he even contributed material.

Engels closely collaborated with the *Sozialdemokrat.* And the fact that it had been a militant socialist organ in the twelve "most decisive years in the life of the German Workers' Party"[4] it owed principally to his unfailing assistance. Summing up, Engels called it "unquestionably the best sheet" the party had ever had.[5] He wrote for it regularly, and this largely determined its face. Many times, his view on cardinal policy and tactical issues was set out in its editorial articles.

In the spring of 1888 the Swiss government was pressed by the German authorities to expel the managers and editors of the *Sozialdemokrat* and the party's publishing house. The paper was transferred to London, and Engels helped to set up its new editorial offices. From October 1, 1888, when the paper was resumed in London, and until the day of its closure (end of September 1890), he was able to exercise a direct influence on its editors.

Engels also cooperated with the *Neue Zeit*, the party's theoretical journal appearing in Stuttgart since 1883, and its editor, Karl Kautsky. Many were the times when he had to criticise its mistakes and help remedy them. And aware of its delicate position as the legal Social-Democratic organ in the environment created by the Anti-Socialist Law, he called on Kautsky to be more cautious in picking his helpers, and to stamp out all opportunism.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 234.
[2] Ibid., S. 470.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887-90, Moscow, 1960, p. 93.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 76.
[5] Ibid., S. 77.

However, the victories could not obscure the negative trends in the party. In May 1883, Engels confided to Bebel that he was alarmed by the behaviour of the reformists, including such recent Lassalleans as Wilhelm Hasenclever and Friedrich Fritzsche. "Their so-called socialism," he wrote a few months later, "is nothing but purely philistine rhetoric."[1] And during the 1884 election campaign he observed that though the party was fortifying its positions, there was "continuous and growing collusion among its 'highbrow' bourgeois elements".[2]

Bebel, too, was disturbed, and did his utmost to offset the influence of the opportunist petty-bourgeois elements. But Liebknecht's was a different, in many ways conciliatory, attitude, for which Engels criticised him.

The rapidly growing number of Social-Democratic voters, including many who had but recently come from the petty-bourgeois milieu, were an objectively favourable factor for the opportunists. "The petty-bourgeois elements among the leaders," Engels wrote, "will at this time find the support they had lacked before among the masses here and there. What used to be reactionary tendencies of individuals, may now be locally reproduced among the masses as an unavoidable aspect of development."[3]

Engels' fears came true. At the end of 1884, a conflict erupted in the Reichstag faction, which was in effect the party's leading organ, discomposing the entire party for several months and all but bringing about a split. A government bill to subsidise private shipping to East Asia, Africa and Australia was about to come before the Reichstag, and Bebel, Liebknecht and their followers opposed it on the grounds that it was linked with Bismarck's colonial adventures. They wanted the faction to vote against it. The reformist majority, however, held forth demagogically about the benefits of world-wide commercial ties, the interest of shipyard workers, and the like. Following a long discussion, they decided to let every deputy vote independently.

The party leaders asked Engels for advice. Paul Singer came to see him early in December, and towards the end of the month Bebel set out his standpoint in a letter. Engels supported Bebel's view.

To prevail on the opportunist majority, the *Sozialdemokrat* published editorials, letters from party members and resolutions of party branches against the government bill. Engels supported the editors in every possible way. Bebel finally triumphed, and the faction voted *en bloc* against the bill. "The story with the shipping subsidies," Engels wrote in early April 1885, "has come off fairly well."[4]

[1] Ibid., Bd. 36, S. 87.
[2] Ibid., S. 161.
[3] Ibid., S. 234.
[4] Ibid., S. 291.

The disgruntled opportunist majority decided, however, to hit back at the *Sozialdemokrat*. "It is not the paper that should determine the standpoint of the faction," it said, "but the faction that should control the standpoint of the paper."[1]

Engels saw the danger at once. "It is their first step towards installing the petty-bourgeois element in the party as the ruling and official," he wrote to Bebel, "and pushing back the proletarian element as the merely tolerated."[2]

The reformists' claim to full control over the newspaper angered the party membership. In nearly every issue the *Sozialdemokrat* carried resolutions and declarations of meetings and individuals opposing the attempt of the factionalists to prevent criticism of their actions in the party press. Engels urged the editors to stand firm and not allow themselves to be provoked, reminding them that the party membership was entitled to express itself through the paper. The accord between Engels and Bebel on this score was complete. "I have notified the faction," Bebel wrote to Engels on April 8, "that if it ... suppresses freedom of opinion in the party, I shall draw the appropriate conclusions and appeal to the ranks."[3]

And again the opportunists were forced to retreat: a statement which they signed jointly with the *Sozialdemokrat* editors stressed that criticism in the party would be as free as ever, and called for unity. Also it reaffirmed the special prerogatives of the *Sozialdemokrat* as an organ of the party as a whole.

In view of the Anti-Socialist Law, Engels held, there could be no question of precipitating a split. Matters did not go that far. The opportunists saw that they would have no mass support. More, the conflict between the group of deputies and the *Sozialdemokrat* editors opened the eyes of many party members to what the opportunist wing was up to, and in some measure this paved the way for its isolation. "...What we will get out of this whole thing," Engels wrote to Bebel on July 24, 1885, "is an awareness in the party that it has two currents, of which *one* sets the course for the masses and the other for the majority of the so-called leaders, and that these courses are bound gradually to draw asunder."[4]

The differences, he held, would become deeper and the struggles in the party most likely end in a split once the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed. But the events followed a different pattern. Those opportunists who had never concealed their distaste of Marxism, were soon pushed to the background. Nearly the entire party sided with the revolutionary minority of the faction. This could be traced, among other things, to the continuous criticism of opportunist postures in the party press inspired by Engels.

[1] *Sozialdemokrat*, April 2, 1885.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 292.
[3] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 221.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 347.

With the election successes came parliamentary illusions. That was what Engels had anticipated. So, when the Social-Democrats polled 774,000 votes in the 1887 elections, or 225,000 more than in 1884, but were allotted only eleven seats in the Reichstag under the undemocratic election system, he wrote on March 19, 1887: "It is really lucky that our people in the Reichstag are no longer a 'faction'; this is a good thing at least for the next several years. It is also splendid that now 'parliamentarism' has quite unexpectedly been discredited among so many."[1] What mattered for Engels was not the number of seats, but the growing number of votes, which spoke for the "irrepressible accretion of the party"[2] and was significant for the movement in other countries. "The 225,000 new votes that we won despite the hardest pressures are a step forward which has its effect throughout Europe and America,"[3] Engels wrote.

In August 1886 a group of leading German Social-Democrats was sent to prison by a court in Saxony on charges of belonging to a "secret society". Among the condemned was Bebel, who had been sentenced to nine months. For Engels this was a sign of Bismarck's weakness and an indirect admission that the Anti-Socialist Law had failed to crush the socialist movement. He feared, however, that Bebel's absence would benefit the opportunists. Also, he was disturbed by the ill effects which confinement would have on Bebel's health.

When Bebel's term was almost over, Engels wrote him a warm letter: "I want to invite you on a pleasure trip to London at my expense.... Such a holiday seems absolutely necessary for your health; you will again breathe free air, for here the air is as free as it will ever be in capitalist society."[4] Bebel accepted gladly, and spent a fortnight with Engels in October-November 1887.

Examining the processes then unfolding in Germany, Engels concluded that Bismarck's notorious carrot-and-stick policy was about to collapse. "Bismarck's policy is driving the workers and the petty-bourgeois masses to us in crowds,"[5] he observed to Sorge on January 7, 1888, predicting that the Iron Chancellor's regime would soon fall.

The developments bore him out. Bismarck's dictatorship was, indeed, considerably impaired. In February 1888 the government's proposal to prolong the Anti-Socialist Law for another five years and to complement it with new articles, was turned down by the Reichstag, which extended it only for another two years. Engels commented: "The greatest triumph that we have so far gained in

[1] Ibid., S. 632.
[2] Ibid., S. 622.
[3] Ibid., S. 627.
[4] Ibid., S. 694.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 37, S. 10.

the parliamentary field!"[1] He praised the speeches of Bebel and Singer, which had strongly influenced the outcome of the voting.

The workers' strikes at the end of the eighties, especially the Ruhr miners' strike in the spring of 1889—the biggest of them—were for Engels evidence of the break-down of Bismarck's home policy.

ENGELS AND THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS

The condition and growth of the German working-class movement was closely linked with the workers' struggles in other European countries.

In many ways, too, the success of international socialism depended on the movement in France, a country with militant revolutionary traditions, enhanced by the exploit of the Communards, who had attempted to set up the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat.

As before, Paul and Laura Lafargue were Engels' most trustworthy contacts with his French followers. He corresponded with them regularly, shared his thoughts and plans with them, and from them received exhaustive information about the situation in France. Besides, they passed on his advice and recommendations to the leaders of the Workers' Party. From time to time, Engels also wrote to Jules Guesde and Gabriel Deville, and a few other French socialists. He read the socialist press, and regular perusal of Paris newspapers kept him abreast of the country's political affairs. For an independent working-class movement to make headway in France, he held, it was absolutely essential that Marxism should become widespread there.

Engels took a close interest in the tactics of the Workers' Party, its relations with other socialist groups, and its activity in elections. He held that the party should concentrate on liberating the mass of workers from the political influence of the radical bourgeoisie, which used socialist rhetoric as a mere disguise. He approved of the Workers' Party decision not to put up candidates where the Possibilists and Blanquists had put up theirs, and thus prevent dispersal of socialist votes in the Paris municipal elections in May 1884. "Your electoral tactics," he wrote to Lafargue on May 10, "are those which I would have recommended."[2] He warned earnestly against premature action; knowing that some French socialist leaders were apt to exaggerate the movement's potential, he feared that a provocation could touch off an unprepared action, which would end in a defeat for the advanced section of the working class. "The police *want* a few barricades," he wrote in a letter to Laura Lafargue on May 29, 1885, "and if they get them, there will be a

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 29.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 204.

jolly massacre—the people have not the ghost of a chance of victory."[1]

Engels held it for probable that the centre of gravity in French political life would gradually shift leftward; the Radicals would come to power and, no longer playing at opposition, reveal their bourgeois nature. Workers who still supported them would then recoil. "I consider this slow but irrepressible development of the French Republic to its necessary final result—antithesis between radical, sham-socialist bourgeois and really revolutionary workers—one of the most important events,"[2] he wrote to Bebel on June 6, 1884.

He applauded the French Marxists' efforts to fortify their ties with the masses. He praised their agitation, especially in the provinces, and closely followed the Workers' Party Congress in Roubaix in the spring of 1884. He wrote to Lafargue on April 18: "My congratulations on the success of your congress."[3] Every sign that the mass movement was growing and the socialists were gaining influence heartened him.

In January 1886, Engels' attention was drawn to the miners' strike in Decazeville, one of the biggest in France in the 1880s. More than 2,000 people took part in it, protesting the hard working and living conditions. It lasted for nearly five months and had far-reaching repercussions at home and abroad. Among other things, it greatly reduced the Radicals' political influence on the workers. This was what impressed Engels most. One Émile-Joseph Basly, a former miner and deputy of the National Assembly, investigated the reasons for the strike on his own initiative, and submitted an interpellation in the strikers' defence. He was supported by two other worker deputies, Boyer and Camélinat, and several Left Radicals. This precipitated a rupture with the Radical faction and resulted in the emergence of an independent socialist group in the parliament. Engels hailed the courage and resolve of the worker deputies and took joy in their vivid, strongly-worded speeches. "The events in France have completely rejuvenated him," Kautsky wrote later. "He read to us the speeches of Basly, Boyer, etc., aloud from beginning to end as soon as the *Cri du Peuple* arrived."[4]

Engels regarded all the events related to the Decazeville strike principally as a sign of the workers' growing political awareness. And not less important, as he saw it, was the strike's positive effect on the socialist movement. In a way, it furthered rapprochement between the various socialist groups. In the Paris by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies in May 1886, all of them (excepting the Possibilists) nominated a joint candidate, the journalist Ernest

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 375.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 197.
[4] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Roche, who had shortly before been sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for agitating in Decazeville. For Engels "the alliance of all the socialist factions for joint action"[1] was an important step to the organisational unity of the French workers upon a Marxist foundation. He was pleased, too, that the leaders of the Workers' Party were prominent in the new revival of the movement. "And the best thing of all is that our people, Guesde, Lafargue and Deville, are its theoretical leaders,"[2] he wrote. Roche, though he was not elected, polled nearly 70,000 votes more than all the socialist candidates in Paris did in October 1885. In a letter to Lafargue on May 7, 1886, Engels congratulated the French socialists on the "victory, which in effect marks a break from radicalism by the Paris workers".[3]

The brave Decazeville miners were supported by workers in other countries. Funds were collected for them in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and the United States. The socialist press gave the strike close coverage. Engels hailed these tokens of international solidarity, convinced that the strike would "have a tremendous effect everywhere, especially in Germany and America".[4] He tried, particularly through the press, to draw the attention of socialists in different countries to the events in France.

The tenacity and good discipline of the French workers in the strikes of the next several months, especially the long one at the farming machinery plant in Vierzon, which had begun in August 1886, won his warmest praise. "The discipline of a strike," Engels wrote on October 23, "is most useful to the French working men; ... this discipline is the first condition of successful and lasting organisation, and the thing most feared by the bourgeoisie."[5] He welcomed the grown influence of the Workers' Party and was impressed by the proceedings of the first congress of the French trade unions in Lyons in October 1886, virtually controlled by members of the Marxist wing. That the congress acknowledged the necessity of socialising the means of production as the decisive condition for the workers' complete emancipation, and that it decided to establish an all-French trade union centre (National Federation of Syndicates), satisfied him deeply.

His letters to the Lafargues show how keen he was on helping the Workers' Party to consolidate its successes. His advice bore evidence of a profound Marxist analysis of the relation of class forces and the immediate tasks that followed for the vanguard of the working class.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 478.
[2] Ibid., S. 479.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 352.
[4] Ibid., p. 341.
[5] Engels to Laura Lafargue (Central Party Archives).

The political situation in France in the latter half of the 1880s was a highly complicated one. A movement bearing the name of General Boulanger had come into being as a vehicle of chauvinist and revanchist sentiment. Appointed War Minister in January 1886, Boulanger publicly called for the reconquest of Alsace and Lorraine, annexed by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War. His demagogic attacks on corruption, his appeals to "regenerate" the Republic and his show of concern for the soldiers won him considerable popularity. As was later discovered, however, Boulanger had clandestine ties with monarchist groups. The danger of the warlike general's dictatorship became quite real. He was dismissed from the War Ministry, and in July 1887 was appointed commander of an army corps. This added to his prestige among the petty bourgeoisie and the more backward sections of the working class. But only for a short time. Boulangist agitation was seized upon by the militarist groups in the German Reich to fan anti-French sentiment.

Engels was deeply alarmed, and doubly so because most of the French socialists did not see the real nature of the Boulangist movement and underestimated the danger. Boulanger's demagogy won him the allegiance of a section of the Blanquists, while the Possibilists gave their unreserved support to the Radicals and moderate bourgeois republicans, who, being the ruling bourgeois group, naturally opposed Boulanger. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Workers' Party had no common and clear standpoint. While criticising Boulanger sharply, Guesde did not regard the situation as grave enough to warrant any specific action: for him all bourgeois parties were equally hostile to the proletariat. Lafargue, too, did not take the possibility of a military dictatorship and the chauvinist agitation seriously, and at one time was even inclined to give the Boulangists some support for criticising the bourgeois government.

All this was harmful and dangerous, Engels explained in literally every letter to the Lafargues. Boulanger's popularity, he stressed, fed largely on the discontent evoked by the present government, and it was therefore incorrect to infer from Boulanger's popularity that his movement represented the interests of the people. Any support of Boulanger by the Workers' Party, he warned, would be regarded by socialists abroad as a concession to nationalistic feeling. Though Engels was certain that none of his followers were in the slightest infected with nationalism, he criticised their posture as objectively a departure from proletarian internationalism. The absence of a clear, truly proletarian attitude towards the Boulangist movement, he warned them, would injure the prestige of the Workers' Party in the eyes of the masses. The French Marxists, he said, should follow an independent line and take no sides—either Bou-

langer's or his opponents' of the ruling group. But, he added, this did not mean they should be passively neutral. The masses should be shown that the issue was not one of "*either* personal government, *or* parliamentary government", and that there was "a real *third* issue"[1]—a genuine people's government.

The idea that the revolutionary socialists should work only for the vital interests of the French proletariat and remain faithful to proletarian internationalism, was central in all Engels' statements related to the Boulangist crisis.

While strongly critical of Lafargue's standpoint, which he sarcastically described as an acute but not deadly malady, Engels also berated the Possibilists, who had gone over lock, stock and barrel to the side of the ruling group. "The Possibilists have sold themselves to the present government ... on the excuse of battling Boulanger and defending the Republic,"[2] he wrote to Bebel in the beginning of 1889.

The mistakes of the Workers' Party during the Boulangist crisis somewhat impaired its positions. Seeing that this may affect the results of the Chamber of Deputies elections in September 1889, Engels did his best to help build up an election campaign, and even arranged for financial aid from the German Social-Democrats. He hoped that after the elections it would be possible to form an organisationally independent group of revolutionary socialists to exert pressure on the Possibilist deputies and prod them, who were the leaders of the Possibilist Party, into showing their true colours.

His precise knowledge of the political situation in France enabled Engels to anticipate a month ahead the Boulangists' total defeat in the elections, which, in effect, led to their eclipse. "Now Boulanger is smashed up, the road is cleared in France," he wrote to Laura Lafargue on October 8. "And at the same time, the monarchist attack on the Republic has failed."[3] The dissipation of monarchist illusions, he held, would further polarise the class forces in France, ultimately causing "a scattering of Radicals and a real concentration of socialists."[4]

Lafargue, Guesde and Deville planned to form an independent socialist group in the Chamber out of 7-8 deputies (excluding the Possibilists and those Blanquists who had supported Boulanger). Engels welcomed this as a step towards initially a central committee of "united (or federated) Blanquists and Marxists",[5] and then a united party. He hoped that the most important objective of the French socialists—a mass workers' party on a Marxist foundation—would soon be accomplished.

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 131.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 130.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 325.
[4] Ibid., p. 327.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 304.

ENGELS AND THE FIRST BRITISH SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS

Though in the early eighties interest in socialist theory had visibly risen in Britain among a section of workers and democratically oriented intellectuals, Engels had no illusions about the English working-class movement. On April 30, 1883 he wrote to Bebel with a touch of bitterness: "Since the end of the International there is absolutely no workers' movement here, except as a tag-end of the bourgeoisie, the radicals, and one that sets itself small aims *within* the capitalist set-up."[1]

He was on the look-out for signs that scientific socialism was, no matter how slowly, making headway, and related them to objective factors, chiefly the lasting economic depression and the impairment of Britain's industrial monopoly in the world market. In June 1883, the Democratic Federation issued a manifesto entitled "Socialism made plain, being the social and political manifesto of the Democratic Federation" which, for the first time in British labour history, put forward a programme largely based on the principles of scientific socialism. Engels was pleased that the body was now at last "obliged openly to proclaim our theory as their own".[2] But he warned Bebel: "Do not on any account whatever let yourself be bamboozled into thinking there is a real proletarian movement going on here."[3]

The manifesto helped to consolidate the socialist-oriented intellectuals and workers. Those members of the Federation who disagreed with it, resigned. But new people were attracted by the socialist aims. Among these were Eleanor Marx and her husband, the publicist Edward Aveling. Apart from Hyndman, the leadership consisted of the poet and artist William Morris, philosopher Belfort Bax, and the workers Harry Quelch and James MacDonald. In January 1884 the bourgeois-radical monthly, *To-Day*, announced its conversion to socialism, and another journal, *Progress*, with which Aveling was closely associated, also declared allegiance to socialist ideas. "The appearance of *To-Day* and the conversion of *Progress* into a socialist journal precisely at this time, when the poverty-ridden of the East End of London are beginning to speak up, means a lot,"[4] Engels wrote. At first, he backed both publications—to *Progress* he contributed an article, "The Book of Revelation", while about *To-Day* he wrote, "one can write for it without further ado".[5] He was pleased that socialists abroad, particularly Lafargue, contributed to these journals. But the fact that Hyndman stood at the head

[1] Ibid., Bd. 36, S. 21.
[2] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 561.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 79-80.
[5] Ibid., S. 91.

of the Federation put him on his guard. Its very heterogeneous membership did not inspire confidence either. This is why Engels turned down "for lack of time"[1] the offer to work with *Justice*, the Federation's weekly, founded in January 1884.

In August 1884, the Democratic Federation was renamed the Social-Democratic Federation. But Engels attached no special significance to this, because the body had not yet succeeded in making contacts with the mass of workers. He described it as consisting "exclusively of literati, on the one hand, the remnants of the old sects, on the other, and, besides, the sentimental public".[2] His reserve was due, among other things, to his distrust of Hyndman, made stronger by the man's passion for strident pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric, excessive ambitions, predisposition for intrigue, and obvious wish to impose his own one-man rule on the Federation. Engels censured the sectarian policy of Hyndman and his followers, who opposed economic strikes and work in the trade unions, and issued demands that sounded revolutionary but were absolutely unrealistic in the existing conditions and therefore scorned by the masses.

Even before the Federation was renamed, a Left wing had taken shape in it, consisting, among others, of Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, Belfort Bax and William Morris. It tried to bridle Hyndman's despotic temper and criticised his tactics. Frequently, the differences became quite acute.

Engels saw Eleanor and Edward Aveling almost daily, and often also Bax, Morris and the other Hyndman critics, and was fully informed of all the controversies. And when matters reached a split at an Executive meeting at the end of December 1884 with ten of its members resigning, Engels ranged himself instantly with the opposition. He advised it to reject compromises and to try and form a new organisation.

This was how the Socialist League came into being. Its initiators were the Avelings, Morris, Bax, Eleanor Marx's old friend Robert Banner, a young mechanic John Mahon, whom Engels had met shortly before, and others. These people were all either close to Engels, or known by him, and he hoped they would gradually succeed in building up a massive socialist party.

The Socialist League founded a monthly, *Commonweal*, to which Engels contributed. But the League itself never grew into a mass organisation. Some of its leaders, particularly Morris, fell under the influence of the anarchist wing. This Engels noted in March 1886. In the spring of the following year, at a League conference, anarchist elements pushed through a resolution against parliamentary activity. Thereby the League lost what little influence it had ever had.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke* Bd. 36, S. 91.
[2] Ibid., S. 215

Meanwhile, Engels observed changes in the Social-Democratic Federation, which, he wrote in November 1886, "is beginning to become something of a power".[1]

WORKING FOR A MASS SOCIALIST PARTY IN ENGLAND

The history of these socialist organisations strengthened Engels in his view that a real proletarian party would not arise in England until there was a massive working-class upsurge. This is why he was sceptical of John Mahon's plan of uniting the existing groups into a socialist party. Mahon, Thomas Binning, Alexander Donald and a few other socialist workers tried to form a new body—the North of England Socialist Federation, which, they hoped, would be the nucleus for a party. The miners' strike movement in the spring of 1887 seemed to favour this scheme. Mahon sent Engels the draft of the programme of the new Federation, and outlined his plans. Basically, Engels approved. "I consider it very good," he wrote, "as a spontaneous working-class declaration of principles,"[2] but suggested a few alterations in the text. Yet he described as premature the idea of forming the Federation. "...Experimentalising with fresh attempts at organisation," he wrote, "will be worse than useless until there is really something to organise."[3] He stressed, furthermore, that an all-British party would not be possible so long as the mass of workers followed the trade unions, which were worlds removed from socialism.

That year Eleanor Marx-Aveling introduced Engels to James Keir Hardie, an energetic young union leader of the Scottish miners, to whom Engels brought home the necessity for a mass socialist workers' party. Hardie became secretary of the Scottish Labour Party founded in August 1888, which, though it did not proclaim socialist principles, advocated an independent working-class policy. Some socialists, including Mahon, who had long engaged in socialist propaganda among the Scottish miners, joined it too.

Engels was always heartened by actions that aroused the working masses and helped win them for socialism. And he supported the Avelings in every way he could when they began an agitation campaign in London's working-class districts, particularly the radical East End clubs, in January 1887. It could free the London workers from Liberal political influence and lead to "the founding of an English workers' party with an independent class programme".[4]

[1] Ibid., S. 575.
[2] Engels to John Mahon, June 22, 1887 (Central Party Archives).
[3] Engels to John Mahon, June 23, 1887 (Central Party Archives).
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 649.

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About a year after the Avelings had begun their campaign, Engels observed: "Aveling and his wife speak there several times a week and have considerable influence; they are now definitely the most popular speakers among the workers."[1] And he concluded: "An instinctive socialism is taking hold among the masses,"[2] paving the way for a proletarian party. In the beginning of 1888 his view of the situation, as we see, was more optimistic than before.

The subsequent events justified his expectations in many respects. Central among them was the London dockers' strike in August-September 1889, involving more than 100,000. He referred to it as to "the beginning of a full-scale revolution in the East End".[3] Indeed, the strike stimulated the appearance of an organised movement of hundreds of thousands of heretofore unorganised unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

New trade unions sprang up, encompassing diverse sections of the working class. Among the organisers Eleanor Marx-Aveling was one of the most active. "These new Trades Unions of unskilled men and women," Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue in October 1889, "are totally different from the old organisations of the working-class aristocracy.... In them I see the *real* beginning of the movement here."[4]

He did what he could to help extend the influence of the new unions. During the rubber workers' strike led by Eleanor Marx-Aveling in the autumn of 1889, he requested moral support from Guesde and appealed to him to dissuade French workers from acting as strike-breakers. "We ask you," he wrote to him, "to do everything in your power to prevent the French workers from coming and taking the place of the Silvertown strikers, to tell them about the true situation, and to appeal to their class feelings."[5]

Yet Engels knew that those were only the first steps and that a long pull was still ahead before the main objective, that of an independent proletarian party, could be reached. "The movement *is* under way now at last," he wrote to Sorge on December 7, 1889, "and, I believe, for good. But [it is] not directly socialist...."[6] He was disturbed by the fact that many of the new union leaders were contaminated with reformism and inclined to kowtow to the upper strata of English society. "The most repulsive thing here," he wrote, "is the bourgeois 'respectability', which has grown deep into the bones of the workers."[7] Engels staked all his hopes on the workers' masses, who, he held, were "unwittingly taking the theoretically

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 31-32.
[2] Ibid., S. 25.
[3] Ibid., S. 275.
[4] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 330.
[5] Engels to Guesde, November 20, 1889 (Central Party Archives).
[6] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 407.
[7] Ibid., p. 408.

correct path".[1] In the circumstances he regarded the sectarian tactics of Hyndman and his followers as especially harmful.

The growth of the English workers' movement in the 1880s, and especially towards the end of the decade, instilled hope in Engels that socialism in Britain would enter a new phase. However, he also saw the obstacles to a truly massive proletarian party: the workers' main organisation—the trade unions—stood aloof from the socialist movement; the British bourgeoisie disposed of resources to buy off the upper segments of the working class and acted quite flexibly towards the workers, and, last but not least, traditions relating to the two-party system were deeply impregnated in the workers' minds.

ENGELS AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The peculiar development of the English labour and socialist movement was in some respects repeated in the United States. The U.S. socialist movement was represented by the Socialist Labour Party of America, which consisted almost entirely of German immigrant workers, among whom Lassallean views were fairly popular. Though the leaders of the party had declared their allegiance to Marxism, its programme was shot through with Lassalleanism, and in its practical activity it adhered to what were in substance sectarian views. As a result it lacked dependable ties with the mass labour movement. The American workers accepted either the leadership of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour, an organisation influential in the mid-eighties but with no socialist aims, or that of the labour unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour and consisting mainly of skilled workers. A substantial portion of the working class was not organised.

Engels maintained contact with the U.S. labour movement chiefly through Sorge, with whom he corresponded regularly and who supplied him with the American socialist press.

Seeing the very meagre—as compared with continental Europe—theoretical knowledge of the labour and socialist movement in the U.S.A., Engels assisted every undertaking designed to spread scientific socialism among the American working class.

In the summer of 1884, Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, a 25-year-old American girl who had been attending Zurich University, where she acquired a socialist outlook, asked Engels' permission to translate his *Condition of the Working Class in England* for publication in the United States. Engels consented and promised to edit the translation. On her way home, Kelley-Wischnewetzky visited Engels in London in the autumn of 1886. Their correspond-

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 352-53.

ence, which had begun early in 1885, continued almost until Engels' death. His judgments and advice to the U.S. labour movement contained in letters to her, reached certain groups of the socialist-oriented U.S. intelligentsia.

Engels welcomed the appearance in the United States of his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, a book he had written more than 40 years before, because U.S. industry was at about the same level of development as England's had been in 1844. Despite the disparities, the situation in the United States was in many ways reminiscent of England's in the 1840s. This also applied to the condition of the working class and its struggle for a shorter working day, against exploitation of female and child labour, and to other issues.

In the beginning of 1886, Engels devoted more than six weeks to editing the translation of the book. And in February, he wrote a special appendix, followed in January 1887 by a new preface to the American edition, also known as "The Labour Movement in America".

He also initiated the dissemination in the U.S.A. of English translations of *Wage Labour and Capital* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which had appeared in London in the mid-eighties. Since, as he put it, Volume I of *Capital* would be "a piece de résistance"[1] for American workers, he suggested that Kelley-Wischnewetzky arrange for the translation of some less difficult works about Marx's theory, particularly the political economy lectures by Deville and Lafargue. He also recommended publishing a series of popular pamphlets explaining the content of *Capital*, buttressed with facts from American history and economy. However, he warned his American friends that it would "take some time yet before the *mass* of the American working people will begin to *read* socialist literature".[2]

While Engels was editing the translation of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, events in the U.S.A. were coming to a head. The campaign started in early 1886 for an eight-hour working day spread to nearly all the big industrial centres. More than 350,000 people were involved, and it was gaining extraordinary power. "For the first time there is a truly massive movement among the English-speaking working men," Engels wrote to Sorge on April 29, 1886. "That they are still groping in the dark, fumbling, unclear, ignorant, is unavoidable. But it will clear up; the movement must and will develop by learning from its own mistakes."[3]

The tragic events of the subsequent weeks—the massacre of a peaceful workers' meeting in Chicago on May 3, and the bomb thrown

[1] Engels to Kelley-Wischnewetzky, August 14, 1886 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 478.

by a police agent during a protest meeting on the following day, for which a group of workers' leaders was arrested, echoed far outside the United States. This, Engels saw, would shatter the illusion of a class peace in this rich and rapidly growing country. In the beginning of June 1886, he wrote to Kelley-Wischnewetzky: "...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 now they [the proletariat of America] appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class."[1]

Nothing was more important for the American socialists than to support the massive workers' struggle and the workers' desire to have their own, independent political party. Yet the Socialist Labour Party—the only organisation in the country that had people who were not only acquainted with the Marxist teaching, but also had experience of class struggle in Europe—stood aloof. Its leaders, as Engels noted in his letters, treated Marxist theory as dogma, overlooking the peculiar features of the working-class movement in the United States, and reluctant or lacking skill to work among the masses. "...Many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake," he wrote at the end of December 1886, "when they tried, in the 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* [the only soul-saving] dogma, and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma."[2]

Engels in principle approved of the founding of the United Labour Party in the summer of 1886 in preparation for the municipal elections in New York. The labour unions joined it, and so did the Socialist Labour Party, which took part in the election campaign. The new party's candidate to the office of mayor of New York, Henry George, a well-known economist and publicist, polled more than 68,000 votes and ranked second.

Similar labour parties in other cities even managed to have their candidates elected to state legislatures and other representative bodies.

Engels hoped that the movement would become "the real starting point of American working-class development".[3] In letters to Sorge and Kelley-Wischnewetzky he stressed again and again that the Socialist Labour Party should make the most of the favourable situation and fortify its bonds with the masses. He lashed out at the sectarian line of the leaders of the party, adding, however, that

[1] Engels to Kelley-Wischnewetzky, June 3, 1886 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Engels to Kelley-Wischnewetzky, December 28, 1886 (Central Party Archives).
[3] Engels to Kelley-Wischnewetzky, February 9, 1887 (Central Party Archives).

it was "the only working-class organisation that on the whole adhered to our basis in America".[1]

Engels made an overall assessment of the state of the American working-class movement in January 1887 in the preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* It was widely circulated: the *Sozialdemokrat* published it in German, *Socialiste* in French. In the U.S.A. it appeared in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and under separate cover, in 20,000 copies, in English and German, and two months after it was put on sale Kelley-Wischnewetzky informed Engels that half the printing had been sold.

In it Engels painted a striking picture of the workers' struggles in the United States during the preceding year—a year of dramatic events, as a result of which the working class thrust itself on to the American political scene as an independent organised force. "That the labouring masses should feel their community of grievances and of interests, their solidarity as a class in opposition to all other classes," the preface said, "...that is the first step only. The next step is to find the common remedy for these common grievances, and to embody it in the platform of the new Labour Party."[2]

But this platform, as Engels saw it, would not accord with the vital interests of the American working class, unless it proclaimed the proletariat's main aims as defined in the theory of scientific socialism: "...The conquest of political supremacy by the working class, in order to effect the direct appropriation of all means of production ... by society at large, to be worked in common by all for the account and benefit of all."[3]

Engels was critical of the views of Henry George, who possessed considerable influence among a relatively large section of American working men. The main cause of their misery George traced to the private ownership of land and saw the remedy in a staggered land tax, the revenue from which should be used for public benefit. This Marx had conclusively criticised in a letter to Sorge in 1881. After Marx's death Sorge had asked Engels for permission to publish the letter. George, he complained, had "performed quite a lot of mischief in the heads of the workers".[4] But he proved unable to have it printed. So, at the request of Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Engels dealt with George's confused programme in the preface. That George's views, which were far removed from proletarian socialism, should be for some time the banner of a section of U.S. workers, Engels regarded as an inevitable but temporary evil stemming from the workers' level of development. Unlike the real socialists, who demanded a total revolution of the system of social production, George merely reproduced the views of the Left-wing Ricardian

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 625.
[2] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 8-9.
[3] Ibid., p. 9.
[4] Sorge to Engels, March 19, 1883 (Central Party Archives).

bourgeois economists, who confined their "social" programme to confiscation of the rent of land by the state.

A few months later, in August 1887, George confirmed Engels' portrait of him as a bourgeois reformist: a conference of his United Labour Party decided to expel all socialists; soon thereafter George became a member of the Democratic Party.

In the preface Engels outlined his view of the Socialist Labour Party's course. To begin with, he pointed to its main flaw—its isolation from the struggle of the indigenous American workers. From this, he said, stemmed its inability to act as a political party. However, he wrote, it could still play a significant part in the American workers' immediate task, "unification of the various independent bodies into one national Labour Army, with no matter how inadequate a provisional platform, provided it be a truly working-class platform".[1] But for this, he stressed, the party leadership must reverse its sectarian attitude towards the stock American workers. Regrettably, the party leaders were either unwilling or incapable of taking this advice.

THE VISIT TO AMERICA

Engels' trip to the United States in the summer of 1888 was for him a big event: he had long wanted to see the New World, but was never before able to realise his wish. On August 8, at last, he, his old friend Karl Schorlemmer, and Eleanor and Edward Aveling, boarded the *City of Berlin*, then one of the biggest trans-Atlantic steamers, bound for America. Engels wanted no meetings with leaders of the U.S. labour movement, and resolved not to appear at any public functions. He wished to keep his voyage secret in order, as he wrote to Laura Lafargue shortly before his departure, to evade newspaper reporters and "the delicate attention of the German Socialist Executive, etc., of New York".[2]

He stayed in the United States for over a month. The voyage was unusually good and Engels was greatly pleased with the week's crossing of the Atlantic. For more than a week he stayed in New York, first in a hotel and then with Sorge. From conversations with his old friend he accumulated a store of information about the condition of the working-class movement and, especially, the Socialist Labour Party and its people.

Thereupon, Engels went to Boston to visit Willy Burns, his late wife's nephew who had emigrated to America years before. He found that Willy, working for a railway company, was actively involved in the labour movement.

[1] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, pp. 14-15.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 151.

The beauties of the Niagara Falls, in the vicinity of which Engels spent five days, made a deep impression on him. Then followed a fascinating voyage across Lake Ontario and along the Saint Lawrence to Montreal. Then, on returning from Canada to the town of Plattsburgh in the United States, Engels and his companions tramped about in the picturesque Adirondacks, and from there went by ship to Albany, N.Y., crossing Lake Champlain and Lake George, and sailed back to New York along the Hudson.

The plan of keeping the visit private succeeded: word of his stay in the United States appeared in the socialist press only on the eve of his departure for Europe, following the interview he gave to Theodor Cuno, an IWA veteran, which appeared in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

On September 29, Engels returned to London. His health had improved visibly. The sea air, the long tramps in the hills, the voyages along rivers and lakes and, last but not least, the great variety of impressions and complete detachment from his daily affairs and strenuous intellectual pursuits—all this had had an exceedingly beneficial effect. "I feel at least five years younger," he wrote to his brother Hermann. "All my little ailments seem to have vanished, and my eyes are also better."[1]

His visit to the United States gave Engels a clearer view of the peculiarity of that vast country and of its social contrasts and contradictions. "America aroused my interest," he wrote soon after his return. "One must see for oneself this land whose history does not go back farther than commodity production and which is capitalism's Land of Promise."[2]

CORRESPONDENCE AND MEETINGS WITH RUSSIAN FRIENDS

In November 1883, Engels received a letter from Vera Zasulich. He knew the Russian revolutionary by name, but had never met her. Some six years before she had emptied a pistol at the Petersburg burgomaster, Trepov, in protest against brutal treatment of imprisoned revolutionaries, was subsequently acquitted by a jury, and left the country to escape the danger of repressions by the tsarist authorities. Her dedicated act was widely known throughout Europe. But only very few people—Engels among them—knew that early in 1881 Zasulich had begun to correspond with Marx. Attached to her letter informing Engels that her Russian translation of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* would soon come off the press, was a copy of a recently published translation of Marx's *Wage Labour*

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 100.
[2] Ibid., S. 103.

and Capital and a publication notice of the Modern Socialism Library—the first programme document of the Russian followers of Marx's teaching who had formed the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva.

Engels showed no haste in making known his attitude towards the first Russian Marxists. He evidently wanted to see first that scientific socialism was not a temporary fad for them and that it had taken root. All the more pleased was he, therefore, to learn from the second letter of his new correspondent that "the reception accorded in Russia to the commencement of our enterprise of propagating scientific socialism promises a success far greater than we had hoped".[1] Members of the group sought Engels' advice when selecting his and Marx's works for translation, and also on other matters.

In the beginning of 1885, another leader of the Emancipation of Labour group, Plekhanov, whom Engels then also knew only by name, sent him his book, *Our Differences*. Engels was impressed. Now he knew that the foremost Russian revolutionaries had assimilated Marx's teaching. On April 23, 1885, he wrote to Vera Zasulich: "I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx and has decisively broken with all the anarchist and more or less Slavophile 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 historical 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."[2]

About the spread of Marxist ideas among the Russian revolutionary youth and the latter's immense interest in socialist literature Engels knew not only from Zasulich's letters. In the summer of 1884 or perhaps a little earlier, he was informed that a group of revolutionaries in Moscow had set out to publish a journal, *Sotsialisticheskoye znaniye* (Socialist Knowledge), which would, among other things, print translations of his own and Marx's works. The group, which styled itself the Society of Translators and Publishers, established contact with Engels through Yevgenia Paprits, one of its members who had emigrated to London in 1884. Engels learned from her which of his works had already been translated—complete or in part—and clandestinely published in Moscow. He gave her a copy of *Anti-Dühring*. But this, it appears, was as far as matters went, for soon the Society was raided by tsarist gendarmes.

[1] Zasulich to Engels, March 2, 1884 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 383-84.

Engels had friendly contacts also with the older generation of Russian revolutionaries, principally Lavrov and Lopatin. To Lavrov (in the beginning of 1884) he turned over a large part of Marx's personal Russian library for the use of Russian revolutionary emigrants. And from Lavrov he learned that "there exists in Russia a group that is resolved to publish the translation of the second volume of *Capital* at *any* cost."[1]

At the end of March 1883, Engels learned from Lavrov that Lopatin, who had returned to Russia clandestinely, was arrested in the beginning of 1879 and transported to Siberia, but had again escaped and reappeared in Paris a few days after Marx's death. In warm letters to Engels and Eleanor Marx, Lopatin mourned the death of the man, whom he declared to have "loved as a friend, respected as a teacher, and revered as a father".[2] The news of Lopatin's escape gladdened Engels. "We were overjoyed to hear that our brave Lopatin—brave to the point of folly—is again happily free,"[3] he wrote to Lavrov on April 2, 1883. In September Lopatin came to London for a few days, and twice visited Engels; the content of their conversation is recorded in Lopatin's letter to Maria Oshanina, a member of the People's Will group. The overthrow of autocracy in Russia, Engels had said, would greatly stimulate the revolutionary process in the rest of the world. The Russian revolutionaries should fight for a democratisation of the socio-political system, lacking which no far-reaching social and economic changes were conceivable. "Russia," Lopatin quoted Engels as saying, "is the France of the present century. To her belongs rightfully and lawfully the revolutionary initiative of a *new* social reorganisation."[4]

After seeing Lopatin, Engels was fired by the idea of letting him translate the second volume of *Capital* into Russian. But soon Lopatin made up his mind to return home. And Engels fretted, fearing for his safety. When Lopatin was again apprehended by the tsarist gendarmerie, Engels declared that if it were of any use, he would gladly testify through the press to "the great services Lopatin has rendered to the cause".[5]

In the summer of 1884, Engels met another Russian, a man whose name had echoed and re-echoed across Europe at the end of the seventies—the 33-year-old Sergei Kravchinsky, who had, in 1878, in broad daylight, stabbed to death in Petersburg's Mikhailovsky Square the chief of the gendarmes, Mezentsev, hated by all progressives in Russia. Now an emigrant living under the alias of Sergei Stepnyak, he had won fame among revolutionaries and progressives in Western Europe and the United States as a writer of

[1] Lavrov to Engels, February 9, 1884 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Lopatin to Eleanor Aveling (Central Party Archives).
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 3-4.
[4] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 205.
[5] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 396.

stories about Russian revolutionaries and of incisive exposures of the tsar's home policies. Engels first met the young revolutionary in July 1884, and soon thereafter Stepnyak and his wife settled in London; a friendly relationship developed between him and Engels, which ended only with the latter's death.

Engels had a lively correspondence with Danielson, who undertook to translate Volume II of *Capital* into Russian. Engels did not wait until the German edition was ready and began sending him the proofs in March 1885 directly from the printer's; thus, the Russian edition was released shortly after the German: in December of the same year the volume was ready, and some six weeks later Engels received complimentary copies.

In letters to Danielson, Engels raised many politico-economic problems, examined the post-Reform evolutions in Russia, and criticised Danielson's Narodnik aberration that capitalism was the lot exclusively of Western countries, while Russia's uniqueness barred it on her soil. Time and again, Engels referred to the visible erosion of the feudal patriarchal relations and the rapid growth of capitalism in Russian industry and agriculture.

The letters of his Russian correspondents, his talks with emigrant Russian revolutionaries and the books and other literature sent by Danielson, fortified Engels in his opinion that the internal contradictions in Russia had become so intensely acute that objective conditions were maturing for a social revolution. "The revolution *must* erupt in a given time," he wrote to Vera Zasulich in April 1885. "It *can* erupt any day."[1]

The Russian revolution, Engels held, would shake up all the European countries. To Bebel he wrote in September 1886, that the effect on Europe "when this last citadel of reaction collapses will be enormous".[2] The immense potentialities of the Russian people, he was certain, would open up after the overthrow of the autocracy, which, like all the progressives of his time, Engels abhorred. His studies of the tsar's foreign policy were very thorough, and in the latter half of the eighties, with Europe hovering time and again on the brink of a general war, he kept a close watch on Russian moves in the international arena.

THE THREAT OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN WAR

Indeed, never before had Engels in letters to friends referred at such length to questions of foreign policy. The international climate of the late 1880s was almost continuously tense. First, Europe's attention was drawn to the Balkans, where the situation

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 527.

was strained by the rivalry between Russia, Austria-Hungary, Britain, Germany, Turkey, and other powers. For a time, in fact, a military conflict seemed unavoidable. In letters and articles, Engels warned that the tsarist government might recklessly plunge into a war to avert the imminent revolution. He saw a similar likelihood in the case of Germany and France: "If war there is, it will be waged with the sole purpose of preventing revolution."[1]

Although the tension in the Balkans subsided a little, the situation in Europe was electrified by the deterioration of Franco-German relations and the danger of a collision of the two biggest West-European powers.

Examining the substance and nature of the contradictions between the European powers, Engels concluded that they presented so intricate a cumulus that matters would go much farther than merely local wars. The interests of the big powers were interwoven to a point where "he who acts first will provoke a universal world war",[2] he wrote in March 1887. He predicted that the impending war would be unusually destructive and that it would grow to unheard-of dimensions, causing humanity—and especially the working people—incalculable pain. In December 1887, in an introduction to a pamphlet by Sigismund Borkheim, *In Memory of the German Arch-Patriots of 1806-07*, he wrote that it would be "a world war indeed of an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of. Eight to ten millions of soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three or four years, and spread over the whole continent; famine, pestilence, general demoralisation both of the armies and of the mass of the people produced by acute distress; hopeless confusion of our artificial machinery in trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class."[3]

"Prophetic words,"[4] said Lenin of this brilliant forecast many years later, at the end of the First World War.

A great humanist and revolutionary, Engels did not confine himself to merely depicting the calamities of the future war. He was anything but a pacifist sermoniser and knew that a war would plunge

[1] *Le Socialiste*, November 6, 1886.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 628.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 21, S. 350-51.
[4] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 494.

the world into an economic and political crisis, undermining the pillars of bourgeois society.

However, he did not tie up the possibility of a proletarian revolution solely with military cataclysms. On the contrary, he said time and again that the proletariat would suffer the most from the ravages of war. The ruling classes, he knew, would try to exploit the war for striking at the labour movement and fanning chauvinism. These thoughts run through many of his letters. The war, he observed to Lafargue in March 1889, "will involve ... the compulsory and universal suppression of our movement".[1]

If it should become impossible to prevent a war, and the organised working class was not yet sufficiently strong to prevent it, he wrote in his letters, the socialist parties must make the most of the crisis to overthrow the existing system and seize political power. "Whatever happens," he wrote to Bebel in November 1885, "a war will ultimately become the instrument for bringing our party to power and putting an end to all the old humbug."[2] The concluding passage of the introduction to Borkheim's pamphlet, which Lenin had praised so highly, was filled with the historical optimism of a true proletarian revolutionary: "The war may perhaps push us temporarily into the background, may wrench from us many a position already conquered. But when you have unfettered forces which you will then no longer be able to control, things may go as they will: at the end of the tragedy you will be ruined and the victory of the proletariat will either be already achieved or at any rate inevitable."[3]

THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT JOINS FORCES

Soon after his return from the United States, Engels had to deal with a matter of prime importance, one that required his personal involvement: the preparation of the International Socialist Congress set for 1889.

Socialist parties with programmes generally based on the principles of scientific socialism, had been founded in many West-European countries (Belgium 1885, Norway 1887, Switzerland 1888, Spain 1879, Austria 1888, Sweden 1889, and others). The class battles of the late 1880s had aroused the workers' internationalist solidarity. The proletarian organisations were visibly seeking international unity. Proposals and plans for a world proletarian centre resounded more and more frequently at congresses of socialist

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 210.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 391.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 21, S. 351.

parties, trade unions and other workers' organisations. A new International was vitally needed.

In the autumn of 1887, a decision to convene an international workers' congress the following year was passed almost simultaneously and independently of each other by two organisations at different extremes of the European labour movement—the British Trades Union Congress and a congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Approached for advice by his German friends, Engels praised their intention to reach an understanding with the British unions on a joint congress. But the ensuing negotiations proved unsuccessful.

The congress convened by the British unions opened in London in November 1888. Only a few trade unions from Europe attended. One of its resolutions instructed the Possibilists of France to convene an international congress in Paris in 1889. Almost simultaneously, a decision was adopted by the French syndicates on the initiative of the Workers' Party and influenced by the revolutionary socialists, to call an international socialist congress in Paris in the summer of 1889. The time, coinciding with the centenary of the French Revolution of 1789, was suggested by Engels several months before, and it appears that his suggestion had to some extent determined or, in any case, influenced the decision.

Knowing that at the congress the initiative may be seized by opportunist elements, Engels put aside almost all his other affairs during the first six months of 1889 and devoted himself to preparing it. He corresponded prolifically with Paul and Laura Lafargue, Bebel and Liebknecht, and socialists in other countries. His regular contacts with the English socialists enabled him to secure the consent of many socialist and labour organisations in Britain to participate in the congress. "Engels (who was then 68 years old) flung himself into the fight with the ardour of youth,"[1] wrote Lenin on this score many years later. Engels was the initiator and author of nearly all the concrete measures assuring the success of the congress of revolutionary socialists. He supervised all preparations, reacting instantly to every imprudent act of his friends or followers, and suggesting ways of rectifying the errors.

The leaders of the French Workers' Party, Engels said, should act with the maximum energy and deny the Possibilists any chance of taking the initiative in enlisting socialist organisations of other countries. He was one of the initiators of the preliminary conference of European socialist parties in The Hague at the end of February 1889.

Yet, despite his efforts, preparations for the congress did not get off the ground until the spring of 1889. The German Social-Democrats and French socialists could not come to terms on the

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 369.

date, while the Possibilists issued an announcement stating the time and rules of their congress. This confused, and created uncertainty among, the socialist parties. Engels was furious. He sent Lafargue a detailed plan of action, urging him to name the opening date, to compose and distribute an announcement to this effect in different languages, and to spell out the terms for participation. "To work!" he wrote to Lafargue on April 30. "You have two full months before you, and that should be enough for everything."[1] On Engels' advice, the German Social-Democrats consented to the date—July 14—and quickly contacted socialists in many other European countries.

In effect, Engels held in his hand all the threads of the undertaking. "The damned congress and everything connected with it has robbed me of all my time in the past three months," he wrote on May 21. "Writing to and fro, running about, a hellish grind...."[2] Almost every day Lafargue, Bebel and Liebknecht received his letters with instructions and advice. He pressed the French socialists to issue the announcement, and drew up a mailing list of all the prominent socialists and of socialist newspapers in most of the European countries and the United States. The announcement was signed by many French socialist and labour organisations. Engels translated it into German and arranged for its translation into English, which he then had printed and distributed in the country.

He was also the initiator of a notice about the congress signed by prominent socialists of different countries who had agreed to take part in it. He edited the text, made a few relevant corrections, and did what he could to obtain the required signatures: representatives of socialist organisations in 16 European countries put their name to it. And it was Engels, too, who saw to it that it should also bear the signatures of Plekhanov, Zasulich and Axelrod of the Emancipation of Labour group.

Opening at Salle Pétrielle, Paris, on July 14, 1889, the congress was the most representative so far in the history of the international working-class movement. Among the delegates from 20 countries, the followers of Marx and Engels, advocates of scientific socialism, comprised a considerable majority, which pleased Engels. Writing to Sorge a few days after the congress opened, he compared it with the Possibilist congress that had opened almost simultaneously, stressing the essential difference between them: firstly, that workers' organisations of a far larger number of countries were represented in the congress he had helped to convene and, secondly, that most of them were socialists, while the delegates to the other congress were chiefly of the trade-unionist variety.

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 216.

Engels neither attended the congress nor helped work out its decisions. Probably, he saw his mission merely in assuring a stable Marxist majority strong enough to stand up to the opportunists and to have the right resolutions adopted. The most important of these, as Engels saw it, was the one on holding workers' demonstrations in all countries simultaneously on May 1. "That is the best thing our congress did,"[1] he wrote to Laura Lafargue on August 27.

The founding of a new International or of any other central organ was not proclaimed at the congress. By and large, this accorded with Engels' viewpoint which he had expressed in his letters prior to the congress. He objected to a simple revival of the organisational forms of the International Working Men's Association, and was evidently convinced that new forms would be worked out as the working-class movement gained experience and the independent proletarian political parties became stronger. At the same time, he berated the congress for not passing a specific resolution naming the time and place of the next congress. "They have left the most important question unsolved—that of the future congress,"[2] he wrote later. And the consequences of that omission were felt the following year.

That the congress succeeded in uniting the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat under the banner of scientific socialism and that it did not let opportunist elements seize the reins of the movement, it owed to Engels' spirited involvement in organising it. The Paris Congress of 1889, then styled as the congress of united socialists in order to distinguish it from the Possibilist affair, in fact laid the foundations for the Second International. From the outset, the new international body "adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials".[3]

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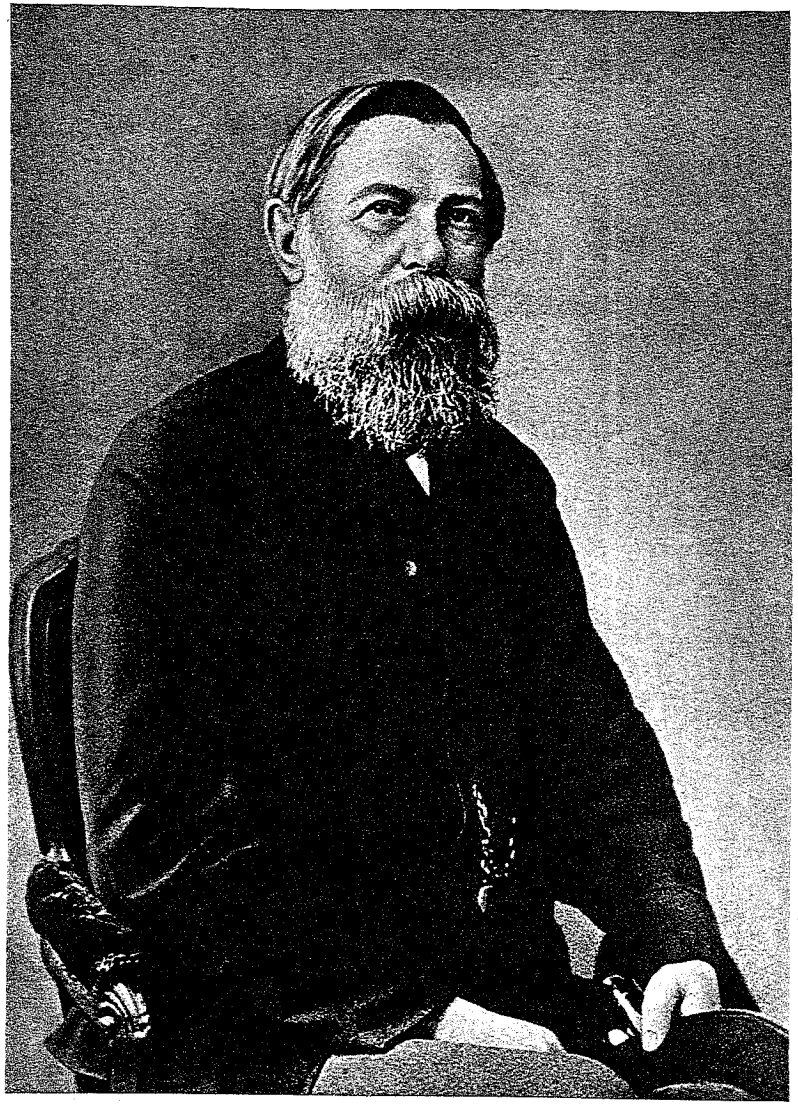
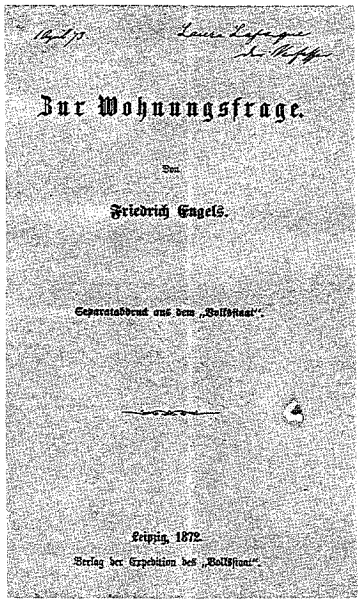
[1] *Labour Monthly* No. 8, 1955.
[2] Central Party Archives.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 32.



Engels, 1888



Zur Wohnungsfrage.

Von

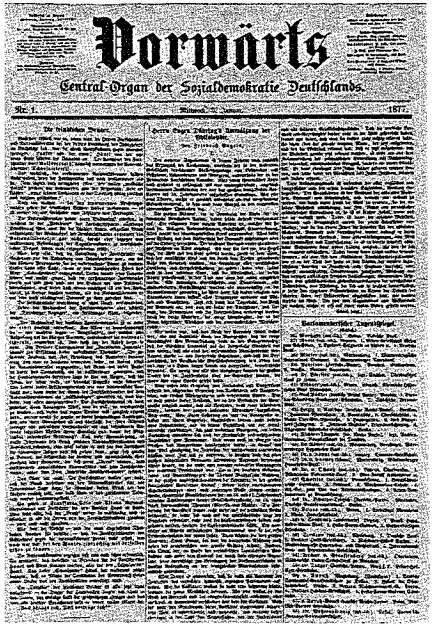
Friedrich Engels.

Separatabdruck aus dem „Volksstaat".

Leipzig, 1872.

Verlag der Expedition des „Volksstaat".

Title page of Engels' *The Housing Question* with dedication to Laura Lafargue

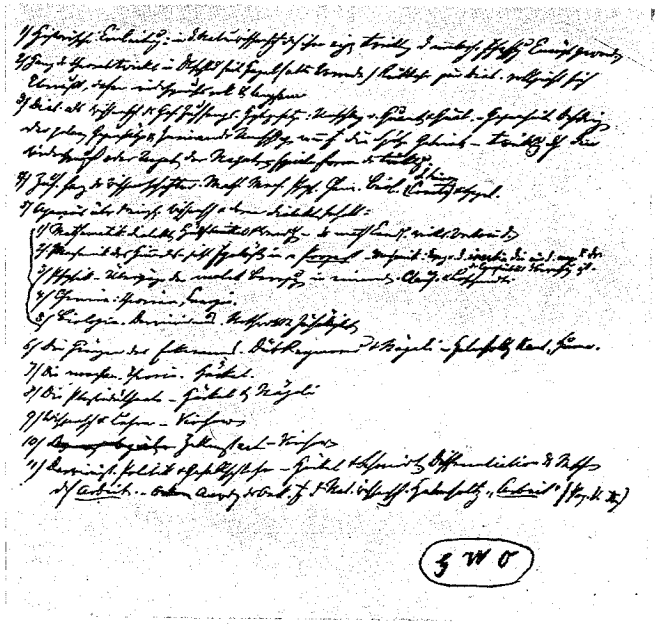


Vorwärts

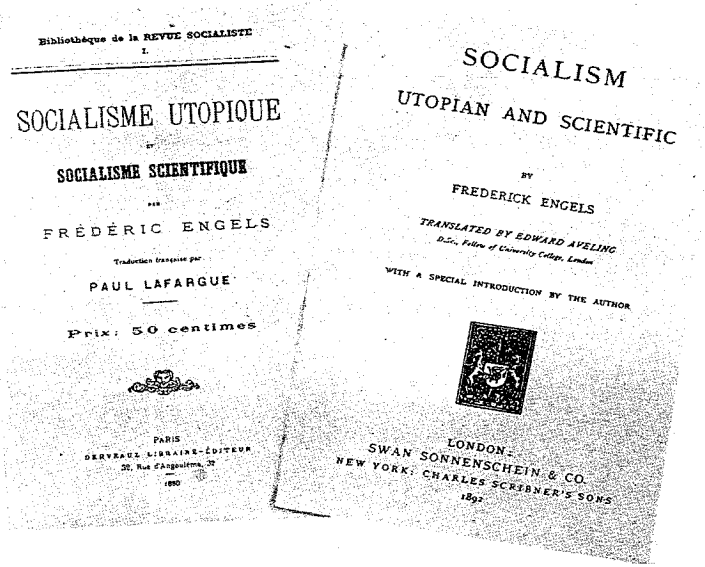
Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands.

Front page of the *Vorwarts* with the first installment of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*

Lizzie Burns

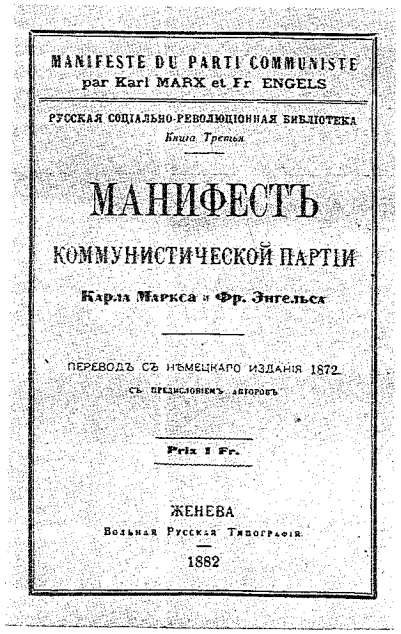


Outline of the general plan of Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*



French and English editions of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

Marx, 1882


MANIFESTE DU PARTI COMMUNISTE
par Karl MARX et Fr ENGELS

РУССКАЯ СОЦІАЛЬНО-РЕВОЛЮЦІОННАЯ БИБЛІОТЕКА
Книга Третья

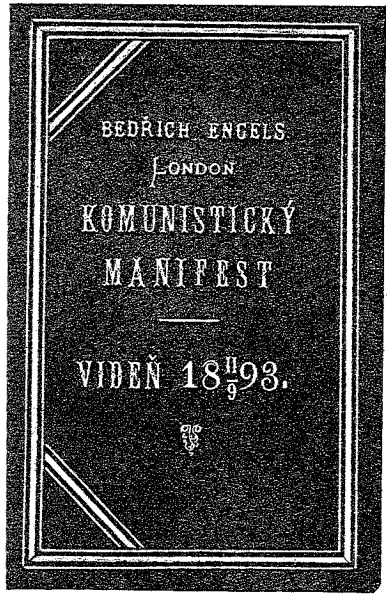
МАНИФЕСТЪ
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТІИ
Карла Маркса и Фр. Энгельса

ПЕРЕВОДЪ СЪ НѢМЕЦКАГО ИЗДАНІЯ 1872
СЪ ПРЕДИСЛОВІЕМЪ АВТОРОВЪ

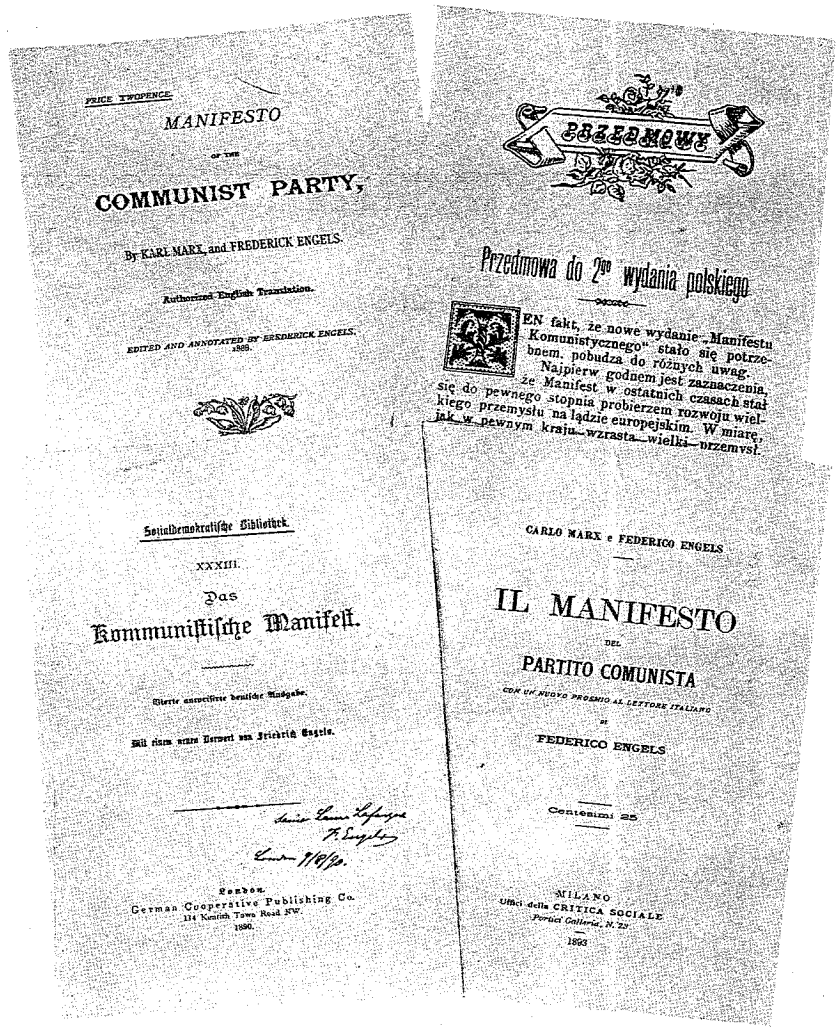
Prix 1 Fr.

ЖЕНЕВА
Вольная Русская Типографія
1882

Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, 1882



Cover of the Czech edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, 1893


PRICE TWOPENCE

MANIFESTO
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY,

By KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS.

Authorised English Translation.

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY FREDERICK ENGELS.
1888.

Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek.

XXXIII.

Das
Kommunistische Manifest.

Dritte ausgegebene deutsche Ausgabe.

Mit einem neuen Vorwort von Friedrich Engels.

London.
German Cooperative Publishing Co.
11a Kentish Town Road NW.
1890.

PRZEDMOWA

Przedmowa do 2go wydania polskiego

EN fakt, że nowe wydanie „Manifestu Komunistycznego" stało się potrzebnem, pobudza do różnych uwag. Najpierw godnem jest zaznaczenia, że Manifest w ostatnich czasach stał się do pewnego stopnia probierzem rozwoju wielkiego przemysłu na lądzie europejskim. W miarę, jak w pewnym kraju wzrasta wielki przemysł,

CARLO MARX e FEDERICO ENGELS

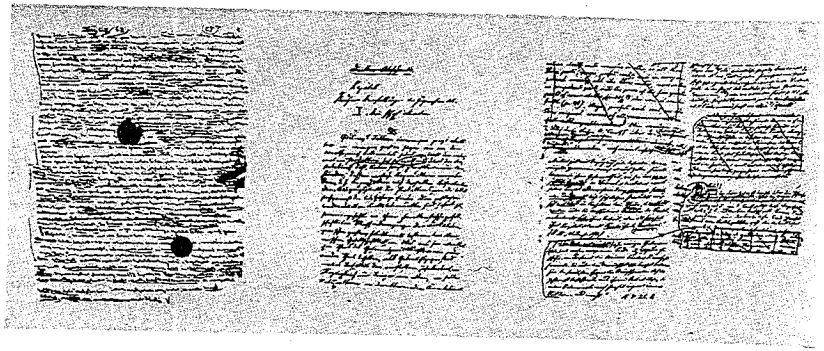
IL MANIFESTO
DEL
PARTITO COMUNISTA

CON UN NUOVO PROEMIO AL LETTORE ITALIANO
DI
FEDERICO ENGELS

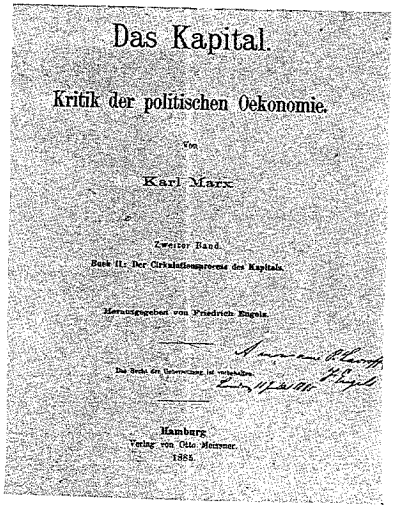
Centesimi 25

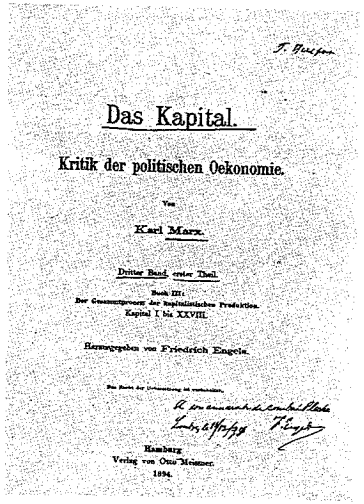
MILANO
Ufficî della CRITICA SOCIALE
Portici Galleria, N. 29
1893

Some editions of the *Communist Manifesto* with prefaces by Engels



A page of Marx's MS of Volume II of *Capital* and the same page dictated by Engels to a scribe, with Engels' editing





Title page of the first edition of Volume II of *Capital* with dedication by Engels to Lavrov and title page of Volume III of *Capital* with dedication to Plekhanov

Hélène Demuth

Jenny Longuet

Laura Lafargue

Eleanor Marx-Aveling

Friedrich Adolf Sorge

Tom Mann

Belfort Bax

William Morris

Jules Guesde

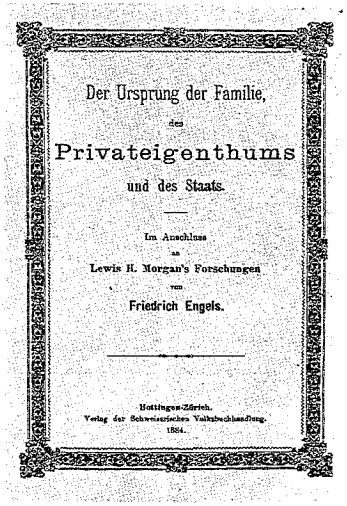
Georgy Plekhanov

Vera Zasulich

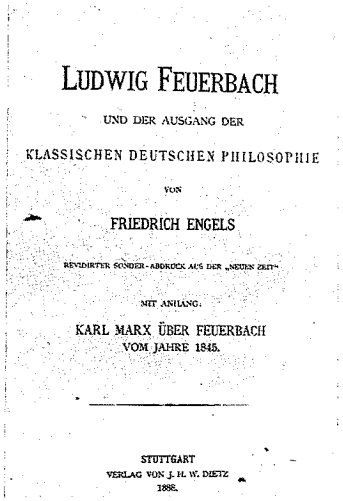
Hermann Lopatin

Pyotr Lavrov

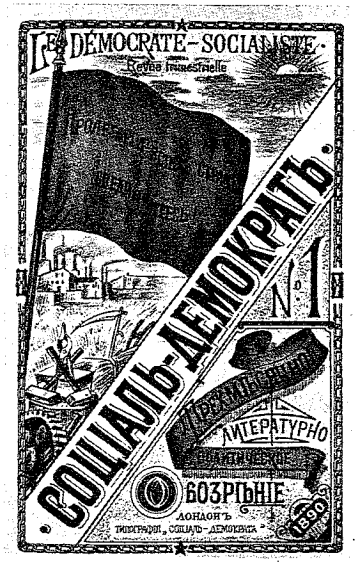
S. M. Kravchinsky
(Stepnyak)


Der Ursprung der Familie,
des
Privateigenthums
und des Staats.
Im Anschluss
an
Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen
von
Friedrich Engels.
Hottingen-Zürich.
Verlag der Schweizerischen Volksbuchhandlung.
1884.

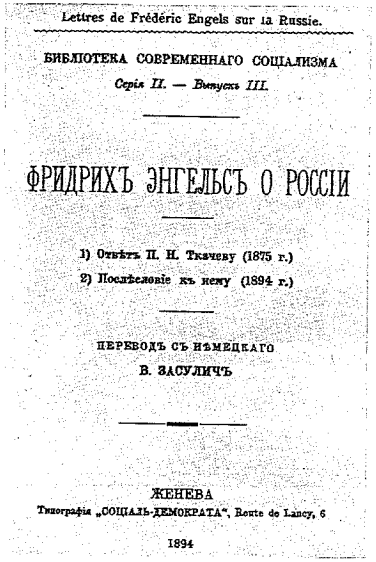
Cover of the first edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*


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.

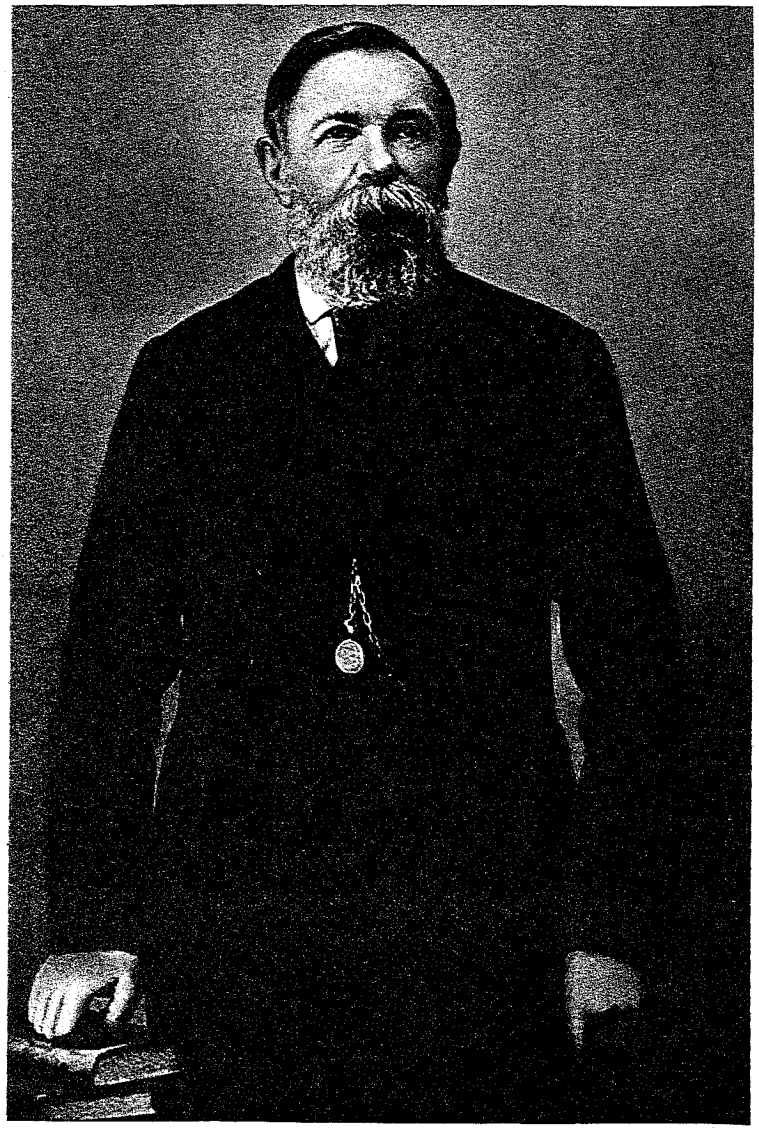
Title page of *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*



The number of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* with Engels' article, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism"

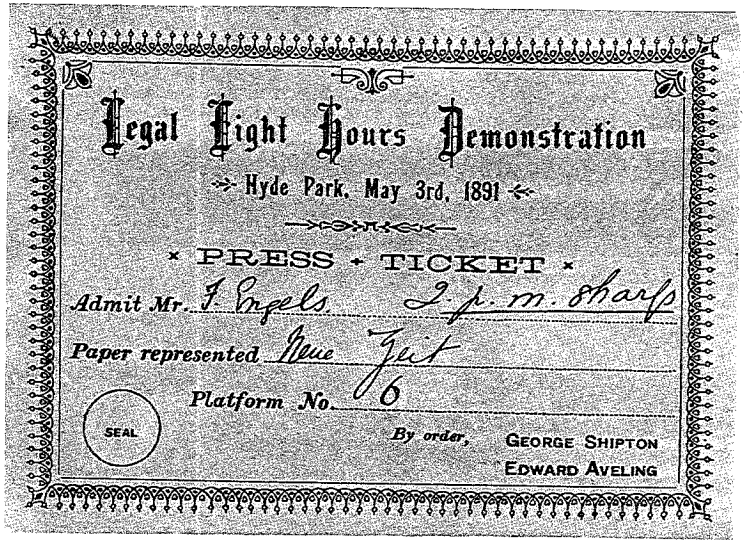

Lettres de Frédéric Engels sur la Russie.
БИБЛІОТЕКА СОВРЕМЕННАГО СОЦІАЛИЗМА
Серія II. — Выпускъ III.
ФРИДРИХЪ ЭНГЕЛЬСЪ О РОССІИ
1) Отвѣтъ П. Н. Ткачеву (1875 г.)
2) Послѣсловіе къ нему (1894 г.)
ПЕРЕВОДЪ СЪ НѢМЕЦКАГО
В. ЗАСУЛИЧЪ
ЖЕНЕВА
Типографія „СОЦІАЛЬ-ДЕМОКРАТА", Route de Lancy, 6
1894

Title page of a pamphlet, *Frederick Engels about Russia*



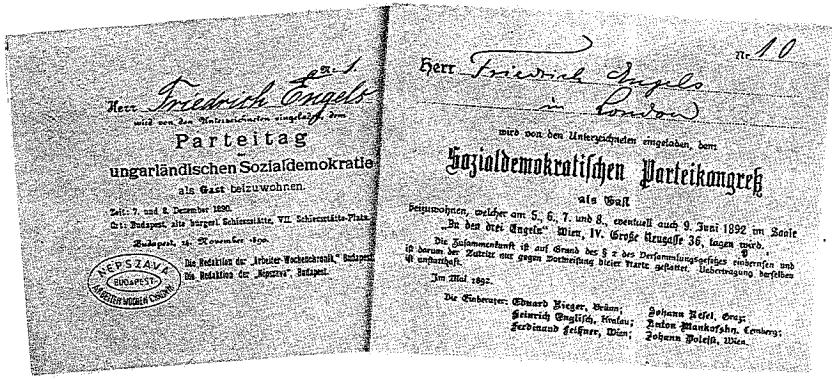
Engels, 1891

Engels on platform in Hyde Park during May Day demonstration in 1892



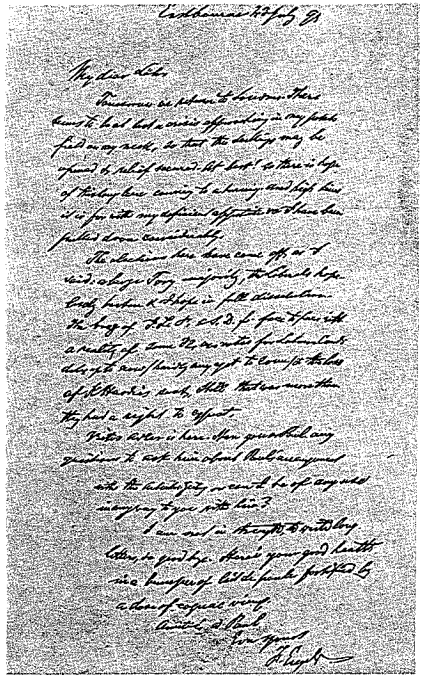
Press ticket issued to Engels to platform in Hyde Park for demonstration on May 3, 1891

Engels (fourth from left) and Bebel during Zurich Congress of Second International, 1893



Invitations to congresses of Hungarian (1890) and Austrian (1892) Social-Democrats

Engels in the last years of his life



Last letter in Engels' hand (to Laura Lafargue, July 23, 1895)

Chapter Fourteen

ADVISER AND GUIDE OF EUROPE'S SOCIALISTS

> The few years that I can still count on and all the strength that I can still summon shall as ever be completely dedicated to the great cause that I have served for now almost fifty years—the cause of the international proletariat.
>
> *Frederick Engels*

ENTERING THE NINETIES

As usual, Engels received many New Year's cards and letters from his friends and comrades in other countries. He was hale and in high spirits. His chronic eye ailment, which had interfered with his scientific pursuits, did not trouble him as badly as before. "Even the doctors do not believe me when I tell them that I am in my seventieth year," he wrote to his brother Hermann on January 9, 1890. "They say that I look 10 to 15 years younger."[1] He was heartened by the progress of the workers' liberation struggle and the rapid spread of Marxism. With satisfaction he wrote on May 1, 1890, that the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* had become "the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California".[2]

The first several months of 1890, Engels worked very hard. He renewed his labour on the manuscript of Volume III of *Capital* that he had put aside for nearly a year due to his involvement with the Paris International Socialist Congress, and also worked on the fourth German edition of Volume I. He wrote articles for socialist newspapers and journals, and corresponded as prolifically as ever. He also managed to digest the piles of literature arriving from Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the United States, and other countries. Even those who had known him long, were astonished at his extraordinary energy, his thirst for knowledge, his inexhaustible creativity. "Engels is a remarkable man," Lafargue wrote to Danielson at the end of 1889. "I have never known a head as young and as alert, and of such encyclopaedic knowledge."[3]

As usual, Engels gave pride of place to developments in the international labour movement. And the new year saw many. To begin

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 338.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 25.
[3] Lafargue to Danielson, December 14, 1889 (Central Party Archives).

with there was the victory of the German Social-Democrats in the Reichstag elections on February 20, 1890, which aroused a strong international response and had important consequences.

For Engels the victory was not entirely unexpected. A month before the elections, he wrote: "Our German workers will again show the world what excellently tempered steel they are made of."[1] This deep faith was inspired by his painstaking analysis of Germany's domestic situation. The workers' heroic resistance to the Anti-Socialist Law, the crisis of Bismarck's policy, the mounting discontent bred by the rising taxes, the abuses of the people's rights, the licentiousness of the authorities, and differences within the ruling group—all this had favoured the Social-Democrats. Engels' interest in the elections had been so keen that he asked Bebel to telegraph the results in a code specially invented for the occasion, and requested the Post Office to deliver all telegrams to him regardless of the time of day or night during the election week.

The results surpassed all his expectations. Nearly a million and a half votes were cast for the Social-Democratic candidates. They won 35 seats, and what impressed Engels was that many votes were cast for them in farming areas. He regarded this as proof that Social-Democracy could win over the poorest peasants and rural proletariat. He regarded the victory as evidence of the endurance and power of the labour movement, as "the beginning of the end of the Bismarck era".[2] In fact, the "Iron Chancellor" was compelled to resign on March 20.

Engels held—and this he stressed on several occasions in letters and articles—that now the Anti-Socialist Law, which was to expire on September 30, would not be renewed by the Reichstag, unless the rulers of Germany managed to provoke the workers to premature, unprepared action and use this as an excuse for new repressions. To avert this, he wrote, "we must *for the time being* act as peaceably and lawfully as possible, and avoid every possible excuse for collisions".[3]

He warned, however, that this tactics should not be regarded as absolute. He was deeply annoyed by some of Liebknecht's speeches, in which Social-Democracy was portrayed as opposed to the use of force, and wrote to him on March 9, 1890: "... I regard your philippic against force in any form and in all circumstances as inappropriate."[4] The reformist elements, he knew, would take advantage of the new situation and try to impose an opportunist line on the party. But he had deep faith in the German workers. Made wiser by their twelve-year battle against the Anti-Socialist Law, they would know how to deal with the situation. "I know perfectly well,"

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 350.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 22, S. 7.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 37, S. 366.
[4] Ibid.

he wrote on April 12, "that some people ... would gladly and collusively let themselves be taken in by the expressions of love for workers coming from higher up, but they will be shouted down no sooner than they open their mouths."[1]

FOR INTERNATIONAL UNITED ACTION

Engels looked forward impatiently to the workers' demonstrations for an eight-hour working day, which were to take place in all European countries on May 1, 1890, by decision of the 1889 Paris Congress.

He participated in organising the demonstration in London, scheduled on the first Sunday in May, and helped his followers to break down the resistance of the reformist trade union leaders, who wished to limit the number of demonstrators and prohibit political demands. A Central Committee was formed to organise the demonstration, assuring the participation of the new unions, the radical workers' clubs and socialist organisations. "This is *our first great victory in London*,"[2] Engels wrote on the eve of the demonstration.

He took an interest in what the German workers would do on May 1, and backed the tactical line of Bebel and his comrades, who wanted the day to pass as quietly as possible, for provocations were to be expected which could well lead to the renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law. "In Germany," Engels counselled, "the Reichstag faction must restrain any excess of ardour."[3]

He discussed the May Day preparations in France in his correspondence with the Lafargues. He advised them to stress the international complexion of the demonstrations in order to quench the chauvinist sentiment still alive among some workers, especially in Paris, following the Boulangist crisis.

He was pleased with the powerful demonstrations, meetings, processions, and strikes that swept across Europe. The big workers' demonstration in the British capital impressed him deeply. On the morning of May 4, when together with Lafargue, Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, Aveling and other socialist leaders he ascended one of the goods waggons serving as a makeshift speaker's platform, a truly imposing picture unfolded before him. "As far as the eye could reach," he told Bebel a few days later, "there was an ocean of heads, 250 to 300 thousand people were there, out of whom more than three-quarters were demonstrating workers."[4] Among the speakers there

[1] Ibid., S. 384.
[2] Ibid., S. 398.
[3] Ibid., S. 395.
[4] Ibid., S. 400.

were also German, French and Russian socialists. "All together it was the most gigantic gathering that has ever been held here," Engels continued. "...What wouldn't I give for Marx to see this awakening.... I carried my head two inches higher as I climbed down from the old waggon."[1]

The demonstrations showed the world how deeply the principles of internationalism were impregnated in the consciousness of the fighting proletariat and how right Engels had been to praise the May Day resolution of the Paris Congress. "The May Day celebration of the proletariat," he wrote in an article, "May 4 in London", "was epoch-making not only in its universal character, which made it the first international *action* of the militant working class. It also served to register most gratifying advances in the various countries."[2]

In later years, too, Engels never failed to give a helping hand in preparing May Day celebrations. For him it was a solemn duty, when his health permitted, to come to the demonstrations and meetings in London.

In the early months of 1891 he was called upon to iron out differences between the French revolutionary socialists and the German Social-Democrats: the French insisted that, no matter what the circumstances were, May Day should be marked simultaneously in all countries, and accompanied by short strikes. The German leaders, on the other hand, were apprehensive of the deterioration of industrial prospects in their country and feared that the capitalists would use the strikes as a pretext for lock-outs and mass dismissals. They opposed the idea of strikes, and wanted the international holiday to fall on the first Sunday in May.

A collision occurred. The French accused the German socialists of opportunism and of defying the decision of the Paris Congress, while Bebel and his comrades argued that in Germany May Day strikes could provide the excuse for serious repressions and thus impair the work of the party. Engels sided with the German Social-Democrats. With tact and patience he explained to his French followers that though simultaneous celebrations in all countries were indeed desirable, one should not for the sake of this "theatrical effect" jeopardise the so arduously conquered gains of the German workers. His skilful and convincing arguments finally prevailed. The French conceded that the German May 1 tactics in 1891 had been correct, and doubly so, because in England, too, in order to enable the trade unions to participate, the demonstration was held on the first Sunday in May. However, he described it as a forced measure imposed by the special circumstances, and rebuked those German Social-Democrats who saw it as an immutable principle.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 401, 402.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1971, p. 402.

His strenuous work in the winter and spring of 1890 affected Engels' health. He was badly afflicted with insomnia. His doctor advised him to leave London and spend the summer in a better climate. Engels knew from past experience that the sea did him most good, and when Schorlemmer suggested a voyage along the Norwegian shore agreed enthusiastically.

The two friends sailed from London harbour aboard the steam-yacht *Ceylon* on July 1. The tour lasted for more than three weeks. The small vessel sailed along the western shore of Norway to its northernmost point, North Cape, and back, entering many of the picturesque fjords. Engels was in the best of health. He took delight in the magnificent scenery, tramped about during the calls in port, and took an interest in Norwegian life and customs. "The voyage was very pleasant and interesting, and I liked the Norwegians very much,"[1] he wrote to Liebknecht. As on his voyage to the United States two years before, Engels kept his incognito, to prevent any "police tricks"[2] since vessels of the German navy had come to Norway at that time on an official visit, and Wilhelm II, who had recently ascended the throne, was aboard one of them.

The sea air, the splendid northern scenery and the multitude of new impressions benefited Engels. To make doubly sure, he spent nearly a month more from mid-August in seaside Folkestone, but could not stay longer: letters had piled up at home, to which he had to reply.

Soon after his return to London, Hélène Demuth passed away (on November 4), causing him deep pain. Ever since this fine woman came into the Marx household as a young girl in the mid-forties, she had been one of the family and was deeply respected by all close friends of the Marxes. For Engels she was "kind, dear, loyal Lenchen". On the day after her death, he wrote to Sorge: "We have lived seven happy years together in this house. We were the last two of the old pre-1848 guard. Now I am alone again.... What will become of me I do not know."[3]

The reason for this mood was the pain of his bereavement and also the prospect of a lonely old age. Engels had to have someone dependable beside him, who would relieve him of the petty cares and make it easier for him to do his work. And he found that Luise, Kautsky's former wife, was perfectly suited for this. Moving into his house, she assumed all the household duties and also worked as his secretary.

On November 28, 1890, Engels was seventy. Letters and telegrams arrived from literally all parts of the world. He received congratulations from his old comrades, veterans of the 1848-49

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 427.
[2] Ibid., S. 426.
[3] Ibid., S. 498.

battles and the IWA, intimate friends and unknown admirers, the Ruhr miners and world-famous scholars, Russian revolutionary emigrants and American socialists. The Russian socialists, Lavrov wrote to him, "hail you as the only man whose name is indelibly written into the history of socialism alongside that of Karl Marx and does not pale beside the brilliance of that illustrious name".[1] In the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, a journal of the Emancipation of Labour group, Plekhanov wrote: "No man today can compare with Engels for services to the proletariat."[2] Socialist parties and socialist newspapers congratulated him too. Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer came to London specially on behalf of the leading party of the European proletariat. Many were the socialists who wished to pay homage to the recognised ideological leader of international socialism. This was not merely a recognition of his services to the working-class movement; it also showed that Marxist ideas were accepted by the foremost workers and was an indication of the scale of the working-class movement, which now encompassed all the capitalist countries.

Engels abhorred public ceremony. "I wish the whole thing were over," he wrote to Sorge on November 26. "I am not in a birthday mood; and then all this needless fuss that I could never stand."[3]

A year later he said the same thing, but in another way: "Both Marx and I have always been opposed to public demonstrations dedicated to individuals, unless some important benefit was to be derived; and most of all we were against such demonstrations concerning ourselves in our lifetime."[4]

He knew, of course, that the tribute paid him on his birthday was sincere. But all of it he referred first and foremost to Marx. Replying to the many congratulations, he never failed to stress this point. "It is my fate," he wrote in one of his replies, "that I should reap the fame and honour sown by a much greater man—Karl Marx. I can only pledge to spend the rest of my life in the active service of the proletariat."[5]

REVOLT OF THE "YOUNG"

In the summer of 1890 new developments occurred in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. Though the Anti-Socialist Law was still in force, neither Engels nor the party leaders had any doubt following the February 20 elections that it would not be renewed, unless something unforeseen happened. While in Norway, Engels

[1] *Marx, Engels and Revolutionary Russia*, Russ. ed., p. 574.
[2] *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Russian Contemporaries*, Russ. ed., p. 278.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 505.
[4] Ibid., Bd. 22, S. 264.
[5] Ibid., S. 86.

learned from a newspaper report about moves to reorganise the party in anticipation of its return to legality. This was to be discussed by the party congress in October 1890.

Upon returning home, Engels was informed that a sharply crtical opposition group had surfaced in the party. Its nucleus consisted of young literati, Paul Ernst, Hans Müller, Max Schippel, and some others, who had campaigned noisily over the May Day issue, pressing for immediate "decisive" action and a general May 1 strike. They accused the party leaders, particularly Bebel and Liebknecht, of turning petty-bourgeois, abandoning revolutionary struggle, and the like. They objected to the use of legal means and the party's participation in parliament. Now, they had stepped up their attacks, voicing Left-anarchist criticism of the draft of the new Party Rules published at the end of August. The opposition controlled several newspapers: the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* in the capital, and the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Dresden, which crudely assailed the policy of the party leadership. Seeking new followers, it also organised meetings and public appearances of its leaders.

Bebel and his comrades took up the challenge. However, carried away by the polemics, some of the party leaders provided the opposition with an excuse for charges that the leadership was trying to muzzle "heretics".

Engels was in complete agreement with Bebel about the "Young", as the opposition was called. He traced the "student revolt" to the influx to the party of a "crowd of students, literary men and other young declassed bourgeois",[1] infantile in their approach to theory, inflated with conceit, and nursing groundless claims to leadership.

Engels feared that their demagogy and sham revolutionary rhetoric might influence the younger generation of party members, who were full of revolutionary enthusiasm but had insufficient theoretical grounding. "This is a danger that we must not underestimate,"[2] he warned Liebknecht. The opposition did, indeed, for a time gain a hold on some workers, but Engels advised his friends, especially Liebknecht, against hasty disciplinary measures. He was certain that the party would cope with the opposition easily at the coming congress, and counselled Liebknecht on August 10: "Do not create unnecessary martyrs, show that freedom of criticism prevails, and *if* someone must be thrown out, then only when there is glaring and demonstrable *evidence*—overt acts—of infamy and betrayal".[3] He let Bebel know of his opinion, who agreed with him completely, passing on his letter to other leaders, "so that a thing or two should sink in".[4]

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 386.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 445.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 395.

In the beginning of September, while still in Folkestone, Engels decided to take a public stand against the opposition. He had no other choice. The *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* had alleged that he agreed with its criticism of the party leadership. He took the paper to task in the *Sozialdemokrat*, showing that the opposition completely misunderstood Marxism and had not the faintest idea of the "historical facts decisive at every given time".[1] The tactics and ultra-revolutionary demands of the opposition, he wrote, "could destroy even the strongest party of millions of members".[2] And criticising the opposition's vulgar sociologism in a reply to Paul Ernst in the *Berliner Volksblatt*, he wrote that "the materialistic method turns into its opposite if in historical studies it is treated not as a guideline, but as a ready pattern for cutting the historical facts to suit one's own taste".[3]

With Engels' help the Social-Democrats coped with the opposition fairly quickly. A commission specially elected by the party congress, held in Halle in the middle of October 1890, refuted all its charges, and a year later the party congress in Erfurt expelled its main leaders, who had by then gone over to overt factional tactics.

BATTLING AGAINST OPPORTUNISM AMONG GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

Engels' friends in Germany acclaimed his article against the "Young". "Very good thing that you've given the rowdies a knock on the head; it has struck home,"[4] Bebel wrote to him on September 23. Still, Engels was apprehensive. Some really opportunist statements and actions of several of the party leaders had provided the opposition with much ammunition in its attacks on the party. The reformist wing, though it had suffered a series of setbacks in the late 1880s, was still alive and still dangerous. This motivated Engels to make his viewpoint known. "...I cannot open up against the literary gang," he wrote to Kautsky, "unless I also take a kick at the philistine element in the party, which provided the excuse for the revolt."[5] For this Engels took advantage of the final issue of the *Sozialdemokrat*—it was being discontinued, since an underground organ was no longer needed following the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law on October 1, 1890. In a farewell letter to readers, Engels wrote that while reverting to "legal" methods, the party should be ready to go back to illegal struggle if the situation were to change. "The old machinery, held in reserve for such an event,"

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 69.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., S. 81.
[4] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 397.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 455.

he wrote, "will again be reactivated—improved, enlarged, newly oiled."[1]

He got his information about the Socialist Workers' Party congress in Halle, the first legal one since 1878, which opened on October 12, not only from the papers, but also from Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who attended it as one of the English guests. And, by and large, he was pleased. "The Halle Congress has gone off marvellously,"[2] he wrote to Sorge. But Eleanor's accounts hardened his negative opinion of the leaders of the opportunist wing. The opportunists, as Eleanor saw it, were a far greater danger than the "Young".

The German party was about to adopt a new programme. The decision to draft one was passed by the Halle Congress on the basis of Liebknecht's report. But Engels knew from Eleanor that the report had been confusing. And when it reached him, he saw that Liebknecht was still clinging to many of the incorrect points of the old programme. This put Engels on his guard and he determined to prevent mistakes that Marx and he had once criticised from seeping into the new programme.

The fuss over his birthday had tired him. Not until mid-December was he able to go back to his routine. He resumed work on a pamphlet against the German vulgar economist, Lujo Brentano, who for some years had been insinuating that Marx deliberately misquoted English official sources. In two months the pamphlet was ready. Now Engels set out to prepare for the printer the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, written by Marx 15 years before and then known only to a few. Its appearance in print while the new programme was being drafted should, as Engels conceived it, prevent the inclusion in it of the incorrect ideas of the 1875 Gotha Congress and strike at the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements.

His intention to publish Marx's manuscript had hardened when the Halle Congress decided to have a public discussion of the party's programme. "I think I would be guilty of suppression," he wrote, "if I any longer withheld from publicity this important—perhaps the most important—document relevant to this discussion."[3] He knew that it would ruffle the feelings of some of the party leaders, especially those who had been involved in drafting the Gotha Programme. But this did not deter him from going through with his project.

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke on May 5, 1875, appeared in the *Neue Zeit* at the end of January 1891. Sending the manuscript to Kautsky, Engels warned that if it did not appear in the *Neue Zeit*, he would publish it in the Austrian socialist press. But on the insistence of the journal's

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 79.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 37, S. 505.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 9.

publisher, Johann Dietz, and partly on Kautsky's advice, Engels struck out or modified some of the stronger language.

Then he waited for the storm to break. As expected, the reaction of some party leaders was negative. They even tried to withdraw the journal from the newsstands. True, the document was reprinted in the party's central organ, *Vorwärts*, and in several other party papers. However, on February 13 an editorial in *Vorwärts* objected on behalf of the Reichstag faction, and defended the Gotha Programme. Showing their hurt, nearly all the party leaders stopped writing to Engels. Even Bebel sent him no letters for more than two months. Publication of Marx's manuscript, and especially the Bracke letter, they held, could be used by enemies of the party to harm it. Bebel, too, was of this opinion.

The whole thing, especially Bebel's attitude, was upsetting. But Engels was confident that the tension would end soon, whereas Marx's criticism would have a lasting beneficial effect on the party, particularly on the new programme. The party leaders' resentment, he felt, "was not to be avoided and it was amply outweighed ...by the material content of the document. I knew, also, that the party was quite strong enough to stand it."[1]

Engels was soon to have been proved right. The publication of Marx's manuscript and letter had created no ill feeling among the broader party membership. This Engels could see from the papers and from letters of his followers. The rest of the party press reprinted Marx's manuscript and did not take issue with it. As for the enemies of the revolutionary working class, they were again shown the intrinsic strength of the party, capable of such merciless self-criticism.

The manuscript made a strong impact on the socialist movement in other countries. Many of Engels' followers expressed their unqualified approval. "You have rendered a noble service to the socialist party,"[2] wrote Lafargue. The French *Socialiste*, the Austrian *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the Italian socialist journal *Critica Sociale*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* printed abstracts of Marx's *Critique* and emphasised its relevance. It was also reprinted in full in *Volksfreund*, an Austrian socialist paper, and somewhat later appeared in French.

Engels' relations with Bebel were soon restored. In the beginning of April, Bebel sent him a letter explaining his position. "I shall be glad when gradually grass grows over the whole affair."[3] And Bebel was followed by Singer. Engels renewed his correspondence with the party leaders. And, as he had expected, the publication of Marx's manuscript proved exceedingly helpful. It cleared up many an important theoretical problem related to the new programme, and provided ammunition against the opportunists, who were becoming active again. This applied principally to Georg Vollmar, leader of the party's Bavarian branch, whom Engels called the "most dangerous intriguer in our party",[1] and some of his supporters. In public speeches and the press they advocated cooperation with the bourgeois-Junker state, gradual peaceful "growth" of capitalism into socialism, and renunciation of revolutionary force on principle. Some of their speeches were out-and-out chauvinist.

At open Social-Democratic meetings in Munich in June and July 1891, Vollmar backed the Caprivi government's foreign policy and "new course" which, in particular, legalised Social-Democracy and promised social reforms. The party, Vollmar demanded, should give up its revolutionary aims and confine itself to fighting for reforms. Engels interpreted this as an attempt to turn the Social-Democrats into "government socialists".[2] He praised Bebel, Singer, Liebknecht and his other followers for opposing the opportunists, and gave them all his help.

He prepared for print a third German edition of Marx's *Civil War in France*, supplying it with an introduction, in which he analysed the lessons of the Paris Commune and again stressed its great, world-historic significance as the first attempt at proletarian revolution and establishing workers' power. He examined the mistakes of the Communards and elaborated on the Marxist postulate that the old government machine—an instrument of the exploiting classes—must be broken up by the proletariat and replaced with proletarian dictatorship, this "new and truly democratic"[3] power. He condemned the "superstitious reverence" for the bourgeois state seated in the minds even of some Social-Democrats, who were accustomed to imagining that "the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after otherwise than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials".[4] Engels stressed that the bourgeois state was a machine of the ruling class "in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy".[5]

Engels concluded his introduction with the following splendid passage: "Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror of the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."[6]

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[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 29.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 32.
[3] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 409.

[1] Engels to Paul Lafargue, October 31, 1891 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 338.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 188.
[4] Ibid., p. 189.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

CRITICISM OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW PROGRAMME

Engels made a close study of everything related to the drafting of the new programme of the Social-Democratic party of Germany. And when in the latter half of June 1891 the Party Executive sent him the draft of the new programme, asking for his opinion, he responded immediately. "I wanted first to try and formulate the preamble somewhat more strictly but from lack of time never got to this," he wrote to Kautsky on June 29. "Besides it seemed to me more important to analyse the partly avoidable and partly unavoidable deficiencies of the political part, as in so doing I found an opportunity to let fly at the conciliatory opportunism of the *Vorwärts* and at the *frisch-fromm-fröhlich-frei* [lively, simple, cheerful, free] 'growth' of the filthy old mess 'into socialist society'."[1]

At the end of June, Engels sent his comments to Germany. The draft, he wrote, "differs very favourably from the former programme" and is "on the whole, based on present-day science".[2] But, he held, the preamble should be shorter and more explicit. He suggested reworking parts of the preamble, and among other things, stressed the fallacy of the unqualified statement that the misery of the proletariat increases continuously. "This is incorrect when put in such a categorical way," he wrote. "The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent. However, what *certainly* does increase is the *insecurity of existence*."[3]

Private capitalist production as represented by individual industrialists, Engels noted, was gradually being pushed out by corporate forms of capital—joint-stock companies, trusts and other large amalgamations monopolising whole industries.

Engels' main criticism was against the programme's political demands. This was where he found most of the faults. The demand for a democratic republic in Germany as an immediate objective was left out. And Engels regarded this as a concession to the opportunists, who "now want the Party to find the present legal order in Germany adequate for putting through all Party demands by peaceful means".[4] Before defeating capitalism, he stressed, the German proletariat "will have to smash the fetters of the still semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order".[5] He insisted that the demand for a democratic republic should appear in the programme in some form, because the Social-Democratic party and the working class could only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. "This is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat," he wrote, "as the Great French Revolution has already shown."[1] By this Engels evidently wished to stress the fundamental difference between the democratic republic as the state form of proletarian dictatorship and an ordinary bourgeois republic of the parliamentary type.

The draft also evaded the question of the structure of the state and failed to say that the proletariat wanted a republic that is "one and indivisible"[2] rather than a federal state. Federation as a form of state, Engels pointed out, is justified only in countries inhabited by several nations.

He admitted that some of the key demands could not be stated in the programme of a legal party in so many words due to the existing German regime, and urged formulations that would put them on record at least in substance. Avoiding any outright mention of a republic, for example, he suggested that the programme should demand "*the concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives*".[3] And he recommended complementing the demand of a single German state, that is, elimination of such reactionary survivals as "the system of small states" and "specific Prussianism",[4] with the demand for complete self-government locally through officials elected by universal suffrage. All formulations that resembled "state socialism" if only distantly, Engels said, were to be struck out.

Engels' comments went far beyond concrete criticism of the draft programme. He elaborated on the Marxist teaching on the state, and on the ways of passing over to socialism. While conceding that the peaceful way to socialism was possible in countries where people's representatives held power completely, Engels berated the opportunists for thinking that it was also feasible under the reactionary regime ruling the German Reich. He stressed that the proletariat had a stake in fighting for democratic rights, for a democratic republic, and deplored the illusion that in Germany "a republic, and not only a republic, but also communist society, can be established in a cosy, peaceful way".[5] This he denounced as self-delusion, warning the party leadership against its dangers. He insisted on firm resistance to opportunism, for which he produced a remarkably clear definition: "This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, the struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present ... is and remains opportunism."[6]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 432.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 429.
[3] Ibid., p. 431.
[4] Ibid., p. 434.
[5] Ibid.

[1] Ibid., p. 435.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

The part Engels played in preparing the new programme was not confined to just these comments. Though many of his recommendations were reflected in the draft published by the Party Executive on July 4, some—relating to the political demands—were ignored. Later, there were a few more drafts, including one by the editors of the *Neue Zeit*, with the theoretical part written by Kautsky and the practical by Bernstein, which Engels described as "*far better* than the official".[1] He corrected some of the wording and advised Kautsky to make several more changes. This was the draft which the commission finally accepted as the basis of the future programme. And Engels approved. But in the final draft, published in the *Vorwärts* on the eve of the congress, there quite unexpectedly appeared the Lassallean formula of "one reactionary mass". This meant all the classes vis-à-vis the proletariat. Engels was stunned. He immediately protested to Kautsky. The formula is wrong, he wrote, because "it enunciates an *historical tendency* correct in itself as an *accomplished fact*.... So long as we are not strong enough to seize the helm of state ourselves and realise our principles there can be no talk, strictly speaking, of *one* reactionary mass *vis-à-vis us*".[2] His criticism had the desired effect. The formula was deleted.

The congress unanimously endorsed the final text. "In Erfurt everything went off splendidly," Engels wrote to Sorge on October 24. "The draft programme by Kautsky ... supported by Bebel and myself, was taken as the *basis* of the new programme, of its theoretical part. We have the satisfaction of seeing that Marx's criticism was completely effective. The last traces of Lassalleanism have been removed."[3]

That the German Social-Democrats adopted a Marxist programme made a strong impact on the whole international working-class movement. It was an ideological victory for Marxism over various currents of petty-bourgeois socialism, and for a number of years served as a model for socialists in other countries.

But Vollmar and other opportunists in Germany stuck to their views. In June 1892, in an article for a French bourgeois journal, Vollmar interpreted some points of the programme in the spirit of the "state socialism" of Bismarck and Wilhelm II. "He seems to want to cram the state-socialist balderdash down the party's throat,"[4] Engels commented. He advised Bebel to attack Vollmar's conception publicly.

The socialist press was against Vollmar. But the Berlin Congress of the party in November 1892, Engels held, should have put the matter more bluntly than it did. Though it denounced "state socialism" in a resolution and though Vollmar was forced to concede defeat, he kept his old views.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 156.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 432-33.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 183.
[4] Ibid., S. 407.

In many ways, Engels helped the party in its theoretical work. It could count on his support in all its initiatives. Several new editions of his and Marx's works were issued with his assistance, and for some of them he wrote new prefaces. Kautsky's pamphlet on the Erfurt programme, the manuscript of which he read, benefited from his advice. The party's publishing houses, Engels counselled, should not put out popular literature alone; the trained reader needed more solid Marxist studies of economy and history.

By and large, Engels was pleased with the German party. "In Germany," he wrote to Sorge on the eve of 1893, "the party's continuous and irresistible advance is steady:"[1] He was happy to learn that the Social-Democrats polled nearly 1,800,000 votes and won 44 seats in the Reichstag elections in June 1893. "Our elections went off gloriously,"[2] he wrote to Laura Lafargue. And proudly he told a correspondent of the English bourgeois newspaper, *Daily Chronicle*, that the party owed its success primarily to its uncompromising policy, good organisation, discipline, and resolute anti-militarist stand.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Though Engels devoted much of his time to the German Social-Democracy, he never lost sight of the other contingents of the international working-class movement, and did not hesitate to intervene in matters which, he thought, affected the movement as a whole.

In the autumn of 1890 he assisted in preparations for a new international socialist congress. On the plea that the 1889 Paris Congress had named either Switzerland or Belgium as the venue of the next one, the fairly strong opportunist elements among the Belgian socialists tried to take matters into their own hands. Not troubling to agree the issue with other parties, the Belgians scheduled the congress in Brussels in 1891, and invited the British trade unions. In the meantime, other parties were still arguing over the venue. Yet the prospect of two parallel congresses, as Engels saw it, was undesirable, because some workers' organisations, especially the British trade unions, would choose to go to the reformist congress and thus slip out of the sphere of influence of revolutionary socialists. He put down his views in letters to French and German friends, stressing that in the prevailing situation there was a good chance of the revolutionary Marxist wing's gaining the majority at the congress, taking the upper hand and isolating the reformists.

He drew up a detailed plan of a united congress, which was accepted both in France and Germany. On his initiative Guesde and Lafargue obtained the consent of the French Workers' Party to participate

[1] Ibid., S. 564.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 262.

in the same congress as the Possibilists. Then, Engels suggested holding a preliminary conference of representatives of European socialist parties attending the Halle Congress on the invitation of the German Social-Democrats.

His plan was carried out, and the conference in Halle decided to convene a united congress in Brussels in August 1891. "Our campaign for a fusion congress in 1891 has succeeded completely," he reported to Sorge on November 26, 1890. "We shall, so to speak, walk over the course unchallenged."[1]

The congress, which came off as planned in the latter half of August 1891 in Brussels, was all that Engels had expected of it: the Marxist wing held a clear majority. Engels approved the decision to annul the credentials of the anarchists, and commended the rejection of a semi-anarchist resolution on calling a general strike in the event of a war. He was especially pleased with a resolution stating that the emancipation of the working class would come about solely through the destruction of class domination. "The Marxists," he wrote to Sorge on September 2, "have won all down the line on matters of principle, as well as tactics."[2]

HELPING THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY TO WIN THE MASSES

In the beginning of the 1890s the situation in the French labour movement was a favourable one for its Marxist wing—the Workers' Party. The mistakes of the Boulangist period had been overcome with Engels' help. In October 1890 the Lille Congress passed a series of sound resolutions (changing the Rules, electing a national council and spelling out its powers, etc.). From Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who had attended the congress, Engels learned that the delegates were in a militant mood. Meanwhile, the Possibilists had begun to lose ground: as a result of internal squabbles a group headed by trade union leader Jean Allemane split away and constituted the Workers' Party of Socialist Revolution. Though gravitating more towards anarchism, it went along with the Marxists on some issues. Marxists gained influence in most of the trade unions in the main industrial centres, with the result that the Calais Congress of the National Federation of Syndicates supported many of the Lille decisions.

However, practical steps towards a united socialist party, Engels held, were still premature. The Workers' Party had to win over the workers still under the sway of Possibilist leaders, and to isolate the latter completely. Also, Engels warned his French friends against acting in disregard of their allies, and against their exaggerated opinion of their own influence. He criticised them for lacking flexibility

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 505.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 38, S. 150.

during the preparations for the May 1 demonstration in Paris in 1891 and not coming to terms on united action with all socialist forces.

The French socialists' parliamentary activity held his attention, and he was jubilant when Lafargue, nominated in by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies, gained his seat in October 1891. This, he held, would give "a tremendous *élan* to socialism all over France".[1] Besides, it showed the potency of cooperation with all socialist groups (Lafargue had the support of Blanquists, Possibilists, and Allemanists). The fact that part of the Radicals denied their support to the government, Engels also traced to Lafargue's success.

However, he told Lafargue to show the utmost caution in dealing with the Left Radicals—Alexandre Millerand, Jean Jaurès, and others—who now professed to be supporters of socialism. Engels mistrusted the group, which styled itself Independent Socialists, and particularly its leader, the lawyer Millerand. Learning from Lafargue of the Workers' Party's intention to campaign in the elections in the summer of 1893 jointly with Millerand's group, he advised "that the alliance with it should be based on the fact that our party is a party apart, and that they must recognise this".[2] The handful of Marxists, he feared, might be engulfed by the exponents of petty-bourgeois socialist and semi-socialist trends, creating a serious obstacle to unifying the socialist forces on a Marxist foundation. And the plans of cooperating in the Chamber of Deputies with members of the Blanquist group that had but recently supported Boulanger, did not seem right either. Engels was suspicious of the Blanquists and hoped the leaders of the Workers' Party would "not place too much confidence in their new allies".[3]

He followed Lafargue's parliamentary activities with intense interest. He read all his Chamber speeches, discussed their merits and demerits in his letters, and helped Lafargue time and again to gather material for his speeches and interpellations. "I am glad Paul is going to take part again in the debates of the Chamber," he wrote to Laura Lafargue on October 14, 1892, "and if he is wise, he will attend the Palais Bourbon assiduously during this last session of the present Parliament."[4] He regarded adroit use of universal suffrage as an important means of preparing for the decisive battle. In letters to France he showed the importance of parliamentary work for winning the masses for socialism.

When the scandalous facts behind the bankruptcy of the Panama Canal project became public, Engels advised his French followers to use the outrageous evidence of government corruption to show to the masses the real essence of the capitalist system. "I think your place is in Paris, in the Chamber, at the centre of the news," he wrote

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 130.
[2] *Cahiers internationaux*, Paris, 1956, No. 78.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 169.
[4] Ibid., p. 201.

to Lafargue on November 22, 1892, "to put yourself, and keep yourself, in touch with what is happening.... Every fresh piece of scandal which is brought to light will be a weapon for us."[1] Engels asked Lafargue for full information about the affair, which he regarded as a symptom of the budding political crisis in France and the political bankruptcy of the French bourgeoisie, "the beginning of the end of the bourgeois republic".[2] Literally in every letter to the Lafargues, Engels pleaded that the socialists should be active during the parliamentary debate of the Panama affair. However, the political crisis of the French "upper crust" did not develop into a disaster for the ruling classes. They managed to cope with the situation and, by and large, retained their positions.

Engels' letters to the leaders of the Workers' Party in the early months of 1893 and later offered advice on tactics and agitation in the coming parliamentary elections. To consolidate itself as a leading force in the French socialist movement and the nucleus of a future united party, Engels held, the Workers' Party must make conspicuous gains. "This time," he wrote to Guesde on April 14, "we must succeed in getting a small compact body into the Palais Bourbon, and this should once and for all, without a shadow of doubt, establish the character of French socialism, so that all the now dispersed elements will be compelled to rally round it."[3]

However, the results fell short of what Engels had expected. Though the number of Workers' Party deputies increased and they now had 12 seats, Lafargue, who had to contend against the votes in the rural areas added to his constituency, did not retain his seat. The other socialist deputies were unknown men, and not too firm. Furthermore, despite Engels' warnings, the Workers' Party leaders decided to compound the deputies of all socialist groups, including the Independent Socialists, who had 20 seats, into one faction. And though the faction numbered more than 50 deputies, among whom Marxists were a minority, Engels was sceptical of this motley group's ability to act in unison. What troubled him deeply was that not even all the Workers' Party deputies were convinced Marxists.

At the end of 1893 Engels wrote to Sorge of his fears that the Millerand people, the most numerous in the faction, would seize control. Most of them clung to their bourgeois outlook and their presence in the socialist faction was—at least for many—a purely tactical move. "Always bear in mind," he wrote to his French friends, "that you are dealing with bourgeois elements with whom you may fall out over questions of principle, and that, consequently, a split may become unavoidable."[4] The Marxists should reserve the right to criticise the

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 213.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 563.
[3] A. Zévaès, *De l'introduction du marxisme en France*, Paris, 1947, p. 154.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 272.

proposals of the Millerand group not only in the faction, but also in the socialist press, he advised.

Engels was deeply disturbed by a speech in the Chamber by Jaurès, one of the best-known and popular speakers of the united faction, whose proposal concerning grain tariffs amounted, in effect, to a protectionist posture in favour of the big landed estates and was made in the spirit of "state socialism" (he demanded that purchasing grain abroad should be the prerogative of the bourgeois government). But what really upset him was that Guesde supported the proposal, albeit with reservations. "All this," Engels wrote to Lafargue, "is the upshot of the alliance with the ex-Radicals whom we are forced to endure."[1] He tore to shreds the harmful notion that a bourgeois republic could carry out socialist measures. So long as this republic "is the form of *bourgeois* rule, it is quite as hostile to us as any monarchy whatsoever (save in the *forms* of that hostility).... We can wring concessions from it, but never look to it to carry out our job,"[2] he explained to Lafargue.

But there was also a positive aspect: the faction's scathing and often brilliant criticism of the policy of the ruling element brought on a succession of government crises, and, by and large, helped to attract the masses to socialism. Engels also hoped that it would help the best of the ex-Radicals, such as Jaurès, to grow into real Marxists. He read Jaurès' statements and articles, and observed happily that the man was "on the right path" and "*learning* Marxism".[3]

Jaurès was an exception. Engels mistrusted the other Independent Socialists. In 1895, he called the united faction a "myth", and subsequent developments showed that his apprehensions had been justified.

ENGLISH PROLETARIAT BEGINS TO WAKE UP

The English labour movement of the early 1890s inspired hope that Britain's workers would soon regain their prominent position in the liberation struggle of the European proletariat. The founding of new trade unions, the impressive May Day demonstrations in 1890 and 1891, and the successful strikes, showed that new sections of workers, until recently the most downtrodden and unorganised, had joined the struggle. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who had taken part in organising nearly all the larger strikes in London at that time, kept Engels informed of all developments. Through her, he came to know many of the leaders of the new trade unions, all of them recent workers: John Burns, leader of the dockers' strike, Bill Thorne, secretary of the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, and Tom Mann. They visited Engels frequently, and he took special pleasure

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 325.
[2] Ibid., p. 326.
[3] Engels to Plekhanov, February 26, 1895 (Central Party Archives).

in presenting them with English editions of his own and Marx's works, and gave them generously of his advice.

He wanted them to accept the ideas of proletarian internationalism. This he held to be exceedingly important, and used every opportunity to acquaint them with socialist leaders in other countries. When Bebel, Singer and Liebknecht came to London on his 70th birthday, he invited Burns, Thorne and others to meet them. And in March 1893 he specially brought together Burns, Bebel and Lafargue. He regarded their meeting as symbolic: "Such a meeting of three men representing the three leading parliaments of Europe, a meeting of three socialist party leaders of the three determining European nations is enough evidence of our enormous progress."[1] Among the others visiting Engels were Robert Cunninghame-Graham, an M.P. who championed working-class demands, and Belfort Bax, who had at one time edited the Social-Democratic Federation's *Justice*. Engels also had personal contacts with many other leaders: Harry Quelch, who succeeded Bax as the editor of *Justice*, Pete Curran, a leader of the Gas Workers Union, Shaw Maxwell, active in the Scottish socialist movement, William Sanders, Keir Hardie, and others. Engels followed the English workers' press—its socialist and trade union papers. And though he wrote practically nothing for it, many of his thoughts were reflected in the articles and reports of his closest followers, notably Eleanor Marx-Aveling. She was the only one, Engels stressed, who in her articles "could be relied upon to tell the English workers the truth about the movement on the continent without holding back anything or distorting it".[2]

Engels' deep knowledge of the history of the English labour movement, his close relations with many of its leaders, and his grasp of the state of the British economy, enabled him to assess the prospects of the socialist movement in Britain. In the early 1890s his forecasts were mainly optimistic: it seemed to him that a mass socialist party would soon emerge. True, he was aware of the immense difficulties still to be overcome: the contempt for theory and the prejudices deeply rooted in the minds of English workers, saturated with trade-unionist ideas; the rivalry between the various unions (even new ones) and between their leaders; and the many small and quarreling socialist groups that stood aloof from the masses.

As before, Engels regarded the Social-Democratic Federation as sectarian, though it had somewhat expanded its ranks and had managed in the main to extricate itself from Hyndman's dictatorship. However, its association with the real labour movement was still little more than tenuous. In May 1891 Engels wrote that its leaders "who, more or less, have the correct theory *as to the dogmatic side of it*, become a mere sect because they cannot conceive that living theory of action, of working with the working class at every

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 60
[2] Ibid., S. 307.

possible stage of its development, otherwise than as a collection of dogmas to be learnt by heart and recited like a conjuror's formula".[1] Though some displayed deep loyalty to socialism, the dogmatism of the leaders was, as Engels saw it, a major obstacle to the Federation's growing into a mass party.

Another socialist group—the Fabian Society—was a purely reformist organisation determined to prevent the English labour movement from following the revolutionary way. "Fear of the revolution," Engels wrote, "is their fundamental principle."[2] While lauding some of the Fabians' positive sides—they had put out "some good propaganda writing"[3] and were "really doing very good work municipally"[4]—he described the Society as a body of bourgeois socialists striving to reconcile the classes, advocating a peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism, and, consequently, scornful of the real interests of the working class.

Engels avoided doing anything that could create the impression of his accepting the Fabians' policy, and invariably turned down offers to write for their publications or to speak at their meetings.

He did what he could to orientate his friends and followers on laying the basis for a mass socialist party, and commended the Avelings' idea of converting the committee that had organised the 1890 May Day demonstration into a permanent body, which would include representatives of trade union and socialist organisations and be the headquarters in the battle for the eight-hour working day and other workers' demands. This, he held, could lay the foundations for a socialist party. In July 1890, with Engels' support, the committee was reorganised and renamed the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League. He helped the Avelings to draw up its statutes, defining its main aim: to found an independent working-class party and fight for a legal eight-hour working day and other social demands. The League was active for several years and took part in organising the May Day demonstrations of 1891 and 1892. But it failed in its main purpose and did not become the nucleus of an independent working-class party.

Engels was heartened by the fact that the September 1890 Trades Union Congress defied the reformist leaders and by a majority vote demanded legislation limiting the working day to eight hours, thus going against the old unions, which opposed government interference in labour-capital relations. "...With the adoption of this demand," Engels wrote, "the reign of the old, conservative workers' movement, based on capitalist relations, has collapsed."[5] The new unions were in exuberant growth in the early 1890s.

[1] *Labour Monthly* No. 9, 1955.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 453.
[3] Ibid., p. 454.
[4] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 368.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 454.

In the summer of 1892, three independent labour candidates were elected to Parliament and in a number of constituencies working-class candidates prevented Liberals from winning. For Engels this was a sign that workers were shaking off the political influence of the Liberal Party. "...The *new* working-class movement enters Parliament triumphantly," he wrote to Laura Lafargue on July 7, 1892. "...The *Independent Working Men's Party* is in the offing."[1]

In September 1892, a conference of socialist groups, with Keir Hardie in the chair, gathered in Glasgow to launch preparations for a workers' party. At first, Engels received the news somewhat sceptically, but was glad to learn that the Independent Labour Party was founded at a conference in Bradford in January 1893. He expected it to absorb a substantial number of workers, chiefly in the northern industrial areas, and also to pry away some of the workers from the Social-Democratic Federation and Fabian Society. He was pleased, too, that the programme of the new party envisaged socialisation of the means of production, and approved Aveling's decision to join it and accept the offer to be a member of its Executive.

But Engels' opinion of most of its leaders was never high. "...Keir Hardie, Shaw Maxwell and others," he observed, "are pursuing all sorts of secondary aims of personal ambition."[2] The Independent Labour Party did not become a real headquarters of the working-class movement. Its leadership gravitated to behind-the-scenes deals with the Liberals. Its tactics were indefinite, and the leaders, notably Keir Hardie, indulged in demagogy. Though active in the unions, it had practically no contact with other socialist organisations, and merely demanded that they should join its ranks.

Engels noted the deep abyss between the workers' instinctive aspiration for socialism and the organisations they possessed to promote their aim. He was aware of the subjective factor—the total absence of leaders equal to the job of guiding the proletariat to its goal. This lack, as Engels saw it, was due to the long years of political subordination to the Liberal Party. The working class and its leaders had gradually abandoned their revolutionary tradition and accepted the essentially bourgeois trade-unionist ideology. "One is indeed driven to despair by these English workers," he wrote to Plekhanov in May 1894, "with their sense of imaginary national superiority, with their essentially bourgeois ideas and viewpoints, with their 'practical' narrow-mindedness, with the parliamentary corruption which has seriously infected the leaders."[3]

The socialist organisations were afflicted with the canker of rivalry, and none became really massive. Engels attributed this to the inability and reluctance of the Social-Democratic Federation leaders to work among the masses, to temper their consciousness gradually in

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 183
[2] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 579.
[3] Ibid., p. 583.

skirmishes for concrete and comprehensible demands, on the one hand, and to the fact that most of the Independent Labour Party leaders had by the mid-nineties begun gravitating to the reformist line, on the other. "...The existing organisations and their chiefs," he wrote on March 5, 1895, "persist in their disputes and rivalry, which doom them to impotence."[1] He was confident, however, that "the moment will come after all, when the masses, having attained a sufficient degree of consciousness, will break through the tangled web of the intrigues and sectarian squabbles of the 'leaders'".[2] But before this happens, he wrote, "years may go by".[3]

He retained his deep interest in England's labour movement to the end. Even in the last letter that he wrote in his own hand a fortnight before his death, he told Laura Lafargue of the results of the latest general elections.

MARXISM'S FIRST SUCCESS IN ITALY

Engels' relations with the Italian socialists expanded visibly in the beginning of the nineties. Until then, Pasquale Martignetti had been his only regular Italian correspondent. A clerk in the notary public's office in Benevento, Martignetti was a self-educated supporter of scientific socialism, and in the mid-eighties offered to translate Engels' works into Italian. He became the first Italian translator of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1885), *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1883 and 1892), *Wage Labour and Capital* (1893), etc. Engels commended his work highly.

In the beginning of 1890, Antonio Labriola, a professor of philosophy, a convinced Marxist active in the Italian working-class movement, contacted Engels through Martignetti. Engels saw at once from his letter that Labriola was a knowledgeable scholar and publicist, with a strong grounding in philosophical matters, and also a grasp of the current political situation in his country. A lively correspondence ensued, lasting until Engels' death. For Engels Labriola's letters were one of the main sources of information about the state of the Italian working-class movement.

Labriola expressed deep respect for Marx's friend. He addressed him as the man "who is not only in complete command of all modern knowledge, but also a man who has contributed most commendably to the development of new social ideas".[4] The same sentiment was expressed by another prominent Italian socialist, Filippo Turati, who began corresponding with Engels in February 1891. In Italy,

[1] Engels to Vaillant (Central Party Archives).
[2] Engels to Laura Lafargue (Central Party Archives).
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 273.
[4] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964, p. 358.

he wrote, "the few young people who are studying the bounty of modern socialism have learned, especially after Marx's death, to pronounce your name with reverence and to read your works with attention".[1] Turati supplied Engels with the theoretical socialist journal, *Critica Sociale*, of which he was editor and which played a conspicuous role in propagating Marxism in Italy.

"I take ... a great interest in the progress of the socialist movement in your country,"[2] Engels replied to Turati's first letter. There was no united socialist party in Italy, and all attempts to form one from the different socialist and workers' organisations and groups failed. Engels deplored the confusion reigning among the country's socialists. Not until August 1892 was a united party at last proclaimed at a congress in Genoa. Engels was kept informed of all the complications which had preceded that congress. Labriola sent him the draft programme of the future party, adding his criticism, which was nothing less than scathing. Labriola's standpoint was far clearer than Turati's. But he underestimated the need for uniting and organising the workers' masses in order to awaken their class consciousness. Turati, on the other hand, who was more closely involved in the actual struggle, attached too little importance to the theoretical side.

Engels evidently had misgivings about the new party, which—also due to Turati's readiness to compromise—was then named the Party of Italian Labourers. But he welcomed it all the same, and doubly so because its programme espoused—albeit in very general terms—the main aims and demands of the working class. Despite its flaws, Engels saw the new party as a necessary stage of the socialist movement in Italy.

In the winter of 1892-93, scandalous facts came to light about some of Italy's biggest banks. Statesmen, journalists and other prominent persons were implicated. Comparing the scandal with the recent Panama Canal affair in France, Engels described it as a sign of the political crisis in Italy. The socialists, he held, must make the most of the business to expose the ruling class. He wrote an article for *Vorwärts*, entitled "The Italian Panama Affair", indignant that the socialist deputies in Italy shrank from taking a public stand on the issue.

By the end of 1893 the political situation in the country became still more acute. Peasant risings erupted in Sicily, of which Engels somewhat later wrote: "Nature made of Sicily a paradise on earth. Reason enough for human society divided into opposite classes to turn it into a hell."[3] The peasants' protest against the still exacted feudal duties and capitalist exploitation grew into a rebellion, which was brutally suppressed. Unrest seethed among the workers, and a serious crisis loomed.

[1] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, Milano, 1964, p. 371.
[2] Ibid., p. 374.
[3] Ibid., p. 561.

Turati and his wife, Anna Kulishova, a Russian revolutionary emigrant, asked Engels urgently for his opinion of the situation and for his advice. Engels replied at once: his letter was printed in *Critica Sociale* on February 1, 1894, under the title, "The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party". Engels warned the young Italian socialist party that conditions in the country were still far from ripe for a socialist revolution and that the impending revolution, if it came to pass, would be bourgeois in essence. Its main force, due to the backward economic relations, would be the peasants and semi-ruined urban petty bourgeoisie. Yet it would be a gross error, Engels stressed, for the socialists to stand aloof. They should "regard every revolutionary or progressive movement as an advance along their own line of march, and it is their special mission, therefore, to prod forward the other revolutionary parties and, should one of them be victorious, to safeguard and promote the interests of the proletariat".[1] He called for the utmost caution, for the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties could not be trusted; the socialists should not allow themselves to be inveigled in fruitless ventures, and should not take demagogical promises on trust. This did not mean, however, that temporary alliances or agreements with these parties were to be shunned. "But it should be understood, and we must proclaim it loudly, that we are taking part *as an independent party*, allied for the moment with radicals or republicans, but entirely distinct from them," he wrote. "On the day of victory our ways will part; on that day we shall be vis-à-vis the new government the *new opposition* ... which will push on to new conquests transcending the already gained terrain."[2] This was relevant not only for the young Italian party which had just begun its independent struggle, but also for the socialists of other relatively backward European countries where the working-class movement had then begun to grow.

ENGELS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE IN RUSSIA

Late in July 1889, following the international congress in Paris, two Russians visited Engels. He had heard of them before, had read their works, but had never seen them. They were G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod, founders of the Emancipation of Labour group.

During their stay in London, Plekhanov and Axelrod saw Engels frequently and conversed with him for hours. He made a deep impression on them. Almost three years later, recalling his London visit, Plekhanov wrote to Engels: "The days which I passed in London in

[1] Ibid., p. 519.
[2] Ibid., p. 420.

your company are among the happiest in my life."[1] The discussions ranged far afield, but chiefly concerned the Russian revolutionary movement. Engels doubted the wisdom of the Russian Marxists' calling themselves Social-Democrats, since there was a certain bias against this term among revolutionaries in Russia. But his new acquaintances presented convincing arguments: to begin with, the Russian Marxists wanted to stress their unity with international Social-Democracy and its leading body, the German party; also the name dissociated them from the Narodnik groups.

Engels' personal contact with the Russian Marxists was the beginning of a closer relationship. His correspondence with Vera Zasulich was more regular, and from the beginning of 1893 Plekhanov became one of his main Russian correspondents. Engels' interest in the activity of his Russian followers never declined, and he was always generous with his advice. To Plekhanov, for example, he recommended making a special study of agrarian relations in Russia. His relationship with Plekhanov, Zasulich and Axelrod became warmer still after he saw them at the Zurich Congress in 1893. And when Plekhanov was expelled from France the following year and stayed in London for several months, he was a frequent guest at Engels', made liberal use of his library, and spent evenings chatting with him. Another frequent guest was Zasulich, who had settled in London in October 1894 and became a close friend of Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

Engels never ceased writing to Lavrov and Danielson. In August 1892, he was visited by M. M. Kovalevsky. As before, he often saw Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, whose works he arranged to be translated into German, and his wife Fanni, an intimate friend of Eleanor.

Engels' interest in Russia grew and he used every opportunity to communicate with Russians. The young Russian emigrant Vladimir Shmuilov, a staff member of the German Social-Democratic newspaper in Dresden, visited him several times in the winter of 1892-93, and another very young man, an ardent follower of Plekhanov, Alexei Voden, loved conversing with him. His visits were quite frequent in the spring and summer of 1893. Iosif Goldenberg (Meshkovsky), who later became a Bolshevik[2], corresponded with Engels too. Engels also enjoyed his verbal engagements with Nikolai Rusanov, a convinced Narodnik and Lavrov's friend, and with another, still younger member of the movement, Charles Rappoport, who soon espoused Marxism and subsequently gained prominence in the French socialist movement. And even after his health was broken, two months

[1] Central Party Archives.

[2] Bolsheviks—followers of a revolutionary trend in the Russian Social-Democratic movement. They derived their name at the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in August 1903, when during the elections to the central Party organs the revolutionary Social-Democrats headed by Lenin received a majority ("bolshinstvo" in Russian).

before his death, he received the Russian liberal writer and journalist Pyotr Boborykin, who was introduced to him by Kovalevsky.

Engels continued his study of the socio-economic relations in Russia. This, he held, was the key to the political situation there, to the general outlook, and to the tasks incumbent on the Russian revolutionaries. Thanking Danielson for his exhaustive information about the Russian economic situation, he commented (June 10, 1890): "Under the smooth surface of political quietude there is as great and as important an economical change going on as in any European country, to watch which is of the highest interest."[1] With the threat of a European war growing daily, on the one hand, and the rapid rise of the mass workers' movement in Europe, on the other, developments in Russia were of immense international relevance. Her peoples were ruled by the most reactionary of the existing regimes, and possessed a giant revolutionary potential.

A few years earlier Engels had allowed, though with considerable reservations, that some of the communal institutions could be used for the socialist reconstruction of Russian society, provided the revolution was backed by a successful proletarian revolution in the West. Now he no longer doubted that Russia had embarked on capitalist development and that the disintegration of the rural community had gained momentum. "Russia," he wrote to Lafargue on September 2, 1891, "has been at the most enormous pains ... to create a great national industry".[2] This impression he gained from reading Plekhanov's article, "The Social and Political Situation in Russia in 1890".

The growth of a capitalist industry in a country where semi-feudal relations and remnants of serfdom were still considerable gave rise to unavoidably sharp social contradictions. Examining the causes of the terrible famine in Russia in 1891, Engels wrote in an article, "Socialism in Germany": "We are ... dealing here ... with a profound crisis brought about over the years by a quiet economic revolution, only made more acute by the bad harvest."[3]

In his many letters to Danielson, he argued against the latter's utopian Narodnik conception that capitalism had not gained a real grip on Russia and was being artificially implanted, while the survival of the community was entirely possible. Marx's prediction that Russia's capitalist development would destroy the peasant community, he pointed out on March 15, 1892, "seems to me to be in course of fulfilment just now". He amplified: "I am afraid we shall have to treat the *obshchina* as a dream of the past, and reckon, in future, with a Capitalist Russia."[4]

[1] Central Party Archives.

[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 104.

[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 260.

[4] Central Party Archives.

Engels cited examples from history to show that Russia, albeit belatedly, was going through the stages that had been passed at different times by other, more developed countries, and that like any other country she was subject to the general laws of capitalist development.

But all Engels' hopes that Danielson, translator of *Capital* and an admirer of Marx, would relinquish his misconceptions, proved in vain. "As for Danielson," he wrote to Plekhanov on February 26, 1895, "I am afraid there is nothing to be done with him.... There is no way of debating with this generation of Russians to which he belongs, and which still believes in the spontaneous communistic mission that supposedly distinguishes Russia, the real Holy Russia, from the other profane peoples."[1]

Russia's capitalist growth sharpened the internal contradictions and produced objective conditions for revolution. Overthrowing the autocracy was still the paramount task of the progressive forces, in which, Engels stressed, the working class of all Europe had a stake. Still, in September 1891, referring to the consequences of the famine in Russia, Engels told Lafargue he doubted that "tsarism will survive this crisis".[2] And when Nicholas II ascended the Russian throne following the death of Alexander III, Engels said several times he was sure "the present regime will not be able to stand a change of tsar",[3] and the "beginning of the end of tsarist omnipotence"[4] had come; "if there is anyone whom the devil of revolution has by his collar, then it is Nicholas II".[5]

Convinced that a revolution in Russia was imminent, Engels speculated about the forces that could head it with the immediate aim of deposing the autocracy. "Three classes are suffering in Russia," he wrote in a letter to Bebel, at the end of September 1891, "the landed nobility, the peasants, and the burgeoning proletariat."[6] The ruined and degenerate nobility was incapable of decisive action, while the peasants "would perform only fruitless local insurrections as long as a victorious rising in the urban centres did not give them the lacking cohesion and aid".[7]

Though he regarded the impending Russian revolution as bourgeois-democratic, he observed that the "base and ignorant" Russian bourgeoisie had no stake in demolishing tsarism, because "it owes everything it has to the state", which helps it to exploit the workers and protects it from the people's wrath. "It must go hard with them, before these bourgeois, who greatly surpass even ours in their infamy, come to grips with tsarism".[8] This left only the proletariat, and

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p 104.
[3] Ibid., p. 351.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 353.
[5] Ibid., S. 405.
[6] Ibid., Bd. 38, S. 160.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

though Engels observed that in Russia it was then "too weak for a revolution", he maintained that the working class would play the most important role in the victorious revolution. Voden recalled later that Engels said he was delighted by "the actions of the Russian workers and is sure that they will play the decisive part in overthrowing the autocracy".[1]

Engels' afterword of January 1894 to a new edition of his "On Social Relations in Russia" was, in a way, a summing up of his studies of that country. He wrote it to complement the analysis he had made twenty years before of Russia's socio-economic development. To a certain extent, it was also a reply to the numerous requests of his Russian friends and correspondents to present his views on the future of capitalism in Russia. Engels' opinion was especially valuable to the Marxists in their sharp ideological battle against the latter-day Narodniks.

Engels outlined the history of the peasant community in Russia, showing again that it was not an exclusive phenomenon, but typical—in one form or other—of a definite stage in the social development of every country. He also showed that the community would never grow by itself into a cell of socialist society. "Every given economic formation," he wrote, "must tackle its own tasks, those which spring from its own bosom, and it would be utterly absurd to try to tackle the tasks facing another, totally alien formation."[2] He conceded that the remnants of communal landownership might be used to shorten the passage to socialist society, provided the proletarian revolution triumphed beforehand in the more developed countries. This possibility could not be denied in the case of backward countries that had only begun capitalist development, he said, but was no longer applicable to Russia, where "the transformation ... into an industrial capitalist state, the proletarisation of a large part of her peasantry, and the destruction of the old communist community" were taking place at an ever higher rate.[3] Not even in the event of a proletarian victory in the main capitalist countries could the Russian peasant community be the starting point of communistic development. There is no power on earth, Engels pointed out, "capable of restoring the Russian community, once its disintegration has reached a certain culminating point".[4]

The prime objective of the Russian revolutionaries, he stressed, was to overthrow the autocracy. The Russian revolution would change the situation of the people not only in Russia, he wrote, but "will also give a fresh impulse to the labour movement in the West, ... thereby advancing the victory of the modern industrial proletariat,

[1] *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Russian Contemporaries*, Russ. ed., p. 105.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 403.
[3] Ibid., p. 409.
[4] Ibid., p. 405.

a victory without which present-day Russia, whether on the basis of the community or of capitalism, cannot achieve a socialist transformation of society".[1]

Engels' interest in the situation in Russia did not wane to the end of his life. Early in the summer of 1895 Engels learned from Plekhanov of the arrest of workers in Moscow after the May 1 celebration, and the strike of 8,000 workers in Yaroslavl, which sparked off clashes with the troops. "The revolutionary movement is stronger than it has been in the past ten years," Plekhanov wrote to him. "It is getting hotter in Russia."[2] But Engels did not live to see the birth of the organised Russian working-class movement.

ENGELS AND THE AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

Though engrossed in his theoretical work and the affairs of the European socialist parties, Engels kept a constant eye on the labour movement in the United States. As before, his contacts with the American socialists were not extensive: apart from his regular correspondence with Sorge and Kelley-Wischnewetzky, he had some influence now on the American socialist press through Hermann Schlüter, who had emigrated to the United States in 1889 and soon became editor of the German-language organ of the Socialist Labour Party, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

In the beginning of September 1891, Engels was visited by MacVey and Abraham Cahan, two American delegates to the Brussels International Congress, who stopped over in London on their way home. They made a favourable impression on him.

From his friends' letters Engels knew of all developments in the socialist movement. Besides, he was receiving several U.S. socialist newspapers, and was able to follow the struggles of the American working class. Sorge's communications were exceedingly valuable, and Engels asked him to write regularly about the state of affairs in America.[3] He praised Sorge's articles on the U.S. labour movement, which appeared from time to time in the *Neue Zeit*, and in every way encouraged his association with the journal.

Engels' letters to his American correspondents bear evidence that he meditated a great deal on the difficulties of the socialist movement in the United States. The information at his disposal showed a certain decline of the movement in the early 1890s: despite a number of major class battles involving masses of workers, the socialists had failed to increase their influence.

One of the reasons, Engels held, was that the living standard of the American worker was higher than that of his European counterpart. The U.S. worker was in a far better situation by virtue of the protective tariffs and the continuously growing home market. "This alone," he wrote in October 1891, "is sufficient to relegate him to a back seat for some time."[1] The other reason was the pervasive influence of bourgeois ideology, which he traced to the peculiar historical development of the country after the Civil War: its rapid economic growth and peaceful political scene. The priority given to things "of a predominantly material nature," he wrote, "... causes a certain backwardness of thought".[2] This instilled blind faith in every variety of philosophical and economic humbug, and religious sectarianism, and gave impulse to absurd economic experiments. The fact that the working class in the United States, a country "which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois foundation from the beginning",[3] was receptive to bourgeois ideology and prejudice, Engels ascribed to the absence of deep-seated survivals of the pre-capitalist epoch. The American worker was thus deluded into thinking "that the traditional bourgeois regime he inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time".[4]

Another important factor holding back the growth of the socialist movement in the United States, as Engels saw it, was the division of the working class into native and immigrant Americans. The former were more privileged— were afforded various advantages, comprised the bulk of the skilled labour force, were organised in unions, and looked down on newcomers from Europe and on the Negro workers. Moreover, the European immigrants were divided into national communities which the American bourgeoisie adroitly incited against each other.

Engels criticised the sectarian policy of the Socialist Labour Party, and was especially bitter about those of its leaders who had come from Germany and as before scorned work in the mass labour organisations. "If there is to be any mass movement," he wrote to Sorge on February 8, 1890, "one has to begin with the trades unions, etc."[5], that is, with actions comprehensible to the whole mass of workers with a still underdeveloped class consciousness. "The movement...," Engels pointed out, "cannot thrive on sermons alone."[6] The facts and their own experience must help the workers to apprehend their class objectives.

Soon, the developments confirmed the sectarianism of the Socialist Labour Party. At the end of 1890 and the beginning of 1891, Sorge informed Engels about the conflict between its leaders and the American Federation of Labour. The president of the Federation,

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2. p. 410.
[2] Plekhanov to Engels, May-June 1895 (Central Party Archives).
[3] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 3.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 434.
[2] Ibid., p. 451.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 353.
[6] Ibid., S. 352.

Samuel Gompers, a reformist, blocked the party's admission as a corporate member on the plea that it was a political rather than professional organisation. He said members of the party could join the Federation individually. The party leaders turned down his offer, and with it the opportunity to work in the American workers' biggest organisation. Engels did not reply to Gompers, who asked for his opinion on this score. Evidently, he did not wish to give Gompers formal cause to refer to him in the controversy with the socialists. In a letter to Schlüter, however, he berated the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party for their sectarian attitude towards a mass, albeit reformist, workers' organisation.

Though aware of the obstacles to a mass socialist party, Engels saw the immense long-term possibilities of the American working class.

PROLETARIAN TACTICS OF COMBATING THE WAR THREAT

As before, Engels closely followed international developments in the 1890s. The danger of a war in Europe that had loomed large at the end of the preceding decade, did not recede. Two blocs of European powers were shaping, whose collision several decades later plunged humanity into the First World War. The relations between France and Russia, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, were strained to the extreme. The French Republic and the monarchy of Alexander III were visibly moving closer to an alliance. A Franco-Russian bloc was crystallising as a counterweight to the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy). In this setting, the battle against militarism and war acquired paramount significance; also important for the European socialists was to work out their tactics in the event of a war. Here, Engels played an outstanding part.

In 1889, at the request of Vera Zasulich, he began an article, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom", for the initial numbers of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, a journal just founded by the Emancipation of Labour group. The following year, the article appeared in Russian and many other European languages. It was a forceful recapitulation of tsarist Russia's foreign policy from the mid-18th century, exposing its reactionary orientation, the methods of tsarist diplomacy, its class essence, and its link with home policy. True, Engels somewhat exaggerated the part played in Russian history by diplomacy, especially that of foreigners in Russian service.

Elaborating on a thought he had frequently expressed before, Engels stressed that a popular, democratic revolution in Russia would make a tremendous impact on the whole international situation. "On the day when Tsardom falls—this last stronghold of the whole European reaction—on that day a quite different wind will blow

across Europe,"[1] he wrote. To begin with, he added, the threat of an all-European war would disappear. The Triple Alliance would become redundant and Germany, finding herself isolated, would probably be reluctant to start a war with France, this would create a favourable situation for a peaceful settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question. The alliance between a new, liberated Russia and Republican France would also benefit the European proletariat fighting for liberation.[2]

The article touched on the tactics that the working class should adopt in the event of a war, but only in very general terms. Engels examined the matter at greater length in the article "Socialism in Germany", which he wrote in October 1891 for the French *Almanach du Parti ouvrier pour 1892* and which also appeared almost simultaneously, with a few additions, in the *Neue Zeit*. Engels began the article soon after the visit of a French naval squadron to Kronstadt—a demonstration of Franco-Russian solidarity and the first step to a formal Franco-Russian alliance. With France gripped by a revanchist fever, the article was designed to help the French socialists in combating chauvinism. Also, Engels wanted to help the German Social-Democrats to define their position in the event of a war. The article was of the greatest significance for international socialism as a whole, and within two or three months of its original publication appeared in Italian, Rumanian, English (in the U.S.A.), Polish and Russian.

Engels proceeded from the likelihood of a war by France and tsarist Russia against Germany. The prospect was quite real, and in certain circumstances could jeopardise Germany's national survival. "In 1891 the German *Social-Democrats* really *should have* defended their fatherland in a war against Boulanger + Alexander III," wrote Lenin later. "This would have been a peculiar variety of *national* war."[3] Tsarist Russia's victory would inevitably spell the end of the socialist working-class movement in Germany, destroying a party "holding the foremost, the most honourable, the most responsible place in the international workers' movement,"[4] which, Engels stressed, would be disastrous for international socialism. Therefore, in the event of such a war, the German socialists were obliged "to affirm all the conquered positions, and not capitulate either to the external or to the internal enemy."[5]

This did not mean that Engels expected the German socialists to make common cause with the reactionary government. On the contrary. If Germany's national existence were threatened, he held, they should press for revolutionary means of warfare, which the

[1] *Time*, May 1890, p. 543.
[2] Ibid.
[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 251.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 255.
[5] Ibid.

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government of Wilhelm II would not accept. "We have a strong party," he wrote, "that can force him to do so or, if necessary, can replace him."[1] In a letter to Bebel he did not mince words: "We must see to it that the war is fought with all revolutionary means and that the position of any government refusing to use these means is made untenable; when the time comes, we must put ourselves at the head."[2] In sum, the aim of German Social-Democracy was to use the crisis caused by the war to seize power, so that Germany's military victory should also be a victory for the revolution.

Engels' article was acclaimed by Social-Democrats of many countries. "It is the clearest and most intelligent exposition of the present situation,"[3] wrote Lafargue, who saw it before it was published. The ideas which Engels set out in the article, he finalised and projected in a series of letters, stressing; among other things, that his thoughts about the socialists' place in a really national war were, in fact, universal guidelines. "If I had not taken it for granted that in the case of a foreign attack the French socialists should take arms to defend their homes, my article would be senseless. All I ask is that the same principle be acknowledged in the case of the German socialists in the event of a Russian attack, even though supported by official France."[4]

Recommending these tactics to the German Social-Democrats, Engels proceeded from the peculiar situation in the Europe of the early nineties. He called for determined resistance to German militarism, and made the Social-Democrats' support of the war against Russia and France conditional on an eventual threat to Germany's national survival. This was a point Lenin stressed when almost a quarter of a century later he berated the leaders of German Social-Democracy for trying to justify their betrayal of internationalism with allusions to Engels. The situation in 1914, when the imperialist world war erupted, had been quite different to what Engels had in mind. "In 1891 no imperialism existed at all...," Lenin wrote, "and there was no imperialist war, there could not be, on the part of Germany. (By the way, there was no revolutionary Russia then either; that is very important.")[5]

Examining working-class tactics in the event of a war, Engels could not neglect the question of what socialists should do to combat militarism and avert war.

Engels considered that the militaristic designs of the ruling classes, primarily of Germany, reflected in the inflated military budgets and various legislative acts, should be countered with a programme for enduring and stable peace. He developed these ideas in a series

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 255.
[2] Ibid., Bd. 38, S. 188.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 121.
[4] Engels to Charles Bonnier (Central Party Archives).
[5] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 268.

of articles, "Can Europe Disarm?", written for *Vorwärts* in February 1893 in response to Bebel's request for advice on how the Social-Democratic faction should react to the impending Reichstag debate of the war bill. Engels set out his practical proposals as an alternative to this bill, which envisaged a considerable increase of the standing army.

Engels had been a diligent student of military affairs, and the articles were, in a way, a summing up of his studies. The programme he had drawn up was a practicable one in the existing social system. The rising tempo of the arms race and the rising military expenditures —new weapons were developed all the time—were suicidal, Engels showed, and would lead to but one of two things: economic ruin or destructive war, a war whose consequences it was impossible to predict. And there was but one way to avert it: "gradual abolition of standing armies" and their conversion into a militia based on universal arming of the people".[1]

The proposals, which Engels proved at some length to be practicable from the purely military standpoint, were the following: all powers should forthwith agree to shorten the duration of military conscription—to two years as a first step—by relieving soldiers of unnecessary drill and other "traditional and therefore sanctified stupidities".[2] This was the start in the gradual reduction of army service, until finally no standing force would remain. Engels maintained that this international accord would not affect the national interests of the signatories.

Certainly, he did not expect reactionary rulers to accept his plan. What he had in mind was something else. By proving the validity of his proposals he was supplying the German socialists with new ammunition against militarism. Meanwhile, the rulers' refusal to adopt this thoroughly substantiated plan would brand them as enemies of peace. In effect, Engels' plan was the first proletarian programme for reducing armaments, gradually abolishing standing armies, and forming a militia, that is, giving arms to the people.

The German Social-Democrats were obviously interested in the scheme. "Like everything you write, your articles are very good," Bebel wrote to him on February 28, after reading the manuscript. "Liebknecht is absolutely delighted."[3] But Engels did not manage to prevail on the Social-Democratic leadership to adopt his proposals as a programme for practical action in the Reichstag, for, they maintained, the whole idea was out of tune with the traditional tactics of the Social-Democrats on military expenditure: they voted against any and all military allocations on principle. As Bebel saw it, making these proposals in the Reichstag could be interpreted as an attempt

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 371.
[2] Ibid., S. 377.
[3] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 670.

at improving the military system of the existing regime. He also had other misgivings: it was tactically wrong, he held, for the Reichstag Social-Democratic deputies to propose two-year conscription, for this had been earlier proposed by bourgeois parties.

Though the German Social-Democrats showed little enthusiasm for Engels' plan, his thoughts on disarmament made a visible impression. Some of their papers, and the speeches and pamphlets of their leaders, contained ideas that coincided with Engels' almost to the letter.

THE FIGHT FOR INTERNATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

The rapid growth of the international working-class movement in the early nineties, the founding of new socialist parties, and the visibly growing interest in Marxist theory among workers and progressive intellectuals added greatly to Engels' preoccupations.

His correspondence increased. "I am dreadfully overburdened with all kinds of tasks and trifles," he wrote to Sorge on March 5, 1892. "You should see the heap of German, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Danish, American, English, and also at the moment Rumanian, newspapers that keep arriving and that I must at least look at in order to be *au courant* of the movement. In addition, the real work that consumes the rest of my time. And the correspondence! I have enough stored up for a week."[1]

Apart from problems of the national labour movements, Engels now had other preoccupations: fortifying and extending international proletarian ties, helping to form a new International, and coordinating the action of socialists of different countries. His prestige and years of experience, and his record as ideological leader of the international working-class movement—all this prompted socialists to turn to him for advice and help. They knew they could count on a clear, comprehensive answer, especially when conflicts occurred between national parties.

In the autumn of 1892, for example, the German Social-Democrats defied a resolution of the 1891 Brussels Congress, which they had voted for, by deciding against May 1 strikes, and confining themselves to demonstrations and meetings after working hours. They feared that strikes on May Day could lead to lock-outs. Engels saw the wisdom of this move, but took the Germans to task for undertaking commitments which they were not sure they could fulfil. "It makes a *very bad* impression everywhere when the strongest party in the world suddenly sounds a retreat.... You are the battle troop ... of the modern workers' movement, and if you made a promise in Brussels, you were morally committed to keep it,"[2] he wrote to Bebel on November

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 289.
[2] Ibid., S. 518.

19. Breaking promises, he stressed, harmed the common cause and impaired international unity. He called on the German leaders to draw the appropriate lesson and never again do anything that might cause a negative reaction among socialist parties in other countries.

Engels strongly objected to a party claiming a special role in the international movement. On June 27, 1893 in a letter to Lafargue he found fault with an appeal of the National Council of the French Workers' Party countering a mud-slinging campaign of the bourgeois press, which accused the party of "lack of patriotism". Portraying France as a country that would hold the initiative, and the decisive place, in the future socialist revolution in Europe, he said, was an error. France could not claim priority either on grounds of her economic development or the degree of organisation or influence of the socialist working-class movement.

The French socialists justified their claim to priority by the fact that France—unlike Germany and Britain—was a republic and consequently more advanced politically. But a monarchy and a bourgeois republic, Engels pointed out, as he had on several other occasions, should not be the object of a simple counterposition, because ultimately their class essence was the same. "Your republic and our monarchies—it's all the same vis-à-vis the proletariat; if you help us against *our* monarchist bourgeois, we shall help you against your republican bourgeois,"[1] he wrote.

Cooperation of different national detachments of the working class—indispensable for the success of the socialist revolution—required ideological unity, complete equality, mutual respect, and independence. "International union," Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue on June 20, 1893, "can exist only between *nations*, whose existence, autonomy and independence as to internal matters is ... included in the very term of internationality."[2] The socialist workers of one country must give their experience of struggle to others, and must also learn from others. Engels regarded this as crucial. "If the Germans taught the French how to use the suffrage and how to organise strongly," he wrote, "the French will have to penetrate the Germans with that revolutionary spirit which the history of a century has made traditional with them."[3]

It was wrong, Engels held, to start anything requiring collective action without first agreeing it with the socialist parties of different countries. "Any international action must have as a necessary premise a previous agreement both as to the basis and as to the form," he wrote to Paul Lafargue. "It strikes me as inadmissible that one nationality should take the initiative publicly and then invite the others to fall in."[4]

[1] *Cahiers internationaux*, Paris, 1956, No. 78.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 263.
[3] Ibid., p. 203.
[4] Ibid., p. 321.

He occupied himself with the new International, which had no standing bodies and existed solely as more or less regularly convened international congresses, and did his utmost to secure a dominant place in it for the supporters of scientific socialism. Yet, he also insisted that none of the many mass organisations of workers that still had not accepted Marxist ideas, should be ignored. Ignoring them, he said, would be sectarianism.

In September 1892, following his return to London after nearly six weeks of holidaying in Ryde, Engels learned that the Trades Union Congress had turned down an invitation to the international socialist congress scheduled the following summer in Zurich. More, the TUC was planning to convene in London a parallel international assembly, expressly to discuss the battle for the eight-hour working day. Engels regarded this as an attempt to split the international working-class movement and hinder its consolidation on a Marxist basis. He immediately turned to his friends in France and Germany (in letters to Bebel and Laura Lafargue), urging action to frustrate the scheme of the TUC. All socialist and professional organisations of the continent should act jointly, and the forthcoming congresses of the German and French socialists should object publicly to the plan of the British trade unions. Trade unions in Germany and France should speak up, and so should workers' organisations in other European countries.

The German and French socialists accepted Engels' plan. He also approached the socialist parties of Spain and Austria, and their leaders, too, took his advice.

By virtue of his vigorous intervention the trade-unionists were compelled to scrap their plan, and finally agreed to send a delegation to the congress in Zurich. The road was thus cleared for the third international congress.

TRIP TO THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT

Apart from his short voyage along the Norwegian coast, Engels had not set foot on the European continent for nearly 17 years. His last visit to Germany was in 1876. His friends had long been urging him to come home. But so long as the Anti-Socialist Law was in force, he had refused. Now this obstacle no longer existed. He had intended to go to Germany in 1892, but was prevented by a sudden illness. The following year there was an additional motive for a trip—the international congress in Zurich in August, where Engels would meet many of his old friends and many younger members of the movement, of whom he had heard from friends or knew from his correspondence.

His itinerary was all worked out. On July 20, 1893, he sent it to Laura Lafargue: "We leave ... London for Continent 1 August—meet

Bebel and wife in Cologne and go via Strasburg to Switzerland where I shall meet my brother and expect to be in Zurich for close of Congress 12th or 13th August. Thence with Bebel to Vienna and Berlin."[1]

By and large, this programme was carried out. Making short stops in Cologne, Mainz and Strasburg, Engels, who travelled with Luise Kautsky and with Bebel and his wife, arrived in Zurich. There he left his companions and went to Thusis, a small town in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, where his brother Hermann was on holiday with his family. In Thusis he spent a week and, returning to Zurich, attended the closing session of the congress. On entering the hall, he was given a great ovation, and the platform invited him to take the chair.

All the main resolutions had already been adopted. The sharp clashes with the anarchists, whose credentials were not recognised, and the stormy debate over how to act in the event of war, were over. The semi-anarchist resolution proposed by Nieuwenhuis, recommending the general strike as the main anti-war measure, had been rejected. As a result, the Marxist orientation gained a stronger hold on the international socialist movement.

Engels made his concluding remarks in French, English and German. First of all, he paid homage to Marx: "The unexpectedly rousing reception that you have prepared for me, to which I can only reciprocate with the deepest feelings, I ascribe not to my own person, but to myself as the collaborator of that great man whose picture hangs up there.... Marx has died, but if he had lived today no man in Europe and America could look back with the same legitimate pride as he at his life's work."[2] This was perfectly true: before him sat more than 400 delegates, representing 20 countries, including those of South-east Europe and even far-away Australia. "...Now the International is much stronger than before,"[3] Engels said. The strength of the international union of socialist proletarians, he stressed, depended on their unfailing observance of the common principles. "The loose bonds, the voluntary unity, fortified by congresses, is sufficient to assure us victory, and no power on earth can wrest it from us."[4]

Engels stayed in Switzerland for nearly a fortnight more. After the congress he met many of its delegates and shook hands with many of the active leaders of the movement—men from almost all the European countries. It was his first opportunity to meet his Italian correspondents—Labriola, Turati and Anna Kulishova. It was also the first time he saw Vera Zasulich. He had several long talks with her, Plekhanov and Axelrod. The women delegated to the congress—the energetic and bold Clara Zetkin and the young Austrian factory girl,

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 279.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 408.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 409.

Adelheid Dwořak—impressed him deeply ("I like her very much,"[1] he wrote of Zetkin to Laura Lafargue). He also met the Czech delegates, the Social-Democrats Gibeš, Šteiner, and others. The Czechs' aspirations to national independence, he told them, did not conflict with the aims of the liberation struggle of the working class.

He was peeved, however, that he had missed seeing his old friend Pablo Iglesias, the IWA veteran and delegate in Zurich from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. Engels had renewed his contacts with the socialists in Spain, where anarchist influence was still fairly strong, before setting out on his trip. He was receiving *El Socialista*, the Spanish party's publication, and supplied his Spanish friends with Marxist literature. In 1891, he welcomed the appearance in Spanish of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, translated by José Mesa. "We eagerly endorse this work," he wrote, "which is certain to have a most favourable effect on the development of socialism in Spain."[2] With the passage of years he was delighted to see that the Socialist Party's influence was growing and that new sections of the working class were joining the organised movement.

While in Switzerland, Engels tramped about, enjoyed the view of the Alps, and after Zurich spent several days more in the mountains with Bebel. Yet all this time he followed the events in other countries, especially the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in France, for an account of which from Laura Lafargue he waited impatiently.

In the beginning of September he went to Austria. After a brief stay in Salzburg, he stayed six days in Vienna, which delighted him. "Vienna is an extremely beautiful town, with glorious boulevards," he wrote to Laura Lafargue on September 18, "and the immense square between Rathaus and—vis-à-vis—new Burgtheater, with Parliament to the right and University to the left, is unequalled in the world."[3]

The Austrian socialists gave Engels a truly rousing reception. "At first I had to go to a feast," he later related to Sorge, "but there was room for something like six hundred, while there were others who also wanted to see me; so on my last evening they organised a mass meeting."[4] At the meeting Engels made a short speech, referring again to Marx's accomplishments and the imposing success of the socialist movement: "We have our people in the prisons of Siberia, we have them in the gold-mines of California, everywhere, all the way to Australia. There is no land, no large state, where Social-Democracy is not a power that everyone must reckon with."[5] The Austrian workers made a lasting impression on Engels. "I am quite enchanted with them,"[6] he wrote.

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 286.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 431.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 292.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 131.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 22, S. 410.
[6] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 293.

From Vienna Engels went to Berlin, stopping over for a day in Prague. In Berlin he stayed with Bebel, and frequently met other Social-Democratic leaders. He saw the performances of the Free People's Stage (Freie Volksbühne), which played for impecunious audiences at no profit. More than half a century had elapsed since Engels' last stay in the Prussian capital, and the city had become unrecognisable—from an out-of-the-way royal seat it had grown into a large industrial centre with modern buildings and thoroughfares. Engels inspected it with avid interest, and found that the magnificent new palaces could not conceal the real condition of the people. "The misery of the workers' quarters," he wrote, "is to be felt everywhere."[1]

As in Austria, he got his deepest impressions from meeting the workers. "...The masses are splendid," he wrote to Sorge, "and mostly better than the leaders.... You can do everything with these people, for only in battle do they feel really happy."[2] The Berlin Social-Democrats received Engels affectionately. They planned a mammoth meeting in his honour, but Engels persuaded them to call it off. A banquet was held instead. "There were 4,000 present—only the representative men and women of the party—and I can assure you it was a pleasure to see and hear these people,"[3] he wrote to Laura Lafargue. In a brief address, the opening passages of which he dedicated to Marx, Engels referred to the industrial revolution in Germany, the imposing changes in her economic situation, the growth of the working class and the irrepressible surge of the socialist movement. His concluding words were: "*Long live International Social-Democracy!*"[4]

Engels spent nearly a fortnight in Berlin. Then, by way of Hannover, where he saw Ludwig Kugelmann, he went to Rotterdam and from there by ship back to London. On September 29, he was home again.

THE NEW OUTPOSTS OF SOCIALISM

From his two months' stay on the European continent Engels bore away many new impressions. He was astonished at its economic growth, the new towns and cities, the thick web of railways, the hundreds of factory chimneys. He saw in Zurich that the socialist movement now had deep roots in nearly all the European countries, and even outside Europe. The spread of Marxism to the Balkan countries, where no organised socialist movement had existed until then, heartened him greatly. In Zurich he met the Bulgarian delegates, representing the party founded but two years before and attending an international congress for the first time. He had learned of the young

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 134.
[2] Ibid., S. 132.
[3] Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 30, 1893 (Central Party Archives).
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 413.

party from the journal *Sotsial-Demokrat*, sent him before the congress by the Bulgarian socialists. In a message to its editors, he wrote: "...We in the West rejoice at these south-eastern outposts of ours on the Asian border, for they carry the flag of the modern proletariat hoisted by Marx, to the Black and Aegean seas; I wish Marx could see it all for himself!"[1] And he was deeply gratified to discover that some of Plekhanov's works had been translated and published in Bulgaria.

A few months before the Zurich Congress, a convention in Bucharest had founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Rumania. In 1888 Engels was informed of the appearance there of journals of a socialist complexion, and also of the publication in Rumanian of some of his own works, notably *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. On reading the journals, he wrote to one of the then prominent socialist publicists in Rumania, Joan Nadejde, of the pleasure he derived from the fact that the Rumanian socialists were "accepting in their programme the fundamental principles of the theory ... formulated by ... Karl Marx".[2] On the eve of the Zurich Congress Engels was introduced to the prominent Rumanian socialist and delegate to the congress, Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. And in 1894, another socialist leader, Panait Mușoiu, sent him his Rumanian translation of the *Communist Manifesto* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

The birth of a socialist press in Bulgaria and Rumania inspired Engels to begin learning the two languages; in November 1894, he told Sorge that he was gradually gaining a knowledge of them.

During his stay in Zurich, Engels also met some Polish socialists attending the congress. Shortly before, in the spring of 1893, the two Polish socialist organisations founded at the end of the eighties—the Union of Polish Workers and the Second Proletariat—had merged to form the Polish Socialist Party. For some years, Engels had known Mendelson, Jodko-Narkiewicz and other Polish socialists. That Marxist literature had begun appearing in Polish pleased him greatly, and in February 1892 he wrote a preface to a new Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. Emphasising the important implications of the struggle for Poland's national revival, Engels again voiced his so frequently repeated thought: "A sincere international collaboration of the European nations is possible only if each of these nations is fully autonomous in its own house."[3] He stressed, however, that independence "can be gained only by the young Polish proletariat".[4]

On returning home, to England, Engels was totally absorbed in work. There was a pile of letters to answer, and various details to

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 407.
[2] Engels to Joan Nadejde, January 4, 1888 (Central Party Archives).
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1; p. 105.
[4] Ibid., pp. 105-06.

settle concerning translations and new editions of his works. Most important, he had to finish his work on Volume III of *Capital* and send it to the printer.

Then came the events in Austria. The several days that Engels had spent there had convinced him of the fighting spirit of the Austrian working class. Also, he had seen that the situation in the country was favourable for the socialist movement. His own impressions and his talks and correspondence with Victor Adler, leader of the Social-Democratic Party, and also the press, showed that a mass workers' party with a sound programme could with relative ease and quite rapidly "attain outstanding success".[1]

Engels mentioned his faith in the Austrian workers in letters to Bebel, the Lafargues, Adler and Sorge. Eager to help the Austrians, he instructed Dietz Publishers to transfer his royalties to the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, and never missed sending messages of greeting to its congresses.

A campaign for universal suffrage was under way then in Austria-Hungary, in which the socialists were quite conspicuous. If successful, Engels held, it would give the Austrian workers the parliamentary weapon, helping the party to consolidate and to extend its influence. It was this that involved Engels in a problem which transcended the immediate practical objectives of the Austrian workers' movement—the problem of the general strike.

It was a highly sensitive issue since the Belgian Workers' Party, which had been fighting for universal suffrage for a number of years, organised a general political strike in the spring of 1893, compelling the ruling classes to amend the electoral laws and grant universal manhood suffrage, albeit with some reservations. This increased the number of electors more than ten-fold. Engels acclaimed it as a great gain, with important consequences for other countries. And when the Belgian Workers' Party managed to seat nearly 30 of its candidates in the Chamber of Deputies in October 1894, he wrote to one of its leaders, Emile Vandervelde: "Together with you the Belgian proletariat makes its 'joyous entry' in the parliament, an entry joyous not only for you, but for the proletarians of all Europe!"[2]

In Austria, too, sentiment in favour of a general strike ran high. Some party leaders called for it publicly. But Engels disapproved. Success, he stressed, was possible only in certain favourable situations. A general strike was an extreme measure, suitable at times of strong mass uplift, when the ruling class could not wholly rely on the army. And these conditions were then lacking in Austria-Hungary with her mainly rural population and a relatively small and dispersed working class, and where the rulers deliberately fanned strife among national minorities. "Let us at all costs avoid anything that might

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 134.
[2] Central Party Archives.

lead astray the already impatient and action-thirsty workers, goading them to stake everything on a gamble,"[1] Engels wrote. And he was, therefore, pleased that the Austrian leaders managed to restrain the workers from premature and unprepared action.

The campaigns for universal suffrage in Belgium and Austria were in Engels' view a stimulant for the entire European workers' movement, a link in the ever growing chain of revolutionary events. "The successes gained in *one* country," he stressed, "make a powerful impact on all the other."[2]

Examining developments in the main European countries, he expected a new uplift of the workers' movement in the relatively close future. "In brief," he wrote to Sorge in February 1894, "things are going ahead merrily everywhere, and the *fin de siècle* is shaping up more and more handsomely."[3]

SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS

Various contacts with socialist parties, international congresses, his writing for the socialist press, and other affairs took up much of Engels' time. He was unable to complete his big literary projects, much less tackle new ones. But he never terminated his scientific pursuits. The results of his research were published as articles, or used for prefaces to new editions of old works, or set forth in letters to friends.

His introduction to a new edition of Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital* in 1891 is known far and wide as a magnificent exposition of the foundations of Marxist political economy, particularly the theory of surplus value—a strictly scientific treatise, but presented so comprehensibly that the average worker could read it. With the progress of capitalist production, with each new invention and discovery, Engels wrote, the polarisation of bourgeois society becomes more distinct, and the wealth produced by the workers is appropriated to an ever greater extent by the owners of the means of production, "while the part falling to the share of the working class (reckoned per head) either increases only very slowly and inconsiderably or not at all, and under certain circumstances may even fall".[4]

This state of society had to be, and could be, changed. A new social system without class distinctions would replace the old one. Planned use and further development of the already existing productive forces would, with everyone carrying the same duty of labour, assure for all members of society "in an equal measure, and in an ever

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 163.
[2] Ibid., S. 141.
[3] Ibid., S. 213.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 148.

increasing fulness" the opportunity to exercise all physical and mental faculties.

In the spring of 1891 Engels completed his revision of the book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, for a new, considerably enlarged edition. To encompass the latest scientific achievements, he had to go through a vast amount of literature.

For the English edition of his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which appeared in 1892, Engels wrote a fairly extensive introduction that had scientific value in its own right. In it he described briefly the history of the writing of *Anti-Dühring*, three sections of which were subsequently used for the pamphlet, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*—a book defending, as Engels observed, "what we call 'historical materialism'". Materialism, he showed, had deep roots in Britain, for the philosophers Bacon, Hobbes and Locke were the forerunners of the "brilliant school of French materialists"[1] of the 18th century.

With the class contradictions growing sharper, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie were moving away from materialism and espousing agnosticism, described by Engels as "shamefaced" materialism. The agnostics acknowledged the materiality of the world, but averred that it had been "created at some time or other".[2] Engels criticised their conjecture that the "thing-in-itself" was unknowable and stressed that human practice upset all such notions.

He recapitulated the history of the battle of the European bourgeoisie against feudalism, which had its three apexes in the Protestant Reformation in Germany, the 17th-century English bourgeois revolution, for which Calvinism had served as the theoretical foundation, and the Great French Revolution. Unlike the first two, the third had no religious garb, and the battles were fought on open political ground. But with the emergence of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie reverted to religion again as the last and sole means of saving "society from utter ruin". However, Engels added, "no religious tenets will ever suffice to prop up a tottering society".[3]

He was sure that the working-class movement in the main European countries would develop ever more rapidly.

In the early 1880s his lasting interest in the sources of religion had led him to write two articles: "Bruno Bauer and Original Christianity" and "The Book of Revelation". In the summer of 1894 he returned to the subject, summing up his research in a third article, "The History of Original Christianity", which the *Neue Zeit* published a few months later.

The articles contain a materialistic explanation of the origin of the Christian religion and describe its social essence. They show that

[1] Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 97 and 99.
[2] Ibid., p. 102.
[3] Ibid., p. 113.

in its early period, when still a movement of the oppressed, Christianity sought deliverance from slavery and poverty in "a life in the beyond after death, in heaven".[1] Later, this formula helped the exploiting system to use religion as one of its ideological pillars.

In November 1892, Engels was requested by Ludwig Elster of Jena, publisher of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Handbook of Political Science), to write a biographical entry on Karl Marx. He gladly accepted, and a few days later completed, the assignment. On just a few pages, Engels gave the highlights of Marx's life and revolutionary activity, described his scientific work and theoretical books, and his role as organiser and leader of the International and counsellor of the international working-class movement. He also attached a list of Marx's works. In a certain sense, the article may be seen as a resumé of the big biography of Marx which Engels intended, but never had time, to write.

LETTERS ON HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Among the multitude of theoretical problems that occupied Engels in the 1890s a special place belongs to historical materialism. To begin with, Marx's theory required further elaboration. Besides, it was high time to hit back at the attempts to vulgarise the materialist conception of history, to interpret it in the spirit of economic materialism which postulated economy as the sole active factor of historical development, giving a fatalistic twist to the laws of history.

One of the books known to Engels, a study of Hegelianism by Paul Barth, alleged that according to Marx "economic development is independent of politics". Barth maintained that Marx and his followers, including the most eminent of them, Frederick Engels, had provided very few "illustrations" to prove that history is "conditioned" by the economic structure. "...Marx's and Engels' propositions are to be received very critically therefore," wrote Barth, "and doubly so because they cite some historical facts which contradict their theory, in particular those concerning the relation of economy to politics."[2]

In Germany, the "Young" of the Paul Ernst group, and those close to it, also vulgarised historical materialism. Their view of it was dogmatic. Conrad Schmidt, a young economist professing to be a follower of Marx, wrote to Engels on June 25, 1890, that Barth's criticism of the Marxian concept of history was in his opinion "profound" because it "endeavours to prove that economy does not unilaterally condition politics, and that politics, too, conditions economy".[3]

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 449.
[2] Paul Barth, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegels und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann*, Leipzig, 1890, S. 43, 47, 48.
[3] Central Party Archives.

On September 3, 1890, Joseph Bloch, a young student who later became a prominent Social-Democratic journalist, approached Engels with the following question: "According to the materialist conception of history the production and reproduction of real life is the determining element in history. How should this proposition be understood? Are the economic relations *only* the determining element, or do they form a firm basis only to a certain extent for other relations which can then also operate by themselves?.... Have not in the course of history quite often purely political, dynastic, even individual interests also played a role?"[1]

Engels wrote a number of letters on this score, known as Letters on Historical Materialism, in 1890-94.

The materialist conception of history, Engels wrote to Schmidt on August 5, 1890, has many "friends," for whom it is an excuse not to learn history. Some of the younger generation hold forth on historical materialism simply to put in order their meagre knowledge of history the more quickly, and at once imagine themselves to be great thinkers. "Our conception of history," Engels wrote, "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 examined individually before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, civil-law, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., views corresponding to them."[2]

The letters set out Engels' view on the basis and superstructure.

Replying to Bloch, he wrote on September 21-22, 1890: "According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More 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."[3]

Marx and he, Engels noted, never failed to stress the main principle: the decisive influence of the economic movement on the process of history. In the great march of history, economic relations were primary and, in the final analysis, determinative. They determined politics, ideology, the political system. But political, ideological and other factors also had an inverted reaction on material conditions. "If therefore Barth supposes," he wrote to Schmidt on October 27, 1890, "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."[4]

[1] Central Party Archives.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 416.
[3] Ibid., p. 417.
[4] Ibid., p. 424.

The state rises with the division of society into classes and becomes the instrument of the strongest, economically dominant, class. But once it comes into the world, it has an influence on economic development. The reaction of state power can be of three kinds: 1) it can run in the same direction as the objective economic tendencies, and then development is more rapid, 2) it can oppose the line of development—in which case it will go to pieces in the long run, or 3) it can prevent the economic development from following certain lines, and can prescribe other lines. In all cases, the state acts as an important economic force. More specifically, this applies to the state of the working class. "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!"[1] Engels wrote.

He also dwelled on the objective laws governing philosophy, religion, the arts, etc., showing the special type of dependence of the ideological sphere on the economy. The predominance of economic development over ideology, he maintained, was indisputable, but this only within the conditions prescribed by ideology. "Here economy creates nothing anew, but it determines the way in which the thought material found in existence is altered and further developed."[2] And it does so for the most part indirectly. The greater direct influence on ideology is exerted by political, legal and moral factors.

The philosophy (and ideology generally) of every epoch presupposes that certain definite thought material is handed down by its predecessors, from which it takes its start. This relative independence of theoretical thought explains why "economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in philosophy: France in the 18th century as compared with England, on whose philosophy the French based themselves, and later Germany as compared with both. But in France as well as Germany philosophy and the general blossoming of literature at that time were the result of rising economic development".[3]

Thus, Engels consistently followed the main idea of the dialectical interaction of all social factors involved in the process of history. Elaborating on the Marxist views on the role of the economic basis, of economic relations, and of the superstructure, that is, politics, law, philosophy, religion, literature, the arts, and the like, in the process of history, he opposed both the denial of the active role of the superstructure, the denial of its inverted reaction on the basis, and also the dualistic interpretation of the process of history, which tries to reconcile materialism and idealism.

In contrast to vulgar materialism, which averred that economic relations operate automatically, irrespective of the will of people, so that history acquires a fatalistic character, Engels showed that people made their own history, but, naturally, that their activity

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 424.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

leaned in one way or another on the objective requirements of the social, principally economic, relations. Sooner or later, the historically conditioned necessity breaks through the accidents and aspirations of individuals or individual societies. And this necessity is ultimately economic.

Examining the role of great men, who, like Napoleon, Caesar, Cromwell and others, appeared at first glance to subordinate the course of history to their arbitrary will, Engels showed that every great man is great precisely because he expresses the crying needs of a particular time in history. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But if he were not there, another would unfailingly appear. If there is the demand for him, in the long run he will be found.[1]

Bourgeois society is assailed by the elements, by anarchy and chaos, by lack of organisation, but in the course of time people do learn "to act together consciously; conscious not only of their actions as individuals, but also, of their actions as a mass; acting together, and effecting in common, a common purpose".[2] And for this, knowledge of the objective laws of social development, plus the skill of using them, are essential. This is up to the proletariat and its party to achieve, whose aim—reconstruction of society along socialist lines—coincides with the objective tendencies of economic movement, with the objective laws of historical development. As the consciousness of the masses grows during the passage from capitalism to a planned and organised society of associated producers, Engels predicted, the role of the subjective factor in history will become increasingly significant.

In his letters on historical materialism Engels elaborated and made more concrete some of the key propositions of the Marxist science of society.

[1] See Ibid., p. 467.
[2] Engels to G. W. Lamplugh, April 11, 1893 (Central Party Archives).

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Chapter Fifteen

THRESHOLD OF A NEW EPOCH

> The bright dawn of a new and better society is rising for the oppressed classes of all lands. And everywhere the oppressed are closing their ranks; everywhere they are stretching out their hand to each other across the frontiers, across the different languages. The army of the international proletariat is taking form, and the approaching new century will lead it to victory!
>
> *Frederick Engels*

NEW TRENDS IN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

In his later years Engels frequently observed that the socialist revolution was not far away, that its objective and subjective preconditions were maturing more rapidly. This view was based on his analysis of the socio-economic and political processes of the modern world.

In 1892 he recalled in an article, "The Presidential Elections in America", that the Greeks and Romans had ascribed the crumbling of their antique society to an incomprehensible omnipotent power, which they called pre-ordination, providence, or the power of fate. The dominion of the bourgeoisie and capital, Engels wrote, was also, by the "power of fate", hurtling to destruction. But this time the reasons were comprehensible. They were rooted in the economic conditions of production and exchange.[1]

That the class struggle of the working class had grown considerably towards the end of the 19th century was a natural result of the growth of capitalism. And Engels traced to economic reasons the incontestable progress of the working-class movement, and particularly the greater influence of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany, whose candidates polled some two million votes in the Reichstag elections in the nineties. After 1860, he pointed out in an interview to the *Daily Chronicle* at the end of June 1893, there had transpired in Germany an industrial revolution as great as the one in England, and entailing the same socio-economic consequences. "The small tradesman, crushed out by the big store, the clerk, the artisan, the labourer, both in town and country," he said, "are beginning to feel the pinch of our present capitalist system. And we place a scientific remedy before them, and as they can all read and think for themselves, they soon come round and join our ranks."[2]

[1] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 334.
[2] *Daily Chronicle*, July 1, 1893.

Through the operation of the objective law of capitalism's uneven development, the United States of America was propelled rapidly to the fore as the "most youthful and strong nation in the world".[1] American capital strove for a "place in the sun", thrusting into the traditional spheres of influence of the older capitalist nations: Britain, France and Germany. Conspicuous, too, were the fabulous profits of Russia's young capitalist industry. The "breeding of millionaires" in that country, Engels remarked, was making giant strides.[2] His contemporaries, he wrote, would still "see an as yet unheard-of industrial battle".[3]

Some novel and highly substantive trends in capitalist economics, which Marx and Engels had first observed in the seventies, became more pronounced towards the end of the century. In appendices and notes to his *Anti-Dühring*, to Volume III of *Capital*, and in some articles and letters, Engels called attention to the spread of joint-stock capital and the emergence of monopolies in the form of cartels and trusts. This was a sign of the continued concentration and centralisation of capitalist production, a sign of change in capitalist production relations impelled by the progress of the productive forces, which were gradually outgrowing the capitalist framework. Elements of economic planning were now required within the limits of separate production organisms—corporations and even the whole industries that they monopolised. The market situation, all its possible fluctuations, had to be taken into account. "In the trusts", Engels wrote, "freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers."[4]

Engels regarded the take-over by the bourgeois state of certain branches of the economy as a still higher degree of capitalist socialisation. It turned the bourgeoisie, the class of capitalistic proprietors, into a superfluous class. But this class did not vanish. Government agencies administered production in its name and in its interest. Handing over public functions to salaried employees, the bourgeoisie continued to appropriate by virtue of owning the means of production all the surplus value produced by the working class. The conversion of industry and transport into state property while the bourgeoisie retained dominance, Engels showed, kept alive the capitalist relations of production. "State ownership of the productive forces,"

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 336.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 435.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 335.
[4] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 329.

he wrote, "is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution."[1]

The Supplement to Volume III of Marx's *Capital*, "The Stock Exchange"—of which Engels, as mentioned, had time only to produce a brief sketch—evidently had been conceived as a systematic and more or less exhaustive exposition of the main peculiarities of the capitalist economy of the end of the 19th century.

In the nineties Engels saw the capitalist stock exchange as "the most prominent representative of capitalist production", expressive of the tendency for exchange operators to concentrate in their hands "all production, industrial as well as agricultural, and all commerce".[2] Some 20 or 30 years earlier, the stock exchange had played no such essential role in the capitalist system. In 1893, however, Engels described it as the "finest fruit of bourgeois society, as the hearth of extreme corruption, as the hothouse of the Panama and other scandals—and therefore also as an excellent medium for the concentration of capitals, the disintegration and dissolution of the last remnants of naturally formed interconnections in bourgeois society and at the same time for the annihilation and conversion into their opposites of all orthodox moral conceptions, as an incomparable element of destruction, as a most powerful accelerator of the impending revolution".[3] In this historical sense, he stressed, the stock exchange was of immediate interest for the proletarian party, and therefore merited the closest special study.

But as far as may be judged from the sketch, Engels was interested not in the stock exchange *per se*, not just in its mechanism. It was a specific capitalist institution. It was also a peculiar symbol of the dominion of big capital, of merciless exploitation. And its significantly greater part in capitalist economy Engels related to important modifications of capitalist property and new methods of organising capitalist enterprise.

He gave pride of place again to the "conversion of industry into stock companies".[4] At first, this fate befell iron, then the chemical industry, likewise machinery plants, the textile industry, trade and banking. The merging of individual firms into joint-stock companies, Engels explained, was due first and foremost to the vast scale of capital accumulation, to the fact that the mass of money-capital at the disposal of individual capitalists could not be profitably employed within the boundaries of the enterprise of the individual proprietor. Besides, he observed a growing tendency towards parasitism: many capitalists were "fed up with the regular tension

[1] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 331.
[2] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 908.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 454 55
[4] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 909.

in business" and wished to engage in "a mild pursuit as directors or governors of companies".[1]

Their consuming thirst for profit, coupled with the "surplus" capital inside the country, gave rise to export of capital. In Engels' lifetime this was especially typical of Britain. Capital was invested abroad mostly through the acquisition of stocks and shares. This was how, he noted, British businessmen became the owners of railways in America (both North and South).

The other aspect of the scramble for the maximum profit was the economic division of the world among the developed capitalist countries. As examples of conquest and development of "free" territories, of colonisation, Engels listed the division of Africa by the European powers. "Africa," he wrote, was "leased directly to companies."[2]

Engels did not live to see the highest stage of capitalist development and could not, therefore, make an exhaustive theoretical analysis of it. Yet his prodigious knowledge of the laws of economic development, his thorough grasp of the world economy, and his genius of foresight enabled him to spot some of the main features of the nascent epoch. Recalling the thought (about trusts dominating and monopolising whole branches of industry, which put an end "not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness*"[3]) in Engels' criticism of the draft of the 1891 programme of the German Social-Democratic Party, Lenin wrote: "Here we have what is most essential in the theoretical appraisal of the latest phase of capitalism, i.e., imperialism, namely, that capitalism becomes monopoly *capitalism*."[4]

This "exceedingly valuable observation," Lenin wrote, "...shows how attentively and thoughtfully he [Engels] watched the various changes occurring in modern capitalism, and how for this reason he was able to foresee to a certain extent the tasks of our present, the imperialist, epoch."[5]

Engels saw these new developments—the concentration of the huge masses of means of production in the hands of monopolies and the bourgeois state, and the greater importance of the stock exchange—as a materialisation of preconditions for socialism, an objective basis for preparing the socialist revolution. Also, he took note of the emergence of social and political preconditions for the socialist revolution, and of the appearance of its subjective factor—the rapid growth of the socialist movement, and the successes of proletarian parties, especially of German Social-Democracy. "The close

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 910.
[3] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 432.
[4] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 442.
[5] Ibid.

of the century is more and more charged with electricity,"[1] he wrote. "...A time of uprisings and wars is close."[2]

Engels' thoughts were occupied with the future of the working-class and the socialist movement, and the truly historic tasks it would soon have to tackle. He did what he could to help the socialist parties prepare for the impending events, to be ready to assume leadership over the proletariat and the mass of working people, to be equal to their responsibilities not only in the battle to overthrow capitalism, but also after the seizure of power. He did his utmost to impart Marxism to the leaders of the socialist movement, to help them learn to use and develop it creatively in the specific conditions of their country.

PEASANTS—ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

In the nineties, the peasant question figured as one of the most crucial in the programmes, strategy and tactics of the socialist parties. They were drawing up agrarian programmes, ascertaining the revolutionary potential of the peasants, and speculating on what their attitude should be to different sections of peasants.

The issue was made doubly acute by the agrarian crisis that had erupted in the seventies and dragged on until the mid-nineties. The steep increase of cheap grain imports from the United States, South America and India inflicted untold losses on European farming. The plight of the small peasants became unbearable. By backbreaking toil and self-denial they frantically tried to retain possession of their little patches of land.

In the beginning of the 1890s socialists in different European countries began casting about almost simultaneously for ways of winning the peasants to their side. Among the first to do so were the French socialists. At its Marseilles Congress in September 1892, the Workers' Party adopted an agrarian programme, and soon made substantial gains in the village. Encouraged by this, delegates to the party's Paris Congress in 1893 made several amendments to the programme and decided to pass the matter onto the next congress, scheduled in Nantes in September 1894.

That October a congress of the German Social-Democrats was to take place in Frankfurt-am-Main, where the agrarian question was to figure prominently on the agenda.

In letters to the leaders of the French and German parties, Engels endeavoured to explain the principles upon which the agrarian programmes of Marxist parties should always repose, no matter how much they were modified to suit the peculiarities of a country or the social structure of the rural population.

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 213.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 507.

Keeping a watchful eye on the preparations for the two congresses, Engels wrote to Lafargue in August 1894: "In general the views of the two national groups are the same, save that you, the uncompromising revolutionaries of yesterday, now lean rather further towards opportunism than the Germans, who will probably not support any measure serving to maintain and store up the smallholding against the disintegrating action of capitalism. On the other hand, they will agree with you that it is not *our* task to accelerate or force this disintegrating action, and the important thing is for small landowners to combine in agricultural associations to farm jointly on a large scale. I shall be interested to see which of the two congresses shall show itself the more advanced in economic theory and the more effective in its practical proposals."[1]

Engels' letters to the German Social-Democratic leaders are not extant. But Bebel's replies shed some light on what Engels had had in mind. On August 4, 1894, for example, Bebel wrote: "I agree with your view concerning our attitude vis-à-vis the peasants; we must bring home to them that they are doomed under the now existing economic system and that no one can help them, and that therefore association is their only salvation."[2] Not surprisingly, the German Social-Democrats waited eagerly for the agrarian decisions of the Nantes Congress.

But the agrarian programme drawn up in Nantes only confirmed Engels' suspicions of the French socialists' inclination to make concessions to opportunism. He wrote to Laura Lafargue after the congress: "The preamble to the Nantes agrarian programme, which announces that socialists must support and *defend* the property of peasants, and even of farmers and tenants *using wage labour*—this beats everything that people outside France will bear!"[3]

Knowing that Bebel was in complete agreement with him on the agrarian question, Engels expected the German socialists to deal with the matter more competently in political as well as theoretical terms. But the Frankfurt Congress and the subsequent quarrels in the party dashed Engels' hopes.

The Bavarian delegates headed by Vollmar, who gravitated towards opportunism, were supported by socialists of a number of South-German states, and managed to influence the decisions of the congress.

What made matters worse was that the Party Executive had appointed Vollmar to deliver a report on the agrarian question. The purpose of this, Bebel explained to Engels, was to let Vollmar set out his agrarian programme publicly, and thereby dig his own grave.

Unlike industry, where big enterprises predominated, the steady intensification of agriculture, Vollmar set out to prove, gave the

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 341.
[2] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 772.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 299.

advantage to middle and small farms, rather than big ones. He advocated the interests of all peasants, including the big ones, and wanted the state to support them. This, he said, was how farming would in its unique way grow into socialism.[1]

The other rapporteur, Bruno Schoenlank, suggested approaches much like Vollmar's. The resolution they submitted reproduced almost word for word the preamble of the Nantes programme, with the sole difference that the French advocated protection of the peasant who lived by his labour, whereas the Germans wished to protect peasants in general.

To get his views accepted, Vollmar resorted to trickery: he alleged that the Nantes agrarian programme had "the direct approval of Frederick Engels". This was bound to impress the delegates, because for the majority of them the matter was completely unfamiliar terrain. Furthermore, the debate on farming was cut short: put down as the fifth speaker, Bebel was denied the floor. As a result, the resolution of the two rapporteurs was passed, and a commission formed to draft an agrarian programme for the next congress.

Judging from Bebel's reply to him on November 10, Engels was indignant over this result. "I subscribe to what you say about Vollmar and the party congress," Bebel wrote. "The Vollmariana has filled the cup to overflowing. Now I shall lash out."[2] Bebel expected Engels to protest at Vollmar's use of his name as a cover for his opportunist posture.

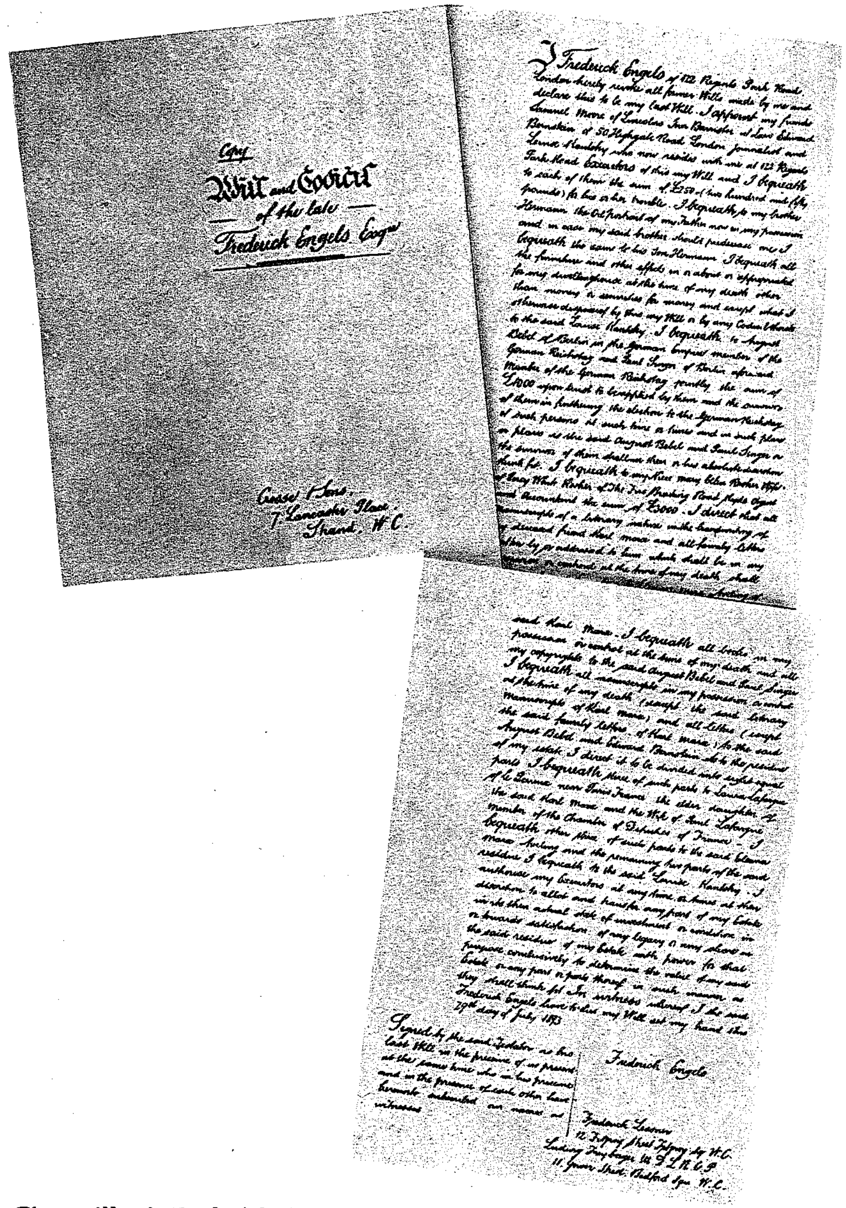
And, indeed, on November 12 Engels wrote a letter to the editors of the *Vorwärts*, who printed it four days later. He set out the content of his letters to Paul and Laura Lafargue before and after the Nantes Congress, and concluded: "So, if I referred to the subject at all, it was to say the very opposite of what Vollmar has been led to believe."[3] Engels said he would write an article for the *Neue Zeit*, defining and substantiating his point of view. He also informed the French comrades of this through Laura Lafargue, adding that he could not pass over the Nantes programme in silence.

"The fact is you allowed yourself to lean a bit too much towards the opportunist tendency," Engels wrote to Lafargue on November 22, 1894. "At Nantes you came near to sacrificing the future of the Party to a momentary triumph. There is still time to call a halt: if my article can contribute towards this, I shall be happy." Bebel, he continued, "complains with reason that ... the Party is going bourgeois. That is the misfortune of all extreme parties when the time approaches for them to become 'possible'. But our Party cannot go beyond a certain limit in this respect without betraying itself,

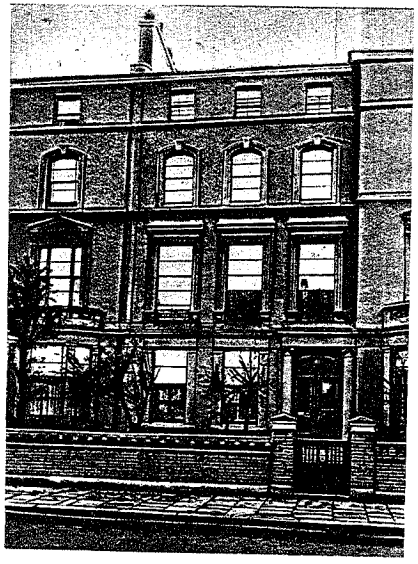
[1] See *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen der Sozial-demokratischen Partei Deutschlands, abgehalten zu Frankfurt a.M. von 21. bis 27. Oktober 1894*, Berlin, 1894, S. 148.

[2] *Bebels Briefwechsel*, S. 780.

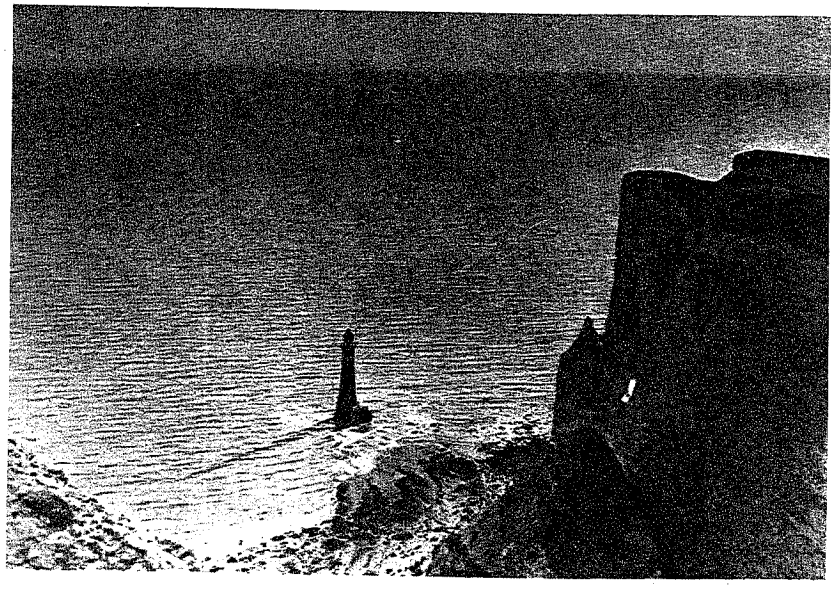
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 481.



The Will of Frederick Engels

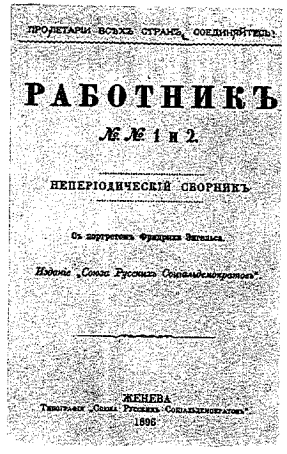


The London house (41 Regent's Park Road), in which Engels died

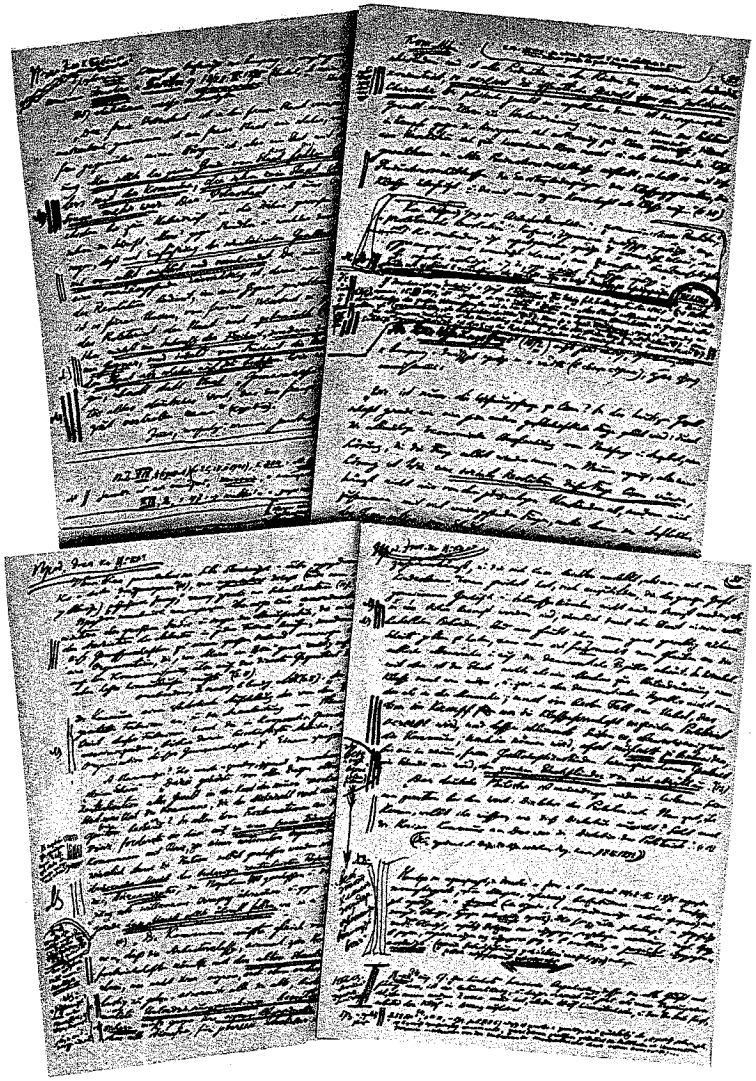


The place near Eastbourne where Engels' ashes were consigned to the sea

Obituaries in the socialist press



Title page of *Rabotnik*, an almanac, with V. I. Lenin's obituary article, "Frederick Engels"



From Lenin's preparatory material for his *The State and Revolution* (notes on Engels' works)

and it seems to me that in France as in Germany we have now reached that point."[1]

Engels was deeply troubled by the discussion in the German party following the Frankfurt Congress. Bebel's sharp criticism of the Vollmariana, which he described as the result of the influx of petty-bourgeois elements into the party, drew a howl of anger from the opportunists. Liebknecht took a "neutral", in effect conciliatory, stand on the plea of preserving unity. Engels trounced him for it. He tried to show Liebknecht that unity was being disrupted by Vollmar and his followers, who had embarked on factional strife. "The danger of a split comes not from Bebel, who has called a spade a spade," Engels wrote to Liebknecht on November 24, 1894. "It comes from the Bavarians, who have taken a course unheard of in the party heretofore... You say that Vollmar is no traitor. That may be. I, too, do not believe that he thinks himself one. But what would you call a man who insists that a proletarian party should perpetuate the present status of the Upper Bavarian big and middle peasants, proprietors of 10-30 hectares, exploiting servants and day labourers? A proletarian party expressly committed to perpetuating wage slavery! The man could be an anti-Semite, a bourgeois democrat, a Bavarian particularist or what have you, but certainly no Social-Democrat!"[2]

Written in one of the most critical periods of the German party's history, this letter reflected Engels' unbending opposition to opportunism. He set forth his general view on how to maintain unity in a proletarian party.

Upon describing the social basis of the Vollmariana, Engels dealt with the question of the petty-bourgeois elements, whose influx into the party had increased following the downfall of bourgeois liberalism. This presented no danger, he held, so long as the mass proletarian party re-educated and absorbed the newcomers. However, if the latter should try to impose on the party views alien to the proletariat, "hydrochloric acid" was required, that is, sharp criticism of opportunism, coupled with unbending defence of the main principles of revolutionary theory, of the party's proletarian substance.

"THE PEASANT QUESTION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY"

The promised article for the *Neue Zeit* was written in a week and appeared in the journal at the end of November 1894 under the title, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany". Since a bitter

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 343-44.

[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 331-32.

controversy had occurred in the party over the Frankfurt decisions, in which the rank and file had not yet found their bearings, Engels decided to confine himself to criticism of a general nature. "I think I should deal solely with the substance of the case, and leave personalities completely out of it,"[1] he wrote.

Though the article did not mention Vollmar by name, it was so constructed as to deny his allegation that Engels had approved the Nantes programme. Also, it was directed against Vollmar's opportunist view of the agrarian question. But far more important than this criticism, and of truly everlasting significance, was the theoretical foundation given in the article for the agrarian programme of a proletarian party.

The importance of the peasant question Engels attributed first and foremost to the fact that "from Ireland to Sicily, from Andalusia to Russia and Bulgaria, the peasant is a very essential factor of the population, production and political power".[2]

Politically, he observed, the peasant had so far largely manifested himself only by his apathy, which had its roots in the isolation of rustic life, or else as a reactionary force, as in the 1848-49 revolution in France. But much had changed since then. The development of the capitalist form of production in farming and the agrarian crisis had cut the life-strings of small production. Meanwhile, "a powerful socialist workers' party has sprung up and developed in the West.... The conquest of political power by the Socialist Party has become a matter of the not too distant future. But in order to conquer political power this party must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countryside.... This brings us right into the thick of the peasant question."[3]

Examining the social structure of the peasantry, Engels scoffed at the abstract opportunist view of it as of a whole, and divided peasants into three main groups—small, middle and big, distinguished by their property status, interest, and, consequently, the role they were likely to play in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. He regarded the attitude to the small peasant as the critical point that decided the entire question. He defined the small peasant as "the owner or tenant—particularly the former—of a patch of land no bigger, as a rule, than he and his family can till, and no smaller than can sustain the family".[4]

Due to the competition of large-scale machine farming, Engels wrote, the small peasant was doomed and as a future proletarian ought to lend a ready ear to socialist propaganda, but was prevented from doing so by his sense of property. Desperately, he clung to his patch of land.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 322.
[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 457.
[3] Ibid., p. 458.
[4] Ibid., p. 459.

What could Social-Democracy offer the doomed small peasant without becoming untrue to itself? In his reply to this question Engels examined the agrarian programme of the Workers' Party of France, that classical land of small-peasant economy, and criticised its preamble, showing that it contradicted the party's general programme. The general programme, he recalled, advocated, as the main aim, common possession of the means of production, not only in industry, but also in agriculture, whereas the Nantes programme obliterated the fundamental difference between the two forms of ownership—common and individual. It described both forms as a precondition for the freedom of the producer. "Possession of the means of production by the individual producers nowadays no longer grants these producers real freedom..." Engels argued. "Your attempt to protect the small peasant in his property does not protect his liberty but only the particular form of his servitude; it prolongs a situation in which he can neither live nor die."[1]

The point in the programme about "defending" the holdings of peasants against the fisk, the usurer and encroachment of the big landowners, Engels showed, conflicted with the inference of the same programme that these holdings were "irretrievably doomed".[2]

But what Engels objected to most strongly was that this point was also applied to tenants and sharecroppers exploiting day labourers. This he described as an obvious departure from class positions—"a direct violation not only of the French programme but also of the fundamental principle of socialism in general, and its authors will have no cause for complaint if this careless piece of editing is used against them in various quarters contrary to their intention."[3]

This passage hints at Vollmar's using the preamble of the Nantes programme to fortify his own opportunist posture.

Engels also criticised the concluding passage of the preamble, where the Socialist Party was called upon "to bring together all the elements of rural production ... to wage an identical struggle against the common foe: the feudality of landownership".[4] While Engels acknowledged that the Social-Democrats could make common cause on certain issues with all anti-feudal rural elements, he flatly denied that the socialist party in any country needed to take into its fold, in addition to the rural proletariat and small peasants, also the middle and big peasants, and perhaps even the tenants of big estates who operate on capitalist principles. Emphasising the proletarian class character of the socialist party, Engels said: "We can use in our party individuals from every class of society, but have

[1] Ibid., p. 463.
[2] Ibid., p. 464.
[3] Ibid., p. 465.
[4] Ibid.

no use whatever for any groups representing capitalist, middle-bourgeois or middle-peasant interests."[1]

The second part of his article is devoted chiefly to the peasants' path to socialism. Here his main emphasis is on the small peasant. It is the socialists' duty, he says, to bring home to the peasants that "their position is absolutely hopeless as long as capitalism holds sway, that it is absolutely impossible to preserve their small holdings for them as such, that capitalist large-scale production is absolutely sure to run over their impotent antiquated system of small production as a train runs over a pushcart".[2]

Engels agreed with the French programme that socialists, though certain of the inevitable doom of small farming, should not interfere and hasten its fate. On the contrary, they should not be indifferent to the lot of the small peasant under capitalism and should do what they could to protect him from the robbery and cheating practised by the big landowners.

Engels confuted the point of view widespread among some socialists that the socialist revolution would not come until after the last small handicraftsman and the last small peasant have fallen victim to large-scale capitalist production. "The greater the number of peasants," he wrote, "whom we can save from being actually hurled down into the proletariat, whom we can win to our side while they are still peasants, the more quickly and easily the social transformation will be accomplished."[3]

The small peasant's salvation from being hurled down into the proletariat, and the way to convert his tiny farm to large-scale socialist farming, Engels saw in cooperative production. The main point, he wrote, is "to make the peasants understand that we can save, preserve their houses and fields for them only by transforming them into cooperative property operated cooperatively".[4] The idea that cooperative production would be the intermediate link in the passage to full communist economy, Engels pointed out, stemmed not only from himself, but also from Marx.[5]

Dwelling upon the part of cooperation in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, Engels stressed strict observance of the voluntary principle in forming cooperatives, and patient and considerate treatment of the small peasant, bearing in mind his illusions and prejudices of proprietorship. "We shall do everything at all permissible," he wrote, "to make his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the cooperative should he decide to do so, and even

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 466.
[2] Ibid., p. 472.
[3] Ibid., pp. 471-472.
[4] Ibid., p. 471.
[5] See Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 426.

to make it possible for him to remain on his small holding for a protracted length of time to think the matter over, should he still be unable to bring himself to this decision."[1]

To make the transition easier, Engels said, the cooperative associations should have certain advantages, and apart from financial aid should also get machinery, fertilisers, and the like, from the proletarian state. The material sacrifice made for this purpose in the interest of the peasants and defrayed out of public funds was an excellent investment, because "it will effect a perhaps ten-fold saving in the cost of the social reorganisation in general".[2]

Amplifying, Engels pointed out that the economic condition of the cooperatives will then be "improved and simultaneously the general social directing agency is assured the necessary influence to transform the peasant cooperative to a higher form, and to equalise the rights and duties of the cooperative as a whole as well as of its individual members with those of the other departments of the entire community".[3]

This is a thought of tremendous political and theoretical impact. Engels stresses the role of the central power—the representative of society as a whole—in the gradual conversion of cooperatives into a higher form, when the difference between them and the other sectors of society stemming from the different forms of socialist property, is eradicated. The historical mission of agricultural cooperative associations as an intermediate link in the passage to full communist society will then have been discharged.

Speaking of the middle and big peasants who employ wage labour, Engels noted that in capitalist conditions these groups, too, are ultimately doomed. The only way they can save themselves is by pooling farms into "cooperative enterprises, in which the exploitation of wage labour will be eliminated more and more, and their gradual transformation into branches of the great national producers' cooperatives with each branch enjoying equal rights and duties can be instituted".[4] After the revolution, Engels said, middle and big peasants will have a choice of two ways, and if they realise "the inevitability of the doom of their present mode of production and draw the necessary conclusions they will come to us and it will be incumbent upon us to facilitate to the best of our ability also their transition to the changed mode of production. Otherwise we shall have to abandon them to their fate and address ourselves to their wage-workers, among whom we shall not fail to find sympathy".[5]

He admitted the possibility of abstaining from forcible expropria-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 471.
[2] Ibid., p. 472.
[3] Ibid., p. 470.
[4] Ibid., p. 474.
[5] Ibid.

tion of big peasants, and counted on "future economic developments making also these harder pates amenable to reason".[1]

As for the big landed proprietors, he wrote, they should be expropriated like the manufacturers in industry as soon as the proletariat is in possession of political power. Whether they are compensated or their property is simply confiscated, depended on the circumstances in which the workers gained power and on the behaviour of the gentry, etc. Their big estates would be turned over to the associations of rural workers already cultivating them for their use under the control of the community. These estates would show still resisting peasants the advantages of large-scale cooperative production.

The German Social-Democrats, Engels stressed, must win over the rural workers in Prussia east of the Elbe. This, he held, was the decisive condition for ending the dominion of Prussian Junkerdom and undermining the main pillar of the Prussian monarchy, its army. "The 'picked regiments' of the Prussian army," he wrote, "will become Social-Democratic, which will result in a shift in power that is pregnant with an entire upheaval."[2]

Engels' "Peasant Question in France and Germany" showed the bearing of the alliance of the proletariat and working peasants not only on the lot of the latter, but also on the victory of the socialist revolution. He substantiated the policy of the proletarian party via-à-vis the various groups of peasants, examined the functions of the proletarian state in reorganising agriculture along socialist lines, and substantiated theoretically his and Marx's idea of cooperatives as the way of transforming small peasant farming into large-scale socialist agriculture.

The article was also highly important politically, for it helped Bebel and his followers in their battle against opportunism.

INTRODUCTION TO *THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE*

The discussion among German Social-Democrats after the Frankfurt Congress was cut short by a sharp change in the political climate. In the beginning of December 1894, the government introduced a bill in the Reichstag on preventing coups d'état, which was in substance a new version of the Anti-Socialist Law. It presented a serious threat to the Social-Democrats, and also to the bourgeois opposition. Following the initial debate, the bill was handed over to a commission on January 14, 1895, and was subsequently to be debated a second time in the Reichstag.

Engels received a letter from Richard Fischer, a member of the

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 474.
[2] Ibid., pp. 475-76.

Party Executive and editor of the Dietz Publishing House, asking for his consent to publish as a pamphlet the series of Marx's articles on the 1848-49 French revolution that had appeared in 1850 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and had never been republished. Fischer also asked Engels to write a preface for them.

Engels welcomed the project. He had long wanted to publish his own and Marx's works of 1842-52. "These things," he wrote of Marx's articles, "are indeed of the greatest worth."[1] He tackled the job at once, correcting misprints, writing notes, changing the titles of the three chapters, and adding as a fourth chapter fragments from "The Third International Review". He gave the pamphlet its title: *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.*

In the middle of February 1895 he began writing the introduction. Describing it to Lafargue, he wrote: "...Apart from the general review of events since that epoch, I have had to explain why we were justified in expecting an imminent and definitive victory of the proletariat, why it had not come about, and to what extent the events have modified our viewpoints since that time. This is important because of the new laws menacing us in Germany."[2] Engels feared that the Social-Democrats might be provoked to a premature rising. He was also aware that the publication by a Social-Democratic publisher of Marx's articles, containing an exalted view of the June rising of the Paris workers, could furnish the reactionaries with a pretext to attack the socialists. So, he tried to couch the introduction in cautious language. But Fischer, and also Bebel, Singer and Ignaz Auer, members of the Party Executive, thought that it was not cautious enough. Fischer informed him that they wished certain changes to be made in the text. Asking for Engels' consent, they argued that the controversial passages could benefit the enemies of Social-Democracy and enable the government to drag the new reactionary law through the Reichstag.

In his reply on March 8, Engels said he appreciated the misgivings of the party leadership, but shared them only half-way. "I cannot suffer the thought," he also wrote, "that you intend to pledge yourselves body and soul to absolute legality, legality in all circumstances.... As I see it, you will gain nothing by preaching absolute abstention from force. No one will believe you, *no* party in any country goes so far as to waive the right to render armed resistance to lawlessness."[3]

Under pressure from the German Social-Democratic leaders Engels agreed to a few alterations in the original text, but rejected anything that could be interpreted in a reformist spirit. He told the German

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 359.
[2] Engels to Paul Lafargue, February 26, 1895 (Central Party Archives).
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 424.

leaders that he objected to making an absolute of legal forms of struggle and completely renouncing revolutionary violence. Reminding his friends of their international duty, he wrote: "And so if it comes to a general debate in the plenum, give it a little thought that you should retain the right to resist, ... that there are also old revolutionaries, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Hungarians and Englishmen among your audience, and that who knows how soon the time will return when the deletion of 'legal' in the year dot in Wyden will have to be reckoned with.... Legality as long and to a point where it suits us, but no legality at any price, not even in the phrase."[1]

The letter testified to Engels' consistently revolutionary standpoint; due to the situation in Germany he could not express it as clearly and fully even in the original manuscript of his Introduction.

In their replies, Bebel and Fischer assured Engels that it had never entered their minds to pledge legality in all circumstances and preach absolute renunciation of force. The alterations they had suggested, they wrote, were caused by the tense situation in the country.

Engels presented his view of the alterations he had been compelled to make in a letter to Kautsky on March 25, 1895: "*My* text has suffered somewhat due to the misgivings inspired in our Berlin friends by their fear of the overthrow bill, which, in the circumstances, I have had to take into account."[2]

One can therefore picture Engels' outrage when, after he had lamented the exaggerated caution of his Berlin friends, the *Vorwärts* printed an editorial on March 30, "How Revolutions are Now Made", containing an arbitrary selection of quotations from his Introduction, arranged to create the impression that he favoured only legal means of struggle. He wrote to Lafargue: "Liebknecht has just played me a fine trick. He has taken from my introduction to Marx's articles on France 1848-50 everything that could serve his purpose in support of peaceful and anti-violent tactics at any price, which he has chosen to preach for some time now, particularly at this juncture when coercive laws are being drawn up in Berlin. But I preach those tactics only for the *Germany of to-day* and even then *with many reservations*. For France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, such tactics could not be followed as a whole and, for Germany, they could become inapplicable to-morrow."[3]

The Introduction was printed in the pamphlet, and also appeared in the *Neue Zeit*. This Engels welcomed heartily after the tendentious editorial in the *Vorwärts*.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 425-26.
[2] Ibid., S. 446.
[3] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 373.

In the opening passages of the Introduction Engels commended *The Class Struggles in France* and defined its place in the history of Marxism. It was the first to give a brief formula of the economic transformations to which the workers' parties of all countries aspire: "*Appropriation of the means of production*, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour as well as of capital and of their mutual relationship." This, Engels said, distinguishes modern workers' socialism sharply from "all the different shades of feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., socialism and also from the confused community of goods of utopian and of spontaneous workers' communism".[1]

Weighing his own and Marx's outlook of 1848-49, as reflected in *The Class Struggles in France*, Engels observed that the active part played by the workers in the revolution, especially the June rising of the Paris workers, had inspired the hope that the great battle would gather momentum and culminate in final victory. "History has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong," he wrote. "It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production...."[2]

In the decades that followed, the industrial revolution engulfed the entire European continent, bringing to the forefront the struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The objective premises of revolution changed substantially, but so did the proletariat. "At that time," Engels wrote, "the many obscure evangels of the sects, with their panaceas; today the *one* generally recognised, crystal-clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the ultimate aims of the struggle. At that time the masses, sundered and differing according to locality and nationality, linked only by the feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, helplessly tossed to and fro from enthusiasm to despair; today the *one* great international army of Socialists, marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organisation, discipline, insight and certainty of victory."[3]

The impending socialist revolution, he wrote, can only be a revolution of the majority. "Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation," he explained, "the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul."[4] This required hard and patient work. The levers of bourgeois democracy, of universal suffrage, Engels said, should be used to the fullest. It stood to the credit of the German socialists, he wrote, that "they supplied their comrades in all countries with a new weapon, and

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 188.
[2] Ibid., pp. 191-92.
[3] Ibid., p. 192.
[4] Ibid., p. 200.

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one of the sharpest, when they showed them how to make use of universal suffrage."[1] This added greatly to the opportunities for legal activity and helped the socialist parties to win over the mass of workers and other toilers. However, though socialists were making good use of legal means of struggle at every opportunity, Engels pointed out, they should on no account abdicate their right to revolution.

Despite the ever wider spread of Marxism, despite the rapid growth of the international army of socialists and their success in legal activity, he warned, victory in the impending socialist revolution would not come easily, because factors obstructing victory had arisen alongside the favourable factors.

The worst of the negative factors, he pointed out, was the change in means of warfare since the Franco-Prussian War. "Rebellion in the old style, street fighting with barricades, which decided the issue everywhere up to 1848, was to a considerable extent obsolete,"[2] he wrote.

Examining past insurrections, Engels arrived at the conclusion that even in the classic time of street fighting the barricade had a moral rather than material effect. It tended to dampen the morale of the troops. If it held out long enough for this to happen, victory was assured; if not, the battle ended in defeat.

The changes since 1848-49, he wrote, had tilted the scales in favour of the troops, which now had superior numbers, railways for rapid deployment, and new, incomparably more effective arms. For the insurgents, on the other hand, conditions had deteriorated. The middle strata will hardly rally en masse round the workers, Engels wrote. Some portion would back the bourgeoisie. And if more soldiers who had seen service were to come to the insurgents, arming them would be all the more difficult. Besides, the arms available to the insurgents would never be equal to those of the regular army. And lastly, the long, straight and wide streets in the cities built after 1848 could not have been better adapted to give full effect to the new cannon and rifle.

"Does that mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play any role?" Engels asked, and answered: "Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since 1848 have become far more unfavourable for civilian fighters and far more favourable for the military. In future, street fighting can, therefore, be victorious only if this disadvantageous situation is compensated by other factors. Accordingly, it will occur more seldom in the beginning of a great revolution than in its further progress, and will have to be undertaken with greater forces. These, however, may then well prefer, as in the whole great French Revolution or on September 4 and October 31, 1870, in Paris, the open attack to the passive barricade tactics."[1]

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*. Vol. 1, p. 195.
[2] Ibid., p. 196.

This passage, deleted from the Introduction when it was first published, shows clearly that Engels did not renounce street fighting in the future socialist revolution. He merely pointed out that the militarily and technically unfavourable balance of strength should be offset by other factors: through political and technical preparation, good timing of the insurrection, deployment of superior numbers, and attacking tactics.

Having enumerated the difficulties of a rising in the new conditions, Engels warned the German workers not to react to provocations, not to try premature action. The success of the German Social-Democrats, he wrote, gave notice that in the relatively close future they would become the country's decisive political force. And any unprepared, premature act of defiance would consequently play into the hands of the ruling classes. Therefore, the party should not "fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day."[2] Engels anticipated, however, that the governing classes would violate the constitution. In that case, he wrote, addressing himself to the rulers of the German Empire, "the Social-Democracy is free, and can do as it pleases with regard to you. But it will hardly blurt out to you today what it is going to do then."[3]

Engels lifted the veil somewhat at the end of the Introduction by means of an analogy between the struggle in the Roman Empire nearly sixteen centuries ago and the situation in the modern German Empire. There had also been a "party of overthrow" in Rome, and "it undermined religion and all the foundations of the state; it flatly denied that Caesar's will was the supreme law; it was without a fatherland, was international.... This party of overthrow, which was known by the name of Christians, was also strongly represented in the army."[4] Disturbed by the decline of order and discipline in his army, Emperor Diocletian "promulgated an Anti-Socialist—beg pardon, I meant to say anti-Christian—law". But in vain. There came the mass persecution of Christians, with the result that seventeen years later the army consisted overwhelmingly of Christians.

In this manner Engels accentuated the importance of socialist propaganda in the army, the importance of turning it into a revolutionary army. Winning over more soldiers for Social-Democracy, eroding the army, the pillar of the ruling classes—this was the crucial "compensating factor" in the impending revolutionary

[1] Ibid., p. 199.
[2] Ibid., p. 201.
[3] Ibid., p. 203.
[4] Ibid.

battles, a factor to which Engels could not refer openly in the political situation that had arisen in Germany.

Engels opposed two equally fallacious and dangerous extremes. He warned against subjectivism, or voluntarism, against premature insurrection, and stressed that the majority of the people, and the army, must be won to the side of the workers. On the other hand, while aware of the power of universal suffrage, of parliamentary activity, and stressing the use of legal means to prepare the masses for revolution, he objected vehemently to these methods being made an absolute. He was for all the forms—peaceful and non-peaceful, legal and non-legal—and for good timing in carrying the class struggle from the parliament to the broad revolutionary arena.

Then Engels went on to examine the question of armed uprising. And his examination is a model of the concrete historical approach to this highest form of revolutionary struggle: nothing escaped his probing eye, neither the continuously changing favourable and unfavourable chances of the insurrection, nor the political and moral factors, nor the military and technical aspect.

Engels' Introduction to *The Class Struggles in France* was falsely interpreted first by Bernstein, who called for a revision of Marxism following Engels' death, and then by other opportunists in the Second International. The legend was created that the Introduction was Engels' "political testament" in which he disavowed his own and Marx's revolutionary outlook, renouncing conquest of political power by a revolutionary overturn and acknowledging the peaceful, lawful, parliamentary road to socialism as the only alternative. Yet even in the altered form in which it was then published the Introduction gave no grounds for this interpretation. To put an end to the affair one merely had to publish the original text in full, and the pertinent letters. But the German leaders, who had all the written evidence, neglected to do so. The alterations and deletions which Engels made in the manuscript at their insistence, were first revealed to the public in 1924 in the first volume of the *Marx-Engels Archives*. And the complete text of the Introduction did not appear in print until 1930, when it was published in the Soviet Union. But though the big lie was thus exposed, it is still being kept alive by Social-Democratic and bourgeois historians. Engels' letter to Fischer, dated March 8, 1895, first published only recently, and Fischer's and Bebel's letters, are the conclusive evidence that should at last dispel this malicious legend.

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE FUTURE SOCIETY

Elaborating on the problems of the socialist revolution, Engels endeavoured to define, if only in very general outline, the tasks facing the proletarian parties once they come to power—both in the period of transition and when socialism becomes reality.

In a way, his thoughts on the transition period and future socialist society (found in a number of his later articles and letters) complement Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and his own conjectures in *Anti-Dühring*, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and other works.

Speaking of the future society, Engels stressed time and again that though some of its main features and basic regularities were inferable from the available facts and trends of development, there could be no question of predicting details, for no hint of them existed yet in reality. "Detailed preconceptions concerning the organisation of the society of the future? You will find no trace of them among us. We shall be satisfied when we put the means of production in the hands of the community,"[1] Engels told a correspondent of *Le Figaro* interviewing him in May 1893.

For the passage to the new social system, he held, there should first be material preconditions and, as he put it in his message to the Hungarian Social-Democrats in May 1894, "the men and women who have the strength and will to call this new, better society into being".[2]

These men and women must be impelled by a deep sense of involvement, determination and revolutionary energy, if only because the socialist revolution will be followed by a complicated and difficult period of transition. The question of stages of transition to communist society Engels regarded as "the most difficult of all, because the conditions in them will change continuously".[3]

The specific situation in which the socialist revolution comes about, the circumstances in which the proletarian party takes power, and its means of doing so—all this imposes itself on the quality of the transition period and the action programme of the new political authority.

So there can be no universally valid, concrete programme of action. Engels outlined only the main features and general regularities of the "transitional period involving some privation, but at any rate of great value morally".[4] He attributed the crucial role to the new political authority formed as a result of the socialist revolution: by means of this authority—the dictatorship of the proletariat—the working class crushes the resistance of its enemies and effects the socio-economic reorganisation of society.

Engels anticipated that during and after the revolution the enemies of the working class would join forces under the slogan of "pure democracy" to try and countervail the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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[1] *Le Figaro*, May 13, 1893.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 445.
[3] Ibid., Bd. 38, S. 128.
[4] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 149.

Though he foresaw the formidable difficulties that would face the workers' power, especially in countries with a large peasant population, and the inevitable blunders and mistakes, Engels was confident that upon seizing the commanding heights in the economy, and backed by the masses, the proletarian state would triumph. In August 1890 he wrote: "Once we have a sufficient number of followers among the masses, the big industries and the large-scale latifundia farming can be quickly socialised, 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."[1]

He anticipated the demand for specialists to organise production along socialist lines. The success of the socialist movement, he held, would quickly attract technicians, agronomists, engineers, chemists, architects, school-teachers, etc. And in case there would be too few, he wrote, "...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 traitors among them—for traitors there are sure to be—they will find it to their own advantage to deal fairly with us".[2]

Apart from the main aim—economic reorganisation of society—the proletarian state would have to cope with important political issues, and among them the national question, for upon coming to power the workers' party can "neither exercise nor hold it, unless it remedies the injustices which its predecessors inflicted upon other nations".[3]

National and territorial disputes that sparked off so many armed conflicts, will be obviated when power passes to the proletariat. "No Alsace-Lorraine question can arise between a socialist France and a socialist Germany, for the matter would be settled in no time."[4]

The victory of the proletariat will benefit everybody, because it "abolishes the antagonism between classes and the struggle between nations, and instils peace and happiness among the civilised countries".[5]

Engels foresaw the benefits which the socialist revolution and the resulting socio-economic transformation would yield to working women and mothers. Noting the insufficiencies of formal equality, Engels wrote: "A real equality of woman and man can in my view become reality only after exploitation of both by capital is eliminated and private house-keeping is replaced by a public industry."[6]

The problems of socialist society, he observed in August 1890, should be approached dialectically, for it "is not anything immutable.

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 486.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 253.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Le Socialiste*, March 25, 1894.
[6] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 341.

Like all other social formations, it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change. Its crucial difference from the present order consists naturally in production organised on the basis of common ownership by the nation of all means of production."[1]

Instead of vague speculation about socialism, we have here a concise definition of the radical difference of socialist society from capitalism: common ownership of all means of production. And, as we see from Engels' definition, this stands for ownership by the whole people, assuring economic activity "on behalf of society as a whole and according to a preconceived plan".[2] This, Engels stressed, requires the broadest possible participation of the masses in running the economy.

In connection with a discussion in the *Berliner Volks-Tribüne* in 1890, he also raised the question of distribution in socialist society. He was glad, he said, that no abstract, idealistic rhetoric about justice was being used; "but strangely enough," he wrote to Conrad Schmidt on August 5, 1890, "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 organisation, so that the method of distribution may also change."[3]

In March 1895, he returned to this subject. He wrote that the supply of goods would be increased mainly by "compressing labour through improvements in the machinery", that this compression would not cease under socialism. "Moreover, we shall be able to raise it considerably,"[4] he said.

Once the means of production are commonly owned, all the gifts of science and culture will, for the first time in history, go to society as a whole and each individual in particular, rather than to a privileged minority. This Engels described as a major objective. "Through the planned utilisation and extension of the already existing enormous productive forces of all members of society, and with uniform obligation to work, Engels wrote in the introduction to Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*, "the means of existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fulness."[5] As they change the world, the people of the new society will also change themselves, augmenting whatever spiritual values they had before, and attaining a higher quality.

The true and effective humanism which Marx and Engels opposed to the abstract and therefore impotent humanism of their predeces-

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 485.
[2] Ibid., p. 432.
[3] Ibid., p. 484.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 442.
[5] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 149.

sors—the utopian socialists and Feuerbach—will materialise and flower.

That for Engels humanism was a prime consideration may be seen from his letter to Giuseppe Canepa, the Italian socialist, who had asked him to suggest a fitting epigraph for a new weekly, *L'Era Nuova*, to express the main ideal of the coming age, the age of socialism, as contrasted to the old, of which Dante had said: "Some rule, and others suffer." Engels wrote back: "I tried, as you requested, to find you a one-line epigraph in the works of Marx, who is the only modern socialist I consider worthy of standing beside the great Florentine. But I have not yet found anything, save the following passage from the *Communist Manifesto* (Italian edition, *Critica Sociale*, p. 35): '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.'"[1]

In destroying capitalist ownership and liberating man from exploitation, Marx and Engels saw the decisive condition for the true freedom of the individual and his organic inclusion in society, for the efflorescence of man's faculties and gifts. Engels regarded this socialist humanism as the principal ideal of the coming era.

ALWAYS IN BATTLE

The meaning of his life and the source of his joy and inspiration was seen by Engels in promoting the liberation of the proletariat and the bright future of mankind. To serve the most revolutionary class meant the utmost involvement in history, an active involvement in the contradictory and yet objectively regular movement of society towards communism. He wrote of this with his usual depth and power in a letter to his acquaintance, the English geologist George William Lamplugh:

"Nature is great, and as a change from the movement of History, I have always fondly recurred to her, but History seems even greater than Nature to me. It took Nature millions of years to produce conscious beings and now it takes these conscious beings thousands of years to act together consciously; conscious not only of their actions as individuals, but also of their actions as a mass; acting together, and effecting in common, a common purpose, willed by them in advance. That end we are now on the point of attaining. And to watch this process, this approaching accomplishment of a thing never heretofore attained in the history of our earth, seems to me a spectacle worth looking at, and from my whole past surroundings I could not turn my eyes away from it. But it's fatiguing,

[1] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, p. 513.

especially if you suppose you are called upon to cooperate in the process; and then the study of Nature comes in as a grand relief and remedy. For after all, Nature and History are the two components of the medium in which we live, move and have our being."[1]

Engels attached tremendous importance to the development of Marxism in conformity with the continuously changing reality, the new experience of the workers' struggle. In his later years he was troubled by the shortage of men with a theoretical turn of mind in the socialist parties, even the most advanced one—the German. "Their number among the younger generation in Germany is remarkably small. Bebel, who has a fine theoretical brain is prevented by practical party work from exercising this best quality of his other than in applying theory to practical cases. Bernstein and Kautsky are so far the only ones, though Bernstein, too, is much too busy with practical things to be active theoretically and to develop himself further, as he probably would like and could."[2] So wrote Engels to Conrad Schmidt on October 17, 1889.

But in Bernstein and Kautsky, whom he considered promising, Engels spotted serious flaws. Bernstein, he wrote, is impartial to excess, as a result of which "in doubtful cases, he always leans to the side of the enemy".[3] Engels also noted his "passion for the Fabians", his exaggerated opinion of them.[4] In November 1893, two years after Bernstein had ceased editing the party's central organ, Engels wrote to Kautsky that Bernstein had "earned himself the reputation of a man who has lost touch with the masses".[5] Yet he ascribed Bernstein's failings mainly to neurasthenia, to overwork.

Kautsky, too, showed excessive deference for the "respectable" Fabian brand of socialism, for which Engels criticised him severely. "I do not ask you to treat these people as enemies," he wrote. "Neither ought you in my opinion to shield them from criticism, just as you don't shield anybody else."[6]

What put Engels on his guard was that Bernstein and Kautsky, who had set out early in 1894 to compile a *History of Socialism as a Collection* (*Die Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen*) and enlisted a fairly large number of contributors, did not ask for his cooperation. More, they tried to keep the project from him. So, when in May 1895 Kautsky was compelled to ask him to contribute a piece on the First International, he declined.

In 1892 Engels was greatly drawn to Franz Mehring. He described Mehring's editorials in the *Neue Zeit* as "truly splendid", and

[1] Engels to Lamplugh, April 11, 1893 (Central Party Archives).
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 290.
[3] Engels to Vera Zasulich, April 17, 1890 (Central Party Archives).
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 433.
[5] Ibid., Bd. 39, S. 161.
[6] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 448.

on reading Mehring's *Die Lessing-Legend*, commented to Bebel: "It is a joy to see that the materialistic conception of history is at last being used as it should be—as a guideline in the study of history—and is not an empty phrase, as it was usually used for twenty years in the works of the younger party people."[1]

In April 1895 Engels was pleased to accept Mehring's offer of assistance in collecting Marx's early articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and supplied him with information likely to help in the search. This was the beginning of Mehring's long hunt for the literary heritage of the founders of Marxism, and also of his research as Marx's future biographer.

Engels thought his time and energy well spent if he could teach the party's theoretical cadres and other people genuinely interested in Marxism the correct, rather than vulgar, approach, warning them against turning it into a lifeless dogma, and to stimulate them to developing this ever living revolutionary teaching. He was eager to equip the political leaders of socialist parties with the dialectico-materialist method, to teach them to apply Marxism creatively to the concrete conditions of their countries at every point in history. And his own work provided splendid examples of how to use materialist dialectics in revolutionary practice, in guiding the international socialist movement.

His letters were invaluable, for they supplied advice and frank but friendly criticism, as well as praise and support. Written in his clear and elegant handwriting, they were not only profound in thought, but also masterly in style. In this continuous intercourse with the leading lights of the socialist movement, he was not only a teacher, but also always willing to learn from the men who were in the thick of the practical revolutionary struggle. He did not consider himself infallible or guaranteed against error. He never hesitated to ask for his friends' opinion of his printed works or letters, listened readily to their remarks, agreeing with some, and taking issue with others, but never showed any sign of resentment or annoyance.

He corresponded equally with leaders of the big and the small socialist parties, and rejected any show of veneration. When Plekhanov, for example, addressed him as "dear teacher", Engels wrote back: "To begin with, I plead with you, spare me the 'teacher'—I am simply Engels".[2] Like Marx, he was too great a man to harbour ambition or vanity, and simply could not bear praise.

Materialist dialectics is the main bond that, as it were, unites all Engels' letters, no matter to whom or where they were addressed. Through all of them runs the thought of the dialectical interconnection between the general and particular, the main Marxist principles and their concrete reflection in the specific conditions of various countries. He pleaded that this organic link should not be disrupted. He was against making an absolute of the one or the other, and fought against sectarianism, stereotype and dogmatism, which ignored the special traits of the workers' movement from country to country, on the one hand, and against underrating or denying the universal relevance of Marxism, of its main principles, for the consistently revolutionary activity of any socialist party, on the other.

His letter of October 27, 1894, to the editors of *Critica Sociale*, published under the title, "International Socialism and Italian Socialism", illustrates this point very clearly. It was written at the request of Turati, one of the journal's editors, who informed Engels of the persecution of socialists in his country and the campaign against them in the bourgeois press. "Formerly we were accused of trying to spread Marxism in its pure form in a country not yet ready for it, of wanting to 'Germanise' the Italian proletariat", Turati wrote, "whereas now it is being said that, allegedly in contrast to other socialist parties, especially the German, we are preaching class struggle and seeking to conquer state power."[1]

Engels felt obliged to take issue with the bourgeois press, which was contrasting the ideology and tactics of one national workers' party to those of other contingents of the international movement. "If the Italian socialists proclaim the 'class struggle' as the dominant fact in the society in which we live, if they form themselves into a 'political party aspiring to the conquest of power and to directing national affairs'," Engels wrote, "they are making Marxist propaganda in the literal sense of the word; they are following exactly the line set out in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Marx and myself in 1848; they are doing precisely what is being done by the socialist parties of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, and above all Germany."[2]

His letter underlined the fact that the Marxist teaching was universal and international. Precisely this universality of the main principles and general laws of the socialist movement in the setting of diverse forms and tactics in different countries, prompted Engels to refer to international socialism as "our party".

Above all else, Engels cherished the unity of the international socialist movement. Yet he allowed for, and even encouraged, discussion of the new problems, caused by the practice of revolutionary struggle, the needs of Marxism's further development. "We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect, though the common standpoint should be observed invariably,"[3] he said at the Zurich

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 308.
[2] Engels to Plekhanov, May 21, 1894 (Central Party Archives).

[1] *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con Italiani 1848-1895*, p. 567.
[2] Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.
[3] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 408.

Congress of the Second International. He admitted of no compromise and showed no mercy in defending the general and basic principles of Marxism. Everyone who departed from them, who went against the clear class position, became a target of his criticism.

He scorned people who, "from the 'impartiality' of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggle, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing."[1]

The recognised leader of the socialist movement, Engels was eager to help the workers' parties in their search for solutions, to win them over to his viewpoint on various issues. In doing so, he displayed the greatest tact, and expected the same of others. But if anyone obstructed an already agreed international action either inadvertently or for parochial reasons, he would not hesitate to show the due firmness.

His absolute honesty and truthfulness added to his tremendous prestige. "In as far as I possess the trust of the workers," he once wrote, "this reposes on the condition that I tell them the truth and nothing but the truth under all circumstances."[2] What he hated most was falsehood and hypocrisy. "There is one thing that Engels never forgives—deceit," wrote Eleanor Marx-Aveling. "A man who is deceitful towards himself, and all the more towards his Party, finds no mercy with Engels."[3]

His authority was so high that he was often asked for his opinion of someone's conduct. When Nieuwenhuis approached him with a question to that effect, he replied:

"...What is decisive here is the impression which such a manner of acting by you makes on your party comrades and then also on the whole mass of workers still outside the party—whether the workers are indifferent to it or are thereby aroused against Social-Democracy."[4] Uppermost in any issue, including anything that concerned the Social-Democratic "code of honour", or party ethics, were the interests of the party, the interests of the proletariat.

Engels' own dedication and keen sense of duty were an inspiring example for leaders and members of socialist parties. "He is the most exact man in the world," Eleanor wrote of him, "and has a stronger sense of duty and above all of Party discipline than anybody."[5] And this sense of duty to the party, to the working class, to

[1] Marx and Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 23.
[2] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 343.
[3] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 188.
[4] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 509.
[5] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 188.

Marx's memory, was for Engels always a powerful stimulant in life and struggle.

In his old age, too, Engels stayed in the battle. Without this, life would lose its meaning. "On the day when I am no longer able to fight," he wrote, replying to congratulations on his 70th birthday, "be it given me to die."[1]

YOUNG IN SPIRIT

At seventy and later he was vigorous in body and spirit. Looking at his tall, erect frame, his beard beginning to turn grey, the hair on his head without a single streak of silver, one would never give him more than fifty. "Although Engels looks young," Eleanor wrote, "he is even younger than he looks. He is really the youngest man I know."[2]

This spirit of youth Engels retained to the end. As before, he astonished everyone with the power of his intellect, his retentive memory and untiring energy; he was always collected and always disciplined in his work. All recollections of Engels, no matter who wrote them, are imbued with admiration for the nobility of his character, his purity, modesty and simplicity, charm, and the integrity of his image as thinker, revolutionary, and man. From Engels his party comrades gathered not only knowledge and experience, but also willpower, optimism, and unshakable faith in victory.

Engels could always be approached for advice, and, if necessary, for financial help. "He was economical as far as his personal needs were concerned and incurred only such expenses as he deemed absolutely necessary," wrote Paul Lafargue, "but his generosity towards the Party and his Party comrades when they applied to him in need knew no bounds."[3]

For all his good nature and kindness, Engels was reserved in his behaviour towards strangers. He "gave a man his confidence only when he knew him thoroughly",[4] wrote his old comrade, Lessner. And to persons alien to the party or of dubious character Engels was liable to reply sharply or to deny his hospitality. But his home was always open to rank-and-file members, as well as leaders of socialist parties, progressive scientists, writers, artists, and to many others.

In the beginning of October 1894, Engels moved from 122 Regent's Park Road to house No. 41. Luise Kautsky, who was his secretary and house-keeper, had married Dr. Ludwig Freyberger, and they

[1] *Le Socialiste*, December 25, 1890.
[2] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 187.
[3] Ibid., p. 93.
[4] Ibid., p. 174.

were expecting a baby. So, a bigger house was needed. It was difficult to find one, and the moving, too, was bothersome, but it had to be done. "I had no desire," he wrote to his brother Hermann, "to deliver myself into strange hands in my old age."[1] The new house was a more convenient one for work, as well as rest. He had his afternoon strolls in near-by Regent's Park and Primrose Hill, and sometimes tramped as far as Hampstead Heath, where Marx and he had once liked to walk.

The new house was also more accommodating for Engels the cordial host. After dusk, at seven or eight o'clock, when his failing eyesight made him put aside his work, and on Sundays, he held open house, though many visitors came at other hours.

On Sundays a truly international company gathered round Engels' dinner-table. Three languages were spoken usually—English, German and French. On a few occasions Russian speech resounded, and this from Engels' lips. Fanni, wife of Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, recalling her first visit to Engels', said that, shy by nature, she was deeply embarrassed of not knowing any foreign language. Engels was quick to notice her embarrassment, and addressed her in Russian: he recited several stanzas from Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*.

The conversation was mostly about politics. It was unconstrained, everyone spoke his mind, arguments broke out. Engels was admired as a magnificent conversationalist. And though, disclaiming skill in speech-making, he avoided public speaking, he really was a master of the spoken, as well as the written, word. His speech was always deep in content and sparkling in style.

True, politics was not the only subject at Engels' table. Informality and good cheer reigned always. The host's own "old Rhenish vivacity" never deserted him. "Always gay and good-humoured," Bebel recalled, "he had an astonishing memory for all kinds of small happenings and comical situations in his eventful life and he would tell them in company to add life to the conversation.... He had a good cellar and liked his guests to do honour to it."[2]

He also liked a good song, and sometimes others at the table joined in. He was particularly fond of the old English folksong about the Vicar of Bray, which, one day, he translated into German and published in the *Sozialdemokrat*. It was a splendid and melodious song, in which an Anglican vicar boasts of changing his political and religious sails with every change of king. Another favourite at Engels' table was the old student song, *Crambambuli*. And at May Day repasts everyone joined lustily in singing the *Marseillaise*.

Engels' house was always noisy and crowded on his birthdays. Letters and telegrams poured in. And on his 74th birthday he was not only wished many happy returns, but also congratulated on the

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 379.
[2] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 216-17.

appearance of Volume III of *Capital*. This volume, many pointed out in their birthday messages, was the fruit of the labour of two men: Marx and Engels.

Replying, Engels noted regretfully that "seventy-four and forty seven are two very different things". Though he was still fit, the years had begun to tell. "Well," he remarked, "this is as it should be, and no reason for my sense of humour to fail me."[1]

No sooner had he completed his work on Volume III of *Capital* than he began drawing up plans for future pursuits. And the plans were extensive. On top of the list were Lassalle's letters to Marx, which Engels intended to furnish with notes and a preface, and then to publish. Then he meant to revise his own *Peasant War in Germany*, and also write at least the main chapters of Marx's political biography: on the 1842-52 period and on the First International. The latter chapter he regarded as especially important, and therefore intended to write it first. In addition, he had begun preparing new editions of Marx's and his own early works. And all this was to be followed by Volume IV of *Capital*.

To Laura Lafargue he wrote: "That is my position: 74 years, the which I am beginning to feel, and work enough for two men of 40. Yes, if I could divide myself into the F. E. of 40 and the F. E. of 34, which would just be 74, then we should soon be all right. But as it is, all I can do is to work on with what is before me and get through it as far and as well as I can."[2]

The plan covered only the literary projects. As before, Engels devoted much time and energy to political affairs. He wanted to stay in the battle until his dying day and dreamt of taking "a peek into the new century", which, he trusted, would be the age of the victory of communism. Regrettably, he did not live to see it.

Throughout 1894 Engels suffered frequently from colds, and was often unwell. In March 1895 he wrote to his friends that he was "again a bit indisposed". He hoped to be fit again in a few weeks, but Dr. Freyberger had already informed Victor Adler that Engels had cancer of the oesophagus. They decided to keep this news from him.

In the beginning of May a swelling appeared on Engels' neck. He was in pain and suffered from insomnia. Early in June, he went to his beloved Eastbourne, where he was frequently visited by Laura Lafargue, Eleanor and Edward Aveling, the Freybergers, Samuel Moore, Victor Adler, and other friends. He endured the fierce pain "stoically, even with humour",[3] Adler recalled, and did not lose his sense of humour even when no longer able to talk, resorting to a slate and pencil.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 381.
[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 348.
[3] *Mohr und General, Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels*, Berlin, 1964, S. 593.

Though mortally ill, Engels displayed a lively interest in events and continued to work until almost his last day. On April 3 he sent Paul Lafargue detailed comments on the latter's book *Origine et évolution de la propriété*, and on April 10 wrote a review praising a monograph about the Physiocrats and François Quesnay by Stephan Bauer, a German economist. On May 21, in a letter to Kautsky, he reviewed his *Von Plato bis zu den Wiedertäufern* (From Plato to the Anabaptists), and let Kautsky know that he was sending the *Neue Zeit* his supplement to Volume III of *Capital* on 1) the law of value and rate of profit, and 2) the changed role of the stock exchange since 1865, when Marx wrote about it. In the beginning of July, Engels sent Antonio Labriola a short comment on the first part of the latter's article, "In Memory of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*". "Am eager to see the rest,"[1] he wrote. He also continued writing to his other correspondents. The last letter he wrote was posted from Eastbourne on July 23 to Laura Lafargue. On the following day he was taken to London in a serious condition.

Frederick Engels passed away on August 5, 1895, at 10.30 p.m. He had lived a long, eventful and fruitful life, and was philosophical about his imminent death. To avoid surprises, he had drawn up a will on July 29, 1893, before his departure to Zurich. On November 14, 1894, he wrote a letter to his executors, and on July 26, 1895, a codicil to his will. The executors were Samuel Moore, Eduard Bernstein and Luise Kautsky (Freyberger). He left all his property to Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Luise Kautsky. He also provided for the children of Marx's deceased daughter, Jenny Longuet. Since providing for their future in a will was somewhat complicated under English law, Engels wrote in a letter to Laura and Eleanor on November 14, 1894, that out of the three-eighths of his estate which each of the sisters would receive, they should hold in trust one-eighth for Jenny's children and use it as they and the children's guardian, Paul Lafargue, may think best. A considerable sum was also left to Mary Ellen Rosher, the niece of Mary and Lizzie Burns.

Engels also disposed of his literary heritage: all Marx's manuscripts and letters (save those to and from Engels) were to go to Eleanor Marx-Aveling as the lawful representative of Marx's heirs. His own manuscripts and correspondence, including his correspondence with Marx, Engels willed to August Bebel and Eduard Bernstein. This did not apply to the letters of the Lafargues, Avelings, Freybergers and his relatives, which he wanted to be returned to their writers.

His books, copyrights, forthcoming royalties, and £ 1,000 in cash, Engels left to the German Social-Democratic party in the trust of Bebel and Singer.

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, S. 498.

In his letter to the executors of his will, dated November 14, 1894, Engels declared that upon his death his body should be cremated and the ashes consigned to the sea.

Complying with his wish, the funeral was modest. Only his friends and comrades, not more than some 80 people, attended the service at Waterloo Station on August 10. Engels' coffin was covered with flowers and wreaths, on the red ribbons of which the socialists of Germany, Austria, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Poland and Bulgaria expressed gratitude to their teacher and leader, and their deep grief. Vera Zasulich placed a wreath on the coffin on behalf of the Russian socialists, and the Russian Narodnik movement was represented by S. M. Kravchinsky (Stepnyak), F. V. Volkhovsky, and L. B. Goldenberg. A. Nazarbekov placed a wreath on the coffin from the Armenian socialists. Letters and telegrams poured in from many countries. Funeral speeches were delivered by Samuel Moore, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Lafargue, August Bebel (on behalf of the Austrian Social-Democrats), Edouard Anseele from the Belgians, van der Goes from the Dutch Social-Democrats, and Goldenberg from former members of the People's Will group and on behalf of Pyotr Lavrov. Engels' nephew Gustav Schlechtendahl spoke on behalf of Engels' relatives. After the funeral service, Engels' body was cremated in Woking, near London, with but a handful of people attending.

On August 27, the urn with the ashes was brought to Eastbourne by Eleanor Aveling, Lessner and Bernstein, and consigned to the waves some distance from the shore.

The socialist press and many bourgeois newspapers wrote of the great loss suffered by the international working class.

An obituary article, "Frederick Engels", by the young Russian Social-Democrat, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), was anteceded by the Russian poet Nekrasov's deep-felt words:

> What a torch of reason ceased to burn,
> What a heart has ceased to beat!

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CONCLUSION

Frederick Engels had lived a long and sparkling life of revolutionary and thinker. All of it was associated with the lot of the working class. It had been a grand exploit in the name of man's emancipation from oppression and exploitation.

The name and cause of Engels are inseparably linked with the name and cause of Marx. In close cooperation they moulded the scientific outlook of the working class. "The European proletariat," Lenin wrote, "may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship."[1]

This extraordinary communion of two great men did not obscure, but, on the contrary, gave impulse to the creative thinking, the singularity and self-identity of each of them. Engels was a highly original scholar of genius. Even his earliest works bear the imprint of independent and audacious thought, of keen critical analysis, and perfection of style. He was among the first to come to grips with Schelling's reactionary philosophy, and also the first to see and define the intrinsic contradiction in Hegel's philosophical system. The first attempt at criticising bourgeois political economy from the socialist angle—and this, too, was made by him—was a great achievement of the science of revolution. Quite independently of Marx, he began breaking the way to the materialist conception of history. He was the first to probe the essence and socio-economic consequences of the industrial revolution in England, painting a picture of appalling hardships and proving that the working class was equal to its historic mission of grave-digger of capitalism.

Together with Marx, Engels was the creator of the immortal *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which proclaimed to the world

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

the new outlook, the theory of the liberation struggle of the proletariat, the programme and the tactical guidelines of the Communists, and also gave the workers their main slogan, calling on the workers of the world to unite for the overthrow of the bourgeois social and political system, for the Communist Revolution.

It is impossible to exaggerate Engels' contribution to the treasure-trove of Marxism—its philosophy, economic theory, the elaboration of scientific communism, the strategy and tactics of the workers' struggle for emancipation.

Engels' many works set out with classic clarity the chief aspects of Marxist theory. They have been the handbooks of many generations of proletarian revolutionaries. Today, too, they are essential reading for every class-conscious worker, every active fighter for communism.

Engels' work in the theoretical domain following Marx's death is of the utmost significance. He played an outstanding part in the development, defence and propagation of Marxism. And the service he rendered by editing and publishing the unfinished manuscripts of the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital* is truly inestimable.

In this period, Engels formulated new important conclusions on the genesis and evolution of the family, property, and the state, proving their economic origin.

It was at this time, too, that Engels made his brilliant analysis of German classical philosophy, recapitulating the emergence of all the aspects of the Marxist world outlook. He disclosed the peculiarities in the development of nature and society, showing that the laws governing natural development operated spontaneously, whereas those of society presented themselves as the result of an intricate interaction of countless human aspirations, intentions and actions. History, he wrote, is the sum total of the activity of men, the result of "many wills operating in different directions and of their manifold effects upon the outer world".[1]

Also at this time, Engels elaborated in detail upon a number of important aspects of historical materialism, including the relation of the basis to the superstructure. He showed that in the final analysis the relations of production, the mode of production, exercised the determining influence on the state, ideology, and the consciousness of society, but also proved the strong inverse reaction of these superstructural categories on the economy.

He made a profound study of the essential changes in the economy and policy of the main capitalist countries of Europe and America in the eighties and nineties. Where those who clung to the letter saw nothing and upheld dogmatically interpreted Marxist formulas, where reformists and bourgeois enemies of the workers' socialist

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 366.

ideals fancied that Marxism's main propositions had collapsed under the brunt of events, there Engels, who kept a keen eye on the reality about him, spotted new tendencies in the development of capitalism, signalling not its "self-abolition", not its passage from anarchy to discipline and planned economy, but a further exacerbation of its intrinsic contradictions and a greater degree of maturation in its depth of the material preconditions, the objective and subjective factors, for socialist revolution. As Lenin noted, Engels foresaw the transformation of the capitalism of free competition into monopoly capitalism, and also the new conditions this entailed for the liberation struggle of the working class.

The subject of socialist revolution occupies a prominent place in Engels' works. He never tired of showing that it can be victorious only if the broadest masses of the proletariat take part in it consciously. Continuous, systematic and painstaking work is required, he pointed out, to prepare the workers for decisive action at the propitious hour. All opportunities, even the limited ones afforded by bourgeois democracy, should be used to the fullest. It is incumbent on socialists to make the most of every chance, to work patiently in all working-class organisations, including those that may not, at the time, be pursuing socialist aims. Failing this, Engels stressed, the class consciousness of the workers will not harden and they will not be won for the socialist revolution. Revolution cannot be the result of a secret conspiracy or surprise action by a handful of hero-revolutionaries. It is the culmination point in the class protest of the workers, embracing also other large sections of the working population. It is the natural climax of a long socio-historical process, which breeds and deepens economic and political contradictions, giving rise to a crisis in the regime and witnessing the growth of a revolutionary army of working people ready for the overthrow of the exploiting classes and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

An important part of the preparations for a social revolution is winning farm labourers and small peasants to the side of the industrial workers, because the worker-peasant alliance is an indispensable factor in the conquest of political power.

In sum, it was economic struggle, participation in election campaigns and legal activity in the bourgeois parliament, and work among the non-proletarian strata, first and foremost in the village, that Engels regarded as the essential elements in preparing a socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Furthermore, Engels held, the proletariat must support the national liberation movements, which were its ally in the battle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political power may pass to the proletariat in different ways. And though Engels did not rule out the peaceful way in some countries, he stressed that the bourgeoisie would hardly give up power

without a fight. To counter its resistance, the working class is compelled to use force, to resort to armed struggle.

Like Marx, Engels dedicated all his revolutionary work, theoretical and practical, to preparing the proletariat for the assault on the economic and political citadel of capitalism. Fight—this was the motto of his life. As a young man, he had exclaimed: "Let us fight and bleed, look undismayed into the grim eyes of the enemy and hold out to the end!"[1] That these noble sentiments had been his beacon, his main principle, is borne out by all his tempestuous revolutionary endeavours. He was one of the organisers of the Communist League, he took part in the 1848-49 revolution, was one of the leaders of the First International, and a teacher and inspirer of Social-Democratic parties. He also played an important part in the founding of the Second International, and in training revolutionary cadres for the international working-class movement.

He was fearless and indefatigable. Doubts never beset him, for he had made his option in response to the summons of his heart and the command of his intellect.

He tied his whole being with the destiny of the working class at a time when the workers' movement was still, as a rule, spontaneous, and all revolutionary actions against capitalist relations ended in grave defeats. The mass of workers were still under the influence either of bourgeois ideology or of the petty-bourgeois ideas of various socialist sects; they were still unconscious of their revolutionary mission and the necessity of destroying capitalism.

But towards the end of Engels' life the working class in Europe and America had grown into a mighty social force. The working-class movement had become organised and massive. Scientific communism had triumphed ideologically over all the varieties of utopian petty-bourgeois socialism and had become the recognised ideology of the working class, the theoretical foundation of its struggle. And to all this Engels made an immeasurable contribution.

The 1848-49 revolution, the Paris Commune in 1871, and all the subsequent developments in the international working-class movement, provided incontestable proof of the great vital truth that is Marxism. History has impelled the uninterrupted development of the teaching of Marx and Engels.

Exposure of the bourgeois foes and different falsifiers of Marxism is a conspicuous theme in Engels' works. He never evaded a challenge and promptly attacked opportunism and sectarianism in the working-class movement. Towards the end of his life he was alarmed to see that some of the members of the socialist movement held a dogmatic view of Marxist theory. Again and again, he showed in his printed works and in his letters, as well as in conversations,

[1] Marx, Engels, *Werke*, Ergänzungsband, T. 2, S. 221.

that Marxism is a creative teaching which will not suffer dogmatic isolation of theory from practice, from the historical experience. He always stressed that theory must continue to develop, that it must benefit from new conclusions adequately reflecting new social realities.

One of the most important factors essential for the success of the working-class movement, he pointed out, was to combat bourgeois slanderers and distortions of Marxism. Marxism, he said, must be creatively projected by theoretical analysis and by conceptualising the relations prevailing in the world.

Yet the negative tendencies which had so alarmed Engels in the early half of the 1890s continued to grow. True, the revision of Marxism by Eduard Bernstein soon after Engels' death, designed to prove the "obsolescence" of Marx's revolutionary theory, to revise its guiding principles, met with resistance from the vast majority of socialist leaders. But they hesitated to break with the revisionists organisationally. The cancer of revisionism and opportunism gradually eroded the Second International. And the danger was doubly grave, because the imperialist epoch confronted the working class with new, extremely difficult problems.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin developed and enriched Marxism creatively on the basis of a profound analysis of the imperialist epoch and the new experience of the working-class movement.

A faithful disciple and successor to Marx's and Engels' cause, he continuously "consulted" with Marx and Engels, and brilliantly implemented Engels' injunction to treat Marxist theory creatively.

Lenin described Engels as one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat, as one of the founders of communism. In his biographical article about Marx, he wrote that "for a correct appraisal of Marx's views, an acquaintance is essential with the works of *Frederick Engels*, his closest fellow-thinker and collaborator".[1] And in *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder* he pointed out that Engels, like Marx, "was one of those rarest of authors whose every sentence in every one of their fundamental works contains a remarkably profound content".[2]

Lenin disparaged all attempts to discredit and distort Marxism; he fought revisionism, Centrism, Right and Left opportunism.

The world-historic triumph of Marxism is closely associated with the name and work of Lenin. "He supplied the answers to the most burning questions posed by history, comprehensively developed the theory of socialist revolution and the building of a communist society, gave the Russian and the international revolutionary movement a scientifically grounded strategy and tactics, and led the working-class struggle to translate the ideals of socialism into life."[1] His teaching, Leninism, is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of the national liberation movements, the epoch of passage from capitalism to socialism and of the building of communist society.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was performed under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik party, giving a start to the practical embodiment of the teaching of Marx and Engels on one-sixth of the earth's surface. The October Revolution and the subsequent development of the world, above all the world-historic achievements of the U.S.S.R., the formation of the socialist world system, and the complete and final break-up of the traditional forms of colonialism—all this is a graphic demonstration of the striking advantages of socialism over capitalism. They have proved incontestably the great power of Marxism-Leninism and have immensely broadened the influence of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the political and spiritual life of all men.

Today, socialism is on the historical offensive. The successful development in a number of countries of a society without oppression and oppressors, governed by the people in their own interests, is an inspiration for hundreds of millions that have not yet freed themselves from the yoke of capital, filling their hearts with hope of a happy future.

Marxism-Leninism has stood the test of time brilliantly. The historic experience of the workers' liberation movement and the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other countries have proved convincingly that the task of destroying capitalist social relations and rearranging society along socialist lines requires the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties equipped with an advanced theory. The world has had no other theory even remotely comparable to that of Marx, Engels and Lenin for the impact it makes on the masses, on the destiny of mankind.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 21, p. 91.
[2] Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 66.

[1] *Lenin's Ideas and Cause Are Immortal*. Theses of the C.C. C.P.S.U. on the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, p. 3.

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