

FREDERICK ENGELS

A Biography

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Preface

"His name will endure through the ages and so also will his work!"

These words, uttered by Frederick Engels in memory of Karl Marx when he spoke at the grave of his late friend, apply equally to Engels himself. His life-work is as inseparably linked with the practical and theoretical work of Karl Marx as the legacy of the two became an integral part both of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's creative activities and the struggle of the Communist and labour movement of our time.

The elaboration of the scientific world outlook of the working class was the work of two men: Marx and Engels. Researching independently of one another at first, they reached like opinions by different routes, and then revolutionized the sciences in a close working and fighting community by discovering the fundamental laws of motion of human society, nature and thought.

Together with Marx, Engels apprehended the world-historic mission of the working class: overthrowing capitalism, setting up its own political rule and so freeing the whole of the people from the scourge of exploitation, and constructing a truly humane society–the Socialist and the Communist social system. Together with Marx, he created the strategy and tactics the working class employs in the fight for its emancipation, and found in the proletariat's revolutionary class Party the most important condition for this, its emancipation. Together with Marx, he called into existence the first working-class Party in the Communist League, and worked at the head of the First International for the formation of revolutionary worker parties in various countries. Later, on his own after Marx's death, he became the "international steward of the class-conscious proletariat" as Bebel put it and, finally, when he was nearly seventy, the accoucheur and adviser of the Second International. Together with Marx, he fought for a peaceful and democratic future for Germany in the 1848–49 Revolution, throughout the sixties, and during the latter third of the 19th century. The decades of his exile notwithstanding, he was ever deeply united with his people.

This man who in Lenin's words was–after his friend Karl Marx–"the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat" is the subject of this biography. Its objective is to acquaint all those with Engels' life who are today helping to execute his legacy as citizens of the German Democratic Republic by building an advanced Socialist society under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, or who are continuing his work in another sector of the world-wide struggle for a human society that is free from exploitation, oppression and war. Its objective is to familiarize them with the seeking youth and the mature man, the unremitting student and constant teacher, the selfless friend and gay companion, the advocate of the working class and co-founder of its Party, the scientist and revolutionary, the ardent patriot and fierce proletarian internationalist, the thinker and the fighter.

The life-work of Marx and Engels is a perfect whole. But much as the thinking and work of the twain were intertwined, they each remained a separate personality. Hence, this biography

of Engels can be read as a work on its own, but it will of necessity remain incomplete if the reader does not complement it by studying the life and work of Marx.

Even during Marx's and Engels' lifetime there was no lack of attempts by bourgeois ideologists to play Marx off against Engels, invent contradictions between their findings, or brush Engels aside as someone who simplified Marx's ideas. Cornered by the world-wide victorious advance of Marxism-Leninism, the present-day falsifiers of Marx and Engels have developed these methods to great perfection. The object of their exercise is so to falsify and re-model Engels' life and work–and those of Marx and Lenin–that they can be misused to attack decisive theoretical and political foundations of the revolutionary labour movement, especially those of the Socialist states.

By contrast, we have let the facts speak their own plain language in this biography, and as often as possible have let Engels speak for himself. The facts, however, clearly prove:

Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's congenial fellow-combatant, had a large, original share in the elaboration and development of scientific Communism. He enriched the working class's revolutionary theory with significant findings and scientific discoveries in the fields of philosophy, political economy, and the doctrine of class struggle and Socialism. Engels deserved greatly of, and gained high esteem for his contributions to, the philosophical generalization of natural scientific findings, the development and application of historical materialism, the elaboration of a proletarian military theory, and the clearing up of basic philological and aesthetic questions.

What Engels praised so highly in Karl Marx, his friend and fellow-combatant, holds just as true for him. Engels the scientist "was not even half the man" either. And Engels, too, "was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another (. . .) to the liberation of the modern proletariat." The unity of theory and practice, of cognition and action, which are immanent in Marxism, let Frederick Engels become not only the co-founder of the doctrine of the Party at Karl Marx's side, but for many decades the leading representative of the international working-class movement as well.

Until he died, Engels fought unshakably for the basic outlook of scientific Communism he and Marx had evolved: that the working class's world-historic mission consists in the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a Socialist society, that this task can only be carried out via revolutionary class struggle and under the leadership of a working-class Party which is guided by the scientific theory of the proletariat, that Socialism requires the nationalization of the means of production, and that it can only be implemented when the working class has won political power and if the working class, in close alliance with all other working people, ceaselessly secures and strengthens this political power in the shape of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was in close co-operation with Marx and through his consummate application of dialectical materialism that Engels produced a profound analysis of the capitalist society of his time, its tendencies to develop into monopoly capitalism, and of its necessary replacement by Socialism. It was thanks to this analysis that he was also able to forecast and discover important general laws of Socialist and Communist society–laws the Marxist-Leninist Parties are today utilizing creatively in, and applying to, the shaping of a new world, that of Socialism and Communism.

These facts are unequivocal and verifiable by one and all. There is no manoeuvre, and be it ever so sophisticated, by which imperialist, opportunist or revisionist ideologists can do away with them.

That the doctrine Marx and Engels founded, and Lenin evolved, has in the meantime stood the acid test of practice a thousand times over–the telling criterion of every scientific finding–is also a fact. Wherever the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, has made scientific Communism the guideline of its struggle and is applying it creatively to the new conditions of class struggle, it is attaining successes in the fight against imperialism and for social progress. Wherever it has already banned exploitation and oppression from social life for all time, it is now–in league with the other working people – strengthening and consolidating the Socialist state and the economic might of Socialism. Our German Democratic Republic,

where the working people are exercising power, strengthening their state and creating a new type of social and human relations under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, furnishes convincing proof of how vital, realistic and full of the promise of victory the theory of Marxism-Leninism Frederick Engels helped to found is.

Engels was not to see the goal of his fight become reality: the Socialist society, which is free of exploitation, oppression and war; but the law of historic development he and Marx discovered prevailed regardless of the cruel terror and the sophisticated demagogy of the exploiting classes. There is, today, a steadily growing and ever-stronger world Socialist system. Its centre and the source of its strength is the Soviet Union–the biggest achievement of the international working class. Today, there obtains right in the heart of Europe, in the land of Frederick Engels' birth, the Socialist German Democratic Republic–the biggest achievement of the German people. And nowadays there is hardly a corner of this earth of ours where Engels' name has not been heard of, where the significance of his work is unknown. What the 73-year-old Engels predicted in a salutatory address to the Socialists of Sicily on 24 September 1894 has proved to be true since the Red October:

"The glowing dawn of a new and better society is breaking for the oppressed classes of all countries. And everywhere are the oppressed closing their ranks, everywhere are they proffering one another their hand across frontiers and language barriers. The army of the international proletariat is building up and the approaching new century will lead it to victory."

Chapter I

1820–1842

Childhood and Youth

Frederick Engels was born on 28 November 1820 in Barmen. His native town lay in the Wupper Valley, close to Elberfeld. Both towns (which now constitute present-day Wuppertal) belonged to Prussia since the 1815 Congress of Vienna. At the time of Engels' birth they had a joint population of over 40,000, and were an important centre of the capitalist textile industry in the Prussian Rhineland.

By contrast, the rest of Prussia was still predominantly agricultural. As in the other states–and at that time there were 34 sovereign principalities and realms, as well as four Free Towns in Germany–feudal-absolutist relations prevailed in Prussia. They were hallmarked by the peasants' economic and political dependence on the big landowners, the Junkers. The princes and the Junkers, the beneficiaries of the political par-

titioning of Germany, did all they could to maintain the obtaining feudal conditions and suppressed all oppositional stirrings with brute force. Yet they were unable to prevent the new, capitalist mode of production from gradually establishing itself and, with that, the steady growth of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords. Abolishing the relations of feudal rule and creating a unified bourgeois German nation-state had become a historic necessity.

In the Prussian Rhineland, however, feudal relations and imposts had already been abolished in consequence of the bourgeois French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon. Here there prevailed capitalist free trade; gone were the feudal privileges of the Church and the nobility. The law of the land was the Civil Code that had been taken over from France along with its public trials by jury. Technically, the law even provided both freedom of instruction and freedom of the press.

Capitalist developments had been on the steady upswing in the Rhineland ever since these bourgeois relations existed in town and country. So the modern class antagonisms of the bourgeois society were more pronounced here than in the other parts of Germany; two new classes had emerged: the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Capitalist industry also determined the whole of life in Barmen and Elberfeld. Nearly 200 petty and middle-sized factories were in operation during the thirties, chiefly weaving and spinning mills, and dye shops. They manufactured silks and half-silk fabrics, and processed cotton. Above all, "Barmen ware"–the name given to the articles made in the locality: ribbons, lace, round cord and braidings–was widely known. The working class lived in and laboured under harsh, inhuman conditions. A cotton weaver received not more than two thalers a week for his work whilst a ribbon weaver earned even less. Two thalers–this was the price of a hundredweight of potatoes at the time. Not only men and women, but many children too, slaved away at the looms. Some of them were barely six; none of them went to school, and they all spent the greater part of their childhood in the factories. In Elberfeld alone nearly half of all children of school age went out to work.

The bourgeoisie of Barmen and Elberfeld exploited the workers exorbitantly–and this all the more as they had to secure their profits in competition with English industry, the industry whose goods dominated the continent. The Industrial Revolution crossed over from England, the motherland of capitalist industry, and advanced across Germany. True that it was instrumental in bringing about a swift development of the productive forces, but it heightened the want and poverty of the working masses at the same time. The introduction of the machine industry ruined the widespread domestic industry with the result that thousands of weavers, spinners and knitters lost their jobs in Barmen and Elberfeld during the twenties.

Thus, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was already growing irresistibly all over Germany, in all sectors of social life, beside the principal contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the feudal class.

The class of the bourgeoisie was predestined to put an end to feudal rule, but the Rhenish bourgeoisie declined the decisive political battle during the twenties and thirties. They paid prime attention to developing trade and industry, to boosting their profits. And when, in 1834, there was founded at their solicitation and under the leadership of Prussia the German Customs Union which gave fresh scope to these, their strivings, they contented themselves with lodging protests with the Diets and presenting petitions to the Prussian court in order to keep the prevailing bourgeois rights out of the Prussian Junkers' clutches.

Music played a prominent part in the cultural life of the bourgeoisie in Barmen and Elberfeld, and both opera and dramatic art were firmly established in the Elberfeld theatres during the thirties.

Yet an "impudent and repugnant"[1] pietism pervaded intellectual life in the two valley towns. This religious movement had originated from Protestantism during the late 17th century. As an ideological expression of the rising bourgeoisie, it had at first played a progressive, reformative role. Its representatives countered the predominant teaching of the Church by preaching a practical and democratic Christianity which committed its followers to an extremely devout and above all industrious life.

But as time went on pietism degenerated into religious pious sentiment, and gradually turned against the progressive ideas of the Age of Enlightenment. In the Wupper Valley the pietistic clergy went to extremes by preaching the vanity of man's life on earth and making the working masses responsible for the harsh circumstances they were forced to endure: the sinful life the masses led, they maintained, was the real and ultimate cause of their poverty and distress. They condemned every intellectual movement of the time that opposed their dogmas, and damned it as the work of the devil. The keenest pietists even went so far as to claim that plays and music were diabolical deceptions.

It was in these conditions that Frederick Engels grew up. His father—Frederick senior—first held down a managerial job at *Caspar Engels und Söhne*, the paternal factory. He set up for himself, however, in 1837, and founded the cotton mill *Ermen & Engels* in Manchester together with several brothers of the Ermen family. Another mill was established a few years later at Engelskirchen, east of Cologne. The Engels family had lived in the Berg district since the 16th century and was held in high esteem there. Engels' grandfather, who had been appointed Municipal Councillor in 1808 by French decree, had also served on the Urban Council under Prussia. He was, moreover, one of the founders of the United Protestant Church in Barmen. Prussian views and religious traditions were deeply rooted in the family.

Frederick Engels' mother, Elisabeth Franziska Mauritia Engels, née van Haar, came from a family of philologists. Her ancestors were Dutch, and her father was the principal of the Gymnasium in Hamm. Elisabeth Engels was a well-educated lady who loved books and music and prized Goethe and his works in particular. She had a wonderful sense of humour, and was a kind and understanding mother to the four sons and four daughters who were born to her from 1820 to 1834. Frederick was the eldest child and he dearly loved his mother with her "fine human fund"[2]. Marie, the third-born, was his favourite sister.

The Engels residence stood near the River Wupper, and the official address read Barmen No. 800, Brucher Rotte. Frederick

Engels spent a carefree and gay childhood there. The family played music, acted short plays sometimes, and not infrequently went on extensive walking tours. The children were greatly attached to their grandfather, the principal in Hamm, who helped them with their homework and told them the classic tales of Ancient Greece and Rome.

Frederick Engels' father loved music and the theatre as well. He played the bassoon and the violoncello, arranged chamber music soirées in his house, and was a member of the town's art union. His frequent business trips, which sent him not only up and down Germany, but abroad as well, taught him to view the world with an unbiassed eye. In his family, however, he saw to it that his children were given a strictly religious upbringing. He insisted that they be "taught the most implicit faith in the Bible and in the harmony of the biblical teaching with the Church doctrine, indeed, with the special teaching of *every* clergyman"[3] both at home and at catechization. He himself occupied the post of parochial school inspector as from 1825, and in 1835 he became the lay administrator of church property of the Reformed parish. In the years that followed, the municipal school of Barmen complemented the upbringing the children received in the "thoroughly radical-Christian-Prussian family"[4]. Most of the teachers were faithful, dogmatic guardians of the biblical doctrine. But it was here, too, that Engels had his first object lessons in physics and chemistry, lessons that later served him well in his scientific studies.

Engels senior sent Frederick to the Gymnasium in the neighbouring town of Elberfeld in the autumn of 1834. He wanted to provide his son with a sound education.

1834 was the year of the Decisions of Vienna. Feudal reaction was preparing itself to crush the anti-feudal popular movement which had emerged under the influence of the Paris Insurrection of July 1830. This movement had called for a free and united Germany at the Hambach Festival (1832). Germany was inundated by a wave of political persecution. Georg Büchner, the brilliant poet and advocate of the Hessian peasants, was amongst those who were forced to flee the country. Many persecutees sought refuge in France where certain of them founded

the Exiles' League. They set themselves the target of freeing Germany from the yoke of feudal servitude.

A fresh chapter of life started for Frederick Engels at this time of darkest reaction. The Elberfeld Gymnasium dated back to the erstwhile grammar school that had been established in 1592, and was one of the best in Prussia. The school, staffed by many free-thinking, liberal teachers, opened up a new world for the 14-year-old lad, a world that was largely free from the mysticism of the Christian parish. It instructed its pupils in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German and French, scripture, history, geography, mathematics, physics, natural science, singing and drawing, and also gave them an introduction to philosophy during their final year. Young Engels' schoolmates were the sons of mill owners, officials, pastors and merchants. He became close friends with two of them, the sons of Pastor Graeber.

Frederick Engels was a very attentive student. He made the acquaintance of a world of ideas during Latin and Greek which the pietists cried down as heathenish. He had an exceptional flair for languages and so was able to meet his teachers' demands without overly exerting himself. He found grammar exercises less interesting, but was greatly stirred by the works of Livy, Cicero and Virgil, and enthralled by the tragedies of Euripides and Plato's *The Dialogues of Crito*. His teachers testified that in these subjects he could "with ease enter into the correlations of larger entireties, grasp the train of thought clearly, and adroitly translate the given text into the mother tongue."[6] It was no different with the standard French writers.

Engels immersed himself in Greek, Latin and French literature, but was not fully absorbed by what he read. The same goes for mathematics and physics, subjects of which he had a "gratifying knowledge" and where he both showed "a good perceptive faculty" and was able "to express himself clearly and emphatically."[6]

The schoolboy looked forward whole-heartedly to his lessons in German national literature and its history. He longed for them daily, impatiently and thirsting after knowledge. His teacher, Dr. Clausen, had managed to arouse Engels' enthusiasm both for history and German literature. His discourse was "of

rare charm" and he was the only teacher who knew how "to awaken the feeling for poetry in the pupils", "the feeling that otherwise would have had to grow wretchedly stunted under the Philistines of the Wuppee Valley."[7]

Dr. Clausen was very friendly with the young Ferdinand Freiligrath who was working as a clerk in Barmen at the time. Frederick Engels listened with heart and soul when Dr. Clausen spoke about German poetry. His school-leaving report tells us that he showed "a praiseworthy interest ⟨. . .⟩ in the *history of German national literature* and in reading the standard German writers", and that his essays contained "good, original ideas".[8]

Engels' acquaintance with German poetry and world literature exercised a lasting effect on him. Achilles' feats enthralled him, but he was above all enthusiastic about Siegfried, Tell and Faust. Frederick Engels chose as his ideals these three figures in German literature who personified the struggle against despotic force and oppression, who showed courage and valour, a readiness to make personal sacrifices and a strong character, as well as a stubborn striving after knowledge and truth. He planned to fight and shape his life in keeping with their spirit and the noble, humanistic, liberal ideals for which they had struggled and suffered.

Young Frederick Engels no longer made any secret of his sympathy for militant humanism in early 1837. He was inspired by the fight the Greeks were then waging against the Turks to obtain their national independence, and he, too, sided against the Turks. He wrote a "pirate tale" where he spoke out against all those who rated "huckstering" higher than the fight for freedom. Joining the ranks of those "who can still appreciate freedom"[9] and fighting oppression and humiliation at their side was the schoolboy's most lofty ideal.

Tensions between Frederick Engels and his family, particularly his father, also mounted with the young man's growing opposition to the conditions of the Wupper Valley. Subordinating his ideas and feelings to the concepts held by the people around him was the thing Engels resisted most of all. Frederick senior was greatly troubled and disquieted by his eldest son's

conduct which he considered indicative of "thoughtlessness and a weak character"[10]. As he wrote to his wife in 1835, he was frequently "anxious about the lad who, by the way, is first-rate"[11]. The father thought Frederick Engels such a "peculiar, lively boy that a settled mode of life, which must bring him to some degree of independence" would be "the best thing for him."[12]

Young Frederick was not only enthralled by what he was able to learn and digest at the Gymnasium and from his books. The social and intellectual conditions that prevailed in the Wupper Valley affected him in a particular measure. He daily saw these conditions which were unworthy of man and so crassly contradicted everything he was taught at school about the dignity of man and human liberty. Engels observed life carefully. The schoolboy noticed that capitalist factory work deprived the people of their strength and zest; he saw their terrible poverty, and was outraged by the hypocritical, rich mill owners who went to church twice every Sunday, but let children fall to rack and ruin in their factories and never minded when the workers went jobless and hungry.

Nor did these impressions leave Frederick Engels when he sat poring over his books. He heard the noise the drunks made in the alleyways of Elberfeld at night. Many of them were homeless roving frame hands who slept in haylofts, stables, stairways, or other places of refuge, only to creep out into the open in the morning to look for work. They were the poorest of the labouring class, and they tried to forget the hopelessness of their situation by drinking gin. Want and poverty had demoralized them. The conditions of the Wupper Valley left such a lasting impression on the schoolboy that even decades later the man was able to recall particulars in great detail. Engels sometimes donated all his small savings to helping the poor.

In his quest for a way that might lead out of the conflicts he was in with his surroundings, Engels often felt very much on his own. To make things worse his father refused to let him take up the profession of his choice; the profession that would have taken him away from the distressing conditions of the Wupper Valley and brought him closer to the realization of his ideals.

Frederick Engels' wish to go to university after leaving the Gymnasium went unheard.

Engels senior removed his son from the Gymnasium a year before Frederick was due to take his Abitur (the approximate equivalent of the present-day GCE A levels in Great Britain), and forced him to enter a commercial house. The young man was very unhappy and sought people who shared his thoughts and feelings. But he found no one in the world around him, and in the end decided that he ought to give up his hitherto thinking and action. He called on God after long, defiant struggles to deliver mankind from evil and transform the world for the happiness and well-being of its inhabitants. But the god to whom he now turned was no longer that of the pietists. Young Engels was inclined to a religion that had nothing in common with any strict, dogmatic Biblicism.

Reviewing the bygone year, Engels wrote his friend Friedrich Graeber in mid-1839 that he had found his way back to the faith, and added: "Because I realized" that I "could no longer live so for the present, because I regretted my sins, because I needed communion with God. (. . .) You yourself know that I was in earnest, holy earnest. (. . .) But I never felt any of that ecstatic bliss I so often heard proclaimed from our pulpit."[13]

Clerk in Bremen

In July 1838, after having worked in his father's firm for nearly a year, Frederick Engels went to Bremen to continue his commercial training with the firm of Heinrich Leupold, wholesale merchant and Consul for the Kingdom of Saxony.

The business-like bourgeoisie of Bremen were men of the world and so far more open to the ideas of liberalism than were the textile manufacturers of the Wupper Valley. But both were primarily concerned with securing their material profits, and more interested in the profit-yielding sale of their commodities than in the political affairs of the German people. True that pietist bigots also made mischief in Bremen, but in contrast to the Wupper Valley the pietistic party had neither sufficient power nor influence in Bremen to suppress the new, progressive ideas of the time and silence the people who heralded them.

Feudal-Prussian reaction had been restrained here both in the political and intellectual fields. Bremen was one of the four Free Towns. The press and the book trade disseminated liberal ideas–political as well as philosophical–within its walls. But Bremen was unable to compete with Hamburg where the booksellers sold more new literature than anywhere else.

Engels lived at Gottfried Treviranus' house, St.-Martini-Kirchhof 2. Treviranus was the chief pastor of St. Martin's Church.

As had been the case at home, Frederick derived no inner satisfaction from office work in Bremen. The merchant profession, which he had resisted vigorously but to no avail, by no means came up to the ideas he had had for his future. Nevertheless, he did the work assigned to him carefully and was determined to become a proficient businessman.

From his first day in Bremen onward, Engels pursued the latest German publications avidly during his leisure time. He came across writings that were unknown in Elberfeld and Barmen in the process and so became even more closely acquainted with the progressive ideas of the time.

Even though feudal reaction had managed to suppress political opposition radically after 1834, and in effect to stop its activities, it had been able neither to wipe out the liberal and democratic ideas, nor prevent the continuation and steady intensification of the anti-feudal struggle in the ideological sphere. This became particularly evident in the field of literature where an ever-broader opposition evolved. Its ranks extended from Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne, its revolutionary-democratic spokesmen, to the liberal poets and publicists of the *Junges Deutschland* movement.

Frederick Engels not only liked to read poetry; he had a pronounced poetic talent of his own, too. He immersed himself in the progressive opposition's publications and tried his own hand at writing as well. A delighted Engels informed his Barmen friends, the Graeber brothers, that he was "cultivating (. . .) the books" that would never have been allowed to go into print in Elberfeld or Barmen–"very liberal ideas (. . .), absolutely magnificent"[18].

But the 17-year-old was highly dissatisfied with his own poems. He viewed them with a very critical eye, sometimes regretting that he had ever written them at all, and doubted his poetic ability. It was then that he started to make a thorough study of Goethe. Goethe had advised young poets to acquire an all-round education and concern themselves with life, but on no account to sink into subjectivist reflections which were removed from life. Engels was all the more ready to be guided by Goethe as he had already regarded him as the ultimate literary authority when he attended the Gymnasium. Hence, Engels' urgent request to his sister Marie: "But you can fillip Mother a little every now and again, say every 2 to 3 days, that she sends me the Goethe for Christmas; I really need him badly, because one cannot read a thing without people referring to Goethe."[15]

Mindful of Goethe's admonishment, Engels read widely and thoroughly. Many of his leisure hours were spent poring over the newspapers, journals and books in which he was now able to immerse himself without fear of interruption. He often burned the midnight oil, and not infrequently he read on right through the night, motivated by the desire to step forth as a bard of liberty with rich and sterling poems.

No matter how thoroughly Engels studied literature and so penetrated more deeply into the issues of the ideological confrontation, reading never made him forget the busy bustle of life. He was anything but a bookworm. "Activity, life, youthful courage: that's just the thing!"[16] he owned. He went around with open eyes, receptive for everything beautiful and new.

Engels loved to ride on horseback. He rode out with his friends nearly every Sunday. They usually hired their horses from a dealer who lived on the outskirts of Bremen from whence they rode to the villages near by, including Grohn. Engels had become friends with the village schoolmaster and enjoyed talking with him.

Bremen, its harbour, and its surroundings also offered much that attracted the wanderer. As he had done in Barmen, Engels took long walks and went on extensive walking tours in and around Bremen. He visited ships and keenly observed the life

and doings of the people. He often went to the market where he looked at the costumes the peasant women wore, watched the dealers and carters going about their business, and made drawings of much of what he saw. The letters he wrote his friends and his sister Marie were also adorned with lively drawings and caricatures.

Engels also devoted much of his time to music. He went to the *Singakademie* and to the opera, attended performances of Mozart's music and was particularly struck by his *Magic Flute*. But he loved Beethoven best of all, and never tired of hearing his sonatas and symphonies—especially the Third and the Fifth. It was whilst he was still under the spell of Beethoven's music that he penned the following to his sister about the Fifth, the *Schicksalssymphonie:* "What a symphony that was last night! You've never heard anything like it in all your life (. . .). This desperate inner strife in the first movement, this mournful elegiac, this gentle love-lament in the *adagio*, and this mighty, youthful rejoicing of the trumpets of freedom in the third and fourth movements!"[17]

At times Engels tried his hand at composing chorales, but soon he was complaining to his sister Marie: "It is (. . .) frightfully difficult, the measure and the sharps and the chords give one a good deal of trouble."[18]

By contrast, Engels hardly had to exert himself over his extensive foreign language studies. His profession required a grasp of foreign languages, primarily the modern ones of which he had only mastered French until then. So he zealously read Dutch, English and Spanish newspapers, bought the grammars he needed and, as he informed his sister, was soon able to understand several languages. He showed his friends in Barmen the progress he made by writing them letters in which he switched from one language to another, and poetically characterized the peculiarities of each tongue.

Engels went to the office at Leupold's commercial house day in, day out. He collected the mail and copied letters conscientiously, took samples from the imported goods stored in the packing-house loft, or made up and packed export samples. He did not always find his job easy, but his profession demanded

punctuality, reliability and correctness–attributes which distinguished Engels all through his life.

At times Engels would sit in his landlord's garden during his leisure hours, enjoying his pipe and reading a book. Pastor Treviranus' family always made him welcome. Ever willing to help, Engels made himself useful even when he was asked to assist in the slaughtering of a pig, or when bottles needed sorting in the wine cellar.

Engels frequently went swimming in the Weser in his spare time. Neither coughs nor colds prevented him from taking a dip. He was especially proud of the fact that he was able to swim across the river four times at a go. None of his acquaintances matched him in this. Engels thought young people ought to steel and harden their bodies that they might be prepared for the fight against the feudal powers. That was one of the reasons why he practised fencing regularly, but of course he also enjoyed showing fight in the fencing-room and beating a haughty opponent. Engels thought that action was "the crown of life"[19]; he was himself an entirely active fellow who needed action as a means of self-confirmation as much as he needed air to breathe.

Engels really enjoyed holding his own at political debates and discussions. He often attended a circle that associated with the *Burschenschaft*. These gatherings were frequented by people who represented various political trends, and hallmarked by clashing opinions. It was here that Engels had the chance to expound his views on the political tasks of the time and acquaint the people who attended the meetings with his ideals.

Frederick Engels grappled with these selfsame problems in the poems he wrote. He called one of them *German July Days*– an allusion to the French revolution of July 1830:

The thund'ring torrent lifts the waves to towering heights,
encompassed by the mighty, roaring storm!
The wind-whipped waters surge from strength to strength,
tossing the skiff with each on-coming wave;
The blustering wind from the Rhine doth blow,
amassing the clouds in the heavens,
Shattering the oaks, whirling up the dust,
and blowing asunder the deep, deep rollers.

And I think of you in the tossing boat,
you: Germany's princes and monarchs;
The patient people once shouldered the throne,
the gilded upon which you sat,
Bore triumphant you through the native land,
and drove out the audacious conquerer.
So you became brazen and arrogant too,
you broke your word, your promise;
From France now approaches the coming storm,
and the popular masses are stirring.
And the throne rocks like the boat in the storm,
whilst in your hand the sceptre doth tremble.
My eyes rest on you, above all, Ernst August,
aflame with the courage of anger:
Foolhardily didst thou, a despot, break
the law. Hark! The tempest is raging!
Behold: a piercing eye the people raise,
the sword barely rests in the scabbard.
Say, sit you so safe on the golden throne
as I in the tossing nutshell?[20]

Young Engels longed for the dawning of those "German July Days". The life of the town often bored him and he sometimes felt "quite sentimental" as he wrote his friends in Barmen. They "are all Philistines, I am sitting (. . .) alone in the wide wilderness with my vainglorious smack of the student, without bottle-companions, without love, without jollity, with only tobacco, beer and two acquaintances who cannot drink freely."[21] He even grew a moustache as an outward sign of his rebellion against philistinism.

But his sentimental mood did not last very long. As a Rhinelander he loved the gay, convivial life and wine, and he dearly enjoyed merry, high-spirited larks, youthful jokes, mad pranks and acts of folly. Viewing this time in retrospect many decades later, he wrote that he "liked being cheeky in the wrong place and at the wrong time," but that one gradually improved in one's manners, "if one is given a good setdown every now and again and has to tell oneself that one deserved it."[22]

Twixt Religion and Science

In the spring of 1839, however, the spiritual and ideological conflicts the 18-year-old commercial apprentice had become involved in by championing the progressive ideas of the time cast ever-longer shadows on his many-faceted sporting, cultural and linguistic pastimes. "I cannot sleep at night for all the ideas of the century," he wrote his friends. And: "I am gripped by the spirit of freedom every time I stand at the post and see the Prussian coat of arms; every time I see a paper I start hunting for the progress freedom has made; it creeps into my poems and derides the obscurants in their cowls and ermine furs."[20]

Prussia and its monarch, Frederick William III, were in the van of political and intellectual reaction. The Prussian king, who was also the advowee paramount of his country, opposed all progress vigorously. As the faithful guardian of the nobility's

interests, he strove to place the Church in the service of reaction. He used the judiciary, and even the military, ruthlessly against religious opponents, and punished recalcitrant ministers by deposing them or placing them under arrest. The Prussian regime tried to check progress in every sphere. It tried to subordinate science to religion and reason to bigotry. The Prussian ruling class, the Junkers, also hoped to perpetuate their power by these means.

Frederick Engels' doubts as to whether the religious creed was really correct had re-erupted since his acquaintanceship with the political and ideological struggle against feudal reaction. Professing Siegfried, Tell and Faust defiantly no longer was the point in issue as it had been in his father's house. The thing now was to stand up bravely for freedom, and that meant standing up for the abolition both of the nobility's rule and the political and intellectual bondage of the people. Engels was ready to do battle, but this battle was irreconcilable with the religious views he had held until then. Neither did it fit in with them, nor could these views give rhyme or reason for the battle.

The young man passed through weeks of anguish. "I pray daily," he wrote his school friends, "indeed, well-nigh all day for truth; did so as soon as I began doubting, but for all that I cannot revert to your faith (...). I am seeking the truth wherever I may hope to find but a trace of it, and yet I cannot recognize your truth as the eternal one."[21]

Free from the restrictions his family and surroundings had once imposed on his thinking and feelings, Frederick Engels now found himself unable to hold his peace any more, to keep his rejection of pietism to himself any longer. Besides, he was never given to making a secret of his convictions. Once he had acquired a certain knowledge he always championed it consistently and most conscientiously.

It was still the spring of 1839 when Engels put pen to paper to settle accounts with pietism back home. He was aware that this act was a blow against the religious ideology in general and thus a service rendered to the cause of progress.

The article, entitled *Briefe aus dem Wuppertal*, appeared in Hamburg's *Telegraph für Deutschland* in March and April of

1839. In it, Engels gave a well-balanced and vivid account of how religious mysticism had penetrated every sector of life in the Wupper Valley and was smothering the fresh, vigorous life of the people. He pilloried the orthodox nature of pietism and demonstrated its irrationality. However, the young man did not restrict his criticism to pietism. He pointed to the close link prevailing between the pietistic way of life and social distress. He felt impelled by what he had himself experienced to unmask the social conditions that were incompatible with the dignity of man, and to make the factory owners responsible for the lot of the labouring classes.

An outraged Engels indicted the inhumaneness of the propertied classes: "Terrible distress is prevalent amongst the lower classes, particularly the factory hands, of the Wupper Valley. Syphilitic diseases and chest complaints prevail to a well-nigh incredible extent. In Elberfeld alone 1,200 out of 2,500 schoolable children are kept away from lessons, and grow up in the factories just so that the factory owner need not pay the adult, whose place they fill, double the wage he pays the child. However, the rich factory owners have got an obliging conscience, and letting a child go more or less to rack and ruin will not send a pietistic soul to hell, particularly if he goes to church twice every Sunday. For it is a matter of course that amongst the factory owners the pietists treat their workers worst of all, reduce their wages by all possible means and under the pretext of depriving them of the opportunity to drink. Indeed, at clerical elections they are always the first to bribe their hands."[25]

Even though the 18-year-old had not yet discerned the real causes of capitalist exploitation in his article, his partisanship rested on a profound and genuine feeling of responsibility vis-à-vis the lot of the working people. Their sufferings grieved Engels who was anything but a prosaic, cold, matter-of-fact person. The clarity and consistency of his intellect arose from his sense of humanistic responsibility, and were borne by those genuine feelings without which cognition is impossible. Reason and feeling were just as perfect a whole with him as were theoretical knowledge and practical partisanship. They rooted in his basic democratic, humanistic attitude, an attitude incompatible

with the egoistic, hypocritical and unscrupulous dealings of the bourgeoisie.

Engels' article appeared anonymously and sparked off a "frantic uproar"[26]. The *Telegraph* was sold out within a matter of minutes. The *Elberfelder Zeitung* released two statements which rejected Engels' indictment, defended the factory owners' unsocial machinations, and accused the author of being unfamiliar with, and distorting, the obtaining conditions. Engels retorted by calling on the paper to furnish him with proof of just one of the alleged "abundance of falsehoods", and reaffirmed his characterization of the state of things in the Wupper Valley.

Although Engels had settled accounts firmly and sharply with pietism, he was still embroiled in religious doubts and had not yet dealt with the Christian faith in principle.

"To be sure, you are lying as snugly in your faith as in a warm bed and know nothing of the struggle we need to endure, if we people are to decide whether God is or is not God," he wrote his friend Friedrich Graeber. "You have not felt the pressure of the burden one feels along with the first doubts, the burden of the old faith; when one must decide for oneself: pro or contra, to go on carrying it or to shake it off."[27]

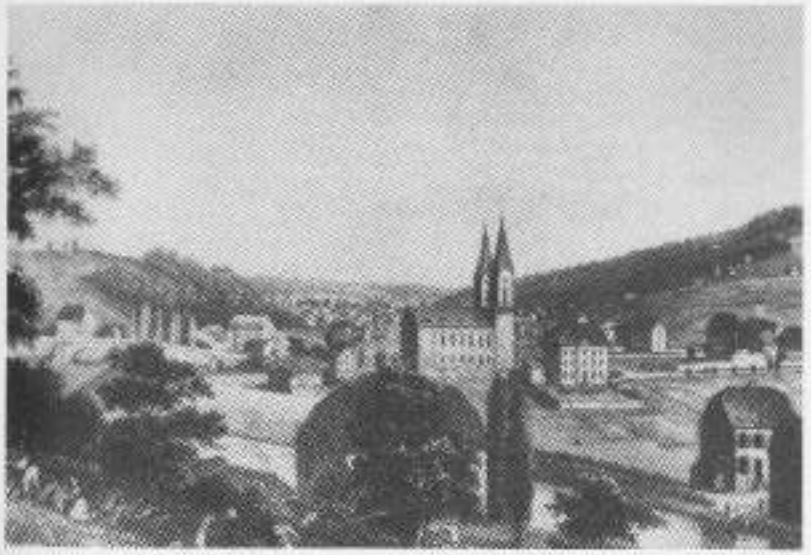
Engels finally found an answer to the question as to whether the God of the Bible existed or not in the progressive philosophy that was paving the way for the political revolution in Germany as it had in France. The feudal system had to be shorn of its ideological and religious trimmings, and stripped of its vindications, ere it could be done away with. Likewise, the people had to be made aware of the fact that the religious ideology of the time was serving the Junkers' class interests and so contradicting their own political interests and objectives. The ideological battle with the dominant religion was one form of political struggle against the feudal class and paved the way for a bourgeois transformation of Germany.

Immanuel Kant had ushered in the philosophical revolution in Germany. Johann Gottlieb Fichte carried on this revolution which then found a position and an expression which corresponded to the role of the German bourgeoisie in Hegel's philosophy. The most important achievement of Hegel's philosophy was his

dialectics. Hegel was the first in the history of philosophical thought to formulate the general laws of dialectics, investigate its most important categories, and represent them. Hegel had grasped the entire natural, historic and intellectual world as a process, i. e., as being in a perpetual state of motion, change, transformation and development. He had tried to prove the internal connection obtaining in this motion and development. But Hegel was an objective idealist. He conceived the creator of this movement, and of the real material world in general, as being an "Absolute Idea". Hence, he only recognized spiritual motion, the movement of the idea which moves history and leads it on from the lower to the higher. In Hegel's opinion, the idea acted like an iron law, forcing the present to pass away and the future to come into being. It unfolds into reality in the course of its development, says Hegel, alienates itself, and works its way through reality in order finally to arrive at an awareness of itself. Thus, as Hegel would have it, development reached its highest expression and its end; logically with the system under which the idea achieved self-consciousness, i. e., the system under which, and the time in which, Hegel himself lived.

Hegel's attempt to trace a continuous line of development, and a general law, in every sphere of both the history of man and natural history with the help of dialectics was a great, historic achievement. But Hegel's philosophy laboured under a fundamental contradiction: the contradiction between his system and his method. Whereas Hegel's dialectics called for a never-ending development, his system put an end to this development and brought it to a halt in Hegel's lifetime. His dialectics was revolutionary but his system conservative. Hence, people who attached prime importance to Hegel's system could be conservative both in politics and religion, and vindicate the prevailing relationships as well. On the other hand, people who regarded the dialectical method as the main thing could and, indeed, had to, oppose the state of affairs that prevailed in the ideological and political spheres in Prussia.

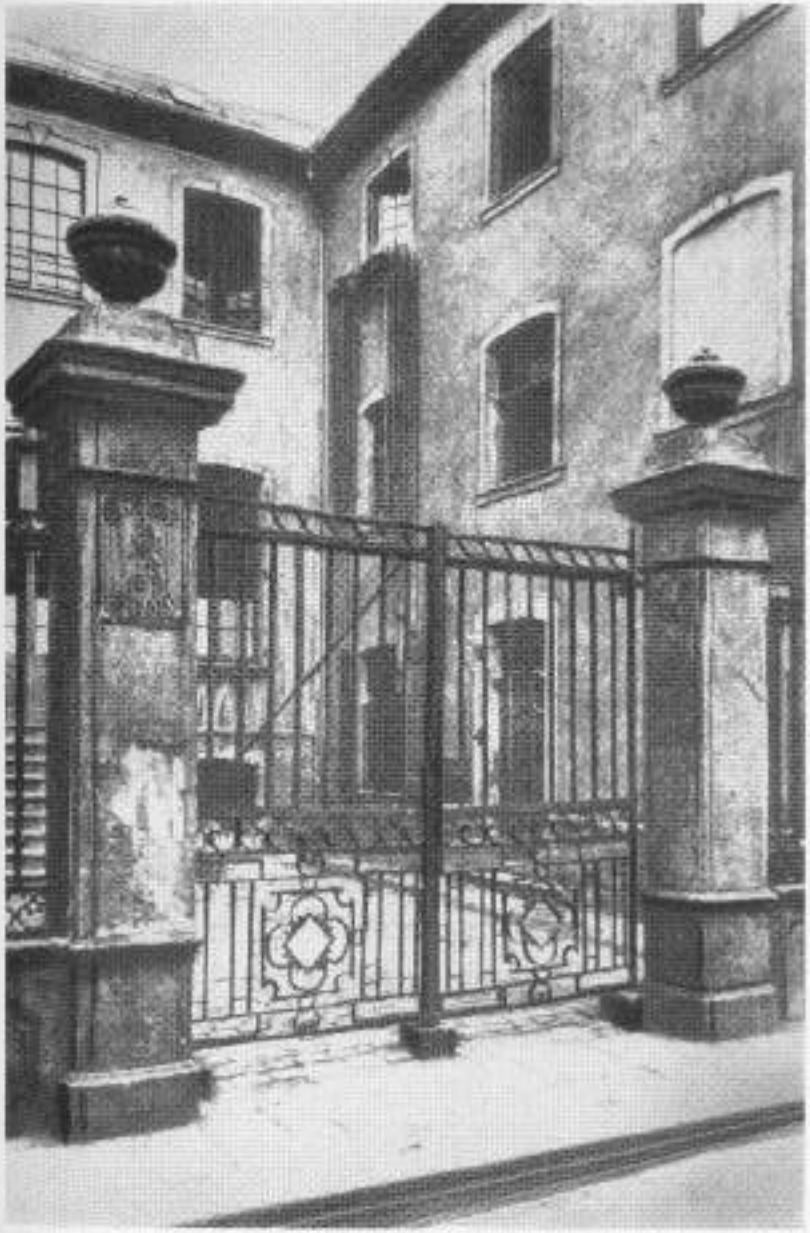
In the mid-thirties, after Hegel's death, David Friedrich Strauss started to build up this philosophical opposition with his book *The Life of Jesus*. His work was instrumental in estab-



Lower Barmen in 1832



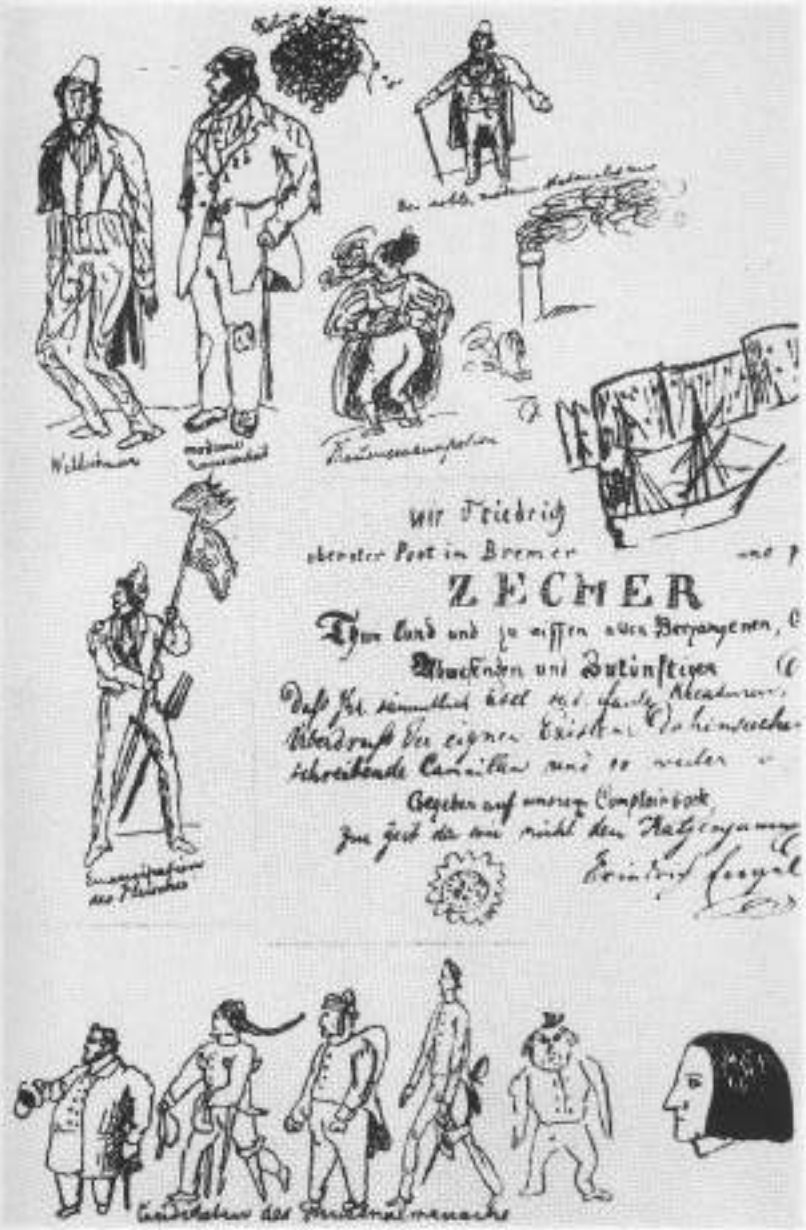
The house where Frederick Engels was born in Barmen



The Gymnasium at Elberfeld



Frederick Engels at the age of 19



Caricatures Frederick Engels drew on letters he wrote in his youth



Berlin University in about 1840



Ludwig Feuerbach



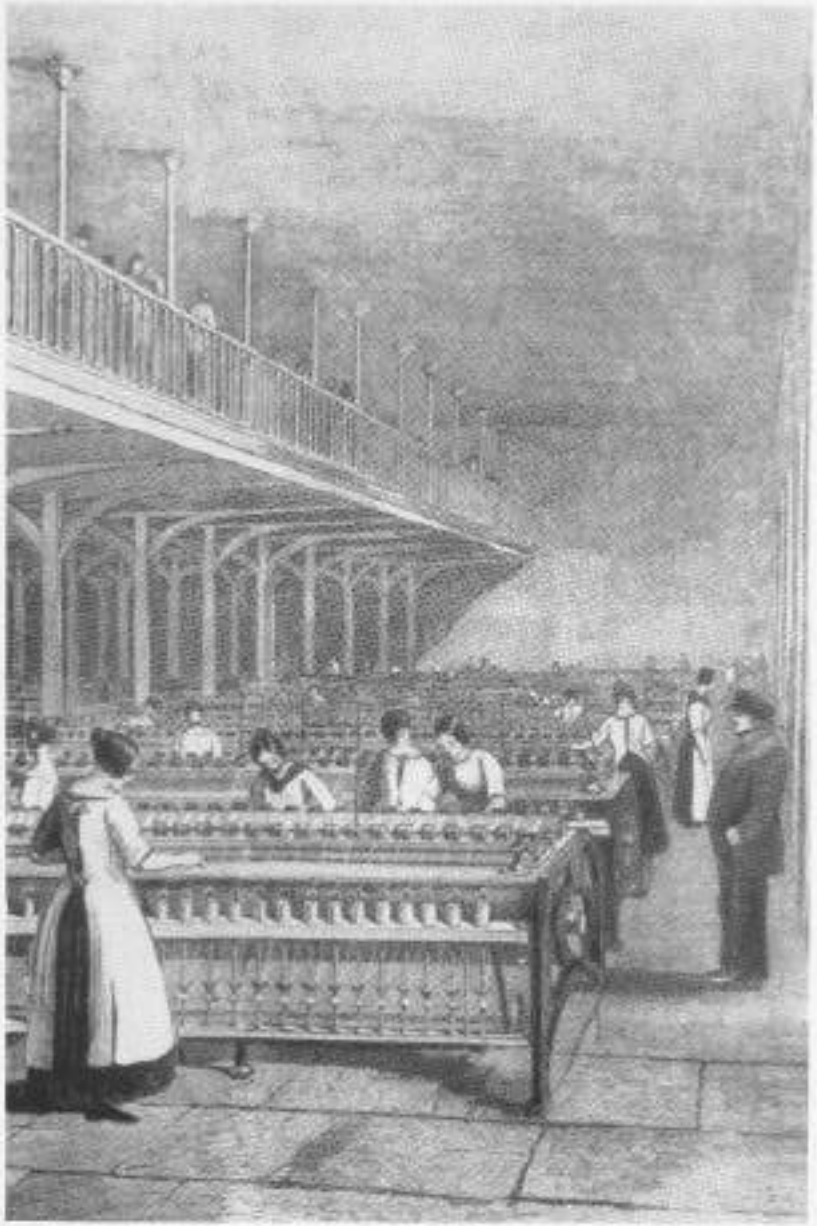
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel



David Ricardo



Robert Owen



Inside an English cotton mill in about 1850

lishing left and right wings amongst Hegel's followers. The left, the Young Hegelians, set out from Hegel's dialectics, opposed the reconciliation of religion and philosophy, and countered the claim both religion and the Prussian state laid to the absolute truth. The right wing defended Hegel's system and religion, and joined the representatives of Christian orthodoxy in combating the Young Hegelians.

Strauss' concepts helped the 18-year-old Engels to find his way in his altercation with religion. He wrote his friend in Barmen that Strauss had provided him with "arms, a shield and a helmet; I am secure now. Just come this way and I shall give you such a beating for all your theology that you will not know where best to flee. Yes, Guillermo, *jacta est alea* (William, the die is cast); I am a Straussian; I, a wretched poet, have crept under the wings of the brilliant David Friedrich Strauss."[28]

Thus armed, Engels started to deal thoroughly with the religious creed. The cardinal question that moved him was: Can the biblical faith be accommodated to reason, philosophy and science?

The question was the subject of heated dispute in Engels' correspondence with Friedrich and Wilhelm Graeber, and it was in the course of this altercation that he finally found a plain answer. The friends also debated the issue of literal belief in the Bible, a problem that had troubled Engels ever since his early youth when he had heard it proclaimed from the pulpit that God had "even put an especially profound construction upon every word"[29]. He remonstrated with his friends that *Christi ipissima verba* (Christ's very words) upon which the orthodox are presuming read differently in each of the Gospels, to say nothing of the Old Testament."[30] And he soon qualified this by adding that "all biblicism is shattered when a contradiction obtains."[31] Nowhere could proof be found for a literal belief in the Bible and God's immediate influence. The contradictions one came across everywhere were deep and genuine, and a person who stopped short of them and boasted of his faith had "no reason whatsoever for his faith. True that feeling may confirm, but it certainly cannot substantiate. That would be the same as wanting to use the ears for smelling."[32] The religious creed, wrote Engels, was

unable to provide conclusive arguments. It was not well-founded, full of contradictions, illogical, and generally incompatible with both reason and science.

"Who empowers us," asked Engels, "to believe blindly in the Bible? Only the authority of those who did so before us. (. . .) The Bible, however, is made up of many pieces by many authors, many of whom do not even *themselves lay claim* to divinity. And we are to believe them, go against our intelligence, only because our parents tell us to?"[33]

These and all the other questions related to the religious world outlook confronted Engels with the alternative decision of either remaining faithful to his hitherto belief and opposing reason, or following philosophy, science and his political convictions, breaking with religion, and disavowing both the Bible and its God. He had the alternative of choosing between blind belief and progressive reason, and after lengthy struggles he opted for reason. "What science (. . .) rejects," he vowed, "shall no longer obtain in life either."[34] Elsewhere he wrote: "I am getting myself into real trouble (. . .), but much as I would like to, I cannot repress the things that obtrude themselves convincingly upon my mind."[35]

The above is plainly indicative of Engels' consistent attitude, his partisan profession of the knowledge he gained from experience and the sciences. He refused to acquiesce in superficial knowledge. Cognition and practical partisanship were for him a perfect whole.

Released from his religious conflicts, Engels quickly lost interest in debating theological issues with his friends. He abandoned Strauss for Hegel's philosophy. He took after the Young Hegelians in that he seized Hegel's conception of development and made his historical-dialectical mode of thought and observation his own. Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* "expressed" his "own sentiments exactly"[36]. For weeks on end Engels stayed at home in the evening and read Hegel. He was so enthusiastic about Hegel's dialectics that he made understanding and applying them the yardstick for the degree in which a person had grasped the time and was prepared to fight for progress. The young man, now 19, launched forthwith into an extensive study of philosophy in his leisure time, and philosophy became the "soul of all science"[37] for him. He explored the ideas expounded by Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and familiarized himself with the concepts of Socrates, Plato and Baruch Spinoza. But to his mind Hegel always took precedence over them.

On the other hand Engels never dreamed of adhering dogmatically to Hegel. For him, the road to the future lay neither in abandoning philosophy nor in turning to it to the exclusion of everything else. Neither possibility guaranteed progress in his opinion. The only practicable road for him was turning to life itself, was combining life with philosophy. Engels outlined his point of view when he wrote that he hoped for a "mediation of science and life, of philosophy and the modern trends of Börne and Hegel."[38] Revolutionary democratism and Hegelian dialectics, politics and philosophy—in the fight against feudal reaction Engels set all his hopes in the unity of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. But establishing this unity organically on the idealistic platform was impossible. Years were to pass before Engels' strivings materialized, namely when, standing at the side of the working class, he furnished a precise, scientific, i. e., dialectical-materialist, substantiation for the unity of theory and practice, and consistently put this unity into effect.

Militant Writings against Aristocratic Rule

Engels was still convinced that he would best be able to serve progress in the ranks of the Young Hegelians as a poet and publicist. Hence, whilst coming to ideological grips with religion, he by no means only theorized on theological subjects, but also pursued the latest historical, philosophical and literary publications.

He plunged into the fray as an adherent of Hegel's dialectical theory of development. He wrote many poems and a great deal of prose, including a comedy and a love story, as well as two essays: *Die deutschen Volksbücher* and *Karl Beck*. The *Telegraph für Deutschland*, Hamburg, printed them in November and December of 1839. Engels was not yet writing under his own name. He had them printed as anonymous contributions at first, and chose a pen-name later on: Friedrich Oswald.

With the essays that appeared in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* Engels started playing an active part in the ideological confrontations of his time—as Friedrich Oswald—in late 1839. He had toppled the biblical God from his throne. What he now wanted was to make public that his wordly representatives, the German kings and princes, had to be dethroned as well—and by force. In mid-1839 he wrote his friend Wilhelm Graeber: "Gentleness can accomplish nothing in this instance. These dwarfs—servility, the aristocratic lot, censorship—must be driven out by the sword."[59] The young man was firmly convinced that the day would dawn when "the rousing hunting-horn awaits the hunter to blow it and sound the chase on despots," when "the burning castles blaze high on the hills, thrones totter, and altars tremble," and no one would be able to resist this storm.[59]

In Germany, however, the day when Engels would be able to wield the sword to free the people from feudal tyranny was, albeit not so very distant, not yet come. In order that he might not be inactive, Engels busied himself as a "carrier of banned books into the Prussian lands: 4 copies of Börne's *Franzosenfresser*, 6 volumes of his *Briefe aus Paris*, 5 copies of Venedey's most strictly banned *Preussen und Preussentum*."[61] For the time being, however, he was forced mainly to resort to the pen, to the polished word, to unmask the despotism of feudal reaction and its ideological spokesmen, and to arouse the people.

Engels immersed himself above all in Heine's and Börne's writings to arm himself for battle. He thought their style contained what he himself was striving to achieve: "a compact brevity and terseness which strikes home in a word, alternating with an epic, peaceful depiction; plain language alternating with shimmering pictures and sparks of brilliant wit."[62]

Young Engels was looking for a great idea, a gripping plot for a novelette. He planned to link up and correlate with Jan Hus the "three types of divined intellectual freedom"—Faust, the Wandering Jew and the wild huntsman—and let the "three demons do as they like" in these poetic settings: "I want (. . .) to demonstrate the modern presentiments that made themselves manifest in the Middle Ages; I want to uncover the spirits who were under the hard crust of the earth, knocking to be released,

buried under the foundations of the churches and dungeons."[43] Inspired by the spirit of revolution and a sense of profound humanistic responsibility for the German people, Engels was prepared to place the whole of his life in the service of the struggle for human progress. Later on, this militant humanism led him to the side of the working class.

Whereas sober judgement replaced Engels' initial enthusiasm for the *Junges Deutschland* movement, which cooled off noticeably in the course of 1839, he was more and more entraptured by Ludwig Börne who fascinated him as "the giant fighter for freedom and right"[44]. However, Engels' sincere appreciation of Börne and modern literature in general by no means impaired his strong affinity for the ideas expounded by the classic German writers. Time and again he turned to Goethe and Schiller, and Lessing too, spoke of how deeply he revered their works, and derived many ideas from their writings. Engels looked upon Lessing, Schiller and, above all, Goethe as unexcelled paragons of literary creation. He used their works to plumb the depths of the ideas contained in the modern literature of his time and so separate the chaff of the mediocre and inferior from the wheat of the important achievements.

Young Engels had something in the nature of a pupil-teacher relationship with Goethe, and whilst he hardly ever hesitated to pass judgement he was very cautious where Goethe was concerned. He looked up to him, admiring his greatness. The thing he missed in Goethe's mature mastership was an anticipation of the new time that commenced with the French Revolution. It was in this respect only that he gave Schiller precedence over him. Engels was enthusiastic about Schiller's "youthful high-spiritedness" and even more so about his "untrammeled imagination" and "ardent spirit of liberty"[45].

However, Engels did not restrict his reading to the great poets of classic German literature. The young man was very interested in all the literary and artistic genres that were rooted in the life of the people and their art. He roamed Bremen's bookstores at regular intervals and collected chap-books, folksongs, woodcuts and national legends. In his correspondence with his friends he frequently referred to the chap-books and defended the depth

and poetry of popular writings. Time and again he came across symbols in the national legends and chap-books which he used to demonstrate what he had recognized as the need of the time: the struggle against philistinism and feudal reaction. He made Siegfried the hero of his tragi-comedy, *Siegfried the Invulnerable*, and let him triumph over narrow-mindedness as he had erstwhile triumphed over the dragon in the legend.

An extended journey brought Engels to Siegfried's native ground, to Xanten on the Lower Rhine, in the summer of 1840. Originally he had planned to go to Denmark and tour Holstein, Jutland, Zealand and Rügen, but he changed his mind, travelled across Westphalia to the Rhine where he boarded a steamer in Cologne and sailed down the river to Rotterdam. He then crossed the Channel, disembarked in England, stopped over in London, and proceeded by train to Liverpool.

Engels stayed at Xanten longer than elsewhere, for his maternal grandmother lived there. The ascending lines of Xanten's Gothic Cathedral left a deep impression on him. He climbed a sandy hill ust outside the town–the one the legend names as the site of Siegfried's castle. "What is it," he asked himself, "that grips us so powerfully in the Siegfried Saga?" And he answered himself: "Siegfried is the representative of German youth. (...) We all feel the same impulsive yearning to achieve great things, the same defiance of the conventional, (...) from the bottom of our hearts do we abhor never-ending pondering, the Philistine fear of the bold deed. We want to go out into the free world; we want to knock down the barriers of circumspection and fight for the crown of life, for action. The Philistines have also provided ogres and dragons, namely in the Church and State sector. (...) One puts us in prisons, called schools, and when we are released from discipline we fall into the arms of the century's god, the police. Police when one speaks, police when one walks, rides on horseback or travels by any sort of conveyance; passports, permits of residence and customs papers–may the devil slay the ogres and dragons!"[46]

It was in this sense that Engels defined the part and tasks of the German chap-books in the pertinent article he wrote in late 1839: *Die deutschen Volksbücher*. He urged that "the chap-

book should (. . .) serve the lesser-educated" and show them "the truth and rationality" of the struggle against the aristocracy and religious obscurantism, "but on no account encourage fawning, grovelling to the nobility, and pietism."[47] This was the reason why the 19-year-old protested hotly at the way the chap-books were then being selected and the manner in which they were edited. They were being used to teach the people humility and servility, he said, and then went on to expound that the important thing was just the opposite: making the people, both countrymen and artisans, "aware of their strength, their right, their liberty; arousing their courage, their patriotism."[48] A chap-book that did not come up to these standards would be unable to do justice to the tasks incumbent upon it as a book of the people.

Engels countered all the authorities of his time with a quite extraordinary power of judgement. He measured them up against what they had done for the German people and their advancement. In reviewing other literary genres, he adopted the selfsame method he had employed to assess the ideological content, partisan nature and function of the chap-books. He set out from the contemporary political requirements and transferred his political principles to the other genres of literature. He regarded literature as an ideological weapon of the first order. To his mind it had to serve the interests of the people. He thought its job consisted in arousing the people and plainly indicating to them their enemies, as well as the righteousness of their struggle against reaction.

Young Engels tried to meet these high demands in the articles he wrote. He admitted his profound hatred of the feudal rulers in a letter he wrote his schoolmate Friedrich Graeber. In it, he sentenced nearly every prince to death for his crimes, and passed the same sentence on the Prussian king of whom he wrote: "I hate him, hate him unto death; and would I not despise him so, this shit-sack, I'd hate him even more."[49]

As a revolutionary democrat by conviction, Engels believed in the revolutionary vitality of the people. For him the people was the decisive force in the fight against feudal reaction, but he realized that it would have to rely on its own strength and

vigour in order to be able to force its due rights out of the princes. In Engels' opinion, this goal could only be reached by revolutionary struggle and not by liberal supplications.

Hence, Engels expected "something good only of the prince who has been soundly boxed on the ears by the people, and whose palace windows have been shattered by the stones thrown by the revolution."[50] The "stones thrown by the revolution"—this would be the verdict of the people, the fate in store for the princes. Engels was sure that the way could only be paved for historic progress by this means. The ideas of the revolution and of popular struggle had now become the foundation of his political views, the centre-piece of his revolutionary democratism.

Accordingly, Engels now described the people as a revolutionary force in his articles. He called upon it to act against suppression and subjugation, and showed real compassion for its distress and arduous labour. The young man had seen the boundless exploitation of the emergent modern factory proletariat, had witnessed the sufferings of the factory hand and the terrible poverty of the weavers and their children in the Wupper Valley. His acquaintances numbered the ill-treated apprentice and the harassed craftsman; he knew of the peasant's restless slumbers and of his hard day's work. The people, Engels said, "to whom one does not doff one's cap, whose habits are termed common here and uncivilized there, the plebs who have nothing," is the "best thing (. . .) a king can have in his kingdom."[51]

The young man's heart beat for the labouring classes of the nation. Respect for their work and human qualities, confidence in their attributes and abilities, and a sense of responsibility for their fate, all became basic features of Engels' personality, of his work and struggle in general. The object of the youth's humanism, which had been formed by the spirit of the greatest thinkers and poets—Hegel and Rousseau, Shakespeare and Cervantes, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe, and imprinted by what he had experienced in the Wupper Valley, was the working people, progress, and the perfecting of human life.

Engels longed for conditions under which free men might live as equals, needing to worry about neither health, food nor domicile. The order he aspired after was one where the ship no

longer carried goods "to enrich the individual", as he put it in his poem *Ein Abend*, no longer served "the greedy merchant", but brought the seed "from which springs up human happiness"[52].

Engels tirelessly pilloried the feudal lords as the greatest foes of this human happiness. In his article *Ernst Moritz Arndt*, dated early 1841, he also opposed all the privileges of the feudal class vigorously. He wrote that dispossessing the nobility of its political power was not enough. It needed also to be deprived of all of its privileges at the same time. He added that this would have to run parallel with the abolition of the semi-feudal economy and the paving of the way for historic developments. Every attempt at opposing progress, whether in literature or politics, needed to be combated vigorously. Engels' slogan read: "No estates, but definitely one big, unified, equal nation of citizens!"[53]

It was with this warning cry to fight for a united, indivisible, bourgeois national state that Engels appealed to all progressive forces to lead the German people out of its national impotence. Yet even as a young man, Engels already included recognition of the achievements and progressive acts of other nations in his concept of national greatness. Hence, he set himself against the Teutomaniacs who would have it believed that "the whole world was created for the sake of the Germans, that the Germans had long since reached the pinnacle of development."[54] Calling for patriotic action always needed to be combined with a call for understanding amongst the peoples, in Engels' opinion.

Engels left Bremen at the end of March, 1841. He had lived there for two-and-a-half years. He fought a duel shortly before his departure, and wrote his friend: "The first chap swallowed his words, namely the insult he threw in my teeth, after I had boxed his ears, and that box on the ears is still unatoned for; I fought a duel with the second yesterday and brought off a capital cut on his forehead, downward stroke right and proper, an excellent prime."[55]

Hopeful that the morning light of freedom would soon shine on Germany, the 20-year-old returned to Barmen. The poem *Nachtfahrt* he published around this time tells of his thoughts and expectations:

Dark is the night and I alone. My stage
Coach travels through a well-known German land
Where many a manly heart's aflame with rage,
Brave hearts struck down by Power's mighty hand,

With rage that Freedom, won by painful toil
And unabating wake, was driven out
To be the target now of hateful coil,
Ridiculed and besmirched by venal lout.

Dense are the mists that shroud both field and heath;
Seldom the gust that through the poplars blows,
Which, startled, rouse themselves from their deep sleep
Only to settle swiftly in repose.

Clear though the sky! Hanging above the town
To which I hasten, like Damocles' sword,
Is the sharp sickle of the brilliant moon–
Far-reaching, swift to strike is the King's word.

Barking dogs surround the coach, leap at me.
Are they embittered, kindred of and sent
By Prussia's hired scribes because my free
Spirit has lit upon their putrid scent?

But what care I? In cushions deep I dream
The Future, bold and free. Hear my warning:
Be not confused! Nightmares we always deem
The worst at the approach of morning!

And lo: the morning has indeed drawn near;
Its star burns brightly, heralding the day.
Good folk the bells of freedom rouse. No fear:
They ring in Peace, sound not another fray!

The Tree of Knowledge's arm-like roots disperse
And crush the remnants of this rotting time;
Its branches deck the joyous universe
With golden blooms that evermore will shine.

Asleep fall I to waken in the morning
And see the blessed earth all bathed in light.
Before my *Stüve's* town, radiant and laughing,
The town of Freedom, laved in the morning bright.[56]

Between Barracks and University

In late September of 1841, Frederick Engels left Barmen again for Berlin where he was due to be conscripted for military service.

The young man had found "everything the same"[37] at home. He buried himself in his books, and industriously learned foreign languages, chiefly Italian. He put in some occasional fencing practice with his brothers, called on friends and acquaintances, and went on several extended walking tours. He wrote Marie, his favourite sister who was in Mannheim at the time, that life was pretty dull.

A journey Engels made to Lombardy in the summer swept him out of this everyday monotony. He travelled via Basle and Zurich to Milan. The trip was all the more opportune for the young man as it entailed fresh experiences and impressions which let him get over an unhappy love affair quickly. Engels

stopped off at Basle and Zurich. He did not want to miss seeing the town which had refused David Friedrich Strauss a professorship. One-and-a-half hours' hard walking brought him to the top of the Utli Mountain where he admired the magnificent panorama of the Lake of Zurich. It was here that "the several griefs and sufferings (...) emerged from the inner soul, but only to merge with the splendour of Nature and dissolve in mild reconciliation. (...) And which grief has a greater right to unbosom itself to beautiful Nature than the noblest, the most sublime of all personal sufferings, the afflictions of love?"[38]

Back home from Lombardy again, Engels sought refuge in his books once more. He was anything but depressed when the time came for him to depart for Berlin since he found the Barmen milieu monotonous and cramping. An attempt to be exempted from military service failed. He had been classified as a one-year volunteer on the grounds of his school-leaving report and so he now had to serve for a year with the Royal Prussian Guards Artillery Regiment on Foot, 12th Company. The company's barracks stood in the Kupfergraben and, as the Frederick Engels Barracks, still exists today.

Engels looked for private lodgings after he had served six weeks of his time. Army regulations provided that one-year volunteers were so entitled. He moved into a first-floor room at 56, Dorotheenstrasse, not far from his barracks.

Engels was by no means delighted at having to serve in the army of the state whose monarchy and caste of Junkers he so passionately hated. He comforted himself with the hope that he would one day be able to use the military knowledge he was having to acquire in the fight for the people's freedom. But he used every chance he could to shirk Prussian drill on the training ground and get out of the monthly church attendance.

Berlin, with its over 300,000 inhabitants, its many sights and numerous cultural facilities, compensated Engels amply for many a restriction he had to accept inside the barracks gates. Berlin, he found, differed from Barmen and Bremen in that intellectual life was highly developed. The city was an arena where the parties of progress and feudal reaction faced each other in direct confrontation and settled their controversies in

the open. Engels was soon able to form a vivid picture of these parties and their adherents with or against whom he had already sided up in Bremen.

But Berlin was also the shield of Prussian reaction. Frederick William IV had mounted the throne in 1840–whereupon the Prussian bourgeoisie had again put in its claims. Desirous of securing its economic interests, it wanted to be given a decisive share in political power, particularly in the administration of the state and its legislation. The king, however, rejected these demands and a fresh wave of anti-feudal opposition began to sweep the land. But this time it was not to be suppressed as it had been in 1830: the economic van of the bourgeoisie, the industrialists and the bankers, was now at the head of the bourgeois movement. Their opposition activities effected a swing in the confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. Faced with these growing class antagonisms, feudal reaction resorted to ruthless measures and left nothing undone to suppress the ever-stronger liberal and democratic opposition.

The university of Berlin was an "arena of intellectual struggle"[29]. Its academic staff numbered representatives of all the ideological movements. Not infrequently they were at heated feud with one another. Hegel's doctrine still dominated the university even though he had died some ten years previously. His teachings also constituted the focal point of the polemics Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling joined in November 1841. The philosopher took up the cudgels against Hegel and his philosophy on behalf of Prussian reaction with a course of lectures.

Schelling's appearance was eagerly awaited. He had played a progressive part with his dialectical philosophy of nature at the beginning of the century, and had given not only Hegel but the naturalists of his day many an intellectual stimulus. But he had leaned towards Christian orthodoxy in an ever-greater degree with the victory of the Restoration, and had devoted himself to its philosophical vindication. Thus, its spokesmen were now able to set all their hopes on Schelling. They expected him to defeat the Young Hegelians in their own domain, that of philosophy, and to reduce the atheists to silence within a short space of time.

Engels attended Schelling's first lecture on *The Philosophy of the Revelation* in order to witness this commencing battle. It was held in the No. 6 Lecture Hall of the University of Berlin on 15 November 1841. Nearly 400 people, all well-versed in Hegel's philosophy, were gathered in the room: interessees from all over Germany and from foreign parts as well. But Schelling failed to come up to the expectations of most of his hearers. As was to be expected, he went down well only with the orthodox. The conservative Hegelians rejected him on account of his mystic philosophy of the revelation, and the Young Hegelians were his declared enemies because he repudiated the equally rational and necessary nature of historic progress and vindicated, indeed wrapped up in mystery, the Christian religion.

Engels opposed Schelling's concepts down to the ground. Only 21 at the time, he placed himself in the van of the Young Hegelian opposition and published valuable writings against Schelling. Engels' first retort, *Schelling über Hegel*, appeared in mid-December of 1841, only four weeks after Schelling's lecture. He signed this piece of work with his pen-name: Friedrich Oswald. Two pamphlets, both anonymous, followed in the spring of 1842: *Schelling und die Offenbarung* and *Schelling, der Philosoph in Christo*.

Frederick Engels attacked Schelling fiercely. He was outraged that Schelling had belittled Hegel's significance from the very onset just for the sake of personal appearances. The young man wrote that Schelling could "least demand calmness and coolness" of him "for I stood up for a dead man, and the fighter is well entitled to a little passion. He who draws his sword in cold blood is rarely very enthusiastic about the cause he champions."[30]

Engels sharply countered Schelling's attempt at vindicating the Christian religion, and defended Hegel's dialectics in this spirit. He commented on Schelling's endeavours to revise Hegel's dialectics sarcastically. He held that Schelling was caricaturing dialectics, displaying a thorough misconception, and distorting dialectics in a thoughtless manner.

Engels proved himself the superior contestant he had already shown himself to be in defending the dialectial nature of development, its rationality and necessity, when he disproved

Schelling's vindication of Christianity, the Holy Trinity, Christian mythology and the revelation. He exposed Schelling's philosophy as a relapse into scholasticism and mysticism, as an attempt once more to reduce philosophy to the position of "theology's maid"[91], and to proclaim the Christian religion as the absolute and ultimate truth.

The Young Hegelians welcomed Engels' determined fight against Schelling enthusiastically. It also attracted a large measure of attention in the philosophical world and the progressive press. The reaction of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, Berlin, indicated that Engels' polemic treatise was not without effect, that it had touched the orthodox party on the raw. The paper raised an outcry about the Young Hegelian "proclamation of revolution and the autonomy of man in opposition to the Lord". In its eyes, Engels' pamphlet was "the goal set by the latest Jacobins"[92] who wanted to bring the revolution down upon Germany as well.

Engels had got into touch with the Young Hegelians soon after his arrival in Berlin, and provided that he was not busy writing an article, or going to either a play or a concert (where on one occasion he heard Liszt perform) he usually spent his leisure hours with them. They frequently met in the Alte Post, a wine-tavern in the Poststrasse, and here Engels made the acquaintance of Max Stirner, the Bauer brothers–Bruno and Edgar, Eduard Meyen, Karl Friedrich Köppen and Ludwig Buhl and spent many a gay and boisterous hour in their company. On one of these occasions Engels sampled a Silesian wine which, he informed his 18-year-old sister in a witty letter, "cannot be casked in barrels because it gnaws them to pieces."[93]

The young man fancied wine no less than his favourite homely Rhenish dishes. A certain restaurant in Berlin specialized in serving this fare. To Engels' delight sauerkraut, pork and his beloved potato soup were all on the menu, and diners were given "pot-cake (...) and a mug of coffee"[94] on the house every Saturday.

A handsome young spaniel usually accompanied Engels during his latter months in Berlin. He was called Namenloser (the nameless one) and a pronounced gift for carousing was his

distinguishing feature. When Engels sat in a public house in the evening the dog either got his master to give him his share of drink or made the rounds, begging wee drops off one and all. True that Namenloser never managed to learn any tricks, but he had other talents and his master got a great deal of fun out of him by training them. "There is one thing I have taught him," Engels informed his sister. "When I say: 'Namenloser, (...) that's an aristocrat!' he goes into an absolute frenzy and growls horribly at the man I'm pointing at."[95]

Engels also worked hard at his studies in Berlin in order that he might be well-armed for the fight against feudal-aristocratic reaction. He read far into the night and frequently sat in at university lectures. He attended the lectures held by the Hegelians, the theologians and philosophers, as well as lectures on literature, as often as possible.

A facetious letter to his sister Marie tells us that he made "an imposing effect"[96] in his blue uniform. This uniform had a black collar which was adorned with two wide yellow stripes, black facings–again embellished with yellow stripes–,coat-tails lined in red, and shoulder-straps complete with white edgings. At times he even attended lectures in this apparel.

After Engels had brought out his controversial writings against Schelling he devoted an ever greater measure of attention to philosophy. The student of Hegel no longer fought reaction in the fields of literature, but as the representative of the rising philosophical generation. Hence, he studied philosophy, particularly Hegel's works, more thoroughly than ever before. He attended lectures by professors who ranked amongst Hegel's followers. He also spent much time on exploring the stage then reached by the critical research of religion and its latest findings and took his first closer look at the materialist philosophy, and above all scanned the 18th century French philosophers.

The Young Hegelians greatly respected Engels who was on the extreme left of the philosophical opposition. Together with Edgar Bauer, he wrote *Die frech bedrängte, jedoch wunderbar befreite Bibel*, a pamphlet about the Young Hegelians' fight against reaction. Engels also made an appearance, albeit as Oswald, in this *Christian Epic in Four Cantos*:

That long-legs on the extreme left, of all the loudest blade,
Is *Oswald* garbed in jacket grey and pants of pepp'ry shade.
Pepp'ry inside is he as well: *Oswald* the montagnard.
More radical than all the rest, down to his core so hard.
One instrument does he but play and that's the guillotine,
Accompanies *one* cavatina with an infernal tune;
Ever this song is sung, he shouts out the refrain:
Formez vos bataillons! aux armes, citoyens![67]

Engels had a strong feeling of association for the Young Hegelian group and their struggle, but he rejected their subjectivism and, in mid-1842, made an initial move to abandon the position of idealism altogether. The work that led him to take this step was Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christentums*.

As one of the philosophical representatives of the revolutionary-democratic strivings of the German bourgeoisie, Ludwig Feuerbach was a fierce opponent of the religious ideology of the feudal class. He repudiated religion and Hegel's idealism in his works. To his mind they were both inconsistent with the real essence of the world. Feuerbach demanded that Nature and Man be viewed materialistically. The existence of the Universe and Man, he said, required neither a god nor any sort of an "Absolute Idea". They were "of themselves and through themselves necessary"[68], and "physical, material"[69]. Man existed thanks only to Nature and was a product of its development. Nature, matter, was primary and obtained independently of Man and his consciousness. Man and Nature apart, nothing existed and no god either. Religion, said Feuerbach, was a product of Man. God had not created Man, but Man had created God in his own, human image.

This knowledge Feuerbach gained by cognition broke the spell of Hegel's idealism in Germany. His materialist, atheistic and humanistic concepts created an absolute sensation among the progressive intellectuals. "A new morn has dawned," Engels commented on Feuerbach's achievement. "We have awokened from lengthy slumbers; gone is the nightmare that weighed heavy upon us. We rub our eyes and look around, astounded. Everything has changed."[70]

Influenced by Feuerbach, Engels started to abandon Young Hegelianism and switch over to the position of materialism. This change-over was accelerated by the fact that the Young Hegelians identified the word with the act. They regarded the word as the act proper, and thought that they would be able to change the obtaining feudal conditions radically just by criticizing them. Real, physical, material and revolutionary activity, on the other hand, was just as foreign and contemptible to them as were the creative powers of the masses. Criticism, i. e., the word, was the motor of universal history for the Young Hegelians. They looked on criticism as the force that moved, overthrew and destroyed everything, the force they supposed no power able to resist, the force that would even succeed in toppling reigning reaction.

For Engels, however, theoretical criticism was not to be equated with practical action. Both were justified–the word as much as the sword, theory as much as practice. No longer was the point with Engels simply combining thought and action, the point he formulated in early 1840 in his article *Retrograde Zeichen der Zeit*. He wanted more: to put theory into practice, to imbue it with an active and practical expression. "To transport theory into life,"[71] was what he aimed for.

Engels turned to the *Rheinische Zeitung* in order that he might carry out this task. The upward-striving bourgeoisie of Rhenish Prussia had launched the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne at the beginning of 1842. It was to be instrumental in fighting for the economic and political interests of Rhenish trade and industry. The paper rapidly developed into the leading organ of the bourgeois opposition in Germany. It owed its rise to Karl Marx.

Engels published articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* as from April of 1842. He urged the liberal forces to side more vigorously against feudal reaction. He demanded that one be guided by science and learn more from one's neighbours, i. e., the French. He criticized Prussian reaction sharply and finished one of his contributions with the appeal, "to arouse much displeasure and dissatisfaction at all the out-dated and illiberal survivals in our public institutions."[72]

There is no more cutting and devastating a judgement of the Prussian state than that passed by Engels in his article *Friedrich Wilhelm IV., König von Preussen.* Signed Friedrich Oswald, it appeared in a publication called *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz.* Engels gave a plain answer to the question as to whether the Prussian king "will ever push through his system": "Fortunately one can only answer No. (...) Prussia's present situation much resembles that of France before–but I shall forbear all premature conclusions."[73]

Although Engels refrained from stating the ultimate conclusion in order not to give the censor a pretext for going into action, his words permitted of one conclusion only: The fall of Prussia's feudal-absolutist system was inevitable; the future belonged to the revolution which would sweep away the system of feudal estates and privileges along with its falsehood and hypocrisy. Reaction itself even confirmed this, the only possible conclusion: it classified *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz* as a publication which "quite openly" recommended that "the people's hatred should sweep away Christianity and the monarchy as heavenly and worldly tyrants."[74]

Engels quit the Young Hegelian opposition he had already withdrawn from ideologically and politically with *Friedrich Wilhelm IV., König von Preussen.* Whilst Engels professed the revolution and radically condemned the Prussian system, the Young Hegelians retired from the immediate battle against the Prussian state in an ever greater measure. Although still hostile to feudal reaction, they were losing themselves more and more in an extreme subjectivism and pseudo-radicalism. They prided themselves on being "purely theoretical". "But one does not positively know what ought to be done," declared one of their prominent representatives, Bruno Bauer. "The only thing one knows is that everything needs to be negated."[75] Their idealistic and anarchist attitude resulted in their coming out against the political struggle of the masses, and denying that the masses constituted any sort of revolutionary force at all. One cannot overlook the similarity of these views with those held by present-day bourgeois schools of philosophical thought which restrict their rejection of the imperialist system to an intellectual "total

negation", and disown that the working masses constitute any sort of a force that moulds history.

The Young Hegelians' attitude caused Engels to withdraw more and more from them during his last months in Berlin. From his Bremen days on he had fought for the unity of philosophy and action, of science and life, had regarded practical criticism as indispensable for overcoming reaction and paving the way for progress. There was no other road for him. As a revolutionary democrat, he rejected both philosophical subjectivism and anti-democratic nihilism.

Aware that he had learned enough to "form a firm opinion" for himself "and, if need be, to represent it", but "not enough" to work for progress "with success and properly", Engels abandoned "all literary activity" in July of 1842 and applied himself exclusively to his studies until the beginning of October. "As I am a 'philosophical bagman' and have not purchased the right to philosophize by acquiring a doctor's diploma, one will be making all the higher demands of me," he wrote. "I intend to meet these demands when I write something again one day, and then under my own name. Besides, I must not fritter away too much of my time now as it will probably be more taken up again shortly with commercial business. Strictly speaking, my hitherto literary efforts were all attempts whose success was to show me whether my natural talents would admit of my working fruitfully for progress, participating actively in the movement of the century. I can be satisfied with the success, and I now consider it my duty also to attain by means of study, which I am pursuing with doubled zest, those things in an ever greater degree which are not always in one's nature."[76]

In early October of 1842, Engels completed his military service and left Berlin to return to Barmen. He stopped off in Cologne where he planned to look up Karl Marx and the editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung.* However, Engels did not meet with Marx in Cologne.

Engels had already left Barmen again by the end of November of 1842. This time his destination was Manchester where he was to work in his father's mill. Again he stopped off in Cologne, and this time he managed to meet Marx. But their first

meeting was pretty cool. Marx took the 22-year-old for a confederate of the Berliner Young Hegelians with whom he had broken and to whom he had closed the columns of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. But when the two parted they were at least fellow-combatants, albeit not friends, and Engels had joined the *Rheinische Zeitung* as its foreign correspondent in England.

Chapter II

1842–1844

In Manchester–Centre of the British Labour Movement

Engels arrived in England in late November of 1842. As in 1840, he boarded a boat in Holland, crossed the Channel and sailed up the Thames to London where he disembarked and then proceeded by train to Manchester. On this occasion, however, he was not spending a short holiday in the British Isles; he was going to work there for some considerable time.

The impression life in England made on Frederick Engels was deep and lasting. He had experienced nascent capitalism in the Wuppee Valley, but in England he was confronted with the world of reigning and fully unfolded capitalism. In cootrast to Germany, feudalism had already been overcome in England–as in France. Decades of revolutionary struggle had culminated in the coup d'état of 1688 which had spelled the ultimate defeat of feudalism and enabled England's bourgeoisie to consol-

idate its political rule. The capitalist mode of production, which at first had spread slowly in both town and country, developed tempestuously as from the middle of the 18th century. The point of departure for this development was the Industrial Revolution which commenced with the invention of the steam engine and the introduction of the machine tool. Machinery and steam engendered mightier productive forces within a matter of a few decades than had all the preceding centuries.

Industry in the British Isles was concentrated in huge factory towns. At that time the population of London already numbered over 3.5 million whilst Glasgow had 300,000 inhabitants. Nearly half of the world's industrial output was turned out in England's industrial centres which were inter-connected, and linked up with the major ports, by canals and railways. England was the motherland of capitalism, the banker and the workshop of the world. She was ahead of Germany by an entire social epoch.

Thus, the antagonisms of the new bourgeois society made themselves all the more clearly manifest. The irreconcilable struggle that raged between the working class and the bourgeoisie had already become the essential content and the determinant motive force of social movement in England.

Engels was astounded by the scale of capitalist production and the vehemence of the class conflict even though his commercial work and the journey he had made to England in 1840 had already given him an idea of what conditions were like in that country. The situation was totally different in Germany. Engels wrote that all was "life and association, firm ground and activity" in England where everything made itself "outwardly manifest".[1]

Wherever he went, Engels found that the English bourgeoisie exploited the labouring class beyond all measure. But he was quick to realize that the workers had not resigned themselves to their situation. They had joined forces to combat the bourgeoisie in the same degree as they had grown aware of their mutual interests. They had at first formed secret combinations, and it was under their guidance that thousands of English weavers had put down their tools in 1812 and 1822, that the Scottish miners had struck in 1818. In 1824, however, the working people forced the

bourgeoisie to recognize their Unions officially. Waging an organized struggle to protect the economic interests of the British working class had been feasible from then on. Strikes occurred every week, indeed daily, in some direction: "now against a reduction, then against a refusal to raise the rate of wages, again by reason of the employment of knobsticks or the continuance of abuses, sometimes against new machinery, or for a hundred other reasons."[2]

The Chartists were at the head of these struggles. Their name derived from the People's Charter which had been proclaimed in May of 1838. This Charter embodied in Six Points the Chartists' demands for a democratic parliamentary reform. The People's Charter unleashed one of the biggest 19th century compaigns for political and economic reforms; the English working class fought for more than the original demands within its framework and presented itself as a mighty political force. Hundreds of thousands attended the Chartist meetings. The years between 1838 and 1842 witnessed the climax of this proletarian-revolutionary movement. "Political power our means, social happiness our end," was the clearly formulated war-cry of the Chartists.

The Chartists' fight against the bourgeoisie swayed the political life of Manchester, and it was here, in the metropolis of England's cotton industry, that Engels worked at the Victoria Mill office. Peter Albert Ermen, a Dutchman by birth, had bought the mill during the twenties but in 1837, when Engels senior connected himself as a partner with the firm, it became known by the business name of *Ermen & Engels*. It stood on the outskirts of Manchester, and its operatives manufactured cotton and knitting yarns as well as sewing thread. Frederick lived near his place of work–in the Shawsworth district.

The population of Manchester in those days numbered close to 400,000. Manchester was the classic type of a capitalist factory town. Its industry used steam power and machinery on a large scale, there was an extraordinarily far advanced division of labour, and huge seven-storey factories were already part of the local scene. The way the factory system affected the working classes was more than manifest, but at the same time the pro-

letariat fought to free itself from oppression and want more keenly here than elsewhere. The town was the seat of the strongest labour organizations, the centre of the Chartist movement.

Engels encountered the fighting industrial proletariat for the first time in his life in Manchester. At home he had called on the people to go into revolutionary action against its oppressors, but here he found himself in the middle of the fiercest struggles that raged between the working masses and the bourgeoisie. They attracted the revolutionary democrat irresistibly, and it was in these conflicts that he saw his opportunity to pursue his principle of combining philosophy with life. This was no easy task, however, as the 22-year-old was already forced to admit after his first weeks in Manchester. Brought into direct confrontation with the life of a capitalist society, with class antagonism and hostilities, Engels found himself face to face with an abundance of new questions. He soon realized that in the capitalist society people's thoughts and actions pivoted on economic interests. So the problem Engels now had to resolve for himself was this: Were economic questions of such decisive importance for mankind and the course of history or, when all was said and done, did ideas and principles decide issues–as he had hitherto assumed?

Engels was engrossed by this problem. Desirous of finding a solution, he started on a thorough study of the development of industry and the condition of the proletariat in his leisure time. The life around him, the practice of the bourgeois society, was both the point of departure for, and the touchstone of, all his reasonings. In the evenings, Engels attended public meetings and debates where he saw how vehemently class interests clashed. He perceived the crafty moves the bourgeoisie engineered when it wanted to push through a resolution that accorded with its intent, and he witnessed the police dispersing the meetings as soon as these manipulations failed. He saw the workers fighting unswervingly and fiercely for their economic and political interests–reduced hours of work, wage rises, or their franchise–and championing truly humane objectives that were aimed at achieving historic progress.

The young democrat was greatly impressed and inspired by the workers' revolutionary struggle. Never before had he found people who adhered "so sincerely to democratic principles as these operatives from the cotton mills of Lancashire", who were "so firmly resolved to shake off the capitalist exploiters' yoke".[3]

The excessive exploitation of the proletariat and its enslavement outraged Engels. The bourgeois, for whom profits were the only applicable yardstick, were unscrupulous slave-drivers. Men and women slaved away for 16 hours and more in the damp and muggy factories, and frequently worked for up to 40 hours at a stretch. Their working conditions produced an alarming number of diseases, and the result of the enormous pace at which they had to work was an appalling accident rate. Describing the maimed he saw going about Manchester, Engels wrote: "This one has lost an arm or a part of one, that one a foot, the third half a leg; it is like living in the midst of an army just returned from a campaign."[5]

Telling, too, was the personal reaction of the bourgeoisie to the conditions in which the working class lived. Engels once went into Manchester with one of these gentlemen and spoke to him about the unwholesome building methods and the frightful condition of the working people's quarters. He said he had never yet seen such an ill-built city. The man listened quietly to the end, and at the corner where they parted replied: "And yet, there is a great deal of money made here; good morning, sir."[5]

Engels was enraged at this class that boasted of its philanthropy whilst filling its purse was its one and only concern. Never yet had he "seen a class so deeply demoralized, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie;" for whom "nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold."[6]

As a humanist and democrat, Engels was unable to pass by these inhuman conditions heedlessly or accept them as unalterable facts. This he had already been unable to do during his Gymnasium days in Barmen where he had given the poor his savings, and it was the same in Bremen where, as a commercial

apprentice, he had pilloried the factory owners of the Wupper Valley. Now, matured to manhood, he was all the more incapable of shutting his eyes to the sight of thousands upon thousands of people–the majority of an entire nation–abandoned to a life that made a mock of any kind of an existence compatible with the dignity of man.

But, Engels asked himself, how can the workers radically change their condition? The bourgeois "state abandons them, indeed pushes them aside. Who can blame the men for resorting to highway robbery or burglary, the women for resorting to theft and prostitution? (...) the state cares not whether hunger be bitter or sweet," Engels declared, "but locks them up in its prisons or deports them to the penal colonies."[7] So which path did the workers need to take to shake off the yoke of bourgeois exploitation and oppression?

Engels attempted a first answer in late 1842, in the articles he wrote for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. It was here that he stated that "only a violent revolution of the obtaining unnatural relations, a radical overthrow both of the titled and the industrial aristocracy" could "improve the proletarians' material circumstances."[8] The size of the working class had made it "the mightiest in England and woe betide the English rich when it becomes aware of this fact.

"Certainly this is not yet the case. The English proletarian has but a presentiment of his power."[9]

Engels was devoting himself entirely to the working class by now. He later recollected: "I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champagne of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working-Men."[10]

Engels visited the workers in their homes and was frequently to be found at their meetings. To begin with he was astonished that many factory hands debated political, religious and social questions intelligently and with well-balanced arguments, but he soon discovered that they appreciated solid education. He often saw them reading good, reasonably priced editions of the French encyclopedists and materialists, writings by Strauss, or Utopian Communist pamphlets and journals. Some of the operatives attended lectures on scientific, aesthetic and economic subjects which were held at the working-men's institutes. Here, Engels "often heard working-men, whose fustian jackets scarcely held together, speak upon geological, astronomical, and other subjects, with more knowledge than most 'cultivated' bourgeois in Germany possess."[11]

The life and struggles of the working class became Engels' actual school of life. It moulded him and made him aware of the revolutionary and humanistic stature of the proletariat. The progressive workers had a truly humanitarian education, could be fired on to enthusiasm, and possessed a strong character. They desired struggle and fought staunchly; they respected science and, as Engels wrote, were prepared to stake "life and property"[12] for the victory of social progress.

Engels, who associated more with the workers than with the middle classes, soon established close links with the Utopian Socialists and the Chartists, as well as with their organs: *The New Moral World* and *The Northern Star*. Years later, Julian Harney described the first time Engels called on the *Northern Star*. He recollected that Engels had come over to Leeds from Bradford in 1843, "a slender young man with a look of boyish immaturity, who spoke remarkably pure English, and said he was keenly interested in the Chartist movement."[13] Their acquaintanceship soon grew into a life-long friendship.

As was the case with Harney, Engels also established close contacts with James Leach. Leach was the Chartists' recognized leader in Manchester. He served on their four-strong Executive Committee: an honest, intelligent and class-conscious worker who had for years worked in various branches of industry. Leach was the organizer and agitator of the labour movement, and it was he who more than anyone else spoke out vehemently against the bourgeoisie at public meetings, and exposed its machinations. Engels liked this revolutionary worker very much indeed and spoke of him as his good friend.

Engels not only associated with the Chartist leaders; he also got in touch with the German Communists who lived in London and were organized in a secret society: the League of the Just. Founded in Paris in 1836, the League was the first political or-

ganization of the German workers. Its ranks combined revolutionary proletarian journeymen, many of whom reaction had driven out of Germany. Originally a combination given half to propaganda and half to conspiracy, the League switched more and more over to spreading Communist ideas, albeit Utopian Communist ones, amongst the workers during the forties. Wilhelm Weitling was the most prominent ideologist and theoretician of the League of the Just. Its centres were seated in Paris and London.

Utopian Communism in the thirties and forties of the 19th century was "a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point"[15] of the capitalist society and came close to perceiving the principles that needed to be followed to transform the exploiter society. The people who advocated this Communism, which was represented respectively in France and Germany by Etienne Cabet and Wilhelm Weitling, realized that the capitalist society is split into classes: the labouring masses and the idle. They strove to put all men on an equal footing and to this end they wanted to organize the production and distribution of commodities in accordance with the principle of universal equality. True that limits were set to their theoretical knowledge because they failed to take into account the economic laws that govern capitalist society, because they spoke in favour of a universal levelling, of asceticism, but credit is due to the Utopian Communists for no longer looking upon the working class as a suffering class but as a force that produces all values, that must emancipate itself. However, they did not map out proletarian revolution as the road to this emancipation. On the one hand there were those who believed that the goal would be reached by tireless agitation and propaganda alone, on the other those who hoped for an insurrection by a minority. Utopian Communism represented the then most advanced portion of the working class which "had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of total social change."[17]

Engels contacted the London centre of the League of the Just directly. He had already learned of the League's activities in Germany, although only by reading the papers. Now, the 22-year-old encountered revolutionary German workers for the first time. He met Heinrich Bauer, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper, all leading members of the League. In later years, Engels wrote: "I came to know all three of them in London in 1843. They were the first revolutionary proletarians whom I met, and however far apart our views were at that time in details ... I shall never forget the deep impression these three real men made upon me, who was then still only wanting to become a man."[18] Engels must also have made the best of impressions on these revolutionary workers: in spite of his youth Schapper asked him whether he would join the League of the Just.

Engels, who had not joined the Chartists either, declined. He shared neither Weitling's Utopian Communist views by which the League was guided, nor the Chartists' concepts *in toto*. His experiences and studies had led him to conclusions different from theirs, had channelled his thoughts into a fundamentally new direction.

Mary, a Real Irish Working-Class Girl

Engels met Mary Burns shortly after he arrived in Manchester. Mary was an ordinary Irish working-class lass and some years his junior. She worked as a spinner in one of Manchester's numerous cotton mills. Her father, Michael Burns, was a dyer by trade.

Frederick was enchanted by Mary's cheerful nature and sparkling temperament which even factory work had been unable to quench. He was no less fascinated by her unaffected ways and self-assurance, her never-abating energy and lively spirits, than by her beauty which resembled "wild roses" and her "saucy black eyes."[17]

Mary was a class-conscious working girl. She fortified Engels in his resolve to forsake the company and the dinner-parties of the middle classes and devote himself to the company of the

working people and the study of their condition. Strong ties of association linked this Irish lass with her people's struggle for independence. She was outraged that England's ruling class refused the Irish national independence and hated the oppressors of her people. Mary's revolutionary spirit aroused in Engels a deep affection for the Irish who were fleeced and persecuted by the English bourgeoisie and the throne.

Engels roamed the proletarian districts of Manchester together with Mary who had grown up surrounded by the poverty and struggles of her class. In this way he got to know many working-class families who invited him to their homes and told him of their everyday life. Engels also went to the workers' socials with Mary. Once in a while Manchester's *Hall of Science* was the scene of Sunday "tea-parties where young and old, high and low, men and women, sat together and partook of the customary supper, bread-and-butter and tea". Then again, there were dances on weekdays with "merry goings-on".[18]

Engels' love of Mary was very much instrumental in his ultimate turning to the proletariat and the scientific investigation of its condition, in his becoming a proletarian revolutionary and theoretician.

Whilst Frederick found his great love in Mary Burns, he also found a good friend in the young German writer Georg Weerth. Weerth was working at Bradford, a town that lies north of Manchester. The journey to Manchester was expensive, but Weerth often spent a Sunday there with Engels "to talk to the German philosopher who has buried himself in that gloomy city."[19]

Weerth, who found middle-class life repulsive, needed Engels' company all the more since associating with the other young German businessmen who lived at Bradford proved quite beyond him. In his eyes, they were all "sorry commercial clerks" who had only gone there "to earn a lot of money".[20]

What Weerth found lacking in these fellows who simply vegetated and were "either so dry as the plants in an herbarium or else extremely slipshod articles"[21] he discovered in Engels who was two years his senior. In Engels he had a friend who fathomed his poetic nature and, certainly mindful of his own efforts in this direction, appreciated and valued it highly.

Engels comforted and fortified Weerth, and cheered him up when homesickness threatened to engulf him. They made themselves a good day with a bottle of wine on these occasions, laughed and joked, and either took a walk or went to the races.

But there were different Sundays too: Sundays the two friends spent roaming the vastness of Manchester with Engels showing Weerth the poverty and misery of the working classes of this huge town. One "needs to have intercourse with the poor folk in England in order to realize the unhappiness there is in the world," Weerth wrote his mother. "It is enough to make the stones cry out, to turn a sheep into a tiger. (. . .) for I find these Englishmen, these rich people, loathsome unto death."[22]

It was under Engels' influence that Weerth embraced the cause of the working class. I am "whole-heartedly glad that I am a worker"[23] he owned. Weerth became the first significant poet of the German working class.

The Turning-Point

Stirred by the poverty and the tenacious struggle of the English proletariat, Engels accomplished some solid scientific research and published his findings in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, in British labour papers, and in a Swiss journal.

One needed "not only to orient" oneself "to what lies nearest by, to tangible reality"[25] in order to make for oneself a clear, fundamental and detailed picture of the growth of England, the condition of her working class, and the objective of its struggle. Informative as the relations were by which the bourgeois society lived, outward manifestations and phenomena needed to be traced back to their origins, and the intrinsic laws and concatenations of capitalism had to be uncovered.

So Engels immersed himself in what had already been written about the history and the nature of the capitalist society and

the proletariat. It was a question of proceeding from this existing knowledge, digesting it critically, and then enriching it.

Engels plunged into the works of the great English and French Utopian Socialists–Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon. They had attacked the foundations of the capitalist society, criticized the prevailing conditions unsparingly, and made brilliant forecasts about the society to come, i. e., the abolition of the opposites between town and country, private property and wage labour. They had conceived their systems at a time when the proletariat was as yet undeveloped. In them, they explained the necessity for a society that went further than that of the bourgeoisie, and stated that the new, Socialist society would only have materialized when man no longer exploited man.

The Utopian Socialists also pondered the way their revolutionary ideas might be put into effect, but they were unable to rid themselves of bourgeois concepts in this point. They differed from the Utopian Communists in that they regarded the emerging proletariat as a suffering class only. They failed to recognize that it constituted a force capable of changing history. Hence, they spurned all revolutionary political action, proclaimed Utopian models of Socialism, and hoped for their social realization by the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois classical political economy–and above all its two most important representatives:–Adam Smith and David Ricardo –had made many a valuable contribution to disclosing the economic foundations of capitalist society. Smith, Ricardo and other bourgeois economists of the day had already started to investigate capitalism as a system. Proceeding from outward phenomena, they had penetrated to the inner concatenations of the capitalist relations of production. In particular, they had realized the decisive role human labour plays, as well as the important part the division of labour and machinery play in boosting its productive forces. Their principal scientific merit consisted in their elaborating the labour theory of value from which they derived other politico-economic categories. The labour theory of value was also able to explain the economic class antagonism, but the English bourgeois economists stopped with the discovery of

these concatenations. They had justified the existence of capitalist private property and thought that both class antagonisms and capitalist society were natural and everlasting.

Engels enjoyed exploring and acquiring this fund of international scientific knowledge, but the progress he made also entailed the appearance of new questions on the horizon: What conclusions were to be drawn for future historic developments from the class antagonisms that prevailed between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and from their class struggle? Was capitalist private property really everlasting? Did it really provide genuine freedom and equality?

Engels had greeted "free England with a shout of joy and a full glass"[25] when he visited England briefly in the summer of 1840. But now even the initial outcomes of his scientific investigations confirmed his everyday observations: The bourgeois system granted the working people neither genuine liberty nor real equality. Their liberty was a pseudo-liberty and their political equality deception. And Engels realized early that bourgeois democracy was by no means everlasting–and that the same held good for the capitalist system with its class antagonisms.

In his eyes, the lessons of history permitted of but one conclusion: that "no sort of political change" in the bourgeois system could basically alter the social condition of the working class, "the cause of its political dissatisfaction"[26] and that only Socialism could bring and guarantee the working masses "genuine liberty and real equality".[27]

Engels was fully aware that great efforts were still needed to prove that these first ideas of his were indeed correct. Substantiating these hypotheses accurately and scientifically was the important thing now. So he measured up everything he had read on the subject critically against the requirements of the labour movement and the lessons his own experiences of class struggle had taught him. He re-analyzed the knowledge gained by Hegel and Feuerbach–his most important teachers of philosophy, and re-thought the findings of Utopian Communism and Socialism, as well as those of classical political economy. His objective was to get at the rational core of the existing knowledge, critically digest the insights thus won and, on this basis,

scientifically substantiate the necessity for and possibility of Socialism.

Engels started tackling this job in late 1843. He began by investigating the economic structure of the bourgeois society from the Socialist point of view, and went on to write his *Critical Essays in Political Economy*. This article (along with a second contribution from Engels, *Die Lage Englands*) appeared in February of 1844 in the first number–a double number–of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* which were published in Paris. It was here that Engels gave a first answer to the basic question which had troubled and captivated him from the beginning of his stay in England: the question as to the role economic conditions and interests play in the development of human society. Looking back in later years, Engels wrote that "while I was in Manchester, it was tangibly brought home to me that the economic facts, which have so far played no role or only a contemptible one in the writing of history, are, at least in the modern world, a decisive historical force; that they form the basis of the origination of the present-day class antagonisms; that these class antagonisms, in the countries where they have become fully developed, thanks to large-scale industry, especially in England, are in their turn the basis of the formation of political parties and of party struggles, and thus of all political history."[28]

By realizing this, Engels took his first step toward overcoming both Hegel's idealism and the insufficiencies of Feuerbach's materialism. He had grasped indicative principles and concepts, and had arrived at an entirely new way of contemplating society. He was both surprised and excited. So complicated as the state of England had once seemed to him, now that he had cut its outward manifestations down to their essential content he was able to perceive it easily.

The first of Engels' writings to be based on these new ideas was his *Critical Essays in Political Economy*. Viewing the principal phenomena of the capitalist economic system from his materialist standpoint, Engels described them as the logical corollary of a fundamental economic and political fact: the existence and rule of private property. He argued sharply against bourgeois economics, that "complete science of the accumulation of wealth"[29],

which obtained only for the sake of private property. He furnished evidence of the fact that capitalist private property is the real cause of all the evils of the bourgeois society, that it is the real reason for the existence of the classes, for the exploitation of the working masses, and for the class struggle.

Engels made it plain that the working class lives and labours in the most difficult conditions under capitalism. It "has to work in order that it may live," he wrote, "whilst the landowner is able to live off his rents and the capitalist off his interest or, if the need arises, off his capital or capitalized landed property. The result is that only the absolute necessities, the bare means of subsistence, accrue to labour whilst the major proportion of the products fall to the share of capital and landed property."[30] All this, said Engels, was the outcome of the existence of capitalist private property, of the "separation of capital from labour and the completion of this separation in the splitting up of the human race into capitalists and workers, a split that is becoming wider with every passing day, which (. . .) *must* keep on growing."[31] Engels stressed that this split could only be overcome "through the abolition of private property".[32]

He also answered the question as to the class that had the strength to accomplish this great historic feat in his article *Die Lage Englands:* "Only that part of the English nation which is unknown on the continent, only the workers (. . .). They are the saviours of England, they are made of stuff that can still be formed; (. . .) they still have strength to spare for a great national deed–they still have a future."[33]

Engels' postulate of the proletariat's historic role was a brilliant discovery. It rejected all the views both progressive, humanistically-minded thinkers and the Utopian Socialists were advocating at the time. They disallowed that the proletariat was a force that made history, and denied it the ability to shape the history of mankind. By contrast, Engels placed all his hopes in the revolutionary vigour of the proletariat. He was firmly convinced that the workers, who had stood the test in hundreds of actions, strikes, demonstrations and uprisings when they fought the individual bourgeois for their rights, would–united–be able to defy the power of the entire bourgeoisie.

Engels' articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* furnish both philosophical and economico-political evidence of the beginning of a new stage in his ideological development. He sided openly with the working class and Communism with these publications. Adhering faithfully to the vow he had made at 18– that no longer should count in life what science had rejected, Engels, now 23, broke with the middle classes and declared implacable war on their system.

He had a profound sense of responsibility for and commitment toward the working class. Accomplishing the work necessary seemed virtually impossible, but this very circumstance multiplied Engels' energy. Firmly resolved to advance to fresh knowledge in the interests of the working class, he plunged into scientific work with unabated *élan* during his leisure hours.

He had grasped the proletariat's historic role, and had already apprehended the fundamentals of proletarian political economy and the materialist concept of history, but this knowledge still required thorough scientific investigation in order that its generalities and details might be corroborated, extended and systematically elaborated. Above all other things this task called for a painstaking study of the position the proletariat occupied in the capitalist society, as well as of the role it played in the capitalist process of production.

This research absorbed Engels. The further it progressed, the more he overcame idealistic and Utopian conceptions. For instance, he still thought that the economic category of value was of lesser importance for an analysis of the capitalist relations of competition. Then again, still overly captivated by Feuerbach's reasoning, he thought that the state constituted mankind's fear of itself. Overcoming these and other views was a process that was closely connected with the further scientific substantiation of Socialism. It was a process that lasted several years and only reached completion in 1846 with Marx's and Engels' joint elaboration of the *German Ideology*.

In the autumn of 1843, Engels embarked on a series of extensive sociological investigations. The object of this exercise was to make a thorough study of every aspect of the capitalist mode of production, as well as of the life and struggle of the

working class, and so obtain a complete knowledge of the facts and their concatenations.

As a materialist and dialectician, Engels tried to take into careful account every detail of the condition of the working class in his investigations, and to comprehend in them all the phenomena in their entirety. It was in this manner that he laid the foundation-stone for a scientific sociology. His attention centred principally on socio-economic conditions: he looked into the way the workers lived and clothed themselves, he made a study of working-class nourishment, but above all he explored the conditions in which the operatives worked in the mines and factories and on the land. To this end he perused many a document: scientific works, parliamentary reports, and statements by factory inspectors, doctors and clergymen. Everything was important, but most important of all were the workers' own views. The picture Engels was so able to make for himself exposed the entire bourgeois society as a cunning, ruthless system for the exploitation of the working class. He who remained indifferent to these conditions was committing a crime in Engels' eyes.

He frequently left Manchester over the weekend to visit other towns in England. Many of them he already knew from his business trips. Most of them were typical commercial and industrial cities. He travelled to London, Liverpool and other towns in order that he might obtain a more complete insight into the conditions of the working class. Wherever Engels went he saw for himself that under the capitalist system the worker is left only as much as will enable him to maintain his labour power and keep body and soul together. Capital and labour faced each other irreconcilably wherever he went.

What were the forces that determined the emergence of the giant towns with their huge factories? Which the motor that propelled social development? Generally speaking, Engels already understood that economic, material facts determined the advance of society in the final analysis. But this answer still seemed somewhat unsatisfactory. He desired a better intelligence, a more detailed knowledge.

He found a first answer when he concerned himself with material production, the effects exercised by the machine, mechani-

cal inventions, and the natural sciences. Neither Hegel nor Feuerbach had seriously looked into this sphere—production, its instruments and its means; neither had such questions been taken into account by the hitherto concept of history or by philosophy. Engels, however, found that they were the very things that had a pivotal significance for social development.

The problem enthralled Engels who went on to investigate the link that prevails between production and science. The bourgeois economists had paid little attention to this relationship even though, as Engels soon realized, the development and the use of science and technology were of the utmost significance for Man and his work. He found that "science daily harnesses the force of Nature for Man in a growing degree,"[31] and added that this process occurred at an ever quicker pace. He recognized "the mainspring of progress in the introduction of mechanical auxiliaries and scientific principles in general"[32] and realized that the "revolutionizing of English industry (. . .)" was "the basis of all modern English relationships, the propellant of the entire social movement".[33]

That, however, was only one side of the coin. Engels saw that capitalist property had given rise to a profound contradiction between social production on the one hand and the private appropriation by the bourgeoisie of the articles so produced on the other. He perceived that "the effect private property exercises" had turned "the forces which belong to mankind by right" into "the monopoly of the rich capitalist few and the means of enslaving the masses".[34]

Engels' question, "Can such a state of affairs last?" was followed by his answer: "Perish the thought! Man's struggle (. . .) against inhumanity has to be decided and there is no question as to which side will win.

"The fight is already on. (. . .)

"But mere democracy cannot cure social evils. Democratic equality is a chimera. The battle of the poor against the rich cannot be fought on the terrain of democracy or politics in general. So this stage is also but a transitional one (. . .) from which a new element, a principle that transcends all political organization, must forthwith arise.

"It is the principle of Socialism."[35]

However, there was still a great deal of work to be done to demonstrate the objective law of this historic development. The new manner of viewing the world now obtained in fundamental elements, but they still needed to be moulded into a whole. It had to be extended in all directions, evolved, and elaborated to form a logical theoretical system that was complete in itself.

This was the reason why Engels embarked on a more extensive study of the natural sciences in the spring of 1844. He researched the historical and logical link prevailing between the evolution of the sciences and the history of philosophy, and immersed himself in a critical review of the ideas expounded by the great materialist philosophers of the bourgeoisie: Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Denis Diderot, Paul-Henri Holbach and Claude-Adrien Helvétius. He was no less fascinated by the scientific discoveries. Engels carefully traced out the history of mathematics as well as that of various other branches of learning, e. g., geology and paleontology, and studied their findings. He also became interested in chemistry and read up its development from Joseph Priestley and Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier down to Claude-Louis Berthollet and Michael Faraday. He became absorbed in Justus von Liebig's discoveries, and pondered the works of the English geologist Charles Lyell and the Swedish biologist Carolus Linnaeus. Taken as a whole, all these studies enabled Engels to lay the foundation stone for a dialectical-materialist generalization of natural scientific findings.

Engels realized that he still had to get through a mountain of work before this could be accomplished, but he was equally certain that he would have to set to at once to work up the latest scientific findings since this was the only way of creating a dialectical-materialist world outlook that was complete in itself: a world outlook that would one day be the theoretical foundation of the proletarian class struggle for Socialism.

Engels also wrote articles to argue his knowledge that Socialism would of necessity replace capitalism one day, the replacement of the latter being the logical outcome of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the workers. He published these

articles in 1844 in the Paris *Vorwärts*. Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine also contributed to this radical-democratic paper which was banned in Prussia and other German states. The *Vorwärts* aimed its attacks particularly against the caste of the Prussian Junkers, that most mighty shield of reaction in Germany.

Engels criticized the ideological representatives of Prussian Junkerdom too, but he polemized no less fiercely against the historians who tried to veil the class nature of social movement, disparaged Socialism at every opportunity, and negated the revolutionary role the proletariat was also qualified to play in the German democratic movement. In his opinion, their efforts made explaining that the "creation of the proletariat" was "the most important outcome" of historic development all the more urgent.[38]

Engels left England at the end of August 1844. He had taken a lively interest in the sufferings and struggles of the English working class for well-nigh two years, had matured to manhood at its side. These years were the turning-point of his life. His thinking and action had taken on a new meaning. Both were defined by his realizing that he had to side with the proletariat in its fight for emancipation; both were imbued with the will to release mankind from the fetters of capitalism.

Homeward bound, Engels stopped over in Paris to call on Karl Marx with whom he had been in correspondence from the moment he became a contributor to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Now, he urgently wanted to meet Marx whose articles in the *Jahrbücher* had clearly indicated that they were agreed on basic questions. Working his way along a different route in Paris, and independently of Engels, Marx had grasped the historic role of the working class and evolved the materialist concept of history.

Friend and Fellow-Combatant

Karl Marx was born into a lawyer's family on 5 May 1818 in Trier, a town that lies on the River Moselle. He grew up in a home permeated by the spirit of the French Age of Enlightenment and bourgeois humanism. When he was 12 he entered the Gymnasium of Trier. He worked hard at his lessons, was of quick intellectual grasp, and came up with good results when he sat for his school-leaving examination in 1835.

The administrative district of Trier was the poorest in all Rhenish Prussia in those days. A viticultural depression reigned throughout the Moselle Valley, and poverty was also widespread in the district seat. The population of Trier, composed mainly of artisans and operatives, officials and merchants, numbered around 14,000 during the mid-thirties. The local conditions left a lasting impression on young Marx who lived in comfortable

circumstances. The impression was such that when he wrote his essay for his school-leaving examination he already declared that he considered the happiness and purpose of his life to consist in serving mankind and shaping reality into something humane.

Marx enrolled with the University of Bonn in the autumn of 1835. There he read law, heard lectures on the histories of literature and civilization, and played a lively part in the turbulent student life. In compliance with his father's wishes, he changed universities after a year and continued his studies in Berlin.

Marx worked his way through an extensive and multi-faceted curriculum in Berlin. Actually, he was to read law, but philosophy attracted him greatly. This led him to make a thorough and critical study of the whole field of classical German philosophy. He was soon under the spell of Hegel's concepts even though he had at first tried to resist them. He studied "Hegel from start to finish, and along with him most of his scholars".[39] Marx, by now an ardent follower and advocate of Hegel's dialectics joined the Young Hegelian *Doktorklub*. Although one of its youngest members, he was soon the invigorating focal point of this group. Its members all thought highly of him, particularly on account of his high spirits, will-power and intellectual preponderance.

Marx was sensitive by nature, but an out-and-out militant too. In his person were combined the depths of passionate feeling and a strong character. His disposition was both light-hearted and philosophical, his thinking original, bold and critical, and his distinguishing feature an unqualified striving to acquire contemporary knowledge and put it to the use of historic progress.

Marx submitted his doctoral thesis on the difference between the philosophies of nature of Democritus and Epicurus *(Differenz der demokritischen und epikureischen Naturphilosophie)* in the spring of 1841 and so graduated from university. True that he still advanced an ideological standpoint in his dissertation, but he no longer followed Hegel blindly, or shared all the views held by his Young Hegelian friends whose subjectivism he rejected. He began to strike out for himself and aspired to merge philosophy and life, thought and action, into one unit. He urged that "philosophy become worldly".[41]

As Marx left Berlin in April of 1841, Engels failed to make his acquaintance there. Nevertheless, the Young Hegelians felt the presence of the "black lad from Trier" and "pithy demon" more than ever before in their circle:

> He doesn't simply walk, but leaps forth on his heels,
> Tearing along, raving with anger, shouting,
> Throwing his arms out high for all he's worth
> As if to pull the sky down here on earth.
> He balls his fists and flails them, ranting,
> As if the devil after him were panting.[42]

The Young Hegelians set great store by Marx's open fight against the feudal rulers and their ideology. They expected him "to give medieval religion and politics the finishing stroke"[43]. Hence, the staff of Bonn University, where Marx intended to apply for a readership, was "in actual mortal fear". One believed "Marx to be an emissary sent to pass the Last Judgement".[44] So Prussian reaction frustrated Marx's plan to declare war *ex cathedra* on feudal conditions. The result was that he became all the keener to take a personal hand in the political struggle. He found an opportunity with the *Rheinische Zeitung* in whose founding he played a decisive part.

Marx plunged into the political fray as a revolutionary democrat with the articles he wrote for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Influenced by Feuerbach's writings, he became a philosophical materialist in those days. In October of 1842, Marx was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He now stood in the front line of the anti-feudal opposition and, as a left-winger, became the leading figure of the movement.

Life demanded daily partisanship of Marx and Marx met this demand. He translated philosophy into newspaper reports, into a means of "enlightening the public", of "reaching outer ends"[45], as he put it.

It was in those days, too, that Marx applied himself to the

study of social problems and, mindful of what he had experienced as a youth in the Moselle Valley, raised his voice in aid of "the poor, the politically and socially propertyless masses".[46] He considered himself their advocate, took the part of the "*existence of the poor class* (. . .) which" had "not yet found a fitting place in the company of the conscious organization of the state"[47] and defended the interests of the non-property-holders against the men of property. His articles touched the Government authorities on the raw. In consequence, the Berlin Government decided as early as January of 1843 to ban the *Rheinische Zeitung* as of 31 March.

The revolutionary democrat was so deprived of every chance of doing political work in Germany. Richer by the intelligence that the Prussian Junkers were the mortal enemies of democracy and social progress, Marx decided to move to Paris.

But he wanted to get married first. Jenny von Westphalen, his fiancée and childhood playmate, had waited seven years for him in spite of the ill-will many of her well-born relations bore Marx. The wedding took place in June of 1843, and from then on Jenny was as much a loving wife to him and a devoted mother to his children as she was his loyal comrade-in-struggle and wise adviser.

Marx spent the months prior to his settling in Paris with extensive historical and philosophical studies. He examined Hegel's philosophy of the state and his philosophy of right critically and came to realize that history is not determined by a demiurge *(Weltgeist)*, but that economic and social relations play a decisive role in the life of society.

In October of 1843, Marx and his wife departed for France where he planned to carry on his fight against reaction in Germany. He set up a working partnership with Arnold Ruge, a bourgeois democrat, to this end, and together they founded the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in Paris.

Paris did the same for Marx as Manchester for Engels. The world of reigning capitalism Engels experienced in the one city confronted Marx in the other. The French and the English bourgeoisie had both triumphed over feudal power and unfolded their economic might. Thus, the contradictions of the bourgeois

society had come out into the open in France as in England. In France, too, the irreconcilable antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat had already become the content of social motion. The French workers were exploited just as ruthlessly as were their British class brothers. Neither the English nor the French working class had resigned itself to a gloomy fate. In France the workers were in a state of revolt. The first working-class risings–1831 and 1834 in Lyon, the centre of that country's textile industry–had been drowned in blood with the result that the French workers formed Communist underground organizations and fought the bourgeoisie more fiercely than before.

Marx studied this process of world-historic significance. He established close contacts with the leaders of the French labour movement and with the leading members of the Paris commune of the League of the Just. But he, like Engels, joined none of the existing combinations because he did not share their predominating views.

By contrast to Hegel and Feuerbach, Marx's research resulted in his arriving at an entirely new understanding of the nature of social development. His investigation "led to the result that legal relations as well as forms of state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life, the sum total of which Hegel (. . .) combines under the name of *civil society*, that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy."[48]

Marx published his findings in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Both he and Engels, whom he had signed on as a contributor, took their first steps toward substantiating historical materialism and the world-historic role of the proletariat in the *Jahrbücher*. But whereas Engels had obtained this brilliant insight principally in the course of his critical analysis of bourgeois economics, Marx had gained the selfsame knowledge above all through his critical revision of Hegel's dialectics.

This, then, was the reason why Marx chose *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* as the title for the article in which he first defined the world-historic mission of the working class. He had realized that, armed with the new

manner of viewing things, the working class is both qualified and able to destroy the bourgeois society, the bourgeois state, and its economic basis–private property–, and so to implement the social revolution and emancipate itself.

The proletariat, said Marx, is the force that will "*overturn all relations* under which Man is a humiliated, an enslaved, an abandoned, a wretched being".[49] He was convinced of the revolutionary creative power of the working class and trusted that the proletariat would adopt the new materialist manner of viewing society as the one befitting it, and act accordingly: "Just as philosophy finds its *material* weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *intellectual* weapons in philosophy."[50]

From then on, Marx devoted himself entirely to the scientific substantiation of the proletariat's historic mission and to the elaboration of the materialist conception of history. To this end he immersed himself in bourgeois economics. He also found valuable points of reference in Engels' *Critical Essays in Political Economy*. This piece of research ran parallel to an extensive study of the historical development of bourgeois society. Marx recorded his observations in the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, and it was here that he first attempted to outline the theoretical system and the component parts of scientific Communism. Arguing against both bourgeois economics and Hegel's philosophy, Marx dealt in great detail with the part labour plays in the development of Man and human society. In the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* he demonstrated that capitalist private property is the root cause of Man's alienation and exploitation, that only through the abolition of the former will the latter be overcome.

His abundance of scientific work notwithstanding, Marx kept in active touch with the democratic public. Over and above everything else, he fostered friendly contacts with many a staunch German patriot who had fled feudal reaction and found refuge in Paris, particularly with Heinrich Heine who frequently enjoyed the Marx family's hospitality.

Marx interrupted his work on the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* in the summer of 1844. Events in Germany called for his entire attention. The Silesian weavers had risen up in revolt against their capitalist exploiters in June. Marx wrote a fiery article for the *Vorwärts* in defence of this first class battle to be waged by the German proletariat. He rated the working class highly in this article as the "active element"[51] in Germany's emancipation.

Marx's endeavours to explain the historic mission of the working class also forced him to break a lance with the Bauer brothers and their followers. These philosophers were posing arrogantly as the real keepers of Hegelianism and spreading confusion in the ranks of the democratic movement of Germany. They despised the masses and claimed that the intellectuals alone constituted a force capable of forming history. This opinion had to be countered, and the fact had to be proved that by dint of their labour and political struggle the working masses were primarily the ones who at all times constituted the driving force and creators of history.

Marx planned to argue this question with the Bauer brothers and their followers in a polemic treatise, and he started to lay the groundwork for this project in the summer of 1844. He countered the views held by the contemporary philosophical idealists and Utopian Socialists by proving that the economic, social and political position the working class occupies in the capitalist society qualifies it to break the power of the bourgeoisie and construct Socialism. The proletariat, he wrote, "can and must emancipate itself. But it can only emancipate itself by destroying its own conditions of existence. It can only destroy its own conditions of existence by destroying *all* the inhuman conditions of existence of present-day society, conditions which are epitomized in its situation. It is not in vain that it passes through the rough but stimulating school of *labour*. It is not a matter of knowing what this or that proletarian, or even the proletariat as a whole, *conceives* as its aims at any particular moment. It is a question of knowing *what* the proletariat *is*, and what it must historically accomplish in accordance with its *nature*. Its aims and its historical activity are ordained for it, in a tangible and irrevocable way, by its own situation as well as by the whole organization of present-day civil society."[52]

Marx had just embarked on writing his polemic treatise when

Engels, en route to Germany from England, arrived in Paris at the end of August 1844. Two years had passed since they had first met in Cologne.

Cool reserve was now replaced on both sides by a feeling of cordial sympathy. This feeling rooted first and foremost in a number of basic mutualities in their thought and action. Severally, Marx and Engels had started to examine the hitherto conceptions of society critically in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and to overcome the outdated in them. Both had arrived at the decisive conclusion that the working class personified the future of mankind.

Marx was delighted at Engels' arrival, and Engels stayed in Paris for ten days. Marx introduced him to his fellow-combatants in Paris. Together they attended workers' meetings and gatherings. Engels found confirmed the lesson his intercourse with the English workers had taught him: Proletarians were internationalists and "free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride".[52] He thought the French workers were "capital fellows".[54]

Marx and Engels met daily to discuss their scientific work. Each had in the meantime improved on the initial foundations and elements of the new manner of viewing things they had first put to paper in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. By now, Marx had included political economy in his research work on philosophy, law and the state, and was focusing his investigations on an analysis of the economic relations of capitalism. Engels' contributions to the *Jahrbücher* had strengthened him in this decision. In addition, Marx had started to lay the groundwork for a theory of the socio-economic formations of society. And apart from all that he was busy elaborating a critique of Hegel's dialectics which he based on his extensive studies in political economy. He had begun to evolve the materialist, dialectical method upon which he subsequently based his criticism of bourgeois political economy.

In Engels he had now found a like-minded fellow-combatant. Moreover, the two were able to complement one another as scientific workers and, what was more, each could encourage and stimulate the other with his own knowledge of specific fields

of research. They were overjoyed to find that they were agreed on all theoretical questions.

Before leaving Paris, Engels wrote a contribution to the polemic treatise Marx was then drafting in order to give this meeting of the minds an immediate expression. Originally, Marx had planned to entitle his book *Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer und Consorten*, but in the end he called it *The Holy Family* in an ironical allusion to the Bauer brothers' posture. Although Engels' contribution was not a lengthy one, Marx insisted that *The Holy Family* be published as the product of their working partnership. So they were both listed as its authors when the book appeared in Frankfurt-on-Main in February of 1845.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels not only came to think highly of one another as theoreticians during those days in Paris. They became friends too. Their decades of creative co-operation, which only ceased on the threshold of death, dates back to this meeting. "Old legends contain many moving instances of friendship," Lenin wrote in later days. "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."[55]

Chapter III

1844–1848

"The First English Thing"

The first days of September 1844 saw Engels back in Barmen after his ten colourful days in Paris. He was greatly surprised by the changes that had taken place in his homeland during his absence.

With the development of capitalist industry and commerce in Germany the contradictions between proletariat and bourgeoisie had grown rapidly. The Silesian weavers' uprising in June of 1844 had given rise to other strikes in different parts of the country and these proletarian actions influenced other strata of the population in their turn: both the peasantry and the democratically-minded petty bourgeoisie proceeded to action.

The growing political activity of the progressive anti-feudal forces was making itself felt all over Germany. Opposition against the Prussian Government swelled in the ranks of the

middle classes, particularly amongst the bourgeoisie of Rhenish Prussia. Meetings were held up and down the country at which people from broad sections of the population spoke out in favour of the introduction of a constitution, advocated freedom of the press, and called for the removal of the feudal chains.

The Wupper Valley had also become the scene of protests against and opposition to Prussian reaction. Engels took a personal hand in these conflicts without a moment's hesitation. Acting in accordance with the intent of the principle he himself had coined in *The Holy Family*, i. e., that Communists needed not only to think but above all to act, Engels set to work as a political organizer and agitator. For him, it was a matter of supporting and helping to develop the trend of opposition against the obtaining conditions.

Engels set about establishing contacts with the Socialists who lived and worked in the Rhineland. Most of them were intellectuals, and Moses Hess, a publicist, was their principal theoretician. Hess had advocated Socialist ideas, albeit Utopian Socialist ones, in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in late 1842. The centre of this group was seated in Cologne.

By the beginning of October of 1844 Engels was already *en route* for Cologne. He stayed there several days and attended a number of Socialist meetings. Present, too, were lawyers, physicians, artists and officers. Engels was intent on channeling these people into a purposeful political activity and preventing them from becoming sectarians and so isolating themselves from the revolutionary anti-feudal movement. He thought it most important for Socialists to use every available opportunity for democratic agitation and–wherever they could–to thwart the bourgeoisie's plan of misleading the working class through its hypocrisy and fictitious philanthropy.

Engels, Moses Hess and Gustav Adolph Köttgen, a painter and poet, worked together in the autumn of 1844 and launched a vigorous campaign of democratic agitation in Elberfeld. They organized public meetings, and in February of 1845 Engels spoke at two of them. This, he wrote to Marx, was really "quite a different matter: to stand there in front of real live people and preach to them directly, sensually, candidly instead of

carrying on this blasted abstract pen-pushing with its abstract public in one's 'mind's eye'".[1]

Engels explained to his audience that the Communist society is far superior to capitalism and a law-governed product of historical development. Under Communism, he said, there would no longer be any antagonistic classes. The harmonizing of society's interests with those of the individual would be the principle that governed people's living together. Communism and peace would then be an organic whole. The Communist society would wage no offensive wars, but if non-Communist countries attacked it, the members of the Communist society would defend their "*true* homeland", and fight "with an enthusiasm, with an endurance, with a valour" to which every hostile army would have to succumb.[2]

Engels' speeches had a pronounced effect. They were largely instrumental in making Communism the object of universal attention and the subject of frequent discussion in the Wupper Valley. The meetings also found a considerable measure of response amongst the proletariat of Elberfeld. The workers elected from among their midst a four-strong deputation who were to report back on the debates to their fellow-workers.

These emerging links with the working class threw the Government into a state of alarm. The Prussian Minister of the Interior banned all further meetings of this kind in Elberfeld in view of the danger that would come of the spreading of Communist ideas "in the over-populated factory towns of Elberfeld, Barmen".[3] Inn-keepers were notified that they would be either fined or sent to prison in the event of their permitting Communist propaganda on their premises. Engels received a letter from the Provincial Government which declared these meetings illegal. This apart, he was informed that all further meetings would be prevented by force, and personally threatened with arrest and indictment.

It was with a very heavy heart that the 24-year-old gave up debating in public. He now concentrated on strengthening contacts between the Socialist underground groups. He travelled to Bonn, Düsseldorf, Bielefeld and Cologne. Letter writing was dangerous for the Prussian political police had become unusually

active and even controlled the mails. Nevertheless, Engels found ways and means of corresponding regularly with Marx and coming to an understanding with him both about the tasks set by the anti-feudal struggle and the further elaboration of the new world outlook.

His political activities in the Rhineland apart, Engels fostered the connections he had established with people and organizations in other countries. He stayed in touch with both the Paris and the London communes of the League of the Just, and took special care not to lose contact with the English Socialists and Chartists. He wrote a number of articles for *The New Moral World* to which he had already contributed in England. These articles covered the rise and growth of Socialist tendencies in Germany. Engels thought it essential that the interests of the international proletarian movement be met by acquainting the workers in the various lands with the progress the class struggle was making.

This broad range of activities notwithstanding, Engels never lost sight of the most important task of all: the elaboration of the materialist manner of viewing things that had first been used in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Experience showed that although the existing Socialist groups had warmly welcomed the ideas published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* they had not fully grasped their scientific and political significance. So Engels set to work to win these groups for the new ideas he and Marx advocated, and to overcome their idealist views and Utopian Socialist conceptions. The "want of a proper stay" was "really very much in evidence" everywhere. "(. . .) everything (is) still half foolishness and with most of them a blind groping about."[4]

Engels also urged Marx that evolving the new "principles logically and historically from the hitherto way of viewing things and from hitherto history, and as their necessary continuation"[5] no longer brooked delay. Another letter contains this passage: "But what we now need most of all is a couple of big works to provide a substantial prop for the many half-educated who would like to settle questions by themselves but are unable to do so."[6]

Engels was all the more delighted when he finally received a copy of *The Holy Family*, his and Marx's first joint effort, in mid-March of 1845. He informed Marx that he found it "absolutely capital", "superbly written and enough to make one split one's sides with laughter". "Your arguments (. . .) will have an excellent effect."[7]

And so they did! For the first time the educated world in Germany reacted to the publication of a book with several reviews. Most of them contained fierce attacks on Marx's and Engels' materialist and Socialist ideas. The ideological class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie began to spread, and from then on hallmarked the passage of intellectual arms between progress and reaction in an ever-growing degree.

Engels had started working on his *The Condition of the Working Class in England* as soon as he arrived in Barmen in order that he might lend an impetus to this struggle. He intended to "accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale" on behalf of the proletariat, and to tell the German bourgeoisie plainly that "it is just as bad as the English".[8]

Engels immersed himself in the material he had collected in England, arranged it, and made generalizations of his manifold observations, experiences and sociological researches. The manuscript was completed by the middle of March and he sent "the first English thing"[9] (his own flippant name for the book in a letter to Marx) to Leipzig where it appeared in late May of 1845 at the Otto Wigand Verlag.

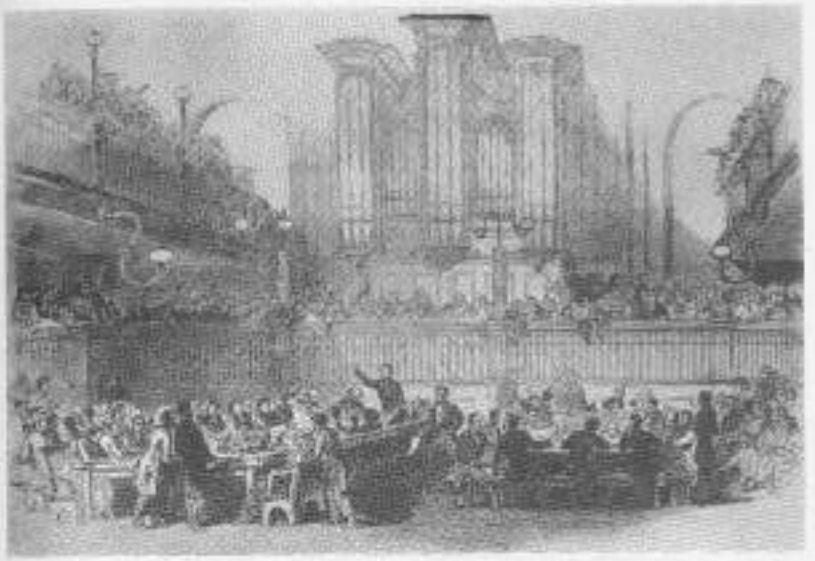
Engels' work was the first comprehensive materialist-dialectical analysis of capitalism, the condition of the proletariat in the bourgeois society and the part it plays in this society. It was a polemic treatise against the prevailing bourgeois theory of society which glorified capitalism as an ever-lasting and harmonious order of men and which disputed that the working masses constituted any sort of a force that makes history. Engels demonstrated the historical and law-governed emergence of the capitalist mode of production and the parallel rise of new antagonistic classes: the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat. He named the agent that had propelled this process:

the Industrial Revolution, capitalist industry which had transformed "tools into machines, workrooms into factories".[10] He went on to say that material production was the lever which was "putting the world out of joint."[11] This he qualified by adding that material production had at the same time engendered the means and forces that were able to break the rule of the bourgeoisie and cause the downfall of capitalism. Manufacture on a large scale, so Engels, "created the working class, and raised the elect of the middle class to the throne, but only to overthrow them the more surely when the time comes."[12]

What, however, was the essence of the capitalist system? Polemizing against bourgeois economics, Engels proved that exploitation of man by man was its distinguishing feature. "The capitalists," he stated, "seize everything for themselves, while to the weak many, the poor, scarcely a bare existence remains."[13] The bourgeois had only one interest: to exploit the workers. An operative's "willingness to work" was not enough to enable him to ensure his having the means of existence since, as Engels put it, "it does not depend upon himself whether he shall have something tomorrow."[14] The proletarian was unable to escape these exploiting relations: he was "the passive subject of all possible combinations of circumstances"[15] over which he had no control.

The working masses, wrote Engels, were utterly exposed to the ups and downs of the capitalist system. This entire system was shaken by severe crises which interrupted the law-governed concentration and centralization of production and capital. "So it goes on perpetually,–prosperity, crisis, prosperity, crisis."[16] Capitalism, said Engels, spelled job insecurity for the working man and forced him to fear for his existence. Labour under the capitalist factory system was "forced labour", and the freedom the worker enjoyed a pseudo-freedom. "Fine freedom, where the proletarian has no other choice than that of either accepting the conditions which the bourgeoisie offers him, or of starving, of freezing to death, of sleeping naked among the beasts of the forests!"[17]

Engels also gave a vivid description of the part the capitalist state plays. He argued sharply against the bourgeois ideologists



The Chartists assembled for their Convention in London on 4 April 1848



George Julian Harney



Ernest Jones

THE
FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.

ALL MEN ARE BRETHERN.

Tous les hommes sont freres.

Alle Menschen sind Brüder.

Alla människor äro bröder.

Alle Mennesker ere Brödre.

Alle mænner zijn Broeders.

GLI UOMINI SONO TUTTI FRATELLI.

Todos los hombres son hermanos.



WSZYSCY LUDZIE SA BRACMI.

Minden Ember Testvérünk.

Vsi Ljudje sout Bratj.

Entered _____

No _____ } Sec

Membership card of the Fraternal Democrats

Die Lage

der

arbeitenden Klasse

in

England.

Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen

von

Friedrich Engels.

Leipzig.

Druck und Verlag von Otto Wigand.

1845.

Dust-jacket of the first edition of
The Condition of the Working Class in England

Die heilige Familie,

oder

Kritik

der

kritischen Kritik.

Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten.

Von

Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.

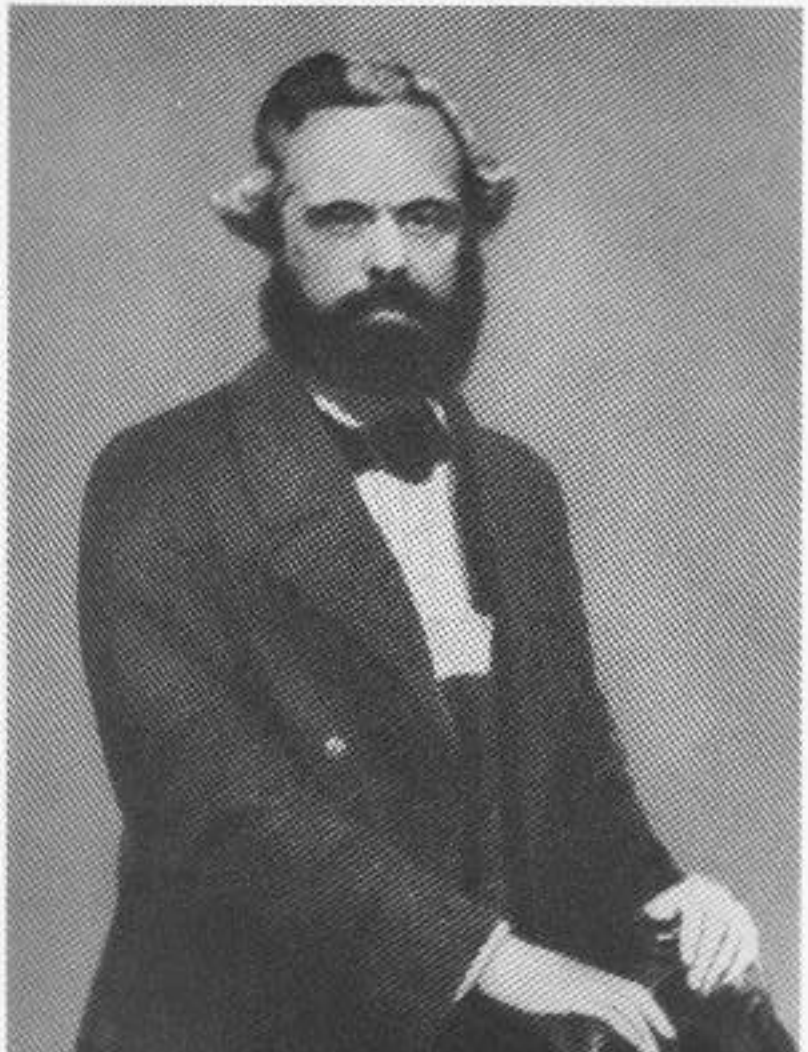
Frankfurt a. M.

Literarische Anstalt.

(J. Rütten.)

1845.

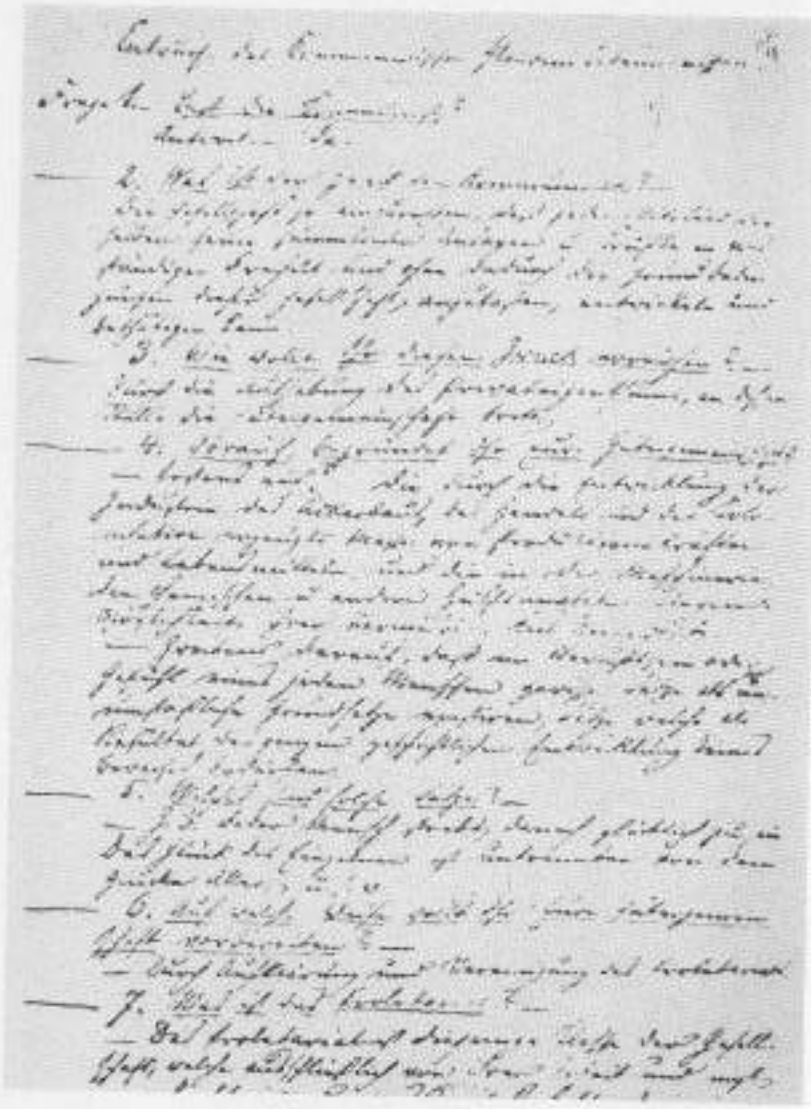
Title page of the first edition of *The Holy Family*



Karl Marx in 1861



Frederick Engels in 1845



Page one of the draft of the
Communist Confession of Faith,
written by Frederick Engels

who glorified this state as an instrument of class reconciliation when in actual fact it is exactly the opposite. He proved that the capitalist state constitutes the power the bourgeoisie wields to protect and maintain its "monopoly of all means of existence in the broadest sense of the word."[18] Hence, he argued, the capitalist state is the workers' enemy. The police and the law were employed only to force the proletarian to let himself be exploited right up to the end of his life. Based on hostility toward the proletariat, the law was "sacred to the bourgeois, for it is his own composition, enacted with his consent, and for his benefit and protection."[19] The law for the worker was something totally different: "a rod which the bourgeois has prepared for him."[20] To this we can add that the leopard state of the late capitalist system has changed none of its spots.

Engels presented a wealth of details to disprove the views held by the Utopian Socialists and prove that the state of the working class makes it the irreconcilable antagonist of the bourgeoisie. He declared that the interests of the bourgeoisie were "diametrically opposed"[21] to those of the workers. He explained the necessity of struggle between the two classes, and demonstrated that the proletariat is fully justified in waging it. Class struggle, said Engels, is one of the laws of capitalist society, and the proletarian's opposition to and fight against the bourgeoisie are truly humanitarian.

Engels used the example of the English working class to prove the fact that the worker also best and most quickly unfolds his personality within the framework of this class's organized struggle against the bourgeoisie. "Since (. . .) no single field for the exercise of his manhood is left to him, save his opposition to the whole conditions of his life, it is natural that exactly in this opposition he should be most manly, noblest, most worthy of sympathy."[22] Class struggle, said Engels, was the most important means of forging the workers' character and developing their consciousness. Moreover, it was the decisive criterion for the degree in which the individual worker felt a sense of commitment to the fate of his class as well as that of mankind. Engels went on to point out that abandoning this struggle demoralized the worker. Those who forsook it "bow humbly

before the fate that overtakes them, live a respectful life as well as they can, do not concern themselves as to the course of public affairs, help the bourgeoisie to forge the chains of the workers yet more securely".[23]

From the first word to the last, Engels' book was imbued with the idea that the future belongs to the working class. Arguing sharply against the bourgeois ideology, he proved that the proletariat epitomizes the progress of mankind both subjectively (on the grounds of its moral, intellectual and revolutionary qualities) and objectively (by reason of its state and position). The bourgeois, he said, "is essentially conservative in however liberal a guise, his interest is bound up with that of the property-holding class, he is dead to all active movement, he is losing his position in the forefront of (England's) historical development. The workers are taking his place, in rightful claim first, then in fact."[24] In the working class, declared Engels, "reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation."[25]

Engels observes in another part of his book that, as the leader of the nation, the working class embodies distinguishing features utterly different from those of the bourgeoisie. The latter "plundered the whole nation" for its "own individual advantage"[26]. Its "national interests" are selfishness and money-greed, said Engels, and added that this sort of "nationality is annihilated in the working-man."[27] The working class leads the nation in a spirit "free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride"[28] because the workers of all lands have common interests.

However, Engels left no doubt open that the English proletariat was as yet unable to defeat the bourgeoisie and assume the leadership of the nation. Only "the true proletarian Socialism" was qualified to "play a weighty part in the history of the development of the English people."[29] This Utopian Socialism would be unable to do. Only the Socialism that had been purified of its bourgeois elements would be able to play this role. The "merging" of this Socialism with the true proletariat incarnate would result in the emergence of a "new party", and then and then only would the "working class be the true (intellectual) leader of England."[30]

The "true proletarian Socialism" found its creators in Marx and Engels who also became the founders and the first members of the "new party" of Communism. They united scientific theory with the labour movement and so enabled the proletariat to break the rule of the bourgeoisie and assume the leadership of the nation. The accomplishment of this task was to become the world-historic merit of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* was a brilliant contribution toward this effort. As an old man, Engels was still proud of the book he had written in his youth, and when he wrote the preface to the English edition at the age of 72 he found that "his production bears the stamp of his youth with its good and faulty features, of neither of which he feels ashamed."[31] True that the book exhibited everywhere the traces of the descent of modern Socialism from one of its ancestors, German classical philosophy, but it best showed the extent to which Engels had worked independently on the elaboration of the new world outlook.

Present-day bourgeois critics of Marxism-Leninism negate or pass over in silence Engels' original contribution to the founding of the proletarian world outlook. Several Social Democratic ideologists are seeking to belittle the significance of Engels' book by claiming that it is "historically restricted" and "scientifically contestable". One and all, they want so to narrow down the broad practical and theoretical foundation upon which Marx and Engels based the new world outlook, to cast a veil over the fact that Marxism absorbed all the essential achievements of mankind's progressive thinking, digested them critically, and so preserved them.

Marx always thought highly of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. He was still praising the work seventeen years after its publication: "How freshly and passionately, with what bold anticipation 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."[32]

Many decades later, the young Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was equally enthusiastic when he read Engels' first book, that

"terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie": "Many even before Engels had described the suffering of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that *not only* was the proletariat a suffering class, but that, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat was driving it irresistibly forward and compelling it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *would help itself*. The political movement of the working class would inevitably lead the workers to realize that their only salvation lay in Socialism. On the other hand, Socialism would become a force only when it became the aim of the *political* struggle of the working *class*. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book (. . .), ideas which have now been adopted by all thinking and fighting proletarians, but which at that time were entirely new."[33]

Engels' book became the subject of ideological debate in Germany soon after it appeared. It was reviewed by several of the more important German journals and papers, and the democratically-minded bourgeoisie was very interested in it. The *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* rated it as a work of "lasting worth"[34] whilst progressive students discussed the book spiritedly and in the affirmative. On the other hand, literary critics who were akin to feudal reaction or the bourgeoisie mostly rejected it indignantly.

Engels' work was instrumental in arousing a first measure of broad interest in Germany for the emerging ideas of scientific Communism. The book helped staunch democrats and Socialists to grasp the fundamentals of the new theory and to side with Marx and Engels.

The atmosphere at home in Barmen had become intolerable ever since Engels had openly professed Communism and told his father that he intended "definitely to give up huckstering"[35] and be a full-time revolutionary writer. Engels senior made life wretched for his son who thought him "capable of turning me out".[36] But he put up with his father's taunts patiently since he was determined to emigrate to Brussels anyway as soon as possible to live and work at Marx's side. Not one of the least reasons for Engels' forbearance was his disinclination to quarrel with

the whole family, and particularly his mother whom he loved dearly. Then again, he was loath to hand over the running of the Communist agitation and propaganda he had launched because, as he put it, the people all needed "to be spurred on in order that they stay with the right activity and not slip into all sorts of tarradiddles or be led astray".[37] Nevertheless: "If I did not have to record daily in my book the most horrifying stories about English society," he groaned in a letter to Marx, "I believe I would already have become rusty; but that at least kept my blood boiling with rage."[38]

Engels was very worried about his friend. Pressurized by Prussian reaction, the French Government had banished Marx from France at the beginning of February 1845, and he had moved on to Brussels. Engels knew that Marx's modest funds were exhausted and so he tried all the harder to help him. He called the Socialists in the Rhineland to start a solidarity drive, and placed at Marx's disposal the first instalment of his royalties for *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. It was bad enough that Marx had been expelled, and Engels was determined that the "curs (. . .)" should "at least not have the pleasure of embarrassing" his friend "financially through their infamy".[39]

Engels wanted to be at his friend's and fellow-combatant's side in this extremely difficult situation and so he left Barmen to settle in Brussels in early April of 1845.

The New World Outlook

Engels took rooms in Brussels in the working-class district of Saint Josse ten Noode. He lived next door to the Marx family, namely at 7 rue de l'Alliance. Mary Burns left England within the year to make her home with Engels. The young couple lived together in a free association based on reciprocal respect and independence, an occurrence not infrequent amongst their free-thinking contemporaries who felt disinclined to bow to the precepts of bourgeois morality.

Marx and Engels soon had a mutual circle of friends and acquaintances. Amongst them were Heinrich Bürgers from Cologne, who had left Paris together with Marx, the publicist Sebastian Seiler and, in the beginning, Moses Hess, whose philosophical and political views Marx and Engels eyed very critically notwithstanding their friendly relationship with the

former and his wife. Visitors included the writer Ferdinand Freiligrath and Joseph Weydemeyer, erstwhile officer and geometer turned publicist. Georg Weerth stayed with Marx and Engels in early July of 1845.

With its numerous refugees Brussels was one of the centres of the international democratic movement during the forties. Marx and Engels established particularly vigorous contacts with the Belgian and Polish democrats and Communists. The two Germans included among their more intimate friends Philippe Gigot, a young Belgian archivist and Communist, and Joachim Lelewel, the Polish historian and politician who had taken part in the Polish uprising of 1830–31 and served in the Provisional Government.

Actually, Engels had planned to return shortly to Barmen in early June, the month set for the marriage of Marie, his favourite sister, to the merchant Emil Blank. But he had to give up the idea because he got into difficulties with the police when he applied for a passport. The Police Administration of Brussels refused his request for a pass to Prussia–giving as its reason that he had arrived in Belgium only recently. Engels could not cross the frontier with only his Prussian emigration papers and no passport, and so he had to resign himself to sending his sister an affectionate letter to congratulate her on the event.

Engels accompanied Marx to England in mid-July of 1845. Here, they wanted to improve their economics and establish closer contacts with the heads of the League of the Just and the Chartists. Engels greatly enjoyed acquainting Marx with life in England, showing him the ropes of British industry, and introducing him to the workers' trade unions and political organizations. This journey also played an important part in the way the two friends influenced each other intellectually. Engels stimulated Marx greatly to review Utopian Socialism even more extensively during those weeks, and together they studied the economic, social and political questions of the land.

Manchester was the first station of their trip, and here, in Chetham's Library, they read older English works that were difficult to procure on the continent. How closely Marx and Engels collaborated here is evidenced by their notebooks where

each jotted down excerpts from the books he read, as well as many a reference to the researches of the other.

Marx and Engels travelled to London in August. They met the leaders of the League of the Just which had assumed an increasingly international character in these years. The watchmaker Joseph Moll, the shoemaker Heinrich Bauer, and Karl Schapper, who earned a miserable living by teaching foreign languages, still ranked amongst the League's leaders in London. The three soon became Marx's and Engels' intimate fellow-combatants. Engels took this opportunity to call on the leaders of the left-wing Chartists, and he also introduced Marx to Julian Harney and his friends.

In London, Marx and Engels went to a meeting that was attended by Chartists, members of the League of the Just, and prominent British and emigrant democrats. It was here that Engels moved that a convention of all the democrats who lived in London be convoked, and that there he founded a society for the advancement of the international democratic movement. The motion was passed, but the convention did not meet until 22 September, the anniversary of the foundation of the First French Republic, and by this time Marx and Engels had already returned to Brussels. It decided the foundation of an international association: the Fraternal Democrats.

Back in Brussels, Engels wrote several articles for the *Northern Star*. This he evidently did at Harney's request. One of these contributions covered the latest events in the German labour movement. From then on, Engels was again a regular contributor to the influential Chartist paper. During the months that followed he wrote three articles *(Deutsche Zustände)* for the paper where he gave the British workers an insight into post-18th-century developments in Germany.

Engels also suggested that the Chartists, who always commemorated the great democrats of all lands at their meetings, honour Thomas Münzer, "the famous leader of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525, who was a true democrat", and Georg Forster, "Germany's Thomas Paine who defended the French Revolution in Paris to the last ditch against all his compatriots".[49]

This, too, was the time when Engels proceeded to come to

grips with the "true" Socialists in a number of articles he published in various annals. The "true" Socialists–Marx and Engels always referred to them thus ironically–were a group of writers who had gathered around Moses Hess and Karl Grün. True that they criticized capitalism, but not like Marx and Engels from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat. They criticized capitalism from the point of view of the petty bourgeois who fears the growth of capitalism and the class struggles it engenders between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The "true" Socialists held that an understanding, overflowing with love on the part of all classes could change social relations. Instead of proceeding from reality, they concocted the Utopian ideal of a society and measured reality up against this model. They set the conception of a peaceful "humane" emancipation against political revolution, rejected the proletariat's revolutionary struggle for a Socialist social system, and so justified the negative attitude they had toward the fight for bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms which still had to be waged in Germany.

These "true" Socialists are the intellectual ancestors of today's petty bourgeois intellectuals who oppose scientific Communism and its implementation in the Socialist countries, call for "humane Socialism" and, under the slogan of "making Socialism human", want to eliminate its foundations.

Whilst Marx and Engels were able to influence the few democratic papers and journals in Germany in only a small way from their place of exile, the "true" Socialists frequently managed to exercise a determinant sway over them. "True" Socialist ideas also started to spread in the French and English centres of the League of the Just as from 1845, and the peaceful-Utopian trend in the League was given a fresh impetus.

"True" Socialism was incapable of carrying out the revolutionary tasks the democratic movement had to execute in Germany. Its representatives disowned the historic role of the working class and, as the leading social force, put the intelligentsia in its stead. By contrast, Engels formulated the following principal tasks for Communists in this coming-to-grips with the political conception this school held: "Revolutionize Germany, set the proletariat in motion, make the masses think and act".[51] He al-

ways emphasized the democratic nature of the proletarian movement, the connection between democracy and Socialism, and stressed that for him and his like-minded friends democracy meant a "proletarian principle, principle of the masses".[42]

Marx and Engels had won a deeper insight into the theoretical and practical needs of class struggle in England. They found that ideas were spreading in the Communist movement which obstructed the assimilation of their own new knowledge. This they must have discovered at the latest when they returned from England. To this had to be added the fact that the respect they had paid Feuerbach in *The Holy Family* had often given people the impression that there were no important differences between their own views and those of Feuerbach. In the meantime, however, Marx above all had realized what the real shortcoming of Feuerbach's philosophy was: "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."[43] Divorced from historical conditions, Feuerbach's abstract conceptions of Communism and the emancipation of Man were unable to furnish the working class with the insight that capitalist relationships had to be overcome by revolutionary means.

Hence, Marx and Engels decided to write "a polemic treatise against German philosophy and subsequent *German Socialism*"[44] in advance of a detailed elucidation of their new, proletarian world outlook. The outcome of six months of collaboration was a bulky manuscript they entitled *German Ideology*. This book laid some of the essential philosophical foundations of scientific Communism. Forty years later, Engels appraised it as "an *infinitely* impudent piece of work".[45] The two friends vastly enjoyed ridiculing without mercy the various representatives of Young Hegelianism, which had grown politically sterile, and the "true" Socialists who waxed enthusiastic about deeds that would put the world out of joint, but left everything as it was in practice. Decades later, Helene Demuth, the Marx family's housekeeper and faithful friend, recalled the nightly laughter that echoed through the house so loudly when Engels and Marx discussed their work that the other residents were often unable to sleep.

In *German Ideology* Marx and Engels not only criticized the systems and constructions of post-Hegelian philosophy and "true" Socialism for their scientific errors, mistaken conclusions, one-sided views and unqualified statements, but exposed their socio-economic roots for the first time as well. They presented convincing proof of the fact that not one of these doctrines was a scientific world outlook or a guide to action for the working class.

This basic coming-to-grips with the idealistic philosophy of history was a continuation of the critique of philosophical idealism. In essence, Marx and Engels disproved the concept that the real world is a product of the ideal world, that ideas, conceptions, or terms determine developments in nature and society. They proved that matter is primary.

German Ideology was largely written during the early months of 1846. Marx and Engels also elaborated a number of special sections over this period where they gave a relatively consecutive elucidation of the most important findings of the materialist conception of history and, with the help of examples taken from history, showed them to be correct. The two friends decided to collate these expositions in a special chapter and so preface their book. Also, they were to be combined with a critique of Feuerbach's materialism. It was in this chapter that they answered questions which were then being discussed hotly in the League of the Just, e. g.: What is the goal of Communism? When is mankind ripe for Communism? How can Communism be erected? Which is the class that will be able to lead the human race to Communism?

Marx and Engels gave all Utopianism and every sort of system-making a wide berth when they answered these questions. With *German Ideology* they thus advanced an important step toward the target they had set themselves: to furnish a scientific substantiation for the historic mission of the working class. This they achieved by generalizing the knowledge they had hitherto obtained from their comprehensive economic, philosophical and historical researches. But they also emphasized that the most difficult task still lay ahead of them: the concrete study of what really went on in the life of the masses, and their actions, in each and every historical epoch.

Marx and Engels were still working on the first chapter of *German Ideology* in May of 1846, but the rest of the manuscript was complete by then. They wanted it to appear in Germany but were unable to find either a publisher or a printer for their voluminous work. Engels looked for a publisher until 1847 but received one letter of refusal after another. He wrote an annex to Volume II, entitled *Die wahren Sozialisten*, in early 1847. The two friends stopped working on *German Ideology* when all attempts to find a publisher had failed. The first chapter remained unfinished. Engels took possession of the manuscript, "in so far as not eaten by mice"[48], after Marx's death and used it frequently for his elaborations. The first complete edition of *German Ideology* only appeared as late as 1932 in the Soviet Union.

German Ideology was Marx's and Engels' first relatively compact exposition of their dialectical-materialist conception of history. Here they uncovered the basic laws that govern the motion of human society, demonstrated the historical necessity of the victory of Communism, and evolved scientifically substantiated ideas about the Communist society. In addition, the two friends considerably deepened and perfected their theory of the historic mission of the working class.

Marx and Engels proceeded by stating the premises from which they began: the real individuals, their activity and their material conditions of existence–those which they find already in existence and those produced by their activity. Their observations centred not around "Man" as such, but around the concrete, historical changes and developments that occur in men in the course of their practical activity. Considering that men must be in a position to live, the first historical act consists in the production of the means they need to be able to live: the production of material life itself. The production of material life is the presupposition of men's physical existence and, at the same time, of a certain way of life. "What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, with *what* they produce and with *how* they produce it."[47]

Marx and Engels realized that the production of material life constitutes not only a relationship between men and nature, but a social relationship too: a certain way in which individuals

work together, "a materialistic connection of men with one another, which is determined by their needs and their mode of production, and which is as old as men themselves. This connection is ever taking on new forms, and thus presents a 'history' independently of the existence of any political or religious nonsense which would especially hold men together."[48]

In *German Ideology*, Marx and Engels explored the law-governed connection between the development of productive forces and relations of production. They found that in the process of labour the objective preconditions of production and men's abilities both become productive forces. These productive forces, they said, are the most revolutionary element of social development. Their development always takes place under certain relations of production (which Marx and Engels were still calling "forms of intercourse", "modes of intercourse" or "means of intercourse" in *German Ideology*). At a certain stage of their development the productive forces come into conflict with the existing relations of production, and productive relations which had previously lent themselves to the upswing of the productive forces now turn into their fetters. This conflict is resolved by social revolution. History's essential driving forces are material by nature; human history needs no "initial impetus", no spiritual creator.

Property relations are the determinant relations of production, "relations of individuals to one another with reference to the material, instrument and product of labour."[49] This explains why Marx and Engels said that changing property relations are the most important feature distinguishing the replacement of one historical epoch by another.

Marx and Engels also exposed the main driving force of social development when they discovered the contradiction between productive forces and productive relations. They showed that the stage productive forces and production relationships reach in their development–the totality of the relations of production of material life–determines the social and political organization of a society, its class relations and the character of the state. They went on to say that the explanation for the various philosophical and other ideas can only be sought in these rela-

tions. It is social being that determines social consciousness and not the other way round. From their analysis of the relationship prevailing between being and consciousness Marx and Engels concluded that ideas and ideologies have a class character, that the ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: for the class which has the means of material production at its disposal also controls the means of intellectual production. Consequently, the ruling ideas serve the objective purpose of maintaining and strengthening the economic and political power of the ruling class.

In their manuscript, Marx and Engels outlined the principal phases of development of human society. They created important foundations for the theory that a socio-economic formation is an integral social organism, and proceeded to analyse capitalist society on a level higher than in their previous works. They proved that "private property is a necessary form of intercourse for certain stages in the productive forces' development"[50], but that it turned into an impediment for the productive forces engendered by the bourgeois society. The productive forces' development leads to the means of production being concentrated in the hands of a very few owners, and results in a concentration of the propertyless masses. Thus is born the industrial proletariat, the class qualified to accomplish the revolutionary process of abolishing the capitalist relations of exploitation and constructing the Communist society. Marx and Engels demonstrated that the reason for the leading role the working class plays needs to be sought in the proletariat's objective interests, that these interests are the outcome of the position the working class occupies in the process of material production.

Marx and Engels pointed for the first time in *German Ideology* to the need for the working class to take over political power. They further evolved their conception of the state by exposing the link obtaining between the dominant relations of production and the political organization of society. They wrote that the bourgeois state is the instrument of the bourgeoisie, "the form of organization which the bourgeois necessarily adopt both for internal and external purposes, for the guarantee of their property and interests."[51] It followed that the working class had

to overthrow the bourgeois state, that "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".[52]

Thanks to their analysis of the production of material life and, above all, to their uncovering of the material propelling agents of social development, Marx and Engels were already able to perceive scientifically essential processes and concatenations of the Communist society in *German Ideology*. Communism, they stated, can only be erected on the foundation of the social ownership of the means of production. Communism is no ideal, no state of affairs, but an historic process: "Communism differs from all previous movements in that it overturns the basis of all earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time consciously treats all natural premises as the creatures of hitherto existing men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of the united individuals. Its organization is, therefore, essentially economic, the material production of the conditions of this unity".[53] That the productive forces reach a high stage of development is the precondition for Communism. Universal relations of men to one another will only become possible with the universal development of the productive forces, and these universal relations will be typical of the new human society, the new community of men.

Relations between the individual and the community stood in the focal point of Marx's and Engels' predictions about the Communist society. Social ownership of the means of production, they said, will enable all members of society to appropriate the fruits of production under Communism. But social appropriation embraced even more since it included the conscious development of the productive forces, the all-round unfolding of each individual's abilities, and the conscious shaping of social relations by the community of Communist people. Men, however, would always only be able to develop so far as the existing productive forces permitted, and never in the manner prescribed or allowed by some abstract ideal men had fashioned.

Marx and Engels had already looked into the question of

alienation in previous writings. In *German Ideology*, they researched into the material causes of alienation, i. e., the social situation that is typical of capitalism where the products, social conditions, institutions and ideologies men make confront them as alien powers by which they are themselves controlled. These investigations led to important findings: The worker is alienated from the means of production and the products of his labour under the conditions of capitalist wage labour. Alienated labour and private property are mutually dependent. Political alienation takes the shape of the contradiction between the popular masses and the exploiter state which appears to the individuals "not as their own united power, but as an alien force existing outside them".[54]

Many a bourgeois ideologist has tried to make out that Marx and Engels regarded alienation as an ahistorical, everlasting category. The object of this exercise is to bring the theory established by the founders of Marxism into conflict with today's real, obtaining Socialism, and to set as "actual" Marxism against revolutionary Marxism the insights that were not yet fully complete when the two friends recorded them in their first writings. It is only natural that Marx and Engels stated more definitely and clearly in their later writings many of the things they sometimes only touched on broadly in their early works. But this reduces none of the revolutionary content of the ideas they set down in their early elaborations. Marx and Engels demonstrated that human alienation derives from private property. They said that the root-cause of alienation lies in the basic contradiction of capitalism, and that alienation will be overcome along with the overcoming of capitalism. All forms of exploitation and oppression, and with them alienation, will be abolished in the Socialist society. As early as 1844 Marx had written: "*Communism* is the *positive* abolition of *private property*, of *human self-alienation*, and thus, the real *appropriation* of *human* nature, through and for Man. It is therefore the return of Man himself as a *social*, that is, really human, being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development."[55]

Marx and Engels explained in *German Ideology* that the development of social property would be paralleled by the unfolding of a community, consciously formed by men, desired, and borne by their sense of mutual responsibility: a community where each individual could fully assert his abilities. "Only in community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions".[56] Both the new community of men and the Communist personality would primarily develop through labour which would then be a free, creative activity.

Communism requires that men themselves be changed on a large scale, wrote Marx and Engels. They both agreed with the organized labour movement that this vast task has to be carried out by the most advanced part of the class, by the Party. But they did not abstract this task of changing the workers' consciousness and life-time habits from obtaining historical processes. Communism, they said, is an historic movement in which men revolutionize the existing conditions and so change themselves. Their materialist conception of history enabled Marx and Engels to expound concretely the basis upon which ideas become effective and a revolutionary force in history.

From Brussels to Paris

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were by no means of the opinion that "the new scientific results should be confided in large tomes exclusively to the 'learned' world."[27] Having laid the theoretical foundations for the future transformation of society and the creation of a revolutionary working-class Party, they now considered winning over "the European and in the first place the German proletariat"[28] to their conviction to be their most important task. Seeing that they wanted to disseminate their ideas amongst the people who were qualified to translate revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice, it followed that scientific Communism had now to be linked with the labour movement. For Marx and Engels, this was the only possible conclusion to be derived from their knowledge of the historic mission of the working class.

But, as Lenin observed, in those days Marx's and Engels' theory was "only one of the extremely numerous factions or trends of Socialism."[29] Although the only scientific world outlook, it did not dominate amongst the various theories that swayed the thinking of the progressive workers. On the contrary: Utopian Socialism, petty bourgeois and bourgeois philanthropism and social reformism, and even liberal conceptions, still led the fashion in this field.

From 1846 onward, Frederick Engels and Karl Marx therefore devoted themselves more and more to the practical work connected with the setting up of a proletarian Party, activities in the revolutionary labour movement, and to its immediate guidance. Several falsifiers of Marxism pass over in silence precisely this aspect of Marx's and Engels' activity. At best, they are willing to let them count as significant but secluded theoreticians and scholars who were ignorant of the ways of the world. For Marx and Engels, however, revolutionary theory was only meaningful when tried in proletarian class struggle and implemented by the Party.

In February of 1846, Marx, Engels and Gigot founded the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels. The other members of the Committee were: Wilhelm Wolff, who had become known as the advocate of the Silesian weavers, peasants and workers and, after fleeing Prussia in April of 1846, had struck up a friendship with Marx and Engels; the journalists Louis Heilberg, Sebastian Seiler and Ferdinand Wolff; Edgar von Westphalen, Jenny Marx's younger brother; Joseph Weydemeyer, who was a friend of the Marx family until he died, and, in the beginning, Wilhelm Weitling, the journeyman-tailor and theoretician of German Utopian Communism. This Committee had the job of establishing connections between the Communists in the various countries by a lively correspondence which was carried on by Marx, Engels and Gigot, helping to overcome differences of opinion, and gradually launching a comprehensive international Communist propaganda campaign.

The founding of the Correspondence Committee in Brussels initiated the merger of scientific Communism with the labour movement, particularly the League of the Just, and the estab-

lishment of the first revolutionary working-class Party to be equipped with scientific knowledge. The work the Correspondence Committee accomplished set a far-reaching process of clarification going amongst the most progressive workers. This process was accompanied by a fierce passage of intellectual arms with the bourgeois ideology and with petty bourgeois, especially Utopian, views.

Committee work was made all the harder by the poverty its members had to grapple with daily. Engels, as did Marx and his family, lived in straitened circumstances in Brussels. The two friends were hard hit when the advance royalties for *German Ideology* failed to materialize. Marx was forced to take the last of the family gold and silver to the pawnshop, but even then was unable to tide over his financial difficulties. Engels had had to pawn possessions for 150 francs and these he wanted to redeem before his father, *en route* for England on a business trip, visited him in Brussels. On 3 April, Engels was obliged to write to his brother-in-law Emil Blank in London and ask him to lend him £ 6 or 150 francs "post-haste" as his father had not sent the money he, Engels, was expecting. The letter explains why he was so hard up: "The whole mess comes of my having scarcely earned a penny all this winter, and so my wife and I have virtually had to live on only the money I received from home and that was not very much."[48]

In June Engels, as the Marx family before him, could no longer afford his rooms in the rue de l'Alliance. He, too, was forced to give up the household that was now beyond his means. He and Mary Burns moved to the more reasonably priced Bois Sauvage Inn, at 19 Plaine Ste. Gudule, where Marx had already taken lodgings with his family. The two friends were so hard up that acquaintances in Germany who were already helping to support Marx even had to collect the money amongst themselves needed to run the Correspondence Committee.

Georg Weerth stayed at the same inn as Marx and Engels in the summer of 1846. He wrote a letter to his mother to tell her that "good friends, whose conversation is very interesting, live here. The famous Marx is living in the room opposite to mine with his very beautiful and well-educated wife and two bonny

children. Fried. Engels, whose book on England you have read, is staying here too. His wife is an English girl from Manchester so we converse half in English and half in German."[49] It was during those weeks of togetherness that Weerth made Marx's and Engels' basic views on economic, philosophical, political and historical questions his own.

The Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee had soon established a host of international connections. Marx and Engels endeavoured to set up branch committees wherever Socialist groups were at work. The Committee's contacts with Harney and other revolutionary Chartist leaders in Britain proved to be of invaluable assistance. Furthermore, the Brussels Committee got into touch with Belgian and French Socialist and, this apart, was also able to gain supporters amongst the Socialist intellectuals in Germany with whom it started to correspond. The London Communists used their own contacts and urged the members of the League of the Just also to set up committees of relations in other towns.

These various efforts fruited in the founding of Communist Correspondence committees, or the establishment of firm connections with Communists, in London, Paris, Le Havre, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Berlin, Cologne, Elberfeld, Hamburg, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Breslau and other cities in the course of 1846. Marx and Engels regarded these mostly small groups as pads from which they would launch their ideas into the world of labour. The Brussels Correspondence Committee developed into an important ideological and political centre of the Communist movement.

Pushing through the knowledge of the historic role of the proletariat was only feasible by polemizing with those ideological conceptions that had hitherto swayed the way the most progressive workers looked at things. The most important of these conceptions were Wilhelm Weitling's Utopian Communism, the teachings of the French petty bourgeois Socialist Proudhon, and the views spread by "true" Socialism. Marx and Engels were apt to make a mock of the latter by referring to it as "German" Socialism on account of its leanings toward national arrogance.

The Brussels Committee had its first big ideological argu-

ment with Wilhelm Weitling's Utopianism. Ever since 1842, the year he became famous for his principal work, *Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom*, Weitling had occupied a special position in the ranks of the League of the Just. Marx and Engels thought highly of him as a champion of Communist ideas which already bordered on the realization that the working class must emancipate itself. But Weitling remained a captive of his Utopian views as far as the way of bringing about this emancipation was concerned.

Marx and Engels very patiently endeavoured to win Weitling over as an ally when he came to Brussels from London in the spring of 1846. He was admitted to the extended circle of the Communist Correspondence Committee, and Marx and Engels tried to convince him that the proletariat needs a scientific theory instead of a propaganda that appeals exclusively to feelings and elementary class instincts; that neither spontaneous revolt nor sectarian, conspirative tactics can lead to its emancipation, and that what is needed is a mass political movement which has to be headed by a Party with clear-cut objectives.

The members of the Brussels Correspondence Committee gathered for a meeting on 30 March 1846. It was opened by Engels who said that clarity needed to be reached about the opinions the several members held and that they would have to hammer out a joint conception which might serve one and all as a guide to action. He was followed by Weitling who stated that the Communist revolution was about to break out in Germany, that the Committee, instead of debating theoretical problems, ought to call on the workers to swing into action. Karl Marx countered these whimsical speculations sharply. He pointed out that the Committee would be playing an unscrupulous game if, without having scientifically substantiated views on the course and the target of the proletarian fight for emancipation, it called on the workers. None of the Committee members agreed with Weitling. It was plain that he was no longer able to help further develop either the Communist theory or the proletarian movement.

In May of 1846, shortly after their discussion with Weitling, the members of the Brussels Correspondence Committee had to

break a lance with a typical representative of "true" Socialism: Hermann Kriege who was giving himself out to be an emissary of the League of the Just in the United States of America. Kriege was in close touch with Weitling.

Marx and Engels saw to it that the Committee debated Kriege's views and, indeed, the whole trend of "true" Socialism. They submitted draft resolutions to the Committee which were passed with only one vote of dissent–Weitling's. The "true" Socialists' concepts were condemned as non-Communist, sickly sentimental, and demoralizing for workers. Their activity was described as "compromising in the highest degree for the Communist Party".[8]

Weitling sided openly with Kriege after this meeting and so brought about the final breach with the Correspondence Committee. Moses Hess endorsed Kriege's and Weitling's position and from Verviers, a town near Liege where he was staying at the time, wrote that he wanted nothing more to do with Marx's and Engels' party. Hess and Weitling did not, however, succeed in setting up a counter-faction to the Brussels Correspondence Committee. Hess moved to Cologne in the summer, and Weitling went to America at Kriege's invitation at the end of the year.

In August of 1846, the Communist Correspondence Committee sent Frederick Engels to Paris where he was to help the German Communists to come to grips with the "true" Socialists who were still swaying the League's communes in Paris, and set up a branch committee. In addition, he had been assigned the task of establishing contacts with the representatives of the French labour movement.

"True" or "humane" Socialism was disseminated in the League of the Just's communes in Paris by Karl Grün. Grün parroted Hess eagerly. In 1846, he wrote a wealth of articles, plunged into extensive propaganda activities, and so gradually became the principal representative of "true" Socialism. The Brussels Committee's efforts to dispel Grün's influence in Paris with the help of Hermann Ewerbeck, the then leader of the League of the Just in Paris, had met with failure. Engels now had the task of winning over this centre of the League to scientific Communism. During the latter half of 1846, Engels managed to start a flourishing correspondence between Paris and Brussels, and

from Paris he himself sent several letters to the Brussels Committee. Three of them have been preserved.

Engels resided at 11 rue de l'arbre sec at first and, in the autumn, moved to 23 rue de Lille (both houses stood in the St. Germain district of Paris). His financial worries had by no means grown less, and in his first letter to Marx, dated 19 August, Engels explains why he cannot stamp the envelope: "... because I am pinched for money and expect none before 1 October".[52] It was not until October that he was able to meet the expenses incurred by his correspondence with Marx and the Brussels Committee. He even notified Marx that he would remit 25 francs to the Committee's funds as soon as he received his royalties for his "description of the recently founded and extant Communist settlements" in America and England. The publication Engels referred to appeared in Darmstadt.

One of the first calls Engels made in Paris was on Etienne Cabet, influential Utopian Communist and editor of *Le Populaire*. But he failed to win Cabet's support for the Correspondence Committee.

Engels also visited Heinrich Heine, the intimate friend of Karl Marx. He found him in a sorry state of health and, in addition, depressed and melancholy. Afterwards Engels wrote to the Committee that mentally, Heine was certainly full of energy, but that his appearance was enough to make all who saw him "feel extremely doleful".[53]

Engels kept the Committee posted about the discussions he was having with the members of the League of the Just. It became evident that guild concepts still swayed these craftsmen and that both petty bourgeois views and the phraseology of "true" Socialism, i. e., universal happiness for the human race and harmony, had fallen on fertile ground here.

Engels had to come to grips with Karl Grün over and above anyone else. Grün was disseminating a fantastic "plan for world redemption" which had been blueprinted by Proudhon, the French petty-bourgeois Utopian: The workers (who did not even have the few sous to spare to drink a glass of wine at their evening meetings) were to save up money and buy small shares, then outfit production co-operatives, gradually buy up all the

productive forces in the country, and so overcome capitalism. It would be a much shorter road, jeered Engels, "to proceed directly to coin five-franc pieces out of the silver contained in the shine of the moon".[54]

Engels spent hours talking to the workers, explaining the basic ideas of scientific Communism, and trying to wean them away from Grün's and Proudhon's influence. Three evenings were given to debating Proudhon's plan of association and Engels managed to convince the assembly (about 20 workers, most of them proletarianized journeymen cabinet-makers) of the necessity of revolutionary transformation. He rejected Grün's "true" Socialism as "anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois".[55]

The members of the League spent another two evenings discussing Engels' readily intelligible definition of Communism. This definition went exactly as far as did the controversial issues, Engels wrote in his third (preserved) letter to the Committee. He explained: "I therefore defined the objects of the Communists in this way: 1) to 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 recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force."[56] Thirteen of the members who attended these evenings professed themselves to be Communists in keeping with Engels' definition when the vote was taken, and only two stuck to their petty bourgeois, Utopian views. Engels was gratified to be able to report back to the Brussels Committee that he had carried out his main task, i. e., helping scientific Communism to victory over Grün's conceptions. This was all the more important since the leadership of the League of the Just was quartered in Paris until the autumn of 1846.

Frederick Engels applied the materialist conception of history to literature and the history of literature for the first time in his polemics with the "true" Socialist Karl Grün. He made a classic theoretical appraisal of Goethe's lasting literary achievements and spotlighted his limits which had been set by the social conditions of his time. Engels made it clear that Grün extolled as "human" all of Goethe's philistinisms, but passed over in si-

lence everything magnificent and brilliant in his work. Engels concluded: "The apologia of Herr Grün, the warm thanks he stammers out to Goethe for every philistine utterance, this is the bitterest revenge insulted history could have inflicted upon the greatest German poet."[68]

The Paris police used even more chicanery against the German Communist at the turn of 1846–47. They kept a sharp eye on the meetings Engels attended and even had him shadowed. The Chief of Police applied for a deportation order with the Ministry of the Interior and so Engels had to leave off going to meetings for a while. He used his involuntary "leisure hours" to enjoy the entertaining aspects of Parisian life. "In the meantime," he wrote Marx, "I am grateful to the generous police for reminding me of the joys of this life."[69] The spies who tailed him were obliged to buy many an admission ticket at the Montesquieu, Valentine and Prado ball-rooms, and Engels owed "quite delightful acquaintanceships with grisettes and much pleasure"[70] to the Chief of Police. "Life simply wouldn't be worth the trouble if it weren't for the French girls,"[71] ran a facetious passage in another letter.

But Engels did not fritter his time away. He read upon the history, economics and culture of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland. In addition, he copied out lengthy excerpts from Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère* (Philosophy of Poverty) and mailed them along with his own comments to Marx who was preparing an exhaustive refutation of Proudhon's theory.

The First League Congress

An emissary of the League of the Just, Joseph Moll, called on Engels in late January of 1847. Travelling from London, Moll had first gone to Marx in Brussels to discuss the preparations for the congress the League was planning to hold, and from there to Paris. Moll informed the two friends that the leadership of the League of the Just was now convinced that Marx's and Engels' basic views were correct, and that it realized that it had to rid itself of the old conspirative traditions. Moll invited Marx and Engels to join the League and help reorganize it. They agreed, for the things they had hitherto criticized in the League were going to be put right now. Its reorganization into the Communist League began with Marx's and Engels' joining the League of the Just.

The leadership of the League of the Just had already sent an

address to the membership in November of 1846, convening a congress for the following May and announcing the need for "a simple Communist confession of faith that could serve all as a guide-line".[72] When Moll returned from his mission in Brussels and Paris the Central Board, acting in concurrence with Marx and Engels, postponed the opening of the congress until 1 June. The job of preparing the congress and laying the groundwork for the new programme had made it very clear that the League could not be reorganized without Marx's and Engels' personal cooperation.

Throughout 1847, Marx and Engels worked hard together to transform the League of the Just into a party that in practice would be able to lead the working class along the path they had already mapped out in theory. The only thing that could enable the working class to make an independent political appearance was a revolutionary Party of its own; it alone could show the young proletariat both direction and goal in the class struggles to come, form up the forces in the labour movement who had become aware of their class interests, and spread the ideas of scientific Communism amongst the workers. The gradual maturing of a revolution in Germany lent special urgency to the founding of a revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

Signs were already portending this revolution when Engels and Marx joined the League of the Just. The crop failures of 1845 and 1846 had brought famine upon Germany. The agricultural crisis apart, output was stagnating or dropping in various branches of industry. And when, in the summer of 1847, an economic crisis broke out in Britain and then took hold of the continent, the beginning of an international cyclical crisis began to emerge. The misery of the popular masses grew in Germany; rapidly spreading unemployment worsened the condition of the workers in particular. In the spring of 1847 Berlin and many other cities were scenes of spontaneous uprisings by the plundered working population: actions that evidenced the strength of the masses and their determination. Troops were sent in to crush the popular movement, but the opposition grew ever stronger since the bourgeoisie, dissatisfied with the obtaining state of political affairs and the feudal-bureaucratic mismanagement, was pressing for change. The revolutionary crisis matured irresistibly.

The pending revolution in Germany confronted the Communists with the question as to the position they and the working class should take in this revolution. Marx and Engels started to work out a revolutionary policy that was based on their scientific knowledge. They also embarked on the job of clarifying the rising labour movement's relationship to the bourgeois revolution. This they primarily accomplished in their confrontation with the "true" Socialists. They were guided by the idea that the outdated feudal system had to be overthrown by revolutionary means and a bourgeois-democratic order set up in its place in Germany. This could, of course, not entail abandoning the proletarian revolution, but the bourgeois revolution had first of all to create the preconditions which would enable the working class to carry out its own revolution.

Frederick Engels followed up the political developments in Germany attentively. In early February of 1847, the Prussian Government found itself obliged to convoke the United Diet (the Standing Committees of the Provincial Diets in their entirety) for the middle of April to obtain from the bourgeoisie a vote approving loans and taxes.

Engels rated the convening of the Diet as the "beginning of a new epoch" for Prussia and Germany. The movement, he said, would soon lead to a representative Constitution for the bourgeoisie, a free press, independent judges and trials by jury, and "end who knows where".[73] Hardly had the Diet been called together when Engels started to write a pamphlet which he planned to publish in Germany, but which failed to appear in the end because the publisher was placed under arrest. Only a fragment of the manuscript has been preserved, and this did not go into print until 1929. It appeared that year in Moscow under the title of *Der Status quo in Deutschland*. Engels explained in his booklet that all obstacles notwithstanding, capitalist relations of production, and with them the bourgeois, had also started to evolve in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century, and that the time had now come when the bourgeoisie would replace feudal rule.

The fight against the *status quo* in Germany took on a new quality with the assembling of the Prussian United Diet. Engels

said that taking part in the country-wide democratic movement was incumbent upon the Communists. He added that within this movement the Communists would have to fight on the extreme left and take up a position of their own, a position lined off clearly from that of the bourgeoisie.

Whilst Engels, in Paris, was pondering and formulating the political tasks the proletariat would have to execute during the revolution, Marx was engaged in writing his *Misère de la philosophie* (Poverty of Philosophy) in Brussels. This theoretical polemic treatise appeared in French in July of 1847. It constituted Marx's crushing critique of Proudhon's plans for reform. In *Poverty of Philosophy*, Marx put before the public the basic ideas of scientific Communism he and Engels had already expounded (but had been unable to publish) in *German Ideology*. He took many fresh points of view and insights into account in its writing. In Paris, Engels propagandized the theoretical questions dealt with in *Poverty of Philosophy* amongst the German Communists and the leaders of the French Socialists.

Thus Marx and Engels created the theoretical and practical preconditions for the founding of the working-class Party. Their activities ran parallel to the organizational preparations for this event.

The first of the two League congresses took place in London from 2 to 9 June 1847. The Communist League was founded at both the First and Second League Congresses. Frederick Engels attended the First Congress as the delegate of the Paris Communists. His election was contested by Weitling's followers who had the upper hand in two of the five Paris communes, but the other three communes of the important Paris branch of the League elected Engels their delegate at a "general assembly". The Weitlingian communes were provisionally expelled from the League. The League Congress in London subsequently approved the action taken by the majority, and unanimously confirmed both the expulsion of the Weitlingians in Paris and Frederick Engels' mandate.

Wilhelm Wolff represented the Brussels Communists at the London Congress. Karl Marx was unable to attend: "I cannot come to London," he wrote Engels shortly before the Congress

was due to begin. "Money disallows it."[74] The Paris Communists had made great sacrifices to finance Frederick Engels' travelling expenses.

The reorganization of the League began at the Congress which, for obvious reasons, could only meet in secret. The delegates debated the new rules, the draft of which was afterwards submitted for discussion to the communities. The renaming of the League, thenceforth the Communist League, mirrored the process of coming to theoretical maturity that had gone on in the organization. Defining the characteristics of Communists in the official letter that went out to the communities after the Congress, the First League Congress stated: "We, however, do not distinguish ourselves by wanting justice in general, this is something everybody can say of himself, but by attacking the obtaining social system and private property."[75] Hence, only a name "that states what we really are"[76] befitted the League. Most of the sectarian opinions on questions of organization were overcome at the First Congress.

Another outcome of the Congress was that–probably at Engels' suggestion–the old League motto "All Men Are Brothers" was replaced by the revolutionary class slogan "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" The draft rules were the first League document ever to be headed by this slogan. It has remained the battle-cry of the international revolutionary working-class movement to this very day.

The Congress delegates deliberated questions concerning the programme at length–especially since for many this was the first time they were hearing a consecutive presentation of the basic ideas of scientific Communism. Engels expounded his and Marx's views and was able to obtain the delegates' approval on important points. Wilhelm Wolff supported him in the debate. Thus were pushed through their conceptions of the nature of bourgeois society, the necessity of both social revolution and the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and their conceptions of the role played by the proletariat. But scientific Communism had still not been generally recognized in all its points.

Congress passed a draft Communist Confession of Faith which

took the form of 22 questions and answers. This draft programme is indicative of the outstanding part Frederick Engels played in the phase that immediately preceded the founding of the Communist League, and of the prominent share he had in the creation of the revolutionary working-class Party and, above all, in the elaboration of the Party's programme. He helped to draw up this programme. He put it to paper, and his handwritten draft was lithographed and sent for discussion to the League communities. Engels provided a detailed historical-materialist substantiation of Communism in many of the answers. Thus, the Confession of Faith was the initial draft of what was later to become the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

However, the document also had authors other than Engels and so even though the Confession of Faith lined itself off sharply from sickly sentimentalities about Communism on the one hand, and from primitive or sectarian conceptions of the new society on the other, it nevertheless still contained several trains of Utopian thought which by no means concurred with Marx's and Engels' findings.

Yet on the whole the draft rules and the draft Confession of Faith made it plain that scientific Communism had taken a firm hold in the League. The point now was to carry on the ideological struggle for the final wording of the programme and its being carried by the whole of the League. It was not until the Second League Congress met in late November of 1847 that the programme and the rules were finally to be passed.

Engels returned to Paris after the London Congress. He went to Brussels at the end of July, where, in early August, the members of the League elected Marx chairman of a community and delegated him to the League's Leading Circle. The barely three months Frederick Engels stayed in Brussels were devoted to an extensive propaganda drive that was aimed at spreading scientific Communism amongst the German workers, and to the further elaboration of the League's programmatic foundations and the policy it would pursue in the pending revolution. Marx and Engels took part in the discussions on the rules and the draft programme in Brussels, and it was on the grounds of these debates that the Brussels Leading Circle proposed to the Central

Committee in London a number of important amendments which were subsequently submitted to the Second Congress.

In late August, Engels founded the German Workers' Society together with Marx in Brussels. This lawful working-class organization quickly swelled to an approximately 100-strong membership. Its members gathered twice weekly, on Wednesday and Sunday evenings, in *The Swan*. Wednesday evening meetings were reserved for lectures and debates on political and social questions. On Sundays, Wilhelm Wolff reviewed the political events of the week. The members took their wives along on Sundays, and one and all stayed for the social that followed the meeting. Here they sang songs, recited poetry, danced and enacted short plays.

On 27 September 1847 (Marx was paying a flying visit to his relations in Holland to clear up some personal financial affairs) an international democratic banquet was held at the *Liégeois*, a restaurant near the Place du Palais de Justice in Brussels. Members of the German Workers' Society had helped with the preparations. It was decided at this banquet to found, on the lines of the London Fraternal Democrats, the *Association démocratique*, the Democratic Society. One hundred and twenty democrats were seated in the banqueting-hall: mostly Belgians and Germans, but Frenchmen, Poles, Italians and Swiss as well. Many of them had emigrated to Belgium to seek political refuge. President of Honour was the elderly General François Mellinet, one of the leaders of the Belgian bourgeois revolution of 1830. The Belgian publicist Lucien-Léopold Jottrand was the Society's President, its Vice-President being Jacques Imbert, the French Socialist who had taken part in the Lyon insurrection of 1834 and then emigrated to Belgium. The Society elected a German for its second Vice-President: Frederick Engels. Wilhelm Wolff had proposed him for this office. Engels did not want to stand as a candidate in the beginning, "because I look so frightfully young"[77] as he later informed Marx, but he agreed to in the end because he considered himself the representative of Marx, who was absent. This apart, he thought he ought to follow the principle of "not letting anything democratic occur" in Brussels "wherein we" (the Communists' Party) "do not participate".[78]

Engels proposed a toast in French at the banquet: in memory of the 1792 Revolution–the overthrow of the monarchy by the people of Paris–and the First French Republic.

What Engels and other German Communists had to say at this democratic banquet contributed substantially toward enhancing the authority the German Workers' Society enjoyed amongst the Belgian democrats. Engels was much gratified to be able to write to Marx: "You, and after you I" have been "recognized as the representatives of the German democrats in Brussels."[79]

Marx was elected Vice-President of the Democratic Society in November in Engels' stead. Engels had already left Brussels by this time. The German Communists and workers collaborated closely with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats of various countries in the Democratic Society, and so practised the alliance between the working class and petty bourgeois democracy.

The German Communists succeeded in gaining control over the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* at the time Engels worked in Brussels. This paper appeared twice weekly and was mainly read by German refugees. Members of the Communist Correspondence Committee, particularly Wilhelm Wolff, had already started publishing articles in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* in early 1847. Marx and Engels became its regular contributors from September on. The paper served them as an organ where they could expound their views.

Engels sharply rebuffed the reproaches petty bourgeois democrats were heaping on Communism in one of the articles he wrote for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*. He emphasized the role the working class plays in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and explained that the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of carrying out consistently and in a truly democratic manner the anti-feudal tasks that are set the bourgeois revolution. Engels described the urban industrial proletariat as "the crown of all modern democracy,"[80] but pointed out that the working class in Germany could not yet take on the leadership of the anti-feudal struggle. Engels also elucidated the Communists' political relationship to the general, democratic movement in this article. The Communists, he wrote, would themselves stand up as democrats. Without giving up one whit of their political independence, they put in the fore the things that united democrats and Communists in the struggle against feudalism.

By late September of 1847, Engels was waiting impatiently for Marx to come back from Holland. He wanted to get back to Paris where the task of constituting the Communist League was progressing all too slowly. Moreover, theoretical disorder had spread during his absence. The Central Committee stated in a circular letter, dated 14 September, that Proudhon's Utopian ideas and "Grün's nonsense"[81] were still effective with many members. It therefore urged every member to read Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*. This situation notwithstanding, Engels thought that he ought not to leave Brussels yet–where he was indeed still urgently needed, particularly in the community of the Communist League whose meetings he chaired in Marx's absence. He wrote his friend a letter to inform him that he would at all events continue in his post until he, Marx, had returned. But in the short closing sentence of another letter, dated 30 September, he admonished his friend no less than three times to come back as quickly as possible.

Marx was in Brussels again in mid-October and Engels was able to get back to Paris.

Principles of Communism

Seeing that cooperation with the Belgian and British Chartists was already bearing sound fruits, Frederick Engels held the winning of allies amongst the French petty bourgeois Socialists and republicans to be one of the first tasks he would have to tackle when he arrived back in Paris in October of 1847. Their organ, *La Réforme*, was one of their main rallying points, and they were represented by three men: Louis Blanc, Ferdinand Flocon and Alexandre-August Ledru-Rollin.

Louis Blanc was the first of the three to promise support for the German Communists. Engels had already had a lengthy talk with him by the end of October. When Engels asked Blanc to receive him he informed him that he, Engels, would be calling on him with the mandate of the London, Brussels and Rhenish democrats and also on behalf of the Chartists. He described "the

state of our Party as extremely bright"[82] and Karl Marx as the leader of the most advanced section of German democracy. Their programme, he said, was Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* which had appeared only recently.

Engels called on Flocon, the editor of *La Réforme*, several times and in particular encouraged him to cooperate more closely with the British Chartists. Flocon asked Engels to write an article on Chartism. This article was later published in *La Réforme*, and Engels was soon on the paper's staff of contributors. This apart, he wrote articles for *L'Atelier*, a monthly gazette issued for craftsmen and workers.

In an article that appeared in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*, Frederick Engels thanked *La Réforme* on behalf of the German Communists for defending at all times the persecutees of the reactionary French Government. In yet another contribution, however, he pointed out that cooperation by the democrats of various nations by no means excluded, but rather presupposed criticism. Engels criticized both the petty bourgeois illusions that still existed amongst the French Socialists and Louis Blanc's opinionated French nationalism and cosmopolitanism. (Blanc had ranked the French nation higher than the others at a banquet). Engels protested against prejudices of this kind and said they would have to be thrown overboard if the unification of the democrats of the different nations was going to be more than just an empty phrase. He advocated the principle of proletarian internationalism in keeping with scientific Communism: respect and appreciation for the achievements of every single nation and of the popular masses above all.

Engels pursued his theoretical, propagandist and organizational activities in the Communist League in Paris. He worked extremely hard to achieve recognition for the new ideological knowledge. The month of October had not yet drawn to a close when Engels set up a League "propaganda community" and reported back to Brussels: "I was elected to the circle forthwith and assigned the correspondence."[83] This meant that he had become Leading Circle secretary. Before long, 20 to 30 fresh candidates had been proposed for admission to the League.

The debate on the Party programme entered its decisive stage

during this pre-Second League Congress phase of the Communist League's development. Moses Hess, who was still a member of the League, had left Cologne for Paris in early January of 1847. When Engels arrived back in Paris he discovered that Hess had managed to turn the discussion about the programme to his own ends by pushing through a "ludicrously amended Confession of Faith"[65] in the Paris communities. Hess had mixed a few of Marx's and Engels' ideas with his own fundamentally "true" Socialist views. The resulting draft had already been submitted to the League's Leading Circle in Paris. On 22 October 1847, Engels put forward his objections at a Leading Circle meeting and convinced the Committee members that Hess's draft was utterly useless. They instructed him to draw up a new draft and this Engels did in a matter of days.

The Leading Circle debated the future programme from the end of October until the end of November. Engels prevailed over the opposition to his own and Marx's views in the course of these discussions and achieved recognition for the principles of scientific Communism. This, too, was the time when Engels put his new draft to paper. It was based on the *Confession of Faith* he had previously written in June. This document was discovered amongst his literary remains, but not published until 1914 when it appeared under the title of *Principles of Communism*.

Technically, Engels stuck to the London draft of the *Confession of Faith* in the new version. He had kept on its arrangement, most of the questions, and quite a few of the answers. But he entirely re-formulated many of its essential statements, basing them both on the fresh knowledge he had won in the meantime and on Marx's expositions in *Poverty of Philosophy*. He was, however, somewhat dissatisfied with the form of what was here to be represented. Shortly before Engels was due to go to the Second League Congress together with Marx he wrote his friend: "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 on 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."[65]

Engels answered the first questions as to the essence of the Communist theory with this precise definition: "Communism is the doctrine of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat."[66] As the Communists' task he listed "the defence, discussion and spread of their principles, and thereby the unification of the proletariat in a compact, combative and well-organized class."[67]

Engels wrote a short history of the rise and role of the working class and then formulated his thoughts on the Socialist revolution. He demonstrated that modern large-scale industry "makes absolutely necessary a totally new organization of society"[68], that the ills of the capitalist society can only be eradicated by Socialism, and that the means for accomplishing this mature primarily through the development of the proletariat under capitalism itself. Engels argued against the anarchist views that revolution can be "made" arbitrarily. Communists know, he wrote, that "all conspiracies are not only futile but even harmful."[69] The objective and subjective conditions for the Socialist revolution arise from the developments that go on under capitalism: from "the growing discontent of the proletariat on the one hand, and its growing power on the other".[70]

After having conquered power for itself, said Frederick Engels, the fundamental task of the proletariat and its new, democratic state consists in abolishing private property. The abolition of private property is "the most succinct and most characteristic summary expression of the transformation of the entire social system inevitably following from the development of industry, and it is therefore right that this is the main demand put forward by the Communists."[71] Engels refuted the claim that Communists would want to abolish all personal property and explained at length that the point rather was to abolish capitalist private ownership of the means of production and to socialize

these means: the new social order, he wrote, will "first of all (. . .) generally take the running of industry and all branches of production out of the hands of disjointed individuals competing among themselves".[32]

Engels furnished the following answer to the question as to whether private property might be abolished be peaceful means: "It is to be desired that this could happen, and Communists certainly would be the last to resist it." "But," he added a little further on, "they likewise perceive that the development of the proletariat is in nearly every civilized country forcibly suppressed, and that thereby the opponents of the Communists are tending in every way to promote revolution."[33]

This passage is already indicative of the knowledge the Communist and Workers' Parties have today: led by the working class and its revolutionary Party, the working people, in so far as is possible, aspire to reach Socialism by peaceful means, i. e., without armed revolt and without civil war, but are forced to take the non-peaceful road to power as soon as the reactionary classes resort to the means appropriate to suppressing the will of the majority of the people. However, the process of developing into Socialism without civil war, which Engels said was to be desired has nothing to do with the "peaceful growing into Socialism", without class struggle, advertised by revisionists and opportunists past and present. Every transition from capitalism to Socialism is a revolutionary transformation. We have a striking example of peaceful transition to Socialism in the developments that have taken place with two revolutions–the first anti-fascist, democratic and the second Socialist–in the German Democratic Republic.

Engels pointed out that abolishing private property at a single blow is impossible, that the proletariat can transform society "only gradually".[34] It was in this context, too, that Engels outlined the idea of the two stages of revolution–a democratic stage and a subsequent proletarian-Socialist one. Moreover, he intimated the transition of the democratic to the Socialist stage: an idea elaborated as the generally valid theory by V. I. Lenin in the epoch of imperialism.

Private ownership of the means of production and competition

would both be abolished in the new social order, stated Engels, and the latter replaced by association. Instead of private ownership of the means of production there would be "common use of all the instruments of production". All branches of production would 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."[35] In so saying, Engels blueprinted the most important principle of planned Socialist economy.

Engels depicted the new, the Socialist men in *Principles of Communism*. An industry that is carried on jointly and according to plan by the whole of society "presupposes people whose abilities have been developed all-round, who are capable of surveying the entire system of production." And in order that such people might be society would "provide its members with the opportunity to utilize their comprehensively developed abilities in a comprehensive way."[36]

Engels also formulated the idea of the emancipation of women in the Socialist society. Abolishing the private ownership of the means of production would put an end to "the dependence of the wife upon her husband"[37] in the new family relations, and likewise stop prostitution which is peculiar to the bourgeois society.

Thus, *Principles of Communism* contain Engels' first more detailed description of some of the features of the Socialist society. First and foremost, he made it clear that Socialism depends on certain basic preconditions: the political supremacy of the working class, Socialist ownership of the means of production, the alliance between the social forces who concur objectively with the working class, the pushing through of the "Party policy of the Communists"[38] in society, and the establishment of new person-to-person relations on the basis of Socialist democracy.

The present has proved that Socialism exists nowhere in the world without the implementation of the principles Engels laid down. But Engels, as was Marx, was against all system-making. He had no intention of setting up rigid and dogmatic models for shaping a future society as did, say, the Utopians. In *Principles of Communism* he only outlined the principles of Socialist society in the degree deducible from the contradictions and his-

torical tendencies of capitalism. *Principles of Communism* was the first draft programme of the working-class Party ever to be wholly based on scientific Communism.

Engels was elected delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist League in Paris on 14 November 1847. The Belgian Communists elected as their representatives Karl Marx and Victor Tedesco at about the same time. The latter, a Belgian lawyer, was a friend of Marx and Engels who later–in March of 1848–executed the first French translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Engels' straitened circumstances made it impossible for him to go to London via Brussels, and so he met Marx and Tedesco at Ostend on 27 November. They crossed the Channel the next day and travelled up to London where they all three attended a big meeting on 29 November. The Fraternal Democrats had organized this meeting in the hall of the German Workers' Educational Society in London to celebrate the anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising. It ushered in the League Congress, and Marx took the floor to move on behalf of the Brussels democrats that an international congress of democrats be held in September of 1848.

Engels made a speech too. He said that the German democrats had a very special interest in the liberation of Poland, for it was the German governments–namely the Prussian and the Austrian–that had forced their despotism on to parts of Poland. It was at this meeting that Engels uttered the words that have since become famous: "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."[99] With this profession of internationalism Engels also championed the cause of the German people and so furnished an example of the indivisibility of genuine patriotism and Socialist internationalism. He said that because the condition of the workers is the same in all lands, because they share common interests and common foes, "they must also fight together, they must set a brotherhood of the workers of all nations against the brotherhood of the bourgeoisie of all nations."[100]

Marx and Engels were welcomed as old friends at the German Workers' Educational Society in London. Engels spoke at two events which took place outside the Congress proper. He

made a speech on 30 November at a meeting of the Society where he again emphasized the unity of working men's interests the world over and stressed the interdependence of the revolutionary movements in the different countries. Toward the end of the Congress he spoke on the way trade crises were affecting the condition of the working class. The venue in this case was the Educational Society's quarters.

The Second Congress of the Communist League began punctually on the eve of 29 November as had been laid down at the First Congress in June of 1847. "I was working in London at the time, and enrolled in the German Workers' Educational Society which had its quarters at 191, Drury Lane," writes Friedrich Lessner in his memoirs. (Lessner was then a young journeyman-tailor who, in later years, became one of Marx's and Engels' close fellow-combatants and a member of the General Council of the First International.) "A Conference of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist League was held there from the end of November until the beginning of December 1847. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had come over from Brussels to expound to the members their views on modern Communism and its relationship to both the political and labour movements. Only the delegates, amongst whom I did not rank, were present at these sessions, which naturally only took place in the evening, but the rest of us knew what was going on and were in no little suspense about the upshot of the discussions."[101]

Lessner met Engels for the first time on this occasion and describes his appearance as follows: "Engels was tall and slender, his movements quick and impulsive, his language short and to the point, his bearing erect, with a soldierly effect. He was of a lively nature, with an effective wit, and every one who came into contact with him could feel at once that he had to deal with an unusually intellectual man. When occasionally persons came to me to complain that Engels did not treat them as he ought, they did not know and realize that Engels was very reticent with strangers, and very friendly with those whom he had once acknowledged as friends."[102]

The Congress lasted for more than a week. It was attended by delegates from Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium,

Britain and other countries. The exact number of delegates can no longer be established. The German Communists who lived in London were represented by Heinrich Bauer, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper, all members of the Central Committee. Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, the representatives of the Chartists' revolutionary wing, also took part in the deliberations. Frederick Engels was the secretary of the Congress, and thus he and Karl Schapper, who had been elected President, jointly signed the documents adopted.

The Congress passed the rules of the Communist League which had already been debated in their draft form by the First Congress. Important amendments were made as a result of the discussions in the communities and at the Second Congress and in their ultimate form the rules clearly reflect the influence Marx and Engels exercised. The first article now clearly defined the fundamental idea of scientific Communism and proclaimed the goal of the revolutionary labour movement, a goal that has remained valid up to this very day: "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."[83]

It was, too, for the first time in the history of the international labour movement that in the rules were laid down the principles of organization of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat. As democratic centralism, these principles were to be typical of all revolutionary workers' Parties: the organizational structure of the League had to guarantee united action and the execution of Committee decisions. Then again, all leaderships were to be elected democratically from the lowest to the highest. One and all, they were to be subject to recall at all times. This applied equally to the communities, the circles and leading circles, and to the Central Committee which, as the highest organ of the League, was accountable to the Congress. The conditions for membership laid down in the rules were of fundamental significance: members had to profess Communism, subordinate themselves at all times to League decisions, pursue a way of life appropriate to the purpose of the League and unfold an activity

that served it well; they were to advertise scientific Communism with revolutionary vigour and industry and, as a matter of course, not join any sort of an anti-Communist organization. These conditions made high political, ideological and moral demands on every member and differed from the admission requirements stipulated by all the bourgeois and, even, the Utopian Socialist organizations.

Even though the League was of necessity forced to work in secret in Germany and elsewhere, it was not to lead a sectarian existence but form the core of an organization that marched in the van of the working class. Its rules no longer had any of the sectarian hallmarks that had once been typical of the League of the Just, nothing reminiscent of pseudo-revolutionary conspirative tactics, nor anything that encouraged the superstitious belief in authority"[84] Marx and Engels hated so deeply. Owing to its underground activities, however, the League was unable to publish its rules.

Most of the Congress sessions were devoted to discussing the draft programme. Marx and Engels represented their point of view and succeeded in overcoming those doubts that still obtained amongst the delegates. The proposals they made as regards the programme were accepted. Lessner recalls the occasion thus: "We soon learned that after lengthy debates Congress voted unanimously for the basic views Marx and Engels expounded, and instructed the above-mentioned to elaborate and publish a manifesto in keeping with this intent."[85]

The first revolutionary working-class Party was born with the founding of the Communist League at the two London congresses. This Party had a programmatic foundation which was based on scientific knowledge, and rules that met the requirements of class struggle. Its programme and its composition made the Communist League at one and the same time an international working-class organization and the first German workers' Party; the point of departure for all subsequent revolutionary Parties of the working class. The Communist movement's march to victory began with the founding of the Communist League.

Countering all misinterpretations, Marx and Engels always regarded the founding of the Communist League as the begin-

ning of the revolutionary Party of the working class. Only a few years before he died, Engels repulsed all distortions of his own and Marx's attitude to the Party by stating: "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must–and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847–form a separate Party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class Party."[100]

The Communist Manifesto

Marx and Engels were still in London when they embarked on drawing up the Party programme as instructed by the Congress. They continued to work on its elaboration when they went back to Brussels, but Marx finalized the text on his own because Engels returned to Paris at the end of December. Marx was unable to meet the deadline and the manuscript of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* only reached the printing-office in London in late January or early February of 1848. It appeared as a small, only 23-page pamphlet in an edition not larger than a few hundred copies shortly before the February Revolution broke out in France.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is the birth certificate of scientific Communism. Nothing reminiscent of the catechism form once planned remained in the outward appearance of this

Programme. It was at one and the same time an exposition based on history and an appeal, an objective yet fiery call to the proletarians of all lands to unite for their own emancipation.

Marx and Engels summarized in the *Communist Manifesto* all the scientific insights and practical experience they had won and worked out for themselves since 1843. They presented a compact, systematic exposition of the foundations of their theory: its philosophy, its political economy and its doctrine of class struggle and scientific Socialism. Countering all bourgeois and feudal slanders, all Utopian conceptions of the new society, they formulated in the *Communist Manifesto* the historic task of the working class: the conquering of political power and the erection of Socialism and, ultimately, Communism. The social system to be constructed by the proletariat would free men for ever from exploitation and oppression, deliver them from the horrors of war, and bring them an order where there rule peace, freedom and the happiness of all nations on the basis of the creative activity of every member of society.

The *Communist Manifesto* was the first scientific society forecast meant for public reading. This forecast covered both the development of class struggle under capitalism and the Socialist society. The *Communist Manifesto* pointed out the path to overcoming the inhuman capitalist system and mapped out not only the Socialist order, but also the principal conditions for its being put into effect. Over one hundred years have passed since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. Convincing proof of the correctness of the society forecast it gave in outline has been furnished over this period. Basically, all the countries where the working class has conquered power and is erecting Socialism and Communism have passed through the stages of the revolutionary process that hallmark the transition from capitalism to Socialism Marx and Engels once traced out.

Marx and Engels presented evidence of the fact that Socialism would of historical necessity replace capitalism–just as capitalism had once replaced feudalism. They characterized the essence of capitalist wage slavery and explained why the proletariat must necessarily grow with capitalist industry, why the antagonism between the two principal classes of the bourgeois

society, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and their class struggle must increase in severity. The development of class struggle turns the civil war, which goes on more or less obscurely in the capitalist society, into an open revolution.

The *Communist Manifesto* made plain to the working class its task of uniting in revolutionary struggle against capital, and overthrowing the bourgeoisie. It indicated the ways and means the working class needs to employ to set up its own rule and build the Socialist and Communist society. "The main thing in the doctrine of Marx," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a Socialist society."[107] Also, Marx and Engels already pointed to the fact in the *Communist Manifesto* that the working class, by emancipating itself, creates the preconditions for definitively abolishing all exploitation of man by man, all class rule, and all oppression. Then would begin, they said, the real history of mankind.

The "first step in the revolution by the working class," declared the *Communist Manifesto*, "is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class,"[108] is the conquest of political power. This is a profoundly democratic act, for it spells the rule of the mass of the working people over the minority of the exploiters. The working class has to use state power to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, "to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."[109] Paying the greatest attention to economic measures, boosting production in both industry and agriculture according to plan is incumbent upon the Socialist state.

Marx and Engels also expounded their conceptions of the tasks and the path of the revolutionary proletarian Party in the *Communist Manifesto*. They realized that the proletariat's struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and conquer political power for itself cannot meet with success, that Socialism cannot be constructed successfully, without the working-class Party. The Party is itself part of the working class and Communists "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."[110] The Party combines in its ranks the best forces and

the finest attributes of the working class. It is the organized and conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses. The revolutionary working-class Party can only fulfil its tasks because it is equipped with a scientific theory, because theoretically–as the *Communist Manifesto* puts it–it has 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."[121]

The principles of the role of the working class, its Party and the Socialist power of state that were already laid down in the *Communist Manifesto* are the main objective of the attacks the spokesmen of imperialism and modern revisionism launch against Socialism today. Also, they deny the working class the ability to govern modern society. But the way the countries in the world Socialist camp are developing bears witness to the fact that the working class, as society's leading force, is perfectly capable of shaping the new world of Socialism and Communism at the head of, and in alliance with, the other sections of the working population. Even the most complicated tasks are being carried out successfully in the construction of Socialism, under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, and in the face of a strong imperialist opponent. It follows that, freed from exploitation and oppression, the working class has at its disposal inexhaustible potentials. It also follows that it has become the main force in the development of human society.

The enemies of the proletariat claim that the revolutionary working-class Party is superfluous in the Socialist movement and Socialism. They set Socialism and the working-class Party against one another and maintain that they would have nothing against Socialism if only it existed without the Party. But Socialism and the working-class Party are inseparable, and never before has the working-class Party had such immense leadership tasks as it has now in shaping an advanced Socialist society and building the Communist society.

In principle, Marx and Engels also rebuffed in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* the attempt to set up an antithesis between the Socialist state and the Socialist society, and to depreciate the functions of the state. The *Communist Manifesto* is

the point of departure of the Socialist theory of the state: here, Marx and Engels outlined the centralizing, planning and control function of the Socialist state which they regarded as the most important instrument and the decisive form of political organization of the Socialist society.

Highly topical, too, are the sections of the *Communist Manifesto* where Marx and Engels broke a lance with the then circulating misconceptions of Socialism. They devoted nearly an entire chapter to the ideologists who wanted to prevent the proletariat from recognizing its real position and executing its historic task by establishing unscientific, allegedly Socialist theories. Marx and Engels skilfully laid bare the anatomy of this literature and demonstrated that this smokescreen of pseudo-Socialist systems covered up a variety of bourgeois ideologies which had to be combated.

Marx and Engels realized that the political and economic revolution would have to be paralleled by revolutionary changes in society's intellectual, cultural and ideological life. The *Communist Manifesto* states that the working class will abolish the privileged education enjoyed by the hitherto ruling class, and combine the education children receive at school with work in social production after it has established its political supremacy. Just as the Socialist revolution will break with the old property relations, so will the ideas of the old class society that were handed down traditionally be overcome. The Socialist ideology turns into the prevailing world outlook that penetrates every sector of social life.

The *Communist Manifesto* teaches that the working-class Party must never turn sectarian and shut itself off from the masses if it wants to lead the proletariat successfully. It must rather be closely allied with them, lean on them, and learn from their experiences. The working class cannot win if it cannot look for support within the working population. It needs allies, and these allies are all the other labouring classes and strata. This alliance does not, however, preclude the working-class Party's coming continuously to grips with the bourgeois ideology and the influence this ideology exercises. On the contrary: the alliance actually requires this confrontation.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels predicted the beginning of a new age in the nations' development with the workers' conquest of power. The working class takes over the leadership of the nation and provides it with prospects of an utterly new kind. Countries will no longer wage bloody wars on each other in a Socialist world because the causes of war–private ownership of the means of production and the urge to multiply private property at the expense of others–will have disappeared from the domestic life of every land as from inter-state relations.

Marx and Engels proved that the condition which is common to the workers of all countries and the interests and aims they thus logically share require joint action and international solidarity. Hence, they stated in the *Communist Manifesto* that "in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries," the Communists have to "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."[112] Marx and Engels emphasized the need to bring the tasks the proletariat of each single country has to accomplish into harmony with the universal targets of the international labour movement.

Proletarian internationalism has been an established part of the struggle of the revolutionary labour movement ever since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*. Working-class patriotism is totally different from what the bourgeoisie would have people believe is patriotism. The bourgeoisie kindles a bourgeois nationalism, which often has prolonged after-effects on the nations, and so misuses the popular masses' genuine feelings for anti-national purposes. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels formulated the attitude each revolutionary labour movement adopts on principle to its own nation. They were the first to resolve this complicated question scientifically, and they did so by setting out from the class foundations of every nation and the class interests of the working class. Nations, they said, emerge historically as bourgeois nations, and in each country it is the task of the working class to transform the bourgeois nation into a Socialist one. By first of all acquiring political supremacy, by rising "to be the leading class of the nation," the proletariat constitutes "itself *the* nation".[113] It was

in the sense of this task the *Communist Manifesto* set that the German Democratic Republic embarked on the nation's Socialist transformation.

Marx and Engels also laid the theoretical foundations of Socialist humanism in the *Communist Manifesto*. By placing Socialism on a scientific basis they also pointed out the path that will let materialize the ideals of personality development and the brotherhood of nations mankind has long been striving after. Marx and Engels stripped humanism of its Utopian characteristics by setting it up on a materialist foundation, and showed how the conceptions of a full unfolding of the human individual might be realized in a truly humane social order. Thus, real humanism emerged along with scientific Communism.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels formulated the central thesis of the Communists' political struggle thus: "The Communists 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 day, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."[114] This underlining of the dialectical connection between part-tasks and the ultimate aim contrasts to the opportunistic abandoning of the labour movement's ultimate objective and being engulfed by everyday tasks, as well as to the sectarian's underestimation of the worker's daily interests.

Marx and Engels dealt with the tasks that faced the Communists in each country, particularly in Germany, in the last part of the *Communist Manifesto*. In Germany, they said, the Communists would fight on the side of the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy and the feudal squirearchy. But, they underlined, the Communists must never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that, after the fall of feudalism, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

Marx and Engels viewed the German revolution in close context with the other revolutionary movements in Europe. They hoped that a revolution in Britain would already be proletarian

by nature, and that the revolution in France would soon lead to working and lower middle-class rule. These conditions given, they assumed that a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany would be but a prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution. As things turned out, these assumptions were premature. Nevertheless, Marx's and Engels' essentially theoretical ponderings on the course of the revolution were of lasting worth for the subsequent strategy of the international labour movement.

Today, as over 120 years ago, the closing sentences of Marx's and Engels' fighting programme are ever present in the minds of the exploiters, the exploited, and the erstwhile oppressed who have now come to power:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution! The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"[115]

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is the product of a genuine collaboration, the work of Marx *and* Engels. "What was supplied by the one, what by the other?" asked Wilhelm Liebknecht after Engels' death and replied: "An idle question! It is of *one* mould, and Marx and Engels are *one soul*–as inseparable in the *Communist Manifesto* as they remained to their death in all their working and planning, and as they will be to humanity in their works and creations while human beings are living on earth.

"And the credit to have originated this *Manifesto*, to have provided through it a guide to thought and action, the fundamental principles of doctrine and tactics, for the proletariat–this credit is so colossal that even by dividing it in halves both of them still receive a giant's share."[116]

Chapter IV

1848–1849

Start of the Revolution

The events of New Year's eve 1847–48 forced Frederick Engels into yet another change of domicile. The German revolutionary emigrants in Paris had their traditional New Year's eve party on 31 December. Many workers and craftsmen were present and Frederick Engels made a speech. The authorities heard what had happened and in the tense political situation of those weeks the French police reacted particularly acidly. They charged Engels with having uttered politically hostile insinuations against the Government and expelled him from France.

On 29 January of 1848, a writ was served on Engels which instructed him to leave Paris within 24 hours and France inside three days, and threatened his extradition to the Prussian Government if he refused to go. The police, obviously looking for

more incriminating evidence, broke into Engels' rooms and searched them that night. There was nothing for it: Frederick Engels had to leave Paris. He went to Karl Marx in Brussels where he arrived on 31 January and immediately plunged into theoretical and practical politics.

The thunderclouds of revolution were massing more ominously over Europe during the first weeks of 1848. The European revolutionary movement swept into action in Italy and from there spread to France. The workers of Paris toppled the monarchy on 25 February and proclaimed the Second French Republic. In its turn, the French February Revolution accelerated the outbreak of revolution in other countries: Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, southern Germany and Prussia. The conditions for a popular insurrection had long matured in these lands.

Engels looked hopefully at the way things were developing in Germany. He wrote an article for the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* where he dealt with the question as to why other peoples had already joined the revolutionary movement whilst in Germany all was still quiet in that month of February. He said that this was the fault of the bourgeoisie who was afraid to proceed to action. "But the German Governments are in for a big disappointment if they think that they can pin large hopes on the bourgois' fear of action. The Germans are the last because their revolution will be utterly different from the Sicilian. The German bourgeois and Philistines know perfectly well that behind them stands a proletariat which grows daily, which will present demands quite different from what they themselves desire on the day after the revolution. In consequence, the German bourgeois and Philistines are acting in a cowardly, irresolute, wavering way; they fear a confrontation no less than they fear the Government."[1] And indeed, the German bourgeoisie's subsequent betrayal of the revolution was already portended before March of 1848. Moreover, Engels correctly predicted the social force that would really carry the revolution: the bourgeoisie would not fight, "but the German workers: they will rise, put an end to the whole of the shady, muddled official German economy, and restore German honour through a radical revolution."[2]

The basis for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany

consisted in the antagonism which prevailed between the already existing modern productive forces and capitalist relations of production on the one hand, and the still predominant feudal relations of production and the extant semi-feudal system of rule on the other. The semi-feudal state of Germany, political rule by the Junkers and the nobility, and Germany's being partitioned into a host of small states, all prevented the capitalist mode of production from unfolding itself to the full. The objective law of development which says that relations of production must harmonize with the nature of the productive forces pressed for revolution.

The cowardly behaviour of the bourgeoisie who did not want a revolution, but was simply trying to get a share of political power and more favourable economic conditions by seeking an understanding with the old supreme powers, did not prevent Engels from coolly assessing the objective tasks that faced the revolution in Germany. He knew that it would be bourgeois-democratic by nature and warned people in his own ranks against thinking otherwise. Reviewing the political events of 1847 in retrospect, Engels said that the question as to who would reign over Prussia–an alliance between the nobility and the bureaucracy with a king for a head, or the bourgeoisie–was "now so framed that it" had "to be decided in favour of the one side or the other".[3] It was a fight to the death for both sides now. He found it both necessary and inevitable that the bourgeoisie transform society in its own interest. The Communists, the workers, would not begrudge the bourgeoisie its triumph, but the latter would be mistaken if it thought that with its victory the world's features were shaped for all time. For, as Engels explained, the proletariat was everywhere standing next in line after the bourgeoisie. However: the fight had first to be waged against the absolute monarchy, the material means the proletariat needed to emancipate itself had first to be produced through the bourgeois revolution. "You shall dictate laws, shall sun yourselves in the splendour of the majesty you created," Engels told the bourgeoisie at the end of his article. "You shall feast in the royal hall and woo the king's beautiful daughter; but do not forget: 'The hangman's at the gate.'"[4]

True that on the eve of the revolution Engels saw the period of bourgeois and capitalist rule in a sort of a foreshortened perspective. At that time Marx, Engels and the other Communists thought the bourgeoisie would "at most" have "a few years of troubled pleasure"[5] and before long be toppled by the working class. Engels' revolutionary optimism led him to believe that the proletariat could emancipate itself in a few years' time. To begin with, Marx and Engels overestimated the stage economic developments had reached, but in actual fact they had not yet reached the stage that called for the abolition of the capitalist mode of production. Later on, during the early fifties, Marx and Engels made a more thorough study of economics and found that bourgeois rule would last longer, that the objective and subjective conditions for a Socialist revolution were not yet given in the middle of the 19th century. Marx and Engels erred in 1848 as to when the Socialist revolution would break out, but history has proved their basic conception of two consecutive phases of revolution–the theory of permanence–to be absolutely correct. Equally correct was the political programme they drew up for the consistent implementation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution that had just broken out.

Marx and Engels analysed the situation together in Brussels and in this context laid great weight on the foreign policy conditions of the revolution. Speaking on 22 February 1848 at a ceremony held to commemorate the second anniversary of the Cracow insurrection of 1846, they explained their views on this question to the members and guests of the Democratic Society. As the first condition for the liberation of both Germany and Poland Engels listed the "revolution of the present political state in Germany"[6], i. e., the overthrow of the Prussian and the Austrian monarchy, and the pressing back of Russian czarism.

"1848 will be a good year,"[7] wrote Engels in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* when he learned of the victory of the people of Paris. "The French proletariat has again placed itself at the head of the European movement through this glorious revolution." And with an eye on his own country: "It is to be hoped that Germany will follow suit. She will raise herself from the dust of her humiliation now or never. If the Germans have a

bit of energy, a bit of pride, a bit of courage, we, too, will be able to shout *'Long live the German Republic!'* in four weeks' time."[8]

The Brussels members of the Communist League were especially active during those February days. In London, the Central Committee of the League had delegated its powers to the Brussels Leading Circle in view of the French Revolution and the decisions pending on the continent. The latter constituted itself the Central Committee forthwith and, led by Marx and Engels, assumed the immediate leadership of the League. The German Communists and revolutionary workers who lived in the Belgian capital were active both in the German Workers' Society and in the Democratic Society. Frederick Engels was one of the most active members of the Democratic Society and Marx its Vice-President. After the Paris insurrection the Society decided at Engels' suggestion to meet daily instead of weekly as it had done until then. Police chicanery notwithstanding, and in spite of attempts to take away their assembly rooms, the German workers and revolutionary democrats put their decision into effect and proclaimed their solidarity with the Belgian revolutionaries who were standing up for the republic.

Belgian police harassment of democrats and Communists reached its peak in early March. It had become virtually impossible for League members, particularly the German emigrants, to hold meetings in Brussels. Several leading members of the League had either been jailed or deported. On the other hand the French capital had become the centre of the entire revolutionary movement in Europe following the proclamation of the Second French Republic. The republican Government had honoured Marx by inviting him to visit the country, and this invitation he intended to accept. When, on the evening of 3 March, the Belgian Government served a writ on him which compelled him to leave the country inside 24 hours, the Central Committee decided to transfer the leadership of the Communist League from Brussels to Paris. Marx was empowered to set up the new Central Committee in Paris and there take the reins of League business into his hands.

The decision had just been made and recorded when the Bel-

gian police forced their way into Marx's house during the night of 3 to 4 March, arrested him, dragged him off to prison and detained him there until his deportation the following afternoon. Frederick Engels no longer felt safe in Brussels: "I am daily and hourly awaiting my deportation order, if not worse,"[9] he wrote in a letter to London. But he never was deported.

Engels wanted to leave Brussels himself by this time and go to Paris, the centre of the revolution. He hoped that he and Marx would then be shortly able to return to a revolutionized Germany. The reports that came through from Germany in early March fed his optimism. On 9 March of 1848, he wrote to Marx in Paris:

"Otherwise the news from Germany is capital. A perfect revolution in Nassau, the students, painters and workers in total insurrection in Munich, the revolution at the gates in Cassel, infinite anxiety and hesitation in Berlin, freedom of the press and the National Guards called out throughout west Germany; that is enough for the present.

"If only F(rederick) W(illiam) IV would go on being mulish! Then all is won and we will have the German revolution in a couple of months. If only he'd stick to his feudal pattern! But the devil knows what this capricious and crazy individual is going to do."[10]

In particular, Marx and Engels kept constantly in touch with their native states of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia. Ever since 1846 the Cologne group of the Communist League had been an important base for their efforts to spread scientific Communism in Germany and unite it with the labour movement. The people's movement in Prussia set out from Cologne after the February Revolution broke out in Paris. The Cologne members of the Communist League organized a big demonstration on 3 March, the first mass action against Prussia's semi-feudal system of rule. The Cologne community of the League sent Peter Nothjung, a tailor by trade, to Brussels to inform Engels of these events. The workers had tabled their own democratic demands for the very first time. Thus, the Communists had placed themselves at the head of the democratic movement even before the March Revolution swept the land.

Return to Germany

Engels was still in Brussels when, on 11 March 1848, the new Central Committee of the Communist League constituted itself in Paris. Most of the League's leaders had already arrived from London and Brussels. Central Committee members were: Heinrich Bauer, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, Joseph Moll, Karl Schapper, the compositor Karl Wallau, and Wilhelm Wolff. Marx was elected president and Schapper secretary. Marx wrote to Brussels immediately to tell his friend that he had been elected. He also counselled: "I'd advise you to come here."[11]

Engels spent the next days arranging the transport of the things Marx had had to leave in Brussels owing to his precipitated departure, and raising a little money to pay for his own travelling expenses. The letter he sent his friend to announce his pending departure contains the following optimistic pas-

sage: "Things are really progressing beautifully in Germany; *émeutes* everywhere and the Prussians not giving way. *Tant mieux.* (All the better.) It is to be hoped that we shall not have to stay long in Paris."[12] His hopes materialized.

Engels left Brussels on 20 March and arrived in Paris the next day–preceded by the news of the victory of the people of Berlin. The–for Germany–most important confrontation with the forces of reaction had been decided in the Prussian capital on 18 to 19 March. Prior to this, the working people of Vienna had risen in armed revolt on 13 March, fiercely fought and defeated the Hapsburg troops, and driven the detested Chancellor, Prince Metternich, out of the country. On their own barricades, Berlin's workers, craftsmen, petty bourgeois and students had inflicted a decisive defeat on Prussian militarism. Frederick William IV experienced the deepest act of humiliation ever to be meted out to a member of the House of Hohenzollern: At the people's command he had to stand bareheaded on the balcony of the palace and salute the dead who had fallen on the barricades.

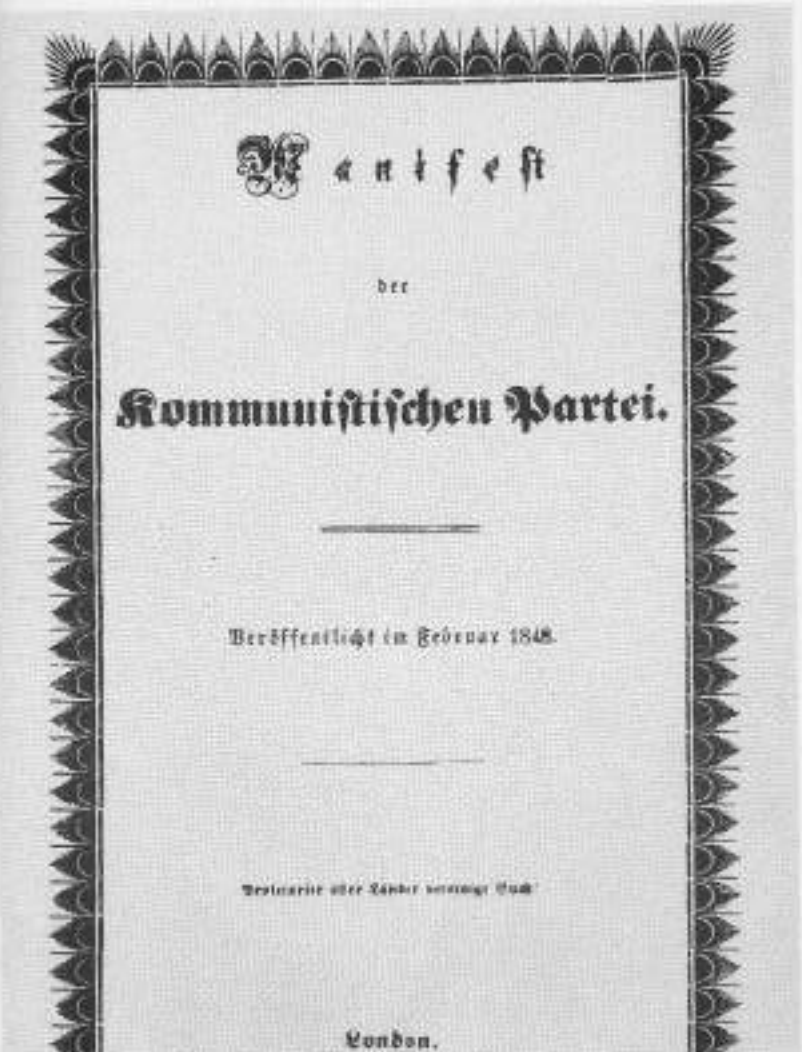
The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany culminated in the fighting that shook Berlin that March. The March Revolution broke the unreined power of feudal absolutism in Prussia. A liberal Cabinet was appointed on 30 March. The popular masses had fought for and won important democratic rights. Frederick Engels assessed the outcome of the first phase of the revolution in Germany as follows:

"The results of the revolution were: on the one hand the arming of the whole people, the right of association, the people's virtually gained sovereignty; on the other the retention of the monarchy and the Camphausen-Hansemann Cabinet, i. e., the government of the representatives of the *haute bourgeoisie.*

"So the revolution had two sets of results which necessarily had to diverge. The people had won; it had conquered for itself freedoms of a definitely democratic nature, direct rule, however, passed not into its hands but into those of the *haute bourgeoisie.*

"In a word: the revolution was unfinished."[13]

The second stage of the German revolution started at the end of March. The popular masses believed themselves to be the victors. They prepared themselves for the election of the German


Manifest
der
Kommunistischen Partei.
Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.
London.
Gedruckt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter"
von J. E. Burghart
46, Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate.

Dust-jacket of the 30-paged edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, published in March 1848



Barricade on the Boulevard Montmartre,
Paris, in February 1848



Barricade in the Breite Strasse,
Berlin, in March 1848



Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Probeblatt. Organ der Demokratie.

A. 1. Köln, Donnerstag, 1. Juni 1848.

Page one of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 1, dated 1 June 1848



Wilhelm Wolff



Georg Weerth



Ernst Dronke



Ferdinand Freiligrath

Steckbrief. Auf Grund der durch den königl. Instructionsrichter erlassenen Vorführungsbefehle ersuche ich die betreffenden Civil- und Militär-Behörden, auf folgende Personen, und zwar: 1) Friedrich Engels, Redacteur der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung", geboren in Barmen, zuletzt wohnhaft zu Köln; 2) Peter Paul Franken, angeblich Professor der Magie, hierselbst geboren und wohnhaft; 3) Carl Christmann, Gummirer, hier wohnhaft, welche sich der gegen sie wegen des im Art. 96 des Straf-Gesetz-Buches vorgesehenen Verbrechens eingeleiteten Untersuchung durch die Flucht entzogen haben, und deren Signalement ich nachstehend mittheile, vigiliren und sie im Betretungsfalle verhaften und mir vorführen zu lassen.

Elberfeld, 6. Juni 1849. Für den Ober-Procurator,
Der Staats-Procurator, Eichhorn.

Signalement. 1) Engels. Alter 26 bis 28 Jahre, Größe 5 Fuß 6 Zoll, Haare blond, Stirn frei, Augenbrauen blond, Augen blau, Nase und Mund proportionirt, Bart röthlich, Kinn oval, Gesicht oval, Gesichtsfarbe gesund, Statur schlank. Besondere Kennzeichen: spricht sehr rasch und ist kurzsichtig.

The wanted flyer issued for Frederick Engels,
printed in the
Kölnische Zeitung of 9 June 1849



The Palatinate Volunteer Corps entering Karlsruhe
in June 1849



Fleet Street, London, in about 1850

National Assembly which was due to gather at Frankfurt-on-Main in May, for the election of the several state parliaments and, in Prussia, the so-called Constituent Assembly. The people expected the first All-German Parliament to secure the revolutionary achievements it had won for itself in bloody struggles.

The Communists, however, were well aware that the successes of the first stage of the revolution could only be the beginning of a protracted revolutionary movement, that further democratic measures had to be pushed through, and that feudal conditions had to be exterminated in their entirety. The revolution had to be carried on until Germany's bourgeois-democratic development was secured.

The Communist League, which was now calling itself the Communist Party in public, evolved the working-class programme for this continuation of the revolution in *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*. Marx and Engels had drawn up this document at the instruction of the Central Committee, and in it the Party of the revolutionary working class, the Party of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, supplied the correct answer to the questions upon which hinged the destiny of the German people.

The Communists began their programme of revolution thus: "The whole of Germany shall be declared a single indivisible republic."[14] This was their revolutionary answer to the question of Germany's future. It met the interest of the working class, an interest identical with that of the entire people. The Communists demanded the total elimination of every survival of particularism and feudalism. Therefore they first and foremost fought the principal powers of reaction in Germany: Prussia and the Hapsburg Empire. Their objective was the formation of a progressive German nation-state, a republic of a revolutionary-democratic type.

The next points on the Communist programme of revolution listed the measures that needed to be pushed through to consolidate the unified democratic German republic. The Communists demanded universal suffrage, that all citizens be eligible both for election and as electors at the age of 21, and that the representatives of the people be paid in order that workers might also sit in Parliament. They demanded the universal arming of

the people in order that every counter-revolution might be fought effectively. They demanded the transformation of the legal system, gratuitous legal services, the termination of the privileged education enjoyed by the hitherto ruling classes, and that all Germans be guaranteed equal education opportunities.

Demands of the Communist Party in Germany pursued the aim of dispossessing the nobility and the Junkers of political power and setting up a state that would lean on the democratic forces of the bourgeois society: the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the democratic bourgeoisie. But social life could only be consistently democratized if the economic roots of the system of Junker-militarist rule were extirpated. It followed that *Demands* also set forth a revolutionary-democratic programme for the peasants and agricultural labourers. The Communists demanded the abolition of all feudal imposts and the expropriation of all landed property, both without compensation. They showed the peasants the path that led to their emancipation from feudal and Junker-capitalist exploitation, and aspired after a close working-class alliance with the peasantry.

Marx, Engels and their fellow-combatants demanded that the mines and pits, the private banking houses and means of transport, the royal and other feudal estates become state property. These demands for nationalization, and likewise the Communists' demand for the introduction of a steeply graduated tax and the curtailing of the right of inheritance were consistently bourgeois-democratic. They were aimed at the "dominion of the magnates of the monetary world"[10], i. e., the representatives of the *haute bourgeoisie* who came to terms with the counter-revolution right after the revolution and, by their betrayal, tried to prevent the victory of bourgeois democracy and the continuance of the revolution.

Furthermore, the Communists demanded of the democratic state that it open up national workshops to improve the social condition of the working class, guarantee the workers a living and provide for those who were unable to work.

The Communists' demands constituted the working class's revolutionary programme for the completion of the bourgeois revolution. They expressed the proletariat's particular interest in having the most definitive bourgeois democracy possible, and called on all the progressive classes and strata of the rising bourgeois society to act in unison. *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, and indeed the strategy and tactics Marx and Engels practised before and during the 1848-49 Revolution, showed them to be past masters at grasping the dialectical relationship between democracy and Socialism. They took it for granted that Communists are always committed to take part in the fight for democracy and social progress that happens to be on at the moment. And the Communists were the best and most consistent democrats during the 1848–49 Revolution.

In *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, Marx and Engels explained why the destiny and prosperity of the German people depends on the development and consolidation of democracy, on the position the working class occupies in society. For every field of social life the German Communists evolved a revolutionary-democratic alternative to the concepts held by the counter-revolutionary, squirearchical forces and the bourgeoisie. Had their alternative materialized, Germany would already have been on the path to democracy in the middle of the last century.

The manuscript of *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* was sent to the printers as soon as it was passed by the Central Committee. The 17 demands filled a two-sided handout. The first copies were ready for distribution on 24 March and were widely discussed in Paris during the next days by the German workers and League members who were getting ready to go back home.

In the meantime, the Paris-based German petty bourgeois democrats had founded a German Democratic Society under the leadership of Karl Börnstein, Adalbert von Bornstedt and Georg Herwegh, and were busily launching a volunteer corps, the German Legion. Many workers and craftsmen had followed the call to fight for the freedom of the German people, but this adventuristic enterprise could do nothing but harm. In Engels' words: "We opposed this playing with revolution in the most decisive fashion. To carry an invasion, which was to import the revolution

forcibly from outside, into the midst of the ferment then going on in Germany, meant to undermine the revolution in Germany itself".[16] The petty bourgeois volunteer corps came to nought, just as Marx and Engels had expected.

The Communists founded a German workers' club in Paris to counterpoise the German Democratic Society. It exerted its influence to keep the workers away from the Legion and its armed march on Germany. At the same time the Central Committee of the Communist League sent as many German workers and craftsmen as possible across the German frontier, singly or in small groups, at the end of March and the beginning of April. Approximately 300 to 400 revolutionary workers, amongst them the great majority of the League members, were so sent from Britain and France to their native towns or to such parts of Germany "where they were needed and in their elements".[17]

Homeward bound, the revolutionary workers and Communists carried in their luggage handouts with the 17 demands and copies of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. A thousand copies of the second edition of the *Communist Manifesto* had been sent off from London and arrived in Paris on 20 March. The Communists' instructions were to organize revolutionary activities in Germany, strengthen the extant League communities and found new ones, and set up overt political working men's clubs.

Frederick Engels left Paris on around 5 or 6 April. The French Provisional Government had issued him a passport at his request. He was accompanied by Karl Marx and Ernst Dronke. Dronke was a young journalist who had been confined at Wesel Fortress in 1847 for writing an anti-Prussian book *(Berlin)* and admitted to the Communist League before he escaped from Wesel. Engels, as member of the Central Committee, had "examined him afresh"[18] in Brussels and then confirmed his membership.

Marx, Engels and Dronke stopped over at Mainz from 7 to 9 April where they and the members of the local League community talked over the plan of establishing political working men's clubs all over Germany and turning the Mainz Workers' Educational Society into the focal point of a working-class mass political organization that would in time cover the entire country. But

this first attempt at uniting the working men's clubs failed for two reasons: the labour movement in Germany was still little developed in the spring of 1848, and the political and ideological leadership of most of the working men's clubs had fallen into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie.

Engels, Marx and Dronke left Mainz for Cologne where they arrived on 11 April. They decided to stay in a guest-house to begin with. So-called friends who wanted to rid the Rhine Province of these Communists as quickly as possible advised Marx and Engels to go to Trier and Barmen and there run for election to the Constituent Assembly in Berlin. But Marx and Engels were pursuing the plan they had already conceived in Paris: the publication of a big democratic daily for the Party. From the moment they arrived in Cologne they concentrated all their efforts on organizing this paper; for the speedy realization of the tasks that faced the Communists hinged on getting this newspaper out quickly. A large-circulation daily, under the conditions of the recently-won freedom of the press, was the most effective means of representing political aims in public, spreading Communist ideas amongst the working class, taking a guiding hand in the fight to complete the revolution, and so, to a certain extent, playing the part of an organizer. The League members, who were working in different parts of Germany under widely differing conditions and, for the most part, self-reliantly, could best be guided with the help of such a paper. This meant its becoming the leading centre of the proletarian Party in Germany. In essence, the tasks of the Central Committee of the Communist League were incumbent upon it.

Whilst Marx was making preparations for the foundation of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne, Engels went to Barmen to canvass support for the project in his home town and its surroundings. He also translated a large part of the *Communist Manifesto* into English. Referring to their newspaper project in a letter dated 25 April, Marx asked Engels whether "there is anything to be got in Barmen and Elberfeld."[19] But the industrialists and wholesale merchants were unwilling to sink money into the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which had been set up as a joint-stock company. Elberfeld was looked upon as particularly reactionary,

as a "pious, black-and-white town"[20] in the revolution. "You can count damned little on shares from here," Engels reported back to Marx. The bourgeois, he said, had no intention of handing weapons to the people who would be their main enemies in the future, and added that there was "absolutely nothing to be wrung out of"[21] his father.

Engels senior had had divided feelings about his son's visit from the very onset. "Happy as I am to know that he is out of Paris," he wrote to a relative in April, "I cannot look forward to it (the visit) with heartfelt pleasure. His delusions are beyond me." In their fear of the democrats and the workers most of the capitalists in the Wupper Valley and the Rhine Province, and Engels senior with them, sought a compromise with the King after the March Revolution. The letter quoted from above contains a passage where the writer deplores the King's grave mistakes and maintains that, had Frederick William "conceded with more speed and resolve, he could be standing at the head of Germany now. Now he is giving all, his power is utterly broken."[22] Engels' father went on to say how very satisfied he was that Hansemann and Camphausen (both Rhenish liberals) had been appointed Cabinet members. Also, he was deeply gratified that the compromise struck by the nobility and the bourgeoisie was growing firmer. He declared that "our salvation lies only in a Constitutional Monarchy".[23]

Most of Frederick Engels' relations thought no differently. His uncle, August Engels, served on Barmen's Town Council and in this capacity played an active part in the bourgeois political movement. He was one of the three Barmen delegates who, in late March, spoke out against any sort of a republican movement and advocated a constitutional monarchy at a meeting attended in Cologne by delegates from 18 Rhenish cities. One of Frederick Engels' brothers was put in command of a citizens' unit at the end of March. This unit, armed with 30 army rifles and bayonets, was deployed to Engelskirchen to defend the Engels mill against the workers in the event of unrest.

Frederick Engels, the "deserter" and Communist, was also eyed distrustfully by people other than his family in the Wupper Valley. "People shun any discussion of social questions like the

plague; they call it incitement,"[24] he wrote to Marx. Even the Political Club in Elberfeld, the radical petty bourgeois' democratic organization, flatly refused to discuss social questions.

Engels finally managed to win a few share-holders for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitungs-Gesellschaft* in the Wupper Valley. By 9 May they had subscribed for 14 shares worth 50 thalers each. He wrote to tell Marx and also reported: "The groundwork has also been laid for a League community."[25]

The means needed to launch the paper were raised with a great deal of difficulty, and then mainly in the city of Cologne. Marx sank a substantial proportion of the money he had inherited from his father into the undertaking. Engels contributed several hundred thalers from the spending-money his father was still sending him regularly, and bought a few shares as well. Yet only 13,000 of the 30,000 thalers of fixed and floating capital actually required had been raised on the eve of the day the first issue of the paper was due to appear. Frederick Engels wrote in later years: "Thus we began, on June 1, 1848, with a very limited share capital, of which only a little had been paid up and the shareholders themselves were more than unreliable."[26]

He moved to Cologne on 20 May and helped Marx with the final preparations. He took rooms at 14 In der Höhle, a house owned by a stationer called Plasmann. He lived there, in the oldest part of the city, until he was forced to flee the country in the autumn of 1848. It was in this borough, too, that he joined Cologne's civic guard and served with the 16th company. Engels lived within a stone's throw of Marx and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* whose premises were quite near by too, at 12 St. Agatha Strasse. The paper moved its offices to 17 Unter Hutmacher in late August. None of the houses where Engels and his friends lived and worked in 1848–49 is still standing today.

1 July was the date originally fixed for the first issue of the paper, but the swift advance of the counter-revolution urged the revolutionaries to make even greater haste. The first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie* left the printing presses on the evening of 31 May. It was dated 1 June.

Special numbers apart, 301 issues appeared until May of 1849. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* became "the most famous German newspaper of the years of revolution," [2] as Engels put it. It has entered the annals of history as the first independent daily of the German proletariat.

The Offices of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung

Karl Marx was the undisputed editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The paper bore his stamp and he developed its conception. His outstanding personality gave it a unique inner cohesion that ranged from the editorials through to the stop-press items. Marx, however, was not working single-handed but at the head of a group of self-confident personalities–ever-ready Communists, well-known journalists, writers and poets. There has probably never been a newspaper, either before or since, more brilliantly staffed than the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. At Marx's side worked Frederick Engels as his "right-hand man" and deputy, Wilhelm Wolff as editorial staff secretary, and Georg Weerth who headed the feuilleton section. Moreover: Ernst Dronke, Ferdinand Wolff (who fought together with Marx and Engels in Brussels during the days of the Communist Cor-

respondence Committee, and at times Heinrich Bürger, member of the Cologne League community. The distingaished poet Ferdinand Freiligrath joined the staff in October of 1848 and published his magnificent poems on the revolution in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He reached the acme of his artistic and political creativity with this poetry.

Frederick Engels was the staff's specialist on foreign policy issues and military affairs. Also, he wrote more editorials than anyone else. He and Marx took turns in writing the most important articles. They were used to working hand in glove for several years now, but the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung's* single year of existence showed how excellently the two complemented one another. Nearly 40 years later Engels still described in glowing terms that time of "planned division of labour"[28] between himself and Marx which made it difficult to discern his own articles from Marx's contributions. It was the custom then that articles appeared unsigned, but expressions peculiar to either Marx or Engels, and comparisons of style, are sufficiently indicative as to allow for a qualified fixing of their authorship. Marx and Engels were both brilliant stylists in their own right, but Engels generally wrote in a more readily intelligible and simple vein. Many articles by the one bear the traces of the other's cooperation, and the majority were only put to paper after the two friends had discussed them. Marx' and Engels' working and fighting partnership came through its baptism of fire with flying colours in the offices of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Frederick Engels was an outstanding journalist, a "veritable encyclopedia" and "able to work at every hour of the day and at night, drunk or sober, brisk at writing and quick of grasp, like the devil,"[29] reads Marx's proud and witty report. Marx frequently pored all day over an important article. He polished whole sentences at length. Engels, on the other hand, penned his contributions at a single go and with amazing ease. He appraised and evaluated the reports sent in by the paper's own correspondents swiftly and surely, likewise the German, British, French, Belgian, Italian and Spanish papers held by the editorial office, and pigeon-holed the material so obtained in the revolutionary views he and Marx shared. Engels, now 27, was able

to turn his broad knowledge of foreign languages to good account. His talents and abilities made him a born journalist.

Engels had to run the office in his friend's absence, but the other members of the staff never accepted the acting editor-in-chief the way they accepted Marx's authority. Marx was a leader born and influenced everyone who came into contact with him. Engels, two years' his junior, appreciated Marx's clear vision and firm character, and the entire staff had implicit confidence in him. "Things went smoothly at the offices of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* when Marx was there," runs an account Wilhelm Liebknecht based on the recollections of the paper's erstwhile editors. "The atmosphere became strained as soon as Engels deputized for him."[30] On one such occasion, Marx was out of town at the time, the young editors started quarrelling amongst themselves and Engels had been unable to sort things out. Marx found the office in a state of "perfect anarchy" when he came back. So after "some very poor experiences" Wilhelm Wolff, the eldest editor and calmest man on the premises,was "appointed office adjudicator and all bowed to his iron sternness and grim conscientiousness although they did not always agree with his reasons."[31]

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* approached the public as an "organ of democracy", but a democracy which, as Engels put it, "everywhere emphasized in every point the specific proletarian character which it could not yet inscribe once and for all on its banner."[32] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung's* revolutionary-democratic programme was focused on the struggle to maintain and extend the democratic rights that had been won during the March uprisings, and declared as its objective the creation of a single, indivisible, democratic German republic. To this programme it endeavoured to win over the popular masses.

The editorial staff established close relations with the Cologne democrats and workers. The democratic movement in Cologne, particularly the Cologne Working Men's Club with its several thousand members, constituted the paper's organizational basis. In the course of the revolution it also proved itself a strong shield the moment the editors–and this happened frequently–were summoned to appear at police headquarters or be-

fore the examining magistrate. Big mass demonstrations took place on these occasions, for the workers wanted to prevent the reactionary authorities from chicaning and persecuting the editors who also headed the local democratic and labour movements.

Friedrich Lessner tells of the effect the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had on the masses, and of its unison with the workers: "I distributed the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in whatever workshop I worked, and often read out articles aloud during working hours. Most of them went down very well."[83] Lessner had met Marx and Engels the year before in London, but their actual friendship only started in the summer of 1848 when he came to Cologne. He took part in the local revolutionary movement under his code name, Carstens, and so met up with the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Lessner was Engels' "master of wardrobe" on the side, but so far as he remembered his "functions consisted mainly in repairing his garments."[84]

From the very onset, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* directed its main attack at the counter-revolution which was fast gaining strength and compromising even the modest achievements of the March Revolution. The paper courageously pilloried the intrigues engineered by reaction and its stays: the army and the bureaucracy, the judiciary and the police. The Prussian state was the most dangerous of all the centres of reaction in Germany, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stood in direct confrontation with reactionary Prussianism, above all Prussian militarism, in Cologne. Engels attacked the Prussian militarist spirit in a host of sharply-worded or caustic articles. He and the other editors broke many a lance with that epitome of militarism, the commander of Cologne Fortress, and the officers and NCOs of the troops who were stationed at Cologne.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* fought the liberal *haute bourgeoisie* in the interests of democracy. Its deputies now held the majority in the parliaments and occupied the senior posts in the governments. Reactionary historians claim that the Communists attacked the *haute bourgeoisie* because they were advocating the immediate aims of Socialism and the abolition of the bourgeois order in the revolution. This is not true. The truth of the matter

is, rather, that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* accused the bourgeoisie of being an enemy of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, not fulfilling the objective tasks that fell to its lot as the leader of the revolution, neglecting its historic duty and, in its fear of the democratic movement, coming to terms with the feudal counter-revolution and then making common cause with reaction against the democrats and workers. In a word: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* charged the bourgeoisie with resisting the implementation of the goals of its own revolution.

Frederick Engels was already explaining what the German Communists perceived as the tasks of a revolutionary bourgeois National Assembly in the first editorial of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: The first thing the National Assembly needed to do was to proclaim loudly and clearly the sovereignty of the German people, the next to elaborate the German Constitution on the basis of popular sovereignty and to remove everything from the extant state of Germany that contradicted the principle of the people's sovereignty. Engels wrote that the National Assembly ought to have taken the measures necessary to frustrate all reaction's onslaughts, maintain the revolutionary position upon which it stood, and secure against all encroachments the achievement of the revolution: popular sovereignty. But this National Assembly, where sat not the representatives of the German people but those of the cowardly German bourgeoisie, had done nothing of the sort.

Above all, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* pilloried the way the bourgeoisie had betrayed the people in the power question. In July of 1848, Engels declared that "the first necessity" after a revolution was to renew the state machine at all events. This had been "even more infinitely urgent"[85] in Prussia where the bureaucratic hierarchy was particularly developed. But the liberal bourgeois Government had left the old state machine intact instead of cleaning it out and dispossessing the counter-revolution of the army.

Engels kept a watchful eye on the debates the Prussian Constituent Assembly held in Berlin. In four months, from June to September of 1848 when the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was banned and Engels forced to flee the country, the paper carried over

30 articles where Engels analysed the debates and expounded the policy the Communist Party pursued in the revolution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* set a democratic alternative programme against the bourgeois Government's programme. Engels supported the idea of popular rule and criticized the Leftist, petty bourgeois, democratic deputies who never acted as revolutionaries or joined the position of the revolution in the Assembly, but made concessions to the right-wingers.

On principle, however, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s attitude to petty bourgeois democracy and its deputies differed from the stance it took toward the liberal *haute bourgeoisie*. Marx and Engels saw in the petty bourgeois strata, and the democrats who represented them, allies with whom they needed to join forces against the counter-revolution. They censured the inconsistencies of petty bourgeois democracy in the interest of a more effective fight by all democratic forces, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* criticized the Leftists for restricting their activities to parliamentary debates instead of organizing the mass revolutionary struggle.

When Berlin's workers, craftsmen and students took the Royal Arsenal by storm on 14 June to arm themselves and defend the revolution, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appraised the event as a "revolution stopped mid-way".[36] The parliamentarians denied the people their assistance in this spontaneous uprising. Not only did they not place themselves at the head of this revolt; they did not even dare to defend the men who had stormed the Arsenal against the Government's slander and defamations.

The Berlin Assembly debates also caused Engels to look into the peasant question. The Prussian Government submitted to the deputies in July of 1848 a bill which envisaged the peasants paying large sums of redemption money to buy themselves off from statute-labour, tithes and other feudal rights. Instead of abolishing all feudal rights without compensation and so winning the peasants for its side, the bourgeoisie betrayed its most important ally. Frederick Engels represented the German Communists' democratic peasant policy in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and, in keeping with *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, consistently called for the gratuitous abolition of

all statute-labour. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* pointed to the historic responsibility that rested with the bourgeoisie for releasing the peasants from feudal dues, and at the same time underlined the interests the proletariat and the small peasants had in common in the fight to push through democratic conditions in the countryside. It tried to win the whole of the peasantry for the revolutionary struggle.

It was chiefly Frederick Engels who expounded the concept of a democratic German foreign policy he and Marx had worked out together. Elaborated in a number of editorials, this conception centred around a previously formulated precept: that a nation which oppresses others cannot be free itself. One of Engels' leading articles, *Auswärtige deutsche Politik* (German Foreign Policy), contains this famous passage: "Now that the Germans are shaking off their own yoke their entire foreign policy must change as well. If not, we shall confine our own young, as yet barely presentient freedom in the fetters with which we enchain foreign nations. In the same proportion as Germany sets free the neighbour peoples she frees herself."[37]

As proletarian internationalists, Marx and Engels never looked on the revolutionary movements of the different countries of Europe as being isolated from one another but as parts of a single revolutionary process that was taking place on a European scale. When they examined the international position of the German revolution they pointed both to the foreign allies (the national-revolutionary movements of the neighbouring peoples who had been left in the lurch by the German bourgeoisie) and the responsibility incumbent upon the German revolutionary movement for putting an end to the old, disgraceful policy of oppression practised toward other nations. "If Germany's blood and money is no longer to be wasted to her own disadvantage on oppressing other nationalities, we shall have to accomplish a real Government of the people; the old edifice will have to be demolished right down to its foundations," Engels stated and then went on: "Only then can the bloody-cowardly policy of the old, the renewed system make room for the international policy of democracy."[38]

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels set out from this interna-

tionalist position to champion the interests of all the peoples who were fighting the revolutionary battle for bourgeois democracy. They sided passionately with the liberation struggle of the people whom Prussia, Austria and czarist Russia oppressed.

Engels studied the Italian people's fight for liberty, covered the Prague insurrection of June 1848, and wrote articles on the situation in Britain and Belgium. He also contributed six articles on the revolutionary people's war over Slesvig-Holstein then being waged against Denmark and the shameful Prusso-Danish armistice that followed. But he ventilated the Polish people's fight for independence and the course the revolution was running in France most thoroughly of all.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* gave the Polish liberation movement special scope in its columns since it occupied pride of place in the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in Europe. The three reactionary powers of Russia, Prussia and Austria had divided Poland up amongst themselves. The partitioning and national oppression of Poland held the three states' alliance together. "For no one," are Poland's liberation and national independence "more necessary than for just us Germans,"[39] wrote Frederick Engels, and formulated one of the principles of a revolutionary German foreign policy thus: "The establishment of a democratic Poland is the first condition for the establishment of a democratic Germany."[40]

Hence, liberating Poland was one of the central tasks of the entire European revolutionary movement. Poland's restoration necessitated wrecking Prussia's and Austria's alliance with Russian czarism, then the main bulwark of reaction in Europe. Shattering the reactionary hegemony of czarism or at least pushing back its influence was part of the foreign policy programme of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The Communists demanded militant action against Russian czarism in order that bourgeois-democratic conditions might be pushed through in all the countries of Europe, and conditions being what they were in 1848 action could only take on the form of a revolutionary people's war.

Marx and Engels advocated the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s internationalist standpoint with persuasive power and passion

when the Parisian proletariat rose in revolt at the end of June 1848. The June revolution was the first great class battle of the modern bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie had forced it onto the workers of Paris with the twin aims of cancelling the concessions the proletariat had gained in the February Revolution and consolidating the bourgeois republic.

Engels wrote four long articles on the fighting in Paris. They proved him a talented expert in explaining military questions and events. He eloquently described the heroic resistance the workers desperately offered an immensely superior force to whom they had to succumb in the end. Engels remarked that the June insurrection in Paris was a fight "the like of which the world has never seen".[41]

All over Europe the victory the French bourgeoisie won over the proletariat introduced a turning-point in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. In every revolution-shaken spot the balance of power changed quickly between counter-revolution and revolution. Everywhere the counter-revolutionary forces swept into open battle against the democratic movement, especially against the working class and the revolutionary popular masses.

In Germany, the revolution entered into a new third stage which lasted until early December of 1848. The counter-revolution tried to engineer the final defeat of the revolution with every available means during this period. The outcome of the German revolution was already imminent in Germany's two most important states: Prussia and Austria.

With the beginning of July, court summonses were served more and more frequently on the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The paper carried an item which read: "It seems that one wants to bring the editorial staff to court *en masse*."[42] Its premises were searched for objectionable manuscripts. Frederick Engels had to appear several times before the examining magistrate who set out by trying to get him to testify against Marx, and then extended his investigations to include Engels as well, charging him with having insulted Prussian gendarmes.

Faced with this increasing counter-revolutionary activity, Frederick Engels and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stepped up their activities in the democratic and labour

movement of the Rhineland, and particularly in Cologne. The Congress of the Democratic Societies of Germany had assembled at Frankfurt-on-Main over Whitsun and designated Cologne as the societies' centre in Rhenisch Prussia. There were three democratic societies in Cologne itself: the Cologne Working Men's Club, the Democratic Society, and the Association of Workers and Employers which soon ceased to be of any importance. President and Vice-President of the Working Men's Club since July were Marx's and Engels' friends Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper. Schapper had come to Cologne from Paris and joined the staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as a contributor and proof reader.

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* mainly worked in the Democratic Society in the beginning. They did all they could there to get its members to collaborate vigorously with the Working Men's Club and all other democrats, differing aims and views on certain questions notwithstanding. In July, representatives of the three Cologne societies set up a joint committee which later functioned as the District Committee of all the democratic societies in the Rhine Province. Karl Marx stood at the committee's helm. It established close connections with the democratic movement in the neighbouring town of Düsseldorf, the second city of Rhenish Prussia. Ludwig (Louis) Kugelmann, later a close friend of Marx and Engels, and Ferdinand Lassalle both played a prominent part in the Düsseldorf movement for a while. Frederick Engels spoke at a congress the democratic societies of the Rhine Province held on 13 August 1848, but the brief minutes of this event unfortunately contain only a single sentence from this speech: "Hatred of bureaucracy and dyed-in-the-wool Prussianism is the characteristic trait of the Rhenish lands; it is to be hoped that this way of thinking will persist."[13]

The first half of September saw Marx on an extended tour of the country which took him to Berlin and Vienna and Frederick Engels in charge of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Meanwhile, the increasing gravity of the political situation assumed threatening proportions in Germany. The Communists, with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in their van, had to concentrate all

their efforts on warding off the counter-revolution, mobilizing the popular masses, and preparing revolutionary actions.

Engels and his fellow-combatants advocated this political line inside and outside the paper's offices. The editorial staff and the Democratic Society jointly convened big public meetings at which one or another of the editors generally appeared as the principal speaker. Frequently they, and more often than not Frederick Engels, moved the decisions and addresses which were then passed as action slogans.

The people of Cologne held the first of their mighty rallies to protest against the threatening counter-revolution on 7 September. Approximately 3,000 people filled a huge manège to capacity whilst at least twice as many formed an overflow audience outside. The rally protested the Armistice of Malmö. Unauthorized, the Prussian Government had come to terms with the Danish Government a few days before, and had abandoned the Duchies of Slesvig and Holstein to Denmark. In other words it had delivered into the hands of the counter-revolution the citizens and peasants who had risen in revolt in the two Duchies in the spring of 1848, appointed a Provisional Government, and given themselves a democratic Constitution. The democrats' indignation at the Prussian monarch's anti-national act was such that it erupted in a broad popular movement, the first after the March Revolution. Mighty protest demonstrations took place up and down the country, particularly in Rhenish Prussia. At their own meeting, the Cologne democrats adopted an address to the Frankfurt National Assembly which demanded the overruling of the armistice. The appeal was based on a *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* article by Frederick Engels and laid out for signature in the streets of Cologne during the next days. Thousands of people had signed it by the time it was sent off to Frankfurt.

During these critical September days Frederick Engels and Ernst Dronke gave the leadership of the Cologne Working Men's Club a review of the political situation which culminated in the statement that the fight between monarchy and people had now become inevitable. The leadership of the Working Men's Club and the Democratic Society decided to call a mass meeting on Frankenplatz for midday of 13 September. Bills

were posted up on walls throughout the city to advertise the meeting and urge the election of a town committee of public safety.

Some 5,000 to 6,000 people gathered on Frankenplatz. Four of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s editors spoke from the rostrum which was decorated with a cloth of black, red and gold: Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Heinrich Bürgers and Ernst Dronke. A 30-strong public safety committee was elected "as the representation of those sections of the population not represented in the existing legitimate authorities".[64] The names were put forward by Wolff and seconded by Engels in a short speech. People voted for each candidate by raising their caps or hats. Amongst the elected were five editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: Engels, the three speakers mentioned above, and editor-in-chief Karl Marx who had returned from his journey in the meantime. Elected, too, were Schapper and Moll, the leaders of the Working Men's Club. As the "only committee resulting from direct popular vote and accountable directly to the people," it had the job of watching over the achievements of the revolution and seeing to it that "the rights won by struggle with the blood of the people are not encroached upon."[65]

The committee elected, Frederick Engels read out to the thousands an address to the Berlin Constituent Assembly which they received with tempestuous applause. The address urged the Berlin Assembly to resist every attempt at its dissolution by either crown or Cabinet. The Deputies needed to do their duty and defend their seats against even the power of the bayonet. The dissolution of the Assembly, said Frederick Engels in his address, would be a coup d'état.

Marx, Engels and their friends doubled their efforts to spread the revolutionary movement in the days that followed. They endeavoured to establish firm contacts between the organized workers and democrats of Cologne and the peasants, farm labourers and other people who lived in the villages nearby. Connections with other towns in the Rhine Province–Düsseldorf, Crefeld, Neuss, Bonn, and many smaller places–were extended. To each were sent emissaries. Preparations were well under way for a mass meeting that was due to be held on 17 September

on Fühlinger Heide near Worringen, a heath to the north of Cologne.

The police laid obstruction upon obstruction in the path of the meeting. The Military Commander of Cologne held his men in constant readiness at the Fortress and ordered cannon to be trained on the city. Yet all this notwithstanding, about 10,000 people flocked to the heath on foot, in carriages, or on the huge barges that plied the Rhine. A rostrum had been erected in one of the riverside meadows, and on it were placed three flags: two black, red and gold and one red.

Karl Schapper was elected chairman and Frederick Engels secretary of the rally which then confirmed the Cologne public safety committee and gave it three rousing cheers. At the instance of Schapper the gathering came out in favour of the republic, namely the democratic-social, the Red Republic, and, following a proposal put forward by Engels, committed itself to resist "with life and property"[66] the machinations of the counter-revolution.

The Frankfurt National Assembly was at this very hour passing a majority vote of approval for the Armistice of Malmö and so betraying the masses who were prepared to fight the counter-revolution. When the people of Frankfurt reciprocated by rising in armed revolt the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie even authorized the Prussian military, and other troops as well, to quell the uprising in blood. "We were not mistaken," wrote Engels bitterly in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 20 September, "Germany's honour is in bad hands!"[67]

That same day Engels gave a public meeting an account of the Frankfurt insurrection. The gathering assured the barricade-fighters that they had deserved well of the homeland, and, led by Engels, broke into a rousing hurrah for the insurgents of Frankfurt.

And so the uprising was crushed at Frankfurt. Afterwards, on 25 September, an inquiry was instituted against Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Wolff and Heinrich Bürgers from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and also against Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper. They were charged with plotting revolution. The police managed to apprehend Schapper, but the others got away. On 26 September,

the Fortress Commander proclaimed martial law in Cologne. All the democratic organizations, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and the democratic sheets were banned. The right of assembly was repealed, and the local Citizens Guard disbanded.

The counter-revolution had gained ground in Berlin too by this time. The hitherto Government of the *haute bourgeoisie* was replaced by a Cabinet composed exclusively of reactionary officials and officers.

The Cologne police found neither Engels nor incriminating documents when they searched his rooms on 30 September. The law officers and the police departed empty-handed and with their ears ringing with the jeers of the crowd that had gathered in front of the house. The public prosecutor sent out warrants against Frederick Engels. The newspapers carried a wanted flyer: "Following a warrant of arrest issued by the examining magistrate of this place, I hereby request all the authorities and officials concerned to be on the alert for," to arrest, and to bring to Cologne one Frederick Engels. Next followed a description: "*Frederick Engels;* profession: merchant; place of birth and residence: Barmen; religion: Evangelical; age: 27 years; height: 5 feet 8 inches; hair and eyebrows: fair; forehead: ordinary; eyes: grey; nose and mouth: well-proportioned; teeth: sound; beard: brown; chin and face: oval; colouring: healthy; figure: slim."[69]

This warrant pursued Frederick Engels as he fled the country and made his way across various European lands.

The Refugee

Engels left Prussia before martial law had been declared in Cologne. He planned to go to Belgium together with Ernst Dronke who was also wanted by the police. He had to leave behind his clothes, possessions, and passport, and only had a few thalers on him to pay his way.

They crossed the frontier and made for Verviers, the nearest Belgian town, where they notified their friend Marx that they were safe for the time being. Engels and Dronke then proceeded on to Liège and from there to Brussels where they had barely arrived before they were arrested and deported on 4 October. Their names were both on a black list of people who had fled Cologne. The Cologne Chief of Police, W. A. Geiger, probably furnished this list.

The Belgian police put Engels and Dronke on a train bound

for France. Thus deported, they arrived in Paris on 5 October. But this Paris was no longer the Paris Engels had left in April, no longer the exultant city of the February Revolution that luxuriated in illusions of liberty. The brief "ecstasy of the republican honeymoon" was a thing of the past. Although still the "heart and soul of the world" and "queen of cities", Paris in October nevertheless made a gloomy impression on Engels. The workers, unemployed and unarmed, were full of pent-up wrath. "Paris was dead; it was Paris no more."[49]

The refugee soon felt that he could no longer bear to stay in the city: "I had to get away, no matter to what place. So to Switzerland for a start. I was pinched for money, therefore on foot. Also, the shortest route mattered little to me; one is loath to depart France." Whereas Dronke stayed on in Paris, Engels set off "due south in a happy-go-lucky manner".[50] He later described this fourteen-day walking tour of Central France in *Von Paris nach Bern* (From Paris to Berne), a feuilleton article he never completed. He drew two maps of the route he followed to illustrate the tour he depicted so vividly and colourfully in his diary: first along the Seine, then toward Orleans, down the Loire after that, and finally through Burgundy. Engels admired the beauty of the French countryside and its rich flora; he enjoyed the peasants' hospitality and, in Burgundy, helped to pick the wonderful grapes that grew in that year of 1848. He downed many a glass of wine and, Rhineland born and bred, found the grape-gathering season in Burgundy "jolly in a way quite different from a Rhineland vintage. I found the merriest company, the sweetest grapes and the prettiest girls at every turn."[51]

Ah, those French wines Engels appreciated so well! "What a wealth of difference: from the bordeaux to the burgundy, from the burgundy to the full-bodied St. Georges, Lunel and Frontignan of the south, and from the latter to the sparkling champagne! What a variety of the red and the white: from the Petit Mâcon or the Chablis to the Chambertin, to the Château Larose, to the Sauterne, to the Roussilloner, to the Ai Mousseux! And when one bethinks that one can, on a few bottles, pass through all the stages that range between a quadrille by Musard and the Marseillaise, from the extravagant gaiety of the cancan to the

wild flush of revolutionary fever, and, finally, with a bottle of champagne, switch back to the merriest carnival mood in the world!"[52]

Thus, Engels' hike across France brought welcome change after the stormy months of Cologne. But although good cheer and jollifications came into their own, there probably was more hardship than pleasant "adventures" on this journey by foot which covered no less than 500 kilometres. Engels tramped post-June France with his political senses keenly alive to what he saw and heard. His traveller's notebook contains apt descriptions of the social conditions and political state of the country where he was seeking to detect possibilities for a fresh revolutionary upswing.

There was the occasion Engels came across some Parisian workers from the erstwhile national workshops in a tiny village near the Loire. Here, they worked in the building trade, "utterly demoralized"[53] by their isolation. They no longer minded about the things that concerned their class, and were not even interested in the everyday political issues that affected them so immediately. They had stopped reading the papers; their horizon had been narrowed down by hard work and their conditions of existence, above all by the fact that they were far-removed from Paris.

The life and customs of the French peasants interested Engels no less than the social condition and political position of the workers who had been deployed all over the country. He observed their back-breaking toil, the monotonous conditions in which they lived, their pronounced feeling for property, and the isolation of village life. Engels described the concrete conditions he found in the villages and then proceeded to trace out the peasants' political stance throughout the whole of pre-1848 French history as being precisely the outcome of their conditions of existence and property relations.

Frederick Engels crossed over into Switzerland during the second half of October. He arrived at Geneva on around 24 October and immediately wrote to both his family and Marx. He was down to his last penny.

Engels' parents were aghast when they saw the wanted flyer

for their eldest son in the papers. Their sense of outrage was, however, not directed at the counter-revolution which persecuted not only their son but hundreds and thousands of democrats, Communists and patriots besides. Rather, they were ashamed for their eldest. They advised him to go to America, and begged him in their letters to dissociate himself from Marx, to renounce Communism. Engels' mother wrote that she had learned "from a reliable source (. . .) that the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* say that, even if you returned, they would not take you back as a co-worker (. . .). So you can see what your friends are like and what you may expect from them."[54]

Neither parent let Engels down even though his mode of political thought and action was completely beyond their understanding. True that mother admonished her eldest urgently to settle down at last and earn his own living, but she and father sent Engels some money at the same time in order that he might buy the winter clothes he needed and not suffer want.

Even in this situation Engels refused to let anyone put him under financial pressure. Nor did he heed the insinuations uttered against his friend. He wrote to Marx in Cologne for information and learned that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had reappeared after an interval of over fourteen days–following the repeal of martial law and the overcoming of fresh financial difficulties. Marx had sunk all the money he possessed into the paper and was now virtually penniless. He informed his friend that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s remaining bourgeois shareholders had demanded that he, Marx, sack Engels and the other absconded editors. This he had naturally refused to do: "As far as your editorship is concerned I 1) immediately announced in the first issue that the committee stays unchanged, 2) told the imbecile reactionary shareholders that they were at liberty to regard you as no longer belonging to the editorial staff, but that I am at liberty *to pay royalties so high as I want*, and that therefore pecuniarily they shall be winning nothing."[55]

Hard up himself, Marx did all he could to support his friend. He responded to Engels' first cry of financial distress by dispatching to Geneva the cash he just happened to have in hand: 11 thalers. He also enclosed a bill of exchange for 50 thalers

made out to a Geneva merchant. And he inquired: "Shall I send on your linen, etc.?"[56] Touching on the insinuations uttered against him, he assured his friend: "That I could have abandoned you for even a moment is pure fantasy. You will always be my bosom friend as I hope to remain yours."[57]

Engels wrote to his family to protest against the suspicions cast upon his friend after Marx had put him in the picture. His mother replied in early December: "I will not say anything more of Marx. He did what he could if he acted as you write, and I do not doubt you for a moment, and I thank him for it in my heart." All political differences notwithstanding, Elisabeth Engels always remained a sincere, warm-hearted woman and a devoted mother. Her letter continues: "You have now received the money we sent and I beg you, buy yourself a warm overcoat so that you have one when the weather grows colder, which it is bound to do soon, and provide yourself with underpants and a night-jacket so that when you've caught a cold, it happens so easily, you've got some warm clothes."[58]

Around about this time Hermann Ewerbeck, one of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*'s correspondents in Paris, tried to prejudice Marx against Engels during a stop-over in Cologne and separate the two friends. Likewise, he tried to sway the Swiss members of the Communist League. But these attempts all failed. The trust Marx placed in Engels was unshakable; the friends were inseparable.

The editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* urged his friend in his letters: "Write contributions and lengthy articles as soon as you possibly can."[59] Indeed, Marx set the greatest store by Engels collaborating with the paper from Switzerland as he was having to shoulder virtually the entire burden of editorial work at the time. Apart from Georg Weerth and Ferdinand Freiligrath, whom Marx had won for the staff and brought over from Düsseldorf only a few days previously, police persecution was still keeping the other editors outside Prussia.

Marx advised his friend, who was living at Lausanne in early November, to go to Berne, the Swiss capital, and work for the paper from there. Above all he solicited: "And write against the federative republic; for this Switzerland offers the best opportu-

nity."[80] Switzerland certainly furnished no topics worth full-length coverage: She lay untouched by the revolutionary upheavals that held Europe enthralled. "If only something would happen in this lousy Switzerland so that one could write it up. Nothing but the most lousy sort of local rubbish,"[81] Engels complained.

Nevertheless, he completed several articles during his enforced stay in Switzerland. He frequented the sessions of the Swiss Federal Assembly and penned ironical descriptions of provincialism and the cantonesque disunion of political life in the Swiss Confederation, on the majority of her leading figures' narrow-mindedness and national arrogance. He warned the German democrats against seeing a "model state" in Switzerland and, in compliance with Marx's request, spoke out against the German republicans who considered the loftiest aim of the German revolution to consist in "turning Germany into a large-scale Switzerland".[82]

Engels did not limit his activities to journalism. He got into touch with the democratic and labour movements, and with the Communist League members who were living in Switzerland, the moment he entered the country. He joined the Working Men's Club in Berne, and in early December the Lausanne Working Men's Club delegated him to the first congress to be held by the Swiss working men's clubs and sections of the German Democratic National Association of Switzerland. In their mandate for Engels the Lausanne workers wrote: "... as a seasoned fighter for the proletariat you will certainly not fail to carry out your assignment here."[83]

Engels attended the Congress from 9 to 11 December. Three days later the Berne Working Men's Club elected him to the five-man Central Commission as secretary. This body had become the standing leadership of all the Swiss clubs. Yet for all his activities in practical politics, Engels could finally stand life in Switzerland no longer. He toyed with the idea of going to Italy—when "something starts" there "as it very likely will."[84]

But in his heart of hearts he still hoped to return to Cologne before long.

These hopes grew when, in December of 1848, Cologne's first political jury trial of the revolution ended with an all-out acquittal. "The Prussian curs are bound to lose all stomach soon for having dealings with jurors," he wrote to Marx. "Anyway, I'll come the minute there is reason enough not to expect any detention. They can bring me up before 10,000 juries afterwards for all I care, but smoking is not allowed during detention and I'm not going inside."[85] A week later, in early January of 1849, he found that marking time in Switzerland was "unbearable", that "it is better even in detention in Cologne than in free Switzerland ... Do write and tell me whether there is no chance of my being treated just as favourably as Bürgers, Becker, etc."[86] he urged Marx. He left Berne post-haste when he learned that some of the people who had fled the country in September were back in Cologne without the authorities taking steps against them.

Engels arrived in Cologne in mid-January. The examining magistrate who interrogated him on 26 January told him that so far as the events of September 1848 were concerned proceedings were not going to be reopened against him. Engels was reinstated as deputy editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Wilhelm Wolff appeared before the examining magistrate in February, and Ernst Dronke came back from Paris in early March. The editorial committee was restored to full strength.

Back in Cologne

The balance of power had changed radically in Germany during Engels' absence. Following up its September successes, the counter-revolution had inflicted decisive defeats on the revolution in Austria in October, and in Prussia in the months of November and December: The imperial troops took Vienna by storm, a counter-revolutionary coup d'état was successfully staged in Berlin. The revolution in Germany entered its fourth and final stage.

With betrayal by the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the petty bourgeoisie failing miserably to cope with the critical situation on the other, the successful continuance of the revolution depended more than ever before on the strength of the German working class. Separating it politically, ideologically, and by organization from petty bourgeois democracy and founding a

country-wide, independent, revolutionary labour organization had become a pressing need. Marx and Engels worked to this end by planning a series of lectures which Vice-President Schapper announced shortly after Engels' return at the Cologne Working Men's Club full membership meeting.

On 7 February of 1849, Frederick Engels had only been back in Prussia for some three weeks, he, Karl Marx and Hermann Koeff, manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, had to appear in court. They were charged with insulting the Cologne Director of Public Prosecutions and indicted for having insulted gendarmes in an article the paper had carried in July of 1848. A number of people had already been interrogated in connection with this case during the summer and autumn of 1848. Pleading their cause in this first action to be brought against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for infringing the press laws, Marx and Engels pilloried the counter-revolution for trying virtually to abolish the freedom of the press by temporarily proclaiming martial law, re-introducing censorship, and reverting to prosecution. Thus, they defended not only their own paper but fought for the freedom of the press in the Rhine Province and Germany as a whole.

Frederick Engels proved with acumen that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had "represented" the irregularities which had occurred in Cologne in July of 1848 "as a link in the big chain of attempts reaction" was staging all over Germany, that it had looked very thoroughly into the local encroachments and followed the causal trail "right into the Privy Cabinet in Berlin".[17]

The jury acquitted all three defendants–a verdict that helped to secure the bourgeois freedom of the press in the Rhine Province until the end of the revolution.

As members of the Cologne Democratic Society and the Cologne Working Men's Club, Marx and Engels attended a banquet the Working Men's Club of Mülheim-on-Rhine gave on 11 February. Here, Engels proposed a toast to the Hungarians and Lajos Kossuth, leader of the bourgeois-democratic forces in the Hungarian movement for national independence. After this first democratic banquet in the Rhine Province, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* suggested the holding of similar festivities in the future.

The banquets, organized on the lines of the ones the democratic movement held in France, were a new type of mass revolutionary agitation in Germany. Their informal atmosphere more than anything else made them very effective: music and singing alternated with dinner-speeches and toasts. These socials attracted people in their thousands.

The Communists organized the first big banquet in Cologne to mark the first anniversary of the French February Revolution of 1848. Some 2,000–3,000 people joined in the festivities. Engels drank to the Italians who were fighting for their national independence and to the Republic of Rome.

The Cologne workers and democrats gave another revolutionary banquet on the anniversary of the 18–19 March 1848 barricade fights of Berlin. Between 5,000 and 6,000 people flocked to the Gürzenich, the largest hall in town, which had never before been so filled to capacity. The organizers had decked the rostrum with a black, red and gold flag and a red one. The stewards wore Phrygian caps and red sashes. An impressive number of women were present and a special toast was drunk to their health. A few were gowned in red from tip to toe.

The toasts proposed at this banquet were a single clarion call to carry on the revolution. Frederick Engels feted the June fighters of Paris and an orator recited Freiligrath's poem *Die Toten an die Lebenden* (The Dead to the Living). The throng sang his *Reveille* (Hymn to the Revolution) for the first time ever that evening–to the tune of the Marseillaise. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editor had written it especially for the occasion. The refrain ran:

> The new rebellion!
> The full rebellion!
> March on!
> March on!
> And even if we die,
> Our banner red will fly![68]

The banquet ended with three rousing cheers for the Red Republic. One newspaper spoke of a "proletarian festival": "The whole assembly was red; it gave our opponents a chance to see how vigorous this colour is here in Cologne."[69]

The emphasis placed on the colour red at this banquet, the stress laid on both the role the working class plays in the revolution and the objective of the Red Republic, expressed Marx's and Engels' striving to create an independent German working-class Party. The anniversary banquet marked a year of revolution during which the workers and their organizations had gained many experiences in the practice of revolutionary struggle, and the workers' political self-assurance, their urge for political and organizational independence had grown. All over Germany the most progressive forces had come to realize that the workers needed a political organization of their own by the end of that one year.

So Marx and Engels reverted to the plan they had worked out in the spring of 1848: to unite into a single organization all the different kinds of local working men's clubs and the various regional worker associations which had either emerged in the meantime or were now in the process of formation. Ever since the beginning of the revolution–including the time of organized concerted action with the petty bourgeois democrats–the Communists had fought tenaciously for the establishment of a proletarian Party. With this plan now back on the agenda their fight entered a new stage in early 1849.

Leaning on the Cologne Working Men's Club and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the Communists in the Rhine Province played a major part in the effort to unite the German working men's clubs. Their influence was decisive. They began by concentrating on mustering the working men's clubs in the Rhine Province and Westphalia and merging them into an independent organization.

The reins of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* lay in Frederick Engels' hands once again from 14 April until 10 May. Marx was away, calling on friends and like-minded associates in north-west Germany and Westphalia to ask them to help replenish the alarmingly low funds of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It was very reassuring for him to know that Engels was in Cologne during his absence.

A number of editorials provided a curtain-raiser for a series of full-length articles the paper carried to spotlight the dangerous counter-revolutionary developments that were taking place in

Prussia at the time. On the other hand, foreign policy questions and military affairs still accounted for the major part of Engels' newspaper writing. Marx and Engels hoped that the victories the counter-revolution had won in Germany would be followed by a fresh revolutionary upswing in other European countries which, in its turn, would soon trigger off the continuance of the German revolution. So the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* gave broad coverage to the international situation and its developments, and to the inter-relations of the revolutionary movements in the different countries of Europe.

Engels pursued most sympathetically the Italian people's fight for independence. Many of its aspects ran parallel to the revolutionary movement in Germany. Italy, too, was divided into a host of feudal principalities. In Engels' opinion, the only way of establishing Italy's unity was to abolish them, and then set up not a constitutional monarchy but a unified Italian Republic. The people of Italy would have to gain their national independence and internal democratic freedom by combating Austria's policy of oppression and likewise the treacherous Italian princes who were collaborating with the House of Hapsburg.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution that spread across Hungary in the spring of 1849 was another of the subjects Frederick Engels dealt with at length. Time and again he stressed the fact that the masses were deeply involved in Hungary's fight for independence and praised the firm attitude the Hungarian Revolutionary Government adopted toward the Hapsburg monarchy. The articles he wrote about the Hungarian theatre of war showed what an accomplished military affairs expert he was. Wilhelm Liebknecht tells us that Engels analysed the events of the war—troop movements, encounters and engagements—with such expertise that the public generally ascribed his articles to a high-ranking Hungarian army officer.

Engels always regarded the several national movements in the different countries from the aspect of the European revolution. He distinguished between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary peoples according to the position the majority of the population of their respective country occupied in the European revolutionary movement. Thus he counted the Poles, the Hungarians

and the Italians amongst the revolutionary peoples because their struggle was helping to weaken the most important reactionary states—Russia, Prussia and Austria. On the other hand, he rated as counter-revolutionary the national movements of the Slav peoples who lived on the periphery of Austro-Hungary: dominated by reactionary aristocratic and bourgeois forces, misused by Russian czarism and the Hapsburg monarchy to crush the revolution in Germany and Hungary, they were also dominated by exploiter classes who thought that they could gain independence for themselves by entering into an alliance with either the Hapsburgs or the Czar. This estimate applied absolutely to the situation as it was in those days. But the articles Frederick Engels wrote in this context also presented erroneous views on the future destiny of several of the Slav peoples who were languishing in the Hapsburg's prison-of-many-nations. For instance, he thought that not even in the future would they play a progressive role, nor exist for long as independent nations. But history soon proved that the Slav peoples then oppressed by the Hapsburg monarchy were certainly viable and strong enough to fight for and gain their national independence. In later years, Engels himself did all he could to help the working class of each of these peoples get ready to spearhead the fight for a bourgeois-democratic nation-state.

Elberfeld

The last major confrontations between the people and the counter-revolution started in Germany at the time Engels was running the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Marx's absence. These battles went down in history as the Imperial Constitution Campaign. On 28 March of 1849, the Frankfurt National Assembly adopted an Imperial Constitution after months of debate. This, Germany's first bourgeois constitution, was progressive in so far as it envisaged a greater degree of national centralization and the introduction of a bourgeois-constitutional system for the whole of Germany. Germany was to become an hereditary Empire–led by Prussia and minus Austria.

The bourgeoisie hoped that with the adoption of the Imperial Constitution the revolution would be ended in keeping with its own class interests. But the counter-revolution had no intention

of accepting even this bourgeois-liberal constitution. The King of Prussia refused the Imperial crown he was offered by the Frankfurt National Assembly. "The King gives the Frankfurt Assembly a definitive kick in the pants and contemptuously throws the proffered gold-paper crown of an imaginary empire in its face,"[70] commented Frederick Engels in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The German bourgeoisie abandoned its own product when the governments of the other big German states also rejected the Imperial Constitution.

But for the popular masses the Imperial Constitution became the symbol of the revolution. As Frederick Engels put it: the people saw "in every, no matter how paltry, step toward the unification of Germany a step toward the elimination of the petty principalities and relief from the oppressive tax burden."[71]

The masses declared themselves for the Constitution by rising in open revolt in various parts of Germany during the first days of May. Armed hostilities first broke out in Dresden. Petty bourgeois democrats headed the campaign for the Imperial Constitution, but everywhere the brunt of the fighting was borne by the urban proletariat, the agricultural labourers and the small peasants.

The politically conscious German workers realized that, if carried on resolutely, the revolutionary insurrection could well grow out of the aim of the moment, i. e., the Imperial Constitution, and into a struggle for the democratic republic. Hence, the members of the Communist League stood in the front line of all the fights that took place during the Imperial Constitution Campaign.

Frederick Engels expounded in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* his ideas on how the Imperial Constitution movement might be led successfully to win the day and defeat the counter-revolution. In view of the victories the Hungarians were winning over the Hapsburg troops on the one hand, and the Prussian masses' anger at both the King's and the Berlin Government's acts of treachery on the other, he suggested that Frankfurt-on-Main and southern Germany be built up as a centre of revolutionary insurrection. This presupposed the Deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly defying counter-revolutionary force, not fearing

to proclaim civil war and, as soon as the opportunity arose, going beyond the Imperial Constitution and declaring themselves for *"the single and indivisible German Republic."*[73] But the Frankfurt Deputies were unable to make up their minds.

The uprising erupted in the industrial area of Rhenish Westphalia when the Prussian Government called up the *Landwehr* to crush the popular movement and many local units refused to be put in uniform. The Government reciprocated by sending in troops with the result that street and barricade fighting broke out in Elberfeld, Iserlohn, Solingen and other towns.

Engels proposed three measures to support the insurgent cis-Rhenish districts: First, that isolated attempts at revolt, which military supremacy doomed to failure anyway, be abstained from in the fortress cities of Rhenish Prussia (Cologne, Coblenz, Wesel, Juliers and Saarlouis) and in the garrison towns of Aachen, Düsseldorf and Trier; secondly, that on the other hand "a diversion (be) mounted" in the trans-Rhenish townships, in the factory towns, and in the villages, "to keep in check the Rhenish garrisons"; and thirdly, that all available forces be deployed to the insurgent cis-Rhenish districts to spread the revolt there and–with the inclusion of the *Landwehr*–"organize the core of a revolutionary army."[74]

Engels set off for Elberfeld on 10 May to help this last item in his plan to success. With him he brought two boxes of cartridges workers in Solingen had secured when they stormed the arsenal at Gräfrath. He placed himself at the service of the public safety committee the petty bourgeois democrats had set up in the meantime. Its Military Commission put him in charge of entrenchment operations and also in command of the admittedly negligible guns in the hands of the insurgents.

Engels spent his first day in Elberfeld organizing a company of sappers and ordering extra barricades to be set up at several of the city gates. The administrator of the Elberfeld *Landratsamt* hastened to Düsseldorf where he informed the President of the Government Board that on 12 May eye-witnesses had seen Frederick Engels on the outskirts of Barmen, standing on the large barricade that had been erected at Haspeler Bridge. The insurgents had mounted two guns at this spot. Engels ordered

them to consolidate the barricade so that it ran to a point. This, he said, would make the bullets more liable to ricochet in the event of a Prussian assault.

Engels changed more in Elberfeld than just the shape of this barricade. He fixed the position and supervised the setting up of a number of additional barricades. Moreover, he reinforced the engineer corps. He attended every Military Commission meeting. Also, ex-officer Otto von Mirbach was called to Elberfeld and appointed commander-in-chief at his suggestion.

The armed workers from the Berg and Mark districts, and the volunteer corps trusted Engels implicitly. The bourgeoisie of Elberfeld, however, was more than alarmed at the presence of this well-known Communist and editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. It finally pressurized the public safety committee into requiring Engels, on 14 May, to resign his post.

The courage Engels showed in Elberfeld inspired a now all but forgotten poet, Adolf Schults, to write a couple of witty lines about the "prodigal son" of Barmen's respected Cotton King. It is probably the first poem ever to have been written about Engels:

This is Herr Friedrich – –:
The chip fell wide off the block!
The most pious man in the temple's
Reared a "despiser of God".
The boy first aped the Hottentots
By abusing the Lord's grace;
Then even worse–aux sansculottes–
He barricaded this place!
Danton and Robespierre was he
When to Elberfeld he came.
If the whole thing wasn't so crazy
A hero's name he might claim.
Bright at school were the springals,
But he was second to none;
May God console old man – –
In his grief at his prodigal son.[75]

Engels took part in a "reconnaissance of the surrounding countryside"[76] before he left Elberfeld to go back to Cologne. On 15 May, he set out for Gräfrath arsenal at the head of an armed de-

tachment of some 30 to 40 mounted men to procure more weapons and clothing for the insurgents of Elberfeld. Equipped with a sabre and a pair of pistols, Engels rode up to the arsenal. He drew up his detachment and posted sentries at the gates. Then, with pistols drawn, he approached the officer of the guard and ordered him to accompany him inside the arsenal. The guard offered no resistance; Engels swept through the stores, selecting the weapons and clothes he thought serviceable and having them carried out into the courtyard where he distributed them amongst the insurgents.

This armed expedition led to the starting of fresh police investigations against Engels. A warrant was issued for his arrest and, in early June, a wanted flyer too. Engels' description now included two "special features" that had probably escaped the public prosecutor's notice in September of 1848, namely: "talks very fast and is near-sighted".[76] A year later, in April and May 1850, legal actions were brought against nearly 200 of the people who had taken part in the Elberfeld revolts. Frederick Engels' name was on the list of those indicted, but he had long since left Prussia. Only the arrested insurgents were brought to court, not the absconders. But the Statute of Limitations ran out on the indictment only in 1859. The investigation against Engels was not discontinued before 1860.

Engels returned to Cologne from Elberfeld and Gräfrath on 16 May, the same day Marx came back from his journey. Marx found a deportation order waiting for him which the authorities had issued in his absence. That was the end for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* since, this apart, arrest or deportation also threatened most of the other editors who had no other option but to turn their backs on the Prussian state.

Thus triumphed the counter-revolution. Reviewing those days in later years, Engels wrote: "We had to surrender our fortress, but we withdrew with our arms and our baggage, with band playing and flag flying, the flag of the last issue, a red issue".[77] This ultimate issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on 19 May. It was printed in red from the first word to the last. It carried a long article by Frederick Engels on the significance of the Hungarian revolutionary war for the European movement. Engels also summarized the course of the Hungarian Revolution for the readers in this article. The editors issued an appeal to the Cologne workers, warning them against an isolated uprising from which only the counter-revolution could profit. Their appeal closed with the words: "In taking leave, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word will always and everywhere be: *The Emancipation of the Working Class!*"[78]

The flourish of trumpets rose clear and true from the verses of *Abschiedsworte der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung*, the farewell poem Ferdinand Freiligrath had written for the paper:

Now farewell, now farewell, you fighting world,
Now farewell, you contending armies!
Now farewell, you gunpowder-blackened field,
Now farewell, trusty swords and lances!
Now farewell, but not for ever farewell,
For they don't kill the spirit, my blades!
Soon I'll arise, force my way through this hell,
Rearmed and back from the shades![79]

The spirit this piece of poetry breathed in every line was the spirit of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: valiant and optimistic, defiant and, because secure in their cause, certain of victory even in the hour of defeat.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had opened a fresh chapter in the history of international journalism: the chapter of the Marxist working-class press. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the first newspaper ever to be based on scientific Communism. Together with their fellow-combatants, Marx and Engels had realized in its columns the principles that have since been typical of the revolutionary Socialist press. Scientific and partisan, firm in principle and flexible in its tactics, but above all allied with the working class and internationalistic down to the ground–all these attributes made the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* "the finest and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat,"[80] as Lenin was so aptly to describe it in later years.

Soldier of the Revolution

By the time the red farewell issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was being delivered in Cologne Marx and Engels were already on their way to a new scene of action: south-west Germany where in Baden and the Palatinate workers, petty bourgeois and peasants had risen with one consent against their governments. The troops had gone over to the people, and the revolt could spill over into the neighbouring states at any moment. There was still hope of hurling back the now far-advanced counter-revolution.

At Frankfurt-on-Main, Engels and Marx had talks with democratic German National Assembly Deputies on 20 and 21 May. They both tried to make them understand that there was just one way left for the National Assembly to defend the revolution and its own political existence: summoning the Badensian and

Palatinate revolutionary troops to Frankfurt and placing itself at the head of the armed insurrection. But they preached to deaf ears. Even at this moment the petty bourgeoisie was unable to find the strength for decisive action.

Things were no different in Baden. Whilst travelling through Hesse, Marx and Engels had observed that an army corps under the command of Prussia's General von Peucker was already being concentrated there to crush the revolt. But in Mannheim and Ludwigshafen they discovered that the revolutionary troops had still not been activated. The leaders of the Badensian movement Marx and Engels met here were waiting for a call to arms from the National Assembly.

Again Engels tried to make the petty bourgeois democrats see upon what the success of the uprising depended: not to give the counter-revolution a moment's respite; to forestall its onslaught and immediately carry the insurrection beyond the borders of Baden and the Palatinate; moreover, to concentrate forthwith some 8,000 to 10,000 of the troops who had gone over to the people, and then mount the main thrust against Frankfurt in order so to bring the National Assembly under the revolutionaries' influence and control and turn the uprising into a national issue. Such sweeping military measures, however, required the corresponding political ones. The point, then, was to centralize the Badensian and Palatinate forces and, by abolishing the feudal imposts, draw the broad masses into the movement.

This plan indicates that Engels was getting an ever firmer grasp of the laws of armed insurrection. Over and above everything else, the main thing was to mobilize the revolutionary energies of the people and boldly confront the counter-revolution.

The politically narrow confines of the Badensian uprising emerged crystal-clear in the *Residenzstadt* of Karlsruhe where Marx and Engels arrived on 23 May. Engels compared Karlsruhe and Elberfeld: The attitude adopted in the latter by the majority of the petty bourgeoisie was shared in the former by the head of the Provisional Government, lawyer Lorenz Peter Brentano, who shrank faint-heartedly from revolutionary fighting and did all he could to check the movement. The short-sighted majority of the Badensian petty bourgeoisie took the speedy

re-establishment of "law and order" for proof of its victory instead of realizing that it actually spelled betrayal of the revolution. On the other hand, the working class in southern Germany was as yet not far enough developed and still too widely dispersed to be able to appear on the scene as an independent political force. Thus, there was no one to lead the peasants who generally went along with the revolution. Marx and Engels relentlessly criticized the irresolution of and the time wasted by the men in authority when they talked with members of the state committee of the petty bourgeois, democratic people's clubs in Karlsruhe. They anticipated and pointed out that this policy would lead to the fall of the revolution.

Marx and Engels moved on to the Palatinate the next day where they found a situation much like the one they had left behind in Baden. But members of the Communist League had at least managed to fill a number of military and political positions there. At Kaiserslautern, the seat of the Provincial Government, Engels and Marx had a private talk with Karl d'Ester, head of the central executive of the Democrats of Germany organization. They remained in close touch with this seasoned comrade-in-arms who encouraged the Palatinate Government to take every even in some degree vigorous measure. Another League member had joined them in Speyer: August Willich. This ex-lieutenant of the Prussian Army was now in command of a small workers' volunteer corps of some several hundred men who harassed the nearly 4,000 Government troops who still garrisoned the fortresses of Landau and Germersheim. The feats of this valiant volunteer corps inspired Engels; soon he would be fighting in its ranks himself.

But first he accompanied Marx to Bingen where Jenny and the children had found a temporary home. They were detained *en route* by Hessian troops on suspicion of having taken part in the armed insurrection, taken to Darmstadt and from there to Frankfurt where they were finally released for lack of evidence. The two friends parted in Bingen. Marx went to Paris on one of the first days of June to establish contacts with the French revolutionaries who were preparing for a fresh insurrection. Engels returned to Kaiserslautern, to the Palatinate, "to fill the only

post" in the pending hostilities "the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could fill in this movement: the soldier's post."[61]

Matters progressed as Engels had anticipated. Thanks to the petty bourgeois leaders' irresolute policy the counter-revolution was able to get ready without let or hindrance to suppress the last remaining seat of revolution in Germany. The Prussian militarists supplied the myrmidons once more. The strength of the fighting force they drew up was such that they might have been facing the armed might of Napoleon's Old Guard and not the poorly-officered insurgents of southern Germany. They detailed three army corps to encircle the revolutionary army in the Palatinate and the Badensian lowlands and then settle accounts with the democrats. Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, the ill-famed "grape-shot prince," was in supreme command of the whole operation.

News reached Kaiserslautern on 13 June that the Prussians had entered the Palatinate from Saarbrücken. Engels joined Willich's volunteer corps the same day and was appointed aide-de-camp. He realized that the working class has to master the theory and practice of military science in order to be able to conquer political power for itself and keep it too. And so he welcomed the chance of gaining "a bit of war academy"[62] experience. His whole life epitomized the oneness of knowledge and action—how could he have stood aside in the pending all-out battle against the Prussian counter-revolution!

Like Engels, many proletarian revolutionaries served in the first German revolutionary army. Workers and journeymen-artisans made up the majority of the fighters in the volunteer corps detachments which had by now swelled to a total strength of over 6,000 men. They constituted one of the three pillars of the revolutionary army, the other two being the regular troops and the Citizens Guard. Willich's corps was the most outstanding of the detachments and the only one to be commanded by a member of the Communist League. Eight hundred men marched with Engels under the corps' red flag and, apart from a student company which soon disbanded, workers accounted for the majority in all the companies. Engels came across many old friends: fellow-combatants from the Communist League and people who had taken part in the Elberfeld uprising. The latter

formed a company of their own. Joseph Moll, who at that time was still away on a dangerous mission, joined the volunteer corps later as a musketeer.

Aide-de-camp Engels proved himself to be an excellent organizer and a courageous fighter. "Now at headquarters, then face to face with the enemy, always in correspondence with the supreme command, ever in touch with d'Ester who, as the 'red camarilla' propelled the Government on, in various engagements and, finally, at the battle of Rastatt"[83]–in each place he held his own. He was always to be found in the front line during the fighting.

Engels had his baptism of fire and came through with flying colours only a few days after he had joined the corps. The commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, talented Polish General Ludwik Mieroslawski, was planning an offensive defensive which was due to start at the confluence of the rivers Rhine and Neckar, and therefore ordered the Palatinate troops to fall back to Baden. Willich's volunteer corps and other detachments were detailed as covering parties for the marching off and went forward to engage the Prussians. They encountered an enemy division's advance guard near Rinnthal on 17 June. Hostilities lasted for several hours and, as commander of a flank detachment, Engels was in the thick of the fire at times. A woman who took part in the revolution and came across the volunteer corps shortly after this engagement reports: "His comrades praised his mettle and his courage very highly indeed."[84]

Willich's corps secured the Palatinate troops' crossing of the Rhine and then crossed the river via Knielingen floating bridge on 18 June and proceeded on into Baden. Willich and Engels quartered the worker-volunteers in Karlsruhe against Brentano's wishes. Engels helped to re-equip the men. A practice storm on the city centre cured the petty bourgeoisie in the Badensian *Residenz* of their counter-revolutionary desires for a little while.

The Prussians crossed the Rhine. Willich's volunteer corps now formed the advance guard of the Palatinate troops who were to prevent the enemy from cutting off the Badensian revolutionary army presently fighting along the Neckar. The volunteers surprised a Prussian battalion at Karlsdorf on 21 June. Engels, who was in the first column again, rushed forward in the middle of a burst of enemy gunfire. Many of his comrades admired him, but he himself took gallantry in the face of the enemy for granted: "I (. . .) discovered," he was to write thereafter, "that the much-vaunted courage of reckless attack is the very commonest quality that one could have. The whistling of the bullets is quite a trifling matter and despite a lot of cowardice I did not see a dozen people throughout the campaign who behaved in a cowardly fashion *during the fighting*. But there was all the more 'brave stupidity'."[85]

Willich's valiant men pushed forward until their mission was fulfilled. Fierce counter-attacks were mounted along the Neckar and at Waghäusel, whereupon Mieroslawski ordered forced marching and so managed to draw the Badensian army out of the encirclement threatened by the enemy's superior forces. Hard-pressed by the foe, Engels' companions brought up the rear.

The revolutionary army, once 30,000-strong, now numbered 13,000 men. The strength of the counter-revolutionary troops was over four times as great when the revolutionary army swept into battle at Rastatt Fortress on the River Murg. Engels' corps was assigned to the right flank division. Willich was appointed chief of division headquarters in Rothenfels. As early as 28 June, the division's advance guard had to repulse a Prussian scouting raid on Michelbach. Engels and the other staff officers went into action: the enemy was thrown back.

The Prussians launched their assault on 29 June. The revolutionary army mounted counter-thrusts along the whole length of the front. Engels' division threw itself into the teeth of the 1st Prussian Army Corps at Bischweier, before the River Murg. He led the advance guard of Willich's corps of volunteers. The encounter, one of the most bitter of the whole of the campaign, raged on for hours until the enemy, advancing from the neutral state of Wurttemberg, attacked the Murg front from the rear. Losses were heavy. Amongst those who died at Engels' side was Joseph Moll. "I lost an old friend in him," wrote Engels sorrowfully, "and the Party one of its most indefatigable, intrepid and reliable protagonists."[86]

Engels and his comrades also carried out the most hazardous missions during the final phase of the campaign. Willich's corps had been detailed to the Wurttemberg border to screen the revolutionary army's retreat into the Badensian uplands. The men toiled up, up, up into the mountains, into the Black Forest. The detachment was now under the command of one of the revolutionary army's most outstanding generals: Johann Philipp Becker. It was during these days that Engels became personally acquainted with this man who later joined the ranks of the working-class movement and grew to be his good friend. The volunteers were rearing to get back into action, but the petty bourgeois leaders were becoming more and more demoralized. In the end there was nothing left for it but to withdraw into Switzerland.

The last detachment of the Badensian and Palatinate troops to cross the border at Lottstetten on 12 July was Willich's corps of volunteers. Engels had acquitted himself honourably as aide-de-camp of the best workers' unit in the first German revolutionary army. He had fought in four engagements and "all who had seen him under fire were still speaking long afterwards of his extraordinary sangfroid and his utter contempt of danger."[97]

The bourgeois-democratic revolution ended in Germany with the defeat of the Badensian and Palatinate uprising. The counter-revolution had won. Hundreds of fighters were butchered by the Prussian execution squads, or died of hunger and typhoid in the damp casemates of Rastatt Fortress. Thousands were arrested, tens of thousands forced to emigrate. "The German people," wrote Engels, "will not forget the fusillades and the casemates of Rastatt; neither will they forget the high personages who have ordered, nor the traitors who by their cowardice have caused these infamies: the Brentanos of Karlsruhe and *Frankfurt*."[98]

This passage stems from a slim, important book Engels wrote to record the events and experiences he lived through during the Imperial Constitution Campaign and the battles fought by the Badensian and Palatinate revolutionary army. He was still in Switzerland when, on Marx's advice, he embarked on the book.

One of a column of refugees, he had entered the Canton of Vaud on 24 July 1849. Here, he and his comrades-in-arms were first confined in the barracks of Morges, a township on the banks

of the Lake of Geneva. He wrote to Jenny Marx in Paris on the very next day. He had heard nothing from his friend for two whole months and was very worried on his account since counter-revolutionary terror also reigned in France: "If only I knew for certain that Marx is free!"[99] To his great relief Marx replied in person, his fears also assuaged: "I was most anxious about you and truly delighted to receive a letter in your handwriting yesterday." And, full of plans even in this letter: "You've got a wonderful chance now to write a story or a pamphlet about the Badensian/Palatinate revolution. (...) Altogether you can elaborate the stance the *N{eue} R{heinische} Z{eitung}* took toward the democratic Party quite excellently in the process."[100] Engels found modest lodgings in Lausanne in late August and then set to work.

In this pamphlet, *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne*, Engels gave a vivid account of the final stage of the German revolution, an account he based on what he himself had heard and seen. Also, he analysed in detail the positions the different classes adopted and the experiences this movement was passing on to the proletariat's forthcoming struggles. What the Imperial Constitution Campaign had proved over and above everything else, wrote Engels, was that the German petty bourgeoisie was no longer capable of leading the democratic movement successfully. Now, its revolutionary potentials could only become effective under working-class leadership. Arguing against the policy the petty bourgeois pursued during this campaign, Engels set up important principles by which the proletariat would have to be guided in a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Furthermore, he pointed to the military knowledge that needed to be won both from the uprisings of the early summer of 1849 and the actual fighting done by the revolutionary army of Baden and the Palatinate.

The counter-revolutionary forces defamed the proletarian soldiers of the revolution whom the petty bourgeois democrats mostly passed over in silence. Engels, however, presented an enthralling account of their fighting days which helped to substantiate the working class's claim to the leadership of the nation. Personal experience and conduct alike entitled him to state

proudly: "The Party of the proletariat was represented in fair strength in the Badensian and Palatinate Army, particularly in the volunteer corps, as in ours, in the refugee legion, etc., and it can safely challenge all the other Parties to find the slightest fault with even a single one of its members. The most determined Communists were the most courageous soldiers."[16]

Engels had not yet finished this first evaluation of the experiences of the revolution when Marx wrote to tell him that he was going to settle down in London where he planned to publish a German gazette. He urged his friend to join him in England. Engels procured a passport at once, but had to travel to Britain by a very roundabout way because of the situation in France. He set off for Italy and, on 6 October 1849, boarded a sailing vessel at Genoa. The voyage ended many weeks later in London.

Chapter V

1849–1864

Lessons of the Revolution

It was on 10 November 1849 that Frederick Engels sailed up the Thames on board the *Cornish Diamond*. Just two years had passed since he had last been in London for the Second Congress of the Communist League, but what years they had been!

To be sure, outwardly at least the metropolis of international commerce had hardly changed at all. The thunderstorm of the European revolution had passed by Great Britain and died out in faraway Hungary three months before. Yet even though reaction had won the day this time the emigrant revolutionaries–their other basic differences notwithstanding–were for the present still agreed that a fresh outbreak of revolution was imminent, particularly in France. They were certain that it would occur that spring or in any event only a little later.

Engels was eagerly awaited in London, especially by Karl Marx. Other leading members of the League had already gathered in the British capital, amongst them Heinrich Bauer, Johann Georg Eccarius, Georg Lochner and Carl Pfänder. Wilhelm Wolff was still in Switzerland; Karl Schapper was in prison at Wiesbaden and so only able to join the others in London during the summer of 1850.

Frederick Engels had been re-elected to the Central Committee during his absence and he took up his duties immediately after his arrival in London. Here, he also met his former commander, August Willich, who had been co-opted into the Central Committee for his military merits during the Imperial Constitution Campaign. Hot-blooded Conrad Schramm, manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in 1850, also served on the Central Committee. Karl Schapper was elected CC member shortly after he arrived in London in the summer of 1850. Around the CC were rallied a number of young Communists who had quickly matured politically through their participation in the battles of the revolution. Amongst them was Wilhelm Pieper who was Karl Marx's secretary for a while. Their ranks were soon augmented by Wilhelm Liebknecht who had been the organizer of the Swiss-based German working men's clubs in Geneva where Engels met him briefly during the summer of 1849.

Marx and Engels had not seen each other since they had parted in the Palatinate nearly six months before. Together with their like-minded comrades, they immediately started tackling the job of resolving the knotty topical problems which had amassed in the meantime. To reorganize the Party was the most urgent task of all. This included re-establishing the Central Committee's connections with the continent, getting out a new Party organ, providing assistance for the numerous refugees, fighting the political defamations groups of petty bourgeois emigrants were spreading, and setting up contacts with revolutionary British, French and Hungarian worker and democrat organizations. Also, and not least, livings had to be earned and passable lodgings found in view of the approaching winter. Engels found suitable rooms at 6, Macclesfield Street, an extension of Dean Street where the Marx family had set up house.

Engels plunged into political activities with his customary zeal. His revolutionary optimism was unbroken in spite of the defeat of the revolution.

The work of restoring the Central Committee's viability ran parallel with Marx's, Engels' and their comrades' efforts to bring a larger degree of influence to bear on the German workers in London. The latter had two closely inter-connected organizations: the Workers' Educational Association which had been founded well-nigh ten years previously, and the German Refugee Relief Committee which was set up in August of 1849. The Workers' Educational Association (which Engels joined as soon as he arrived in London) held a general meeting on 18 November with the aim of frustrating the efforts several petty bourgeois politicians were making to turn the Relief Committee into a separate emigré organization which they planned to control themselves and use to sway the workers. Engels countered this attempt vigorously together with Marx and other Communist League members. The Committee constituted itself as the Social Democratic Relief Committee for German Refugees and into its executive were elected Marx, Engels, Bauer, Pfänder and Willich.

The Committee worked indefatigably for a whole year. Solidarity donations arrived from all over Germany despite reaction and oppression. Marx, Engels and their like-minded associates reported regularly and in a democratic fashion on how these moneys were spent in every newspaper willing to open up its columns to them. As Committee secretary, Engels was primarily responsible for organizing collections and keeping the Committee's correspondence in order. For instance, he was in correspondence with Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt-on-Main, and with Wilhelm Wolff in Zurich who, in turn, kept up connections with Breslau. Engels also got into touch with the Hungarian Refugee Committee in London. Thanks to the Committee's unflagging activities a large number of politically persecuted revolutionaries, and in some cases their families too, were literally saved from starving and freezing to death. Usually some 50 to 60 workers were on the Committee's relief lists. They were supported at a great effort, and for so long as they were without

a job. Gradually, one after another, they found work. During the summer of 1850, the Committee opened up a boarding house, a canteen and a small crafts production cooperative for the emigrants who still had not been able to find regular employment. However, Refugee Committee work was only one facet of Marx's and Engels' practical solidarity, of the political spadework they did in those hard times.

The Statutes forbade Committee members from accepting relief for themselves and in consequence Engels lived in extremely straitened circumstances. He was virtually wholly dependent on the money his parents sent him every now and again. The revolutionary Chartist papers to which he contributed were scarcely in a position to pay royalties. Nevertheless, it went without saying with Engels that he immediately placed his old connections, his fluent pen and his knowledge of foreign languages in the service of the political struggle.

Consolidating the positions the Central Committee of the Communist League held in London was the first step. The next, Marx and Engels emphasized, would have to consist in drawing from the course run by the 1848–49 European revolution the theoretical lessons for the Communists' future strategy and tactics. Under all circumstances would this scientific analysis have to be made before one could again issue political and tactical instructions to the League members. Marx and Engels had always detested non-committal talk of revolution, and even now, in the hothouse atmosphere of London emigration, they would have nothing to do with it.

Many of the petty bourgeois democrats who had fled Germany sat over their ale and in spates of frantic activity issued calls to revolution by the dozen, laid the groundwork for "revolutionary loans," and set up future provisional governments. In these fields they were even surpassed by the eloquent phraseology of their like-minded French, Italian and Hungarian associates whom they joined in publishing meaningless appeals in the name of "European democracy."

All this notwithstanding, the Central Committee of the Communist League, and particularly Marx and Engels, insisted that a number of decisive theoretical problems had to be cleared up before any move could be taken. There were questions that cried out for clarification: whether or not the strategy and tactics the Second League Congress had decided, and the *Communist Manifesto* had formulated, had held good during the revolution; the forms in which the League needed to be reorganized; the class character of the impending revolution and, consequentially, the tactics which now had to be pursued.

Answers to these questions are to be found in Engels' *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne*, in the first sequels of *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*—a series of articles by Marx, and in several surveys and reviews Marx and Engels wrote between December of 1849 and February of 1850 for the first two numbers of the gazette they were planning to publish. Following a thorough Central Committee debate, these thoughts were collated and improved on in the first address the Central Committee of the Communist League sent out to the membership after the revolution. The address itself was written by Marx and Engels.

Issued in March of 1850, the *First Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League* rated highly the Communists' activities during the revolution. It began by stating: "In the two revolutionary years 1848–49 the Communist League has proved itself in double fashion: first, in that its members energetically took part in the movement in all places, that in the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields, they stood in the front ranks of the only decidedly revolutionary class, the proletariat. The League further proved itself in that its conception of the movement as laid down in the circulars of the congresses and of the Central Committee of 1847, as well as in the *Communist Manifesto* turned out to be the only correct one."[1] Touching briefly on the way the League had grown as regards organization over the past two years, the Address then proceeded forthwith on to the basic questions of the Party's reorganization.

The first decisive lesson Marx and Engels underlined was that the working-class Party "must act in the most organized, most unanimous and most independent fashion possible if it is not to be exploited and taken in tow again by the bourgeoisie as in 1848."[2]

The two friends pilloried the treacherous role the liberal *haute bourgeoisie* had played: instead of leading the workers and peasants to the overthrow of feudalism it had foresaken them and made a compromise with the Junker-militarist forces. In a new revolution, wrote Marx and Engels, the democratic petty bourgeoisie would do all it could to prevent the consistent completion of the revolution. In spite of the highly revolutionary talk certain of the petty bourgeois forces were given to at the moment, they were by no means striving after Socialist goals—nor could they so aspire because of their class position. Rather, they hoped only for trivial reforms within the capitalist system. The initial successes of a fresh revolutionary upsurge achieved, they would of necessity betray the people who truly fought for the indivisible republic, the utter destruction of all feudal survivals, and the fundamental betterment of the workers' condition.

Hence, several common aims in the struggle against feudal power notwithstanding, the workers' political and ideological separation from the democratic petty bourgeoisie, and their independent organization, had become the basic tactical question. Never again should the proletariat be "an appendage of official bourgeois democracy."[3] Marx and Engels had already emphasized this both in the spring of 1849 and during the Imperial Constitution Campaign; now, emigrated to London, they proceeded to fight on the selfsame line.

So: which consequences would then necessarily arise from the proletariat's independent position vis-à-vis the petty bourgeoisie?

Marx and Engels furnished the answer in the March Address: "Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois democrats, the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent, secret and public organization of the workers' Party alongside of the official democrats and make each section the central point and a nucleus of workers' societies in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influence."[4] The point, therefore, was to line oneself off clearly from the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois movement and, under the leadership of the revolutionary Party, secure the independence of the working class.

Marx and Engels assumed that petty bourgeois democracy would conquer state power for a short while at the beginning of the pending revolution and so they advised the workers to organize and arm themselves to meet this event. This apart, they instructed the workers that: "Alongside of the new official governments they must simultaneously establish their own revolutionary workers' Government, whether in the form of municipal committees and municipal councils or in the form of workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois-democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers but from the outset see themselves supervised and threatened by authorities which are backed by the whole mass of the workers."[5]

The March Address closed with the new battle-cry: "The Revolution in Permanence."[6] With this slogan, Marx and Engels appealed to the workers to do everything in a future revolution to propel the revolutionary movement on to ultimate victory—even in the face of opposition from the petty bourgeois democrats. Thus, the two comrades-in-struggle not only further evolved the tactics adopted in March 1848 with the *17 Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, but over and beyond that elaborated in far greater detail decisive theses contained in their teachings on the Party, the revolution and the state. The March Address comprised essential elements of the working class's independent policy in the bourgeois-democratic revolution which V. I. Lenin subsequently worked out during the imperialist era. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany applied this policy successfully to the conditions that obtained in the German Democratic Republic during the post-1945 period.

Engels, Marx and the other members of the Central Committee of the Communist League used every available opportunity to acquaint the workers with the political programme they had set forth in the March Address, re-assemble the seriously shattered organization, and familiarize the League members with the new tactics. Whilst shoemaker Heinrich Bauer traversed Germany as the League's emissary, Frederick Engels corresponded with, amongst others, Ernst Dronke who was touring Paris, southern Germany and Switzerland on behalf of the League.

Engels had to put in a great deal of hard work before he managed to restore connections with Karl d'Ester, who had emigrated to Switzerland, and locksmith Paul Stumpf who was working in Mainz.

As early as June of 1850 the Central Committee was able to issue a second address to the members where it stated that only a year after the defeat of the revolution the League was again firmly organized, that it had active branches not only in London and Switzerland, but in about 20 German towns as well where it had established firm contacts with many working men's clubs and their parent organization, the Workers' Brotherhood, as well as with trade union branches, gymnastics clubs, peasant associations and jobbing men's clubs. Although the League's membership had not grown appreciably, and even though the Communists had to work underground in Germany, they were now swaying far broader sections of the working class than prior to the revolution, the reason for this being that the workers had in the meantime won a wealth of political experience.

In the June Address, the Central Committee reported on its successful efforts to work fraternally together with the Blanquist secret societies of the French, the revolutionary Chartist wing, and with "the most progressive Hungarian emigrant's Party".[7] Engels' share in this internationalistic activity was an outstanding one. On 25 February of 1850, he spoke at a meeting of Blanquist emigrants in London and finished his speech with a rousing hurrah for the Paris insurgents of June 1848. He lectured at an international rally the Fraternal Democrats had convened for 5 April to mark the 92nd anniversary of the birth of Robespierre. As the spokesman of the German Communists, he called on the British workers to bear in mind the early Communistic leanings the Levellers had advocated during England's 17th century bourgeois revolution. And when, in the summer of 1850, Austria's Field Marshal Haynau visited London and was thrashed by the brewery workers of *Barcelay, Perkins & Co.* for having meted out the most brutal treatment to Hungarian revolutionaries the year before, Engels declared his solidarity with the workers at a public meeting.

Cooperation with the Blanquists and Chartists became really

organized in April of 1850. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist League Marx, Engels and Willich affixed their signatures to the short Foundation Document of the World Association of Revolutionary Communists which was also signed by two Frenchmen, Adam and Vidil, and by Harney of Great Britain. True that this international organization was not long-lived, but it constituted one of the preliminary stages of the International Working Men's Association. It pronounced as its declared objective the "overthrow of all privileged classes, their subjection to the dictatorship of the proletarians under which the revolution shall be maintained in permanence until the realization of Communism".[8]

The months between Engels' arrival in London and the summer of 1850 were packed with other work besides his activities in the Central Committee, the Relief Committee, the Workers' Educational Association, and with the Chartists. He and Marx wrote the majority of the contributions that appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. The objective Marx and Engels pursued with this monthly journal was keeping up the traditions of the Cologne *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* until it could appear once more as a daily in Germany in the next revolution. Time and again fresh difficulties arose and setbacks occurred in the publication of this periodical. Nonetheless, Marx and Engels succeeded in having six numbers printed in Hamburg in an issue of some 2,000 to 3,000 copies from March to November 1850. Engels wrote several of the letters that were sent to Hamburg, Cologne and Basle to arrange for the printing and sale of the journal.

The *Revue* carried Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Engels' *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne* and his important treatise *The Peasant War in Germany*. The three contributions all evaluated critically the experience gained in the practice of the class battles of the revolution. Also, Marx and Engels collaborated closely in producing a number of surveys, reviews and statements. This one year of shared creativity in London was marked by significant theoretical progress in Marx's and Engels' further elaboration of historical materialism. Researching into contemporary and, in part, earlier history as pol-

iticians and historians, they not only worked out still valid judgements on the recent great class struggles of the European revolution, as well as lessons for the policy the revolutionary working-class Party now needed to practise, but also enlarged on basic problems of historical materialism they had already dealt with in *German Ideology*, the *Communist Manifesto* and other previous writings.

Marx and Engels had already applied historical materialism consummately in the articles they wrote for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* during the revolution. Now, however, they used the experiences of the revolution for an all-round theoretical analysis. From their research of the post-1847 economic cycle they drew new and generally valid conclusions with regard to material production as the foundation of all political activity and ideology, the active part of the superstructure, and the class character of social consciousness. Moreover, they gained a deeper cognizance of the laws of class struggle, and fresh knowledge about the state and the revolution. This apart, Frederick Engels substantially deepened both the understanding won hitherto about the alliance with the peasants and the doctrine of armed revolt.

Engels analysed and generalized the experiences of the revolutionary struggles that had taken place on German soil in three weighty publications: *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne*, *The Peasant War in Germany*, and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*.

At approximately the same time, Marx was writing *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Both of these works were concentrated on the country where the class struggles of the rising capitalist era were being waged in the classic fashion. Marx's and Engels' fruitful cooperation again proved highly advantageous in this, their dealing with what was basically the same set of problems. At bottom, the five above-mentioned writings are all parts of a huge composite work on the lessons of the European revolution.

Realization that the working class needs the dictatorship of the proletariat to set up its political supremacy was one of the most important conclusions Frederick Engels and Karl Marx discussed. It was in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bo-*

naparte that Marx first expressed the idea in public that the proletariat, having won its revolution, must not take over, but smash the reactionary bourgeois state machine with all its militarist bureaucratic facilities that serve only to oppress the popular masses. The destruction of the old state machine and the establishment of a new state power under the leadership of the working class, with whose assistance is effected transition from the capitalist to the Socialist and Communist society—this Marx condensed in the term "dictatorship of the proletariat". This term was henceforth a firm component of the theory of the state and revolution of scientific Communism. Engels also used it in his writings from then on. For the moment, however, in the 1850s and 1860s, an exact conception of this new, proletarian state power still remained to be worked out in detail.

Engels wrote his book on the Peasant War in Germany during the summer months of 1850. With him the point was to answer the question as to why the 1848–49 revolution had met with defeat, and to define the policy that could help a new revolution to victory. Comparing the recent revolution with the Peasant War as the culminating point of the early bourgeois revolution—which had started with the Reformation in Germany—proved to be most instructive indeed.

Engels' most important concern was to demonstrate the decisive role of the worker-peasant alliance. He explained the lessons of the 1525 and 1848 revolutions with piercing urgency: Workers and peasants must unite in the fight against feudalism and capitalism in order to help historic progress to break through. The bourgeoisie had betrayed the peasantry, as had already been proved by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849. Objectively incapable of practising an independent national policy, the peasants had now more or less slipped into the political wake of the petty bourgeois democrats. The knowledge that the peasants could only emancipate themselves from both feudal and capitalist oppression in league with the proletariat was also of exceptional significance for the policy of the revolutionary working-class Party.

It was only by making a materialist analysis of the economic situation and the class relationships that obtained at the begin-

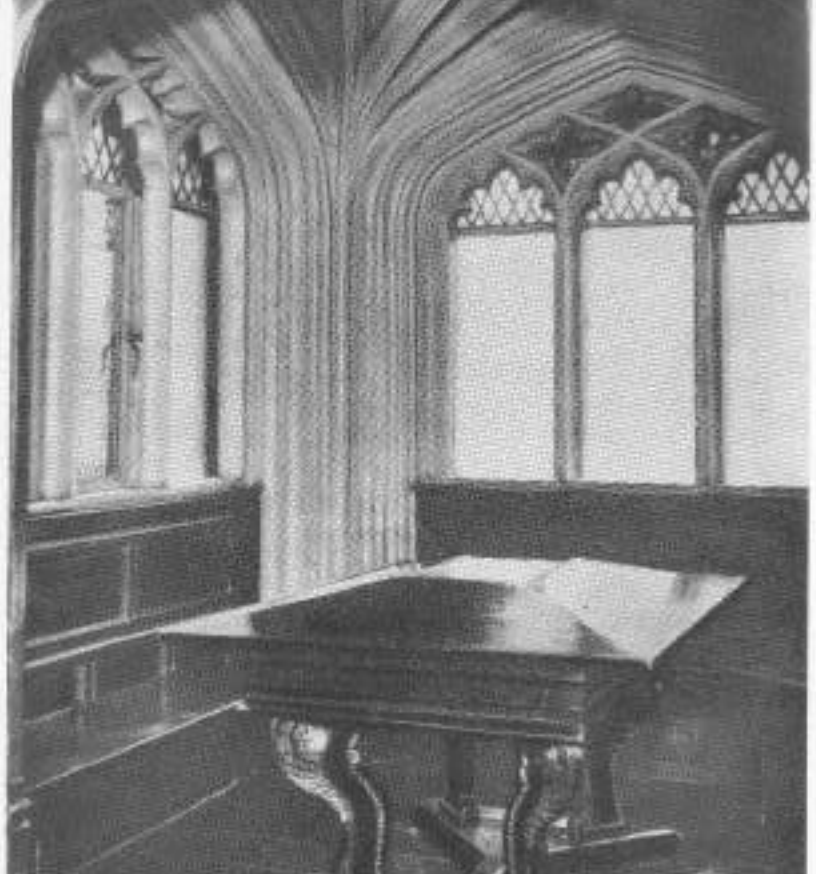
ning of the 16th century that Engels was able to win such topical knowledge from long-past events. This was the first time that he applied to a concrete epoch of past history the laws of motion of society he and Marx had discovered. Also, as an historian, he thus adopted an entirely new approach to his subject. Engels drew conclusions for his time in a partisan and scientific way, pointed expressly to the decisive and creative role of the popular masses, recalled to mind the revolutionary traditions of the German people, and so was able to bring important theoretical and practical problems nearer to their solution. Two such problems were the foundations of the proletarian policy of alliance and the social content of the national question. Thus, Engels' book on the Peasant War vividly reflected the unity of politics and history. It is still one of today's most widely-read pieces of Marxist-Leninist literature.

Engels took his historical facts from an exhaustive account of the Peasant War by Wilhelm Zimmermann, a revolutionary-democrat historian. In the scientific field, however, he demonstrated how one had to overcome the petty bourgeois standpoint on principle as a Communist—in the sense of the March Address. As soon as one proceeded from the economic foundations of social development in a dialectical-materialist fashion the German Peasant War suddenly stopped being just an ineffective eruption of political and religious passions. It fell into its proper place and became one of the pivots and turning-points of German history. The Reformation and the Peasant War emerged as necessary stages in the historic process that has entered the annals of history as the early bourgeois revolution. Martin Luther and "plebeian revolutionary"[9] Thomas Müntzer stood clearly outlined as the representatives of specific class forces, and the religious conflicts which had always been wrongly interpreted until then appeared for what they really were: the reflection of socio-economic processes. It was only now that the active historic role of revolutionary ideas was fully appreciated.

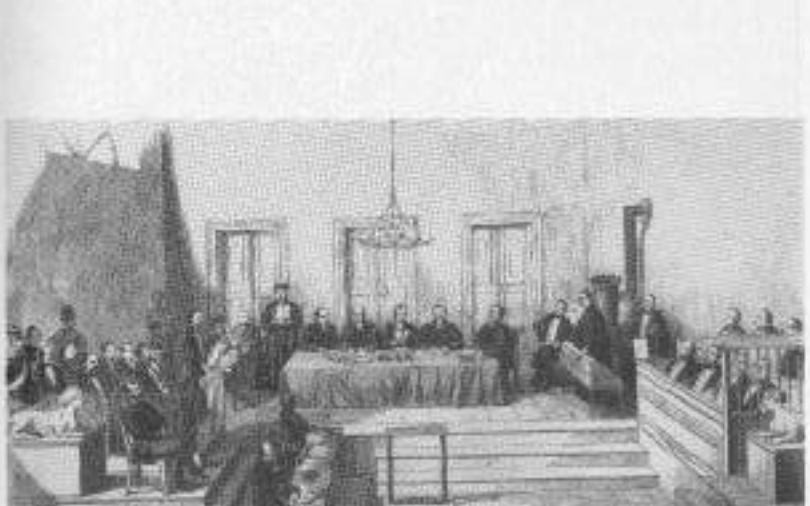
Furthermore, Engels' book on the Peasant War of 1525 is an example of the way the founders of scientific Communism joined in on one contemporary scientific discussion after another. The assessment of the Reformation and the peasant uprising had been



Manchester in about 1850



The four-sided desk in the alcove at Chetham's Library, Manchester



The Communist Trial in Cologne, October to November 1852



Karl Marx, Frederick Engels,
and Marx's daughters Jenny (right), Laura (left)
and Eleanor during the sixties



Frederick Engels during the 1850s



A fox hunt in England



Some of the newspapers to which Frederick Engels contributed during the fifties and the sixties



Elisabeth Engels,
Frederick Engels' mother



Excerpt from the letter
Frederick Engels wrote his mother
on 13 February 1861

the subject of fierce controversy for several decades. Hegel and Heine were amongst those who took part in these heated discussions which reached their peak during the years that immediately preceded the 1848 revolution with an all-out scientific dispute between the historic schools of Leopold von Ranke and Friedrich Christoph Schlosser. Whereas Ranke's followers tried to press every event into a thoroughly reactionary, Prussianized representation of history, Schlosser's adherents advocated bourgeois-democratic ideals. Zimmermann was the most pronounced representative of this latter school. Frederick Engels, who regarded history from the dialectical-materialist point of view, proceeded to further develop on a qualitatively higher level the basically correct views of the Schlosser school in his book on the Peasant War. At the same time he marshalled a host of impressive arguments against the views held by those of Ranke's followers who tried to deny and falsify the political objectives of the Reformation after the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848–49. He argued even more sharply against the absurd concepts held by several of the ideologists of Catholic-feudal reaction who claimed that Man's "*second fall*" had occurred "in the *Reformation*".[10]

The intensive theoretical work Marx and Engels accomplished stimulated the other active Communists in London. Those were the days when, helped along by the founders of scientific Communism, Johann Georg Eccarius, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Conrad Schramm and several other League members took their first steps along the road to becoming effective propagandists of the proletariat. As Engels put it in a letter to Weydemeyer: "To be sure, we also have people among us who live by the principle: 'Why do we have to grind away? That's what Father Marx is for, whose job it is to know everything.' But, on the whole, 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."[11]

Certainly, neither Marx nor Engels got much peace for scientific work. The summer months of 1850 were also characterized

by a fight with a faction within the Central Committee which intoxicated itself in a petty bourgeois fashion on the idea of a fresh outbreak of an impending revolution and held that the Communists would forthwith come to power in the process. Whereas Marx and Engels analysed the socio-economic developments soberly and consequentially realized, in the summer of 1850, that capitalism had undergone a world-wide economic upswing since 1848 and that the revolutionary movement had died down for the time being, the members of the faction ignored this fact. Braggadocio-wise they mouthed dogmatic, pseudo-radical and putschist phrases about the Communists seizing power immediately even though not even the basic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been carried out in most countries–Germany included. The faction was spearheaded by Willich and, for a while, by Engels' old friend Karl Schapper who mistook for fickleness Marx's and Engels' scientific insight and their courage to abandon the conceptions practice had made illusory.

Engels and Marx tried long and hard to make Schapper and Willich understand that the Communists, instead of busying themselves with immediate preparations for a pending revolution, would now have to attune themselves to the drawn-out job of patiently gathering forces for a future revolution and, therefore, devote their prime attention to systematically training a rising generation of new revolutionary cadres and to advertising and further developing their theory. But their arguments fell on deaf ears. Revolutionary impatience and theoretical immaturity prevented even Schapper from grasping Marx's warning that the German proletariat still needed several decades of revolutionary struggle "to change" not only conditions but also "themselves and to qualify for political rule".[12]

The final break occurred at the Central Committee meeting of 15 September 1850. In order to preserve the unity of the Party, Marx submitted a proposal which the majority approved: that the League set up two separate leading circles in London, but that the Central Committee be newly constituted at Cologne since this was the home of the biggest and most active League organization in Germany. We know what went on at this decisive

Central Committee meeting, where Marx relentlessly criticized the faction's untenable conceptions, from the excellently-kept minutes of the session. Secretary on that day was Frederick Engels.

Willich and Schapper founded a separate league against the Communist League. Seeing that they had the majority in the Workers' Educational Association in London, Marx, Engels and ten of their followers left the Association. Moreover, the policy of pseudo-revolutionary talk the separate league pursued soon halted the activities of the Social Democratic Relief Committee.

Thus, the journal was virtually the only remaining direct, practical Party activity in London, but even it had to be given up a few weeks later on account of political and financial difficulties. Marx and Engels completed the manuscripts for the last number by 1 November. The most important contributions it carried were *The Peasant War in Germany* and *Review–May to October* of which Marx and Engels were the joint authors. In this latter piece of work they presented the separate league with the upshot of a very thorough analysis of world economic trends: "*A new revolution is only possible in consequence of a new crisis. The former is, however, just as certain as is the latter.*"[13]

The more obvious it grew that further developing the theoretical foundations of the Party needed to be put first, the more urgent it became to create the preconditions this activity required. Engels realized clearly that it was above all Marx who had to be helped to find the time to accomplish the study required for the ultimate scientific substantiation of Communism, and particularly its economic substantiation. He decided that his part would be to find for himself a source of regular income which would enable him to support Marx as well.

There followed several family conferences with the result that Engels decided to go back to Manchester. Hard as he found it to part from Marx, much as he had grown accustomed to working directly together with him during the past five years–he had to leave London. Engels was already in Manchester and on the staff of *Ermen & Engels* when he celebrated his 30th birthday on 28 November of 1850.

In Manchester, Engels pursued with unabated attention the vigorous political activity the Cologne-based Central Committee of the Communist League had launched in the autumn of 1850. Like Marx, he corresponded regularly with the leading figures in Cologne, particularly with his old friends Daniels, Bürgers and Freiligrath, as well as with Peter Röser and Hermann Becker. When the authorities struck all over Germany in May and June of 1851 and arrested hundreds of progressives, amongst them nearly the entire Central Committee, and so virtually paralysed the Communist League's activities, Marx and Engels immediately started playing a direct part in the leadership again. Engels wrote to Dronke on 9 July 1851; "The arrests in Germany have forced us here in many respects to see to it that connections are restored, and to take up again many a resigned office, so you must write and tell us as quickly as possible how matters lie in Switzerland."[14] Engels also undertook part of the correspondence with Joseph Weydemeyer who had emigrated to the United States where he and Adolf Cluss had managed to arrange the publication of several of Marx's and Engels' writings at the beginning of the 1850s.

This apart, Engels fostered his old connections with the Chartist movement. He corresponded regularly either directly or via Marx with Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. He found many ways to support *Notes to the People*, the revolutionary Chartist paper Jones edited in London in 1851 and 1852, as well as *The People's Paper* which Jones founded in May of 1852. Although Engels was only able to contribute a few articles, he largely influenced the contents and the objectives of these Chartist papers. Then again, he helped to set up a new local organization of revolutionary-minded Chartists in Manchester. But on the whole the Chartist movement, which had stood in its zenith prior to the defeat it suffered in 1848, was now disintegrating rapidly.

The last of Engels' theoretical writings to contain an immediate evaluation of the experiences of the revolution was a chronological account of the events in Germany and Austria. It spanned the time from the eve of the revolution to the crushing of the insurrection in Baden. Originally written as a series of articles for the *New York Daily Tribune*, where they appeared

under Marx's name, they were later printed in book form under the title *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. In this work, Engels demonstrated that revolutions are part of the law-governed process of history and not made by a couple of "subversive agents" or "foreign agitators". He analysed the history of the period that preceded the bourgeois revolution in Germany, the course it ran, its driving forces, and used this analysis to explain that evolutionary and revolutionary phases alternate in history, that in times of revolution the proletarianization of class forces and, thus, the re-grouping of political alliances advance particularly swiftly so that a revolution makes "a nation pass in five years over more ground than it would have done in a century under ordinary circumstances."[15] Lenin derived significant ideas from this book by Engels, amongst them his reflections on the "art" of armed insurrection, when he enlarged on his concept of revolution in imperialist times.

Engels had just finished his series of articles on the German revolution when, in October 1852, another event required the members of the Communist League to muster all their energies once more. Following a delay of eighteen months, there began at Cologne the trial of the members of the Central Committee and the other League members who had been arrested in Germany. It was the first large-scale attempt by the forces of reaction to destroy the Communist Party by base police methods.

The ruling counter-revolutionary powers had followed with growing alarm the political work that had been successfully accomplished from the autumn of 1850 to the spring of 1851 under the leadership of the Cologne Central Committee. Moreover, several petty bourgeois emigrants and members of the Willich-Schapper separate league had objectively played into the hands of the police with their daredevil rantings. What the governments feared most of all was the persevering work the few Communists did in the workers' and jobbing men's associations and in the athletics clubs and choral societies. The counter-revolution needed a spectacular terror trial of the Communist Party to secure its power and intimidate and muzzle all progressive and democratic forces. The political significance of the trial was, therefore, quite exceptional.

From London, Marx directed the defence of his indicted Comrades and furnished their counsels with important evidentiary material in spite of the fact that the Prussian political police was controlling the mails more strictly than ever. He and Engels wrote statements for the British and German papers that were willing to help unmask the forgeries manufactured and the chicanery practised by the Prussian judicature. Engels used every opportunity his commercial connections offered not to let connections break down between Marx and the defence counsels of the Cologne accused. He wrote *The Late Trial at Cologne* after the pronouncement of the verdicts. In this article he pilloried both the infamous artifices the Prussian judicature reverted to and the entirely illegal practices of the police agents. He proved that the seven Communists sentenced–Dr. Hermann Becker, Heinrich Bürgers, Friedrich Lessner, Peter Nothjung, Carl Wunibald Otto, Wilhelm Joseph Reiff and Peter Röser–were only sentenced because the Rhenish bourgeoisie, placed under unprecedented pressure by the feudal forces in Berlin, had wanted to prove that there was nothing in common between its own faint-hearted opposition and the revolutionary standpoint of the class-conscious workers.

Amongst the accused sentenced to between three and six years' confinement in a fortress were some of Frederick Engels' friends and close fellow-combatants from his Cologne days: journeyman-tailor Friedrich Lessner, cigarmaker Peter Röser, and journalist Heinrich Bürgers. The court indicted, but had been unable to sentence *in absentia* another of the accused: Ferdinand Freiligrath. Dr. Roland Daniels, the physician who had hidden Engels from the police in Cologne in May of 1849, was acquitted but died shortly after the trial in consequence of his detention.

The final chapter of the history of the Communist League ended with the sentencing of the Communists who were accused at Cologne. Continued existence had become impossible for this first-ever proletarian Party, this Party where the principles of scientific Communism Marx and Engels had set up were successfully applied and tried out in the labour movement for the very first time. On 19 November of 1852, Marx wrote to Engels: "The League *dissolved* here last Wednesday at my instance and also declared as *no longer opportune* the continuance of the League on the continent."[8]

Nonetheless, the intrinsic significance the Communist League had as the point of departure of the world-wide Communist and labour movement remains uncontested to the present day. The conclusions Marx and Engels drew between 1849 and 1852 from the events of the revolution are a fund of political experience to which not only they themselves reverted time and again in the decades to come, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin too in even later years, but which the contemporary revolutionary labour movement is also putting to advantageous and creative use.

Corresponding Clerk and General Assistant

When the Communist League disbanded in November of 1852 Engels had already been back in Manchester for two years–nearly to the day. He knew the town well: only six years had passed since he had left it with the material for his *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in his baggage, and it was only five years since he and Marx had used the town's libraries together. Several old acquaintances, like-minded associates from the Chartist movement, were still living in Manchester. But most important of all: Frederick was reunited with his Mary from whom he had been separated by the events of the revolution.

Nonetheless, he felt that he was in some sort of an exile, particularly during the first weeks after he settled in Manchester.

It was not just that the town repelled him with its slums and profiteering atmosphere. Others were similarly affected. Engels' British friend Julian Harney joined his complaints very bluntly indeed: "It is a damned dirty den of muckworms. I would rather be hanged in London than die a natural death in Manchester."[47]

Nor was it simply that he hated being separated from Marx and the other friends whom he had had to leave behind in London, or that he sadly missed talking with them every day and their company which was–for all their poverty–generally saltily cheerful. This lot he shared with countless political emigrants, who, isolated from their comrades-in-struggle, also had to earn a meagre living in alien surroundings.

He mainly found life in the industrial metropolis so distasteful because of the kind of employment he had in Manchester, soul-destroying office work, and the fruitless disputes he had with the Ermen brothers. And all this apart, it was absolutely impossible to set aside more than a couple of hours each evening for his own scientific work and journalism.

The fact that enabled Engels to bear this "Egyptian captivity"[48] was that it was of his own choosing. The year he had spent in London had made him realize that returning to the business life he detested so heartily was the only chance of supporting Marx and his family in some small degree and so saving them from starvation. Engels made this sacrifice quite naturally and without complaining. And Marx acccepted this proof of supreme unselfishness equally naturally, but full of gratitude and pride in such a friend.

At the beginning, however, Engels could only provide a very limited amount of material assistance. Also, when he set off for Manchester he never dreamed that he would be staying there for the next twenty years. He hoped that the revolutionary movement would soon recall him to the scene of battle.

Engels certainly had no illusions about the fact that for the time being the counter-revolution had obviously won the day all over Europe. This victory had started with the defeat the Parisian proletariat suffered in June of 1848, and Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état of 2 December 1851 had set a seal on it. But the duration of this victory was as yet unforeseeable–as was

the time the defeated democratic forces, with the working class in their van, would need to accomplish a fresh upsurge of the revolutionary movement.

Above all, Engels, at the beginning of the fifties, had no presentiment of the exceedingly rapid pace at which the capitalist mode of production proceeded to develop in the most important countries of Europe. The fifties were a time of darkest reaction in the political life of Germany and Europe as a whole. The bourgeoisie also defected to the counter-revolution in the intellectual sphere: it disavowed Hegel's dialectics and feted Arthur Schopenhauer's irrationalism and mysticism. But at the same time industrial production increased more quickly during the fifties than in any other decade of the 19th century. This applied equally to Great Britain, France and Germany and to several other countries as well. Industry grew more tempestuously in Germany than elsewhere. Here, the Industrial Revolution entered into its decisive stage of development. Germany's industrial output doubled during the fifties and, in 1860, had already surpassed that of France even though it still lagged far behind England's industrial production.

Marx and Engels had already perceived these development trends during the early fifties, but had been unable to anticipate in detail either their intensity and duration or their consequential effects on political life. They hoped that on the continent the classes would at least start making some sort of a move again after a few years, and that they themselves could then plunge back into the turmoil of struggle. This is why Engels initially avoided attaching himself contractually to Ermen and Engels for any longer period. The point with him was "to obtain an official post as my old man's representative with the E(rmens) and yet fill *no* official post in the firm at this place with job commitments and a salary from the firm".[19] Clearly this state of affairs could not be kept up for long.

Peter Albert Ermen, who went by the name of Pitt, retired from the business at the beginning of the fifties. Lengthy negotiations culminated in the signing of a fresh contract by Gottfried Ermen and Frederick Engels senior in June of 1852, and in the stipulated appointment of Peter Jakob Gottfried (Godfrey)

Ermen as managing director. Knowing that his appointed agent with this firm of which he was a co-partner was a member of his own family was very much in the interest of Engels' father–particularly since business matters at the Engelskirchen mill and the commercial house in Barmen took up all the time of his other sons. Frederick was the eldest; he knew the ropes in Manchester and was familiar with the customs of not only the Ermen brothers but the British merchants as well. In addition, he was a linguist born and spoke English and French as fluently as his native German. On the other hand, there can be no doubt but that Frederick's father hoped that his son's employment with the firm would finally give him a liking for the commercial world and induce him to abandon his revolutionary ideas and plans. Thus, the utterly different, indeed diametrically opposed intentions of father and son coincided in one point at least: both were interested in Engels junior holding the strongest position possible in the firm.

In practice, however, this position was far from perfect. Gottfried Ermen was as domineering a boss as he was stingy. Engels was employed as Corresponding Clerk and General Assistant. This meant that he attended to the firm's correspondence and assisted the managing director. During his first years with the firm he generally had to put in ten hours at the office which was right in the centre of the city–at 7, Southgate, Deansgate–and hardly a stone's throw away from the Town Hall and the Exchange. This "commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad" consisted "almost wholly of offices and warehouses. (. . .) With the exception of this commercial district, all Manchester proper," is "unmixed working people's quarters, stretching like a girdle, averaging a mile and a half in breadth, around the commercial district."[20] True that Engels had written this description in 1845, but it was still to hold good for years and decades to come.

Colourless and monotonous the offices and stock rooms where Engels, surrounded by yarn and thread, was to spend the next twenty years of his life conferring with buyers and sellers, making abstracts from the accounts, attending to the correspondence, and studying City articles and the stock exchange

news. The business letters he wrote were dispatched to France and Italy, to Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Holland and Russia, even to America and India, and, of course, to many places in England and Scotland, for Ermen & Engels supplied all these towns and countries with the yarns and threads that were spun, twined, bleached or dyed in their mills. There was no end to the work, Engels senior's inquiries and wishes were endless, and "Herr Gottfried" (as Engels called the principal ironically in his private letters) was the inventor born when it came to thinking up some new whim with which he might pester his employees.

Engels tried to cope with these everyday irritations by himself as much as possible, but there were times when he simply had to let off steam somewhere. It was then that he grumbled in his letters to Marx that he had "sweated at the office the whole day"[21] or that "free time before 7 or 8 p.m. (. . .) is quite out of the question for the present".[22] He decided to stand up to Gottfried Ermen's chicanery more than once: "We'll arrange things differently this summer or else there'll be a row at the office. I intend to arrange my affairs so that I'll work from 10 to 5 or 6 and then quit even if it means the business going to rack and ruin."[23] There was more than just one row and no lack of plans to give up "jerry commerce"[24] altogether and take up another profession, possibly journalism, but his friend's constant appeals for help and Engels' own awareness of how terribly poor Marx and his family actually were strengthened him time and again in his once-taken decision to bear the yoke of "damn business"[25] for so long as was demanded by friendship and appreciation of political necessity.

Engels drew no fixed salary to begin with. He just received an "allowance for professional expenditure and table-expenses"[26] from his father–approximately £ 200 per annum. In 1852, however, the firm was paying him £ 100 a year and had allotted him a 5 per cent share in profits. This share was not increased to 7.5 per cent until somewhere around the mid-fifties; it was raised a second time to 10 per cent in 1860. Whereas Engels' total annual income amounted to roughly £ 265 in 1854–55, it rose from about £ 500 to nearly £ 1,000 from 1856

to 1859–and only then was Engels able to support Marx regularly. But years were to pass before his income reached the level that enabled him to spare his friend all desperate situations. These still arose during the sixties.

As the employee of a Manchester firm of high standing and son of a very respectable family of mill owners and businessmen, Engels naturally had to preserve etiquette strictly in public and adapt himself in several respects to the ways of the British mercantile community. This came anything but easily to him for he had lived a rather wild and reckless life in the past and utterly detested all bourgeois hypocrisy. He had to conform nonetheless, much as he derided the narrow-mindedness and hypocrisy of the huckstering souls who surrounded him, and joked about his "dual existence" in the letters he sent his close friends.

Engels' place of abode expressed this "dual existence" to a nicety. Much as he wished to live permanently together with Mary, no matter how frequently he called on her at her home–the prevailing precepts of bourgeois morality and his own dependent position forebade him to live under the same roof with her. He inevitably had to rent a house of his own where he could entertain business friends, receive his father when he was in England and, in a word, live up to his status. He moved his "official headquarters"[27] several times. To begin with he lived in Great Ducie Street, Strangeways, first at No. 70 and then at No. 48. Later on he moved to various other houses until, in around 1858, he established himself at 6, Thorncliffe Grove near the Oxford Road. In the end he resided in Dover Street. But his true home was at 252, Hyde Road, Gorton, where Mary Burns lived together with her sister Lizzie. It was here that he could be himself, that he found simplicity and warmth, love and devotion, that he came into touch with the working-class life he was forced to miss so entirely in the company he otherwise kept in Manchester. It was here that he met the left-wing leaders of the Chartist movement and many of his friends.

Engels carefully kept his enforced business life apart from his true life which only started in the evening and on Sundays when he branched out into his scientific work, newspaper writing,

and political activities. But on the other hand, he certainly never shut himself off from society. On the contrary! He was very well known in Manchester and a member of the bourgeois Albert Club. He also frequented the Athenaeum Club which was open to scholars and writers. Here he was able to use an excellent library and a periodical room for his scientific studies. In later years, Engels joined the Manchester Foreign Library which stocked books in German, French, Italian and Spanish, the Society for the Relief of Really Distressed Foreigners, and a hunting association.

So he made good use of the scientific and literary facilities the town offered for relaxation and intellectual work. And indeed, after Engels had spent a day at the office in interminable conference about cotton prices and yarn qualities his intellect and sociable nature craved the company of people who took an interest in other things besides business. He kept neither his world outlook nor his political interests from his acquaintances at the Albert Club or the Athenaeum, but neither the bourgeois with whom he conversed nor the company he enjoyed at the exhilarating fox hunts ever had an inkling of how ardently this German merchant, this able man of commerce who was so smart at figures, longed for the outbreak of a fresh, large-scale economic crisis.

Friendship Unrivalled

The financial support Engels provided for Marx was just one of the ways in which he helped his friend. Hardly less important was the fact that he assisted him when Marx–as he himself put it–was faced with "the imperative necessity of earning my living."[28] The story runs as follows: Charles Dana, foreign editor of the *New York Daily Tribune*, asked Marx in August of 1851 whether he could contribute regularly to his paper. Marx replied in the affirmative because here, at last, was an opportunity to secure a modest but regular income for his family. This apart, he wanted to use the chance of strengthening the democratic movement through his articles in this paper which at the time had a bourgeois-progressive trend and was widely read into the bargain. In addition, strengthening the democratic movement lay in the interests of the American proletariat. But

the decision taken, fresh difficulties immediately arose *en masse*. Newspaper writing would have robbed Marx of much of the time he had spent hitherto on his economic studies. Moreover, his command of English was not yet so perfect as that he himself could have written anything due to be published in that language.

He turned to Engels for help in this extremity: "If you could manage to send me an article, written in English, about the *German* conditions by *Friday morning* (15 August), it would be a splendid beginning."[20] Engels came to his friend's assistance to secure the source of income Marx needed so desperately: "Write and tell me (. . .) quickly the type it has to be–just one nondescript article, or whether you'd like to have a series, and 2) how to present the stuff".[21] Marx's instructions were short and to the point: "Ready-witted and blunt. The gentlemen are very *insolent* at the Foreign Department."[22] And Engels' letter of 21 August began: "Dear Marx, Enclosed a nondescript article for you. Various circumstances have conspired to make the thing turn out badly. (. . .) *Enfin, tu en feras ce que tu voudras* (Anyway, do with it what you want.)"[23]

The "thing" Engels thought had turned out badly was the first of the 19 articles the *New York Daily Tribune* carried from then on until October of 1852. They appeared in book form for the first time in English in 1896, and subsequently in German under the title *Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland*. Not only did Engels contribute the first article of this series: he wrote the lot. But neither Dana nor the paper's readers learned the truth; they thought that they had been written by Marx. The ruse enabled Marx to stand by his agreement with Dana and ensured him his royalties.

This, however, was only the beginning. During the next ten years–until 1861–Engels wrote over 120 articles for this American paper at his friend's request. He furnished entire sections for many of Marx's contributions and translated nearly all of the manuscripts Marx delivered during the first two years he worked on the correspondent staff of the *New York Daily Tribune*. Most of these articles appeared under Marx's name. Dana, who always had a good eye for business, occasionally

used some of them as leaders without even mentioning their authorship. And Engels was never once listed as author.

Engels frequently stayed up far into the night to finish a translation or a clean copy in such good time that Marx could send it to New York by one of the mail-steamers that left Liverpool twice weekly for the United States.

"It is physically impossible to translate the whole of the article for you," runs the opening line of Engels' letter to Marx, dated 14 October 1852. "I received it this morning. So busy at the office all day that I no longer knew whether I was on my head or my feet. Had supper this evening from seven until eight and just glanced at the thing. Then on to the translation. Am now–at half past eleven–at the natural break in the article, and that's as much as I'm sending you. It has to be in the mail by 12 o'clock. So you see, you're getting whatever I can possibly manage.

"The rest shall be translated forthwith. (. . .) It's all right for you to finish your next article in the meantime (. . .). Only take care that I get the manuscript *in good time*".[33]

Four days later: "Enclosed the rest of the (recent) article. Received the follow-up yesterday. You can send off the piece posted today immediately via Liverpool per United States Mail Steamer (. . .). You'll get some more on Friday."[34]

On 28 October Engels was writing: "Enclosed one article for Dana–impossible to break the thing off in any other way. Should I manage to complete the rest of the thing this evening, I'll put that in the post later on as well. In the meantime this so that you do receive at least *something* on time."[35] Engels spent his leisure hours in this way for weeks and months on end.

Marx's and Engels' scientific collaboration was certainly not just limited to their joint newspaper writing for the *New York Daily Tribune*. Engels was entirely agreed with Marx that developments had now entered a stage where no revolution was on the point of breaking out, and that in this stage the Communists had the duty to forge the weapons needed for the revolutionary crisis that was bound to come. First and foremost this meant perfecting the theory of the working class's struggle for emancipation. The coming revolution required a schooled proletarian

Party that was equipped with knowledge of the laws of social development.

Whereas Marx and Engels had mainly concentrated their pre-revolution studies on history and the philosophical substantiation of scientific Communism, and whilst the main point with them in 1848 and 1849 was the development of political ideas, Marx primarily studied political economy during the fifties and sixties. The important thing with him now was systematically to carry on the economic studies he had started before the revolution, critically overcome all the hitherto bourgeois theories on the economics of capitalism, and so expose the laws that lead to the origin, development and fall of the capitalist mode of production. Only when this had been achieved could the teaching on the historical mission of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism and creator of the new, Socialist social system they had evolved in the *Communist Manifesto* and other writings be irrefutably substantiated and at the same time completed.

Engels strengthened his friend in this project. He was well aware that this was the most important service Marx–and Marx only–could do the working class at the time. He helped to strengthen his morale as well. In the spring of 1851, Marx still hoped that he would only need a few months' time to write his planned book on the economics of capitalism. But he was quick to realize the over-abundance of material that required analysis and critical study. To this he had to add the incessant interruptions to his work that came from having to earn a living by journalism–to say nothing of his daily struggle with hunger and want. Engels never stopped urging his friend on, begging him to conclude his studies and publish what had been written: "Be a little less conscientious over your own things just for once," reads one of his letters to Marx. "*That* the thing is written and appears is the main thing. The asses won't find out the weaknesses that strike you anyway."[36] But Marx listened just as little to advice of this kind as Engels seriously insisted on its being taken. Engels, whose exceptionally quick grasp and fluent pen Marx admired time and again, had only too high an appreciation of his friend's conscientiousness and his unqualified scientific thoroughness.

In the course of these studies Engels was Marx's information bureau and consultant, animator and critic, in one and the same person. Time and again Marx would turn to Engels with a question, ask him for internal stock exchange and international trade information, submit for his considered opinion theoretical reflections and hypotheses, or request excerpts from non-readily available subject literature. On the other hand, Engels was always able to turn to Marx with any request or question he wanted. His own broad range of study frequently meant that these questions were highly specialized ones. In this event Marx occasionally had to put everything aside, and not infrequently hunt around for days in the British Museum Library until he found the information desired.

Distance obviously made much harder this constant exchange of opinions, this intellectual give and take. To be sure, London and Manchester were only about eight hours apart by train, and the letter the one mailed toward evening was almost certain to be in the hands of the other the next morning. But what a poor makeshift letters must have been for people who had for years been used to living, working and fighting side by side, day in day out, and in close personal contact! Their correspondence, unique in its quantity and quality alike, could well substitute, but never be the same as the daily conversations they both missed so sorely. But for all that, distance never loosened their ties of friendship. They only grew even firmer over the next twenty years.

Only very rarely did a week pass without the two friends corresponding with one another. There were times when one or even more than one letter left Manchester daily for London, and London for Manchester. And if an interval did occur for which the one could find no explanation, the other was bound to get a worried note soon: "Dear Engels, Weepest thou or laughest thou, and sleepest thou or wakest thou? Have received no reply to the various letters I've been sending to Manchester these three weeks past."[37]

Vexing and impeditive as it was for Marx and Engels to be able to exchange their ideas by mail only, this kind of exchange also had its positive aspects: it allowed each to think out more

or less quietly the opinions the one needed to lay before the other, and also forced them to formulate their ideas precisely. They often took whole passages from these letters and fitted them practically word for word into their newspaper writings. Their correspondence reflected everything that moved the friends, all the things they had to cope with, all the problems they pondered—everything from the most paltry wretchedness of their everyday life to the highest flights of their bold thoughts. There was no part of their life and thinking they failed to touch upon in their letters. Thus, their correspondence—preserved for future generations by the circumspection of its authors and their executors—has become both biographically and with regard to theory an historical document of first-rate importance. It reflects their personalities and their bond of friendship, and constitutes a store-house of their scientific heritage.

There is scarcely a domain of science that was not dealt with, or at least touched on by this correspondence. Both were men of immense learning, and in their letters they debated questions related to any number of subjects: philosophy and the natural sciences, military theory and the history of warfare, philology and mathematics, technology and literature, and time and again and above all else problems of political economy, history and international politics. They discussed no less frequently the very concrete questions of class struggle, particularly the strategy and tactics of the working class and its organizations. These discussions, their written form notwithstanding, were a genuine exchange of opinions. One of the two would communicate to his friend a fresh understanding—often an hypothesis as yet—and then would begin a debate by letter where it was discussed, doubted, defended and, finally, either accepted by the one or abandoned by the other. A passionate and unflagging search for scientific truth hall-marked these letters.

"If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*," wrote V. I. Lenin, who regarded the Marx-Engels correspondence as a treasure-trove of theoretical findings of scientific Communism. "The application

of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class—that was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, that was where they contributed what was most essential and new, and that was what constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought."[28]

At the same time, the more than 1,300 preserved letters that go to make up the Marx-Engels correspondence of the 1850s and 1860s give the reader a moving picture of human friendship that is as vivid now as it was over 100 years ago. There was nothing the two friends kept from one another. Marx, for instance, opened his heart entirely to his companion and told him of the never-ending vicissitudes of emigré life that threatened to engulf the family, of his own, frequently unsuccessful, attempts to cope with all this devastating poverty and misery. And how often was Frederick, as Marx frequently called Engels, his only remaining hope!

"My wife is ill, so is little Jenny, and Lenchen has a sort of a nervous fever. I could not and cannot sent for the doctor, having no money to buy medicine," reads the alarming letter Marx wrote to Engels on 8 September of 1852. "For the last eight or ten days I have fed the family on bread and potatoes, but it is still doubtful whether I can raise any today. (. . .)

"I managed to put off all the creditors, who, as you know, are always paid off by tiny instalments, until the beginning of September. The run has become general now. (. . .)

"Were the landlady to turn me out of the house, it would be the best and most desirable thing that could happen. At least I'd be square by £ 22. But she is hardly likely to do me the favour. Then the baker, the milkman, the tea vendor, the greengrocer, and outstanding debts with the butcher. How am I to cope with the whole infernal mess?"[29]

Engels replied the next day by sending £ 4. And five days later he was writing to his friend: "I'm presently thinking up a new plan for saving a few pounds. If it succeeds, I think I'll be able to send you something again by the beginning of next month (. . .)."[30] The plan really succeeded, and as in months

gone by and in years to come one, two, five or ten pounds left Manchester for London–sporadically at first and then more and more regularly, month after month and sometimes week after week. Occasionally Engels even sent Marx more money than he spent on his own household.

Neither was ever discouraged in spite of all the desperate poverty that dogged Marx and his family and therefore distressed Engels so deeply. Roughly as life might treat the two friends, infamously as the bourgeois press might libel them, greatly as they were often disappointed by someone who deserted the ranks or even became a traitor to the cause–Engels never let these untoward circumstances rob him of his humour and optimism, and in this he also resembled Marx. Decades later, when he was sifting his friend's literary remains, he wrote to his old companion-in-struggle Johann Philipp Becker: "I've been sorting letters for the past days, 1842–1862. The old times rose so vividly before my mind's eye, and all the fun we got out of our opponents. I often laughed until I cried about those old affairs; and when all is said and done they never managed to kill our sense of humour. In between many a very earnest matter too."[91]

In another letter, Engels took a dig at a bourgeois quill-driver who had moaned about the "doleful Marx" in the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen:* "These blockheads would be absolutely stunned if they had the chance of reading the correspondence that went on between Mohr and myself. Heine's poetry is puerile against our cheeky laughing prose. Mohr could become furious, but mope–jamais (never)!"[92]

This was equally true of Engels. To be sure, their "cheeky laughing prose" was not meant for sensitive souls, for both could easily compete with an Abraham, a Santa Clara or a Martin Luther when it came to using strong language. In this respect they lived entirely along the lines composed by their friend and companion Georg Weerth:

> There's nothing finer in this world
> Than stinging to the quick one's foes,
> Than making funny jokes about
> All thick-headed fantasticoes.[93]

The separation Marx and Engels found so hard to bear lent a festive air to their occasional visits. Engels spent many a Christmas and New Year's season with Marx and his family, and, later on, when he travelled the continent, he stopped over with Marx as often as he possibly could. Although Marx's own visits were probably not more frequent, he generally stayed in Manchester for longer periods of time. He often stayed at Engels' place for several weeks, and in the sixties he occasionally took one or more of the family along with him. On one occasion, in the autumn of 1855, he even stayed with his friend for three whole months to hide from his creditors. The time Engels had to put in at the office every day Marx spent with scientific studies or on his correspondence, but they had the evening hours and Sundays for themselves–except when Wilhelm Wolff joined them, or Georg Weerth happened to be in Manchester.

The friends were able to forget the whole "infernal mess" of their refugee life during those hours of companionable togetherness. It was then that they enjoyed to the full the happiness of being able to debate and forge plans together, of discussing down to the last detail scientific or political projects and, not least, joking merrily and drinking hard. Greatly as they differed in outward appearance–here Engels: tall, slender, auburn-haired, ever carefully dressed, with an air of military discipline about his gestures and bearing; and there Marx: square-built, eyes aflash, and with that head of black hair that had earned him his nickname, Mohr, a little careless of his appearance and lively in all his movements–and so much as each remained an unmistakable, independent personality in his own right, in their thinking, feeling and intention they were of one mould. It was here that the meeting of their minds occurred, here that they complemented one another, for both were dedicated to the selfsame cause: the emancipation of the working class and of all the oppressed and exploited of the world.

If ever a friendship demanded the courage to be firm and sincere, to abide by principles and to make sacrifices; if ever a friendship underwent the acid test of each friend having to be able to rely absolutely on the other, even in the darkest hour: then it was this friendship of Frederick Engels and Karl Marx.

And if ever a friendship stood these tests with flying colours, then this was the one. Neither Marx nor Engels liked big words; they hated all pathos and detested high-sounding phrases even more. Nonetheless, in passing through one of the hardest moments of his whole life, following the death of his beloved son Edgar, Marx did just once put into words what Engels' friendship meant to him: "Amid all the terrible miseries I have lived through in these days the thought of you and your friendship always kept me going, and the hope that we will still have something worth doing together in the world."[44]

And there still remained much for them to do, and much was done together. Yet even at the beginning of the fifties there began to emerge a sort of a division of labour between the two friends. Whilst Engels delved systematically into military and linguistic research, and later concerned himself more and more with the natural sciences, Marx primarily concentrated his studies on political economy, international history, and the foreign policies pursued by the states of Europe. But both took good care not to let their division of labour deteriorate into narrow-gauge specialism. Their steady and lively exchange of opinions certainly prevented this from happening. Neither ever made an important scientific estimation or took a far-reaching political decision without first having asked his friend for his opinion. Moreover, each developed the habit of sending his friend every single manuscript and waiting for him to read it and submit his advice before he then sent it off to the printers. Professional jealousy and egotism, the twin foes of scientific labour, were utterly foreign to Marx and Engels. The ideas and insights of the one belonged equally to the other. Their entire life-work proves that cooperation by Socialists doubles, indeed multiplies their potentials.

Scientific pursuits were always more than just an intellectual need, a spiritual diversion, with Engels: they were ever a political mission as well. This already held good for the study of military theory and the history of warfare he started in 1851, and it applies equally to the extensive linguistic studies he pursued all his life, albeit especially intensively throughout the fifties.

When, in March of 1852, he outlined his plan to "put my Slav stuff in order at last"[45] he had already been learning Russian, although sporadically, for over a year. However, "since I've made a beginning and advanced too far to drop the matter," Engels decided to spend "some hours on it regularly for once." "I've been swotting Russian for 14 days and have got a fair hang of the grammar now; another two to three months' will give me the necessary vocabulary, and then I'll be able to start on something else. I must have done with the Slav languages this year, and *au fond* (at bottom) they're not so very difficult." And then, Engels all over: "The linguistic interest the thing has for me apart, there is also the consideration that one of us at least needs to be versed in the languages, the history, the literature and the details of the social institutions of precisely the nations one will be coming into conflict with immediately during the next principal and state undertaking."[46]

These few lines of Engels' to his friend not only contain a review of what he had accomplished and a working plan as well, but also spotlight some of his characteristic traits. Engels abhorred all superficiality. Although uniquely gifted for languages, he never allowed himself to slip into dilettantism. Rather, he always approached his studies systematically, endeavouring to become thoroughly familiar with the structure, history and vocabulary of each language he learned. In later years, he himself described the way he went about his linguistic studies thus: "My method of learning a language was always not to study its grammar (except for the declinations and conjugations and the pronouns), but with the help of a dictionary to read the most difficult classic author I could find. Thus I started Italian with Dante, Petrarca and Ariosto, Spanish with Cervantes and Calderon, Russian with Pushkin. After that I'd read newspapers, etc."[47]

Engels began translating well-known works from the language he was just learning as soon as he possibly could. For instance, he translated part of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* into German and also tried his hand at a comedy by Griboyedov, *Bitterness from Intelligence*. He preferred self-study, but as soon as he had mastered the fundamentals of a language he liked to use every

available chance for conversing in it too. He took private lessons in conversation with a Russian emigrant, Eduard Pindar, in 1852 to practise speaking Russian. Also, he asked many of his foreign visitors to read pieces in their mother tongue out loud to him so that he might study the intonation and timbre of their language "at the source".

With each foreign language he learned, Engels always read up the history of the people who spoke it, their culture and literature and, if possible, their folklore. This made it easier for him to grasp the essence of the language, its origin and the particulars of its development, and to understand the people's national characteristics as well.

Great as his linguistic interest was, strong as his wish might be to devote himself to his "old love, comparative philology"[48] to the exclusion of all else, the present or future needs of practical revolutionary activity always took pride of place with him. "A foreign language is a weapon in the struggle of life."[49] This dictum comes from Marx, but it was just as much a maxim of Engels' which he was still following in old age.

By the beginning of the fifties Engels was already versed in Latin, Greek and English, and able to speak the most important Romance languages fluently besides. He then learned Russian and some Serbo-Croatian and Czech as well–primarily because he wanted to read up the anti-progressive theory of Panslavism in the original to be able to refute it all the better afterwards. With the outbreak of the Crimean War and the growing interest in oriental questions, Engels turned to Persian in the mid-fifties. Compared with Arabic, it seemed "a real child's play of a language"[50] to him. But the end of the fifties he was studying the Old Germanic languages "to finally have done the damned Gothic".[51] During the mid-sixties he made a second, and this time thorough study of the Scandinavian languages in connection with the Prusso-Austrian war against Denmark. Later on, at the end of the sixties and during the eighties, he learned Celtic, Dutch, Gaelic, Friesic, Rumanian and Bulgarian.

"Engels stammers in twenty languages,"[52] a Commune refugee once told Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law. The remark itself contains an oblique reference to the fact that Engels was apt to

stutter when he grew excited. And indeed, Engels spoke and could write in 12 languages, and was able to read twenty.

This enabled him to find his way about quickly in international politics, subject literature and world literature all through his life. He could make a reliable picture for himself of how the foreign press dealt with labour movement questions. Also, he was able to study theoretical conceptions in the original text, and fluently advise Socialists in many countries and of many peoples in their native tongue. Finally, his linguistic proficiency enabled him either to translate many of Marx's and his own writings, or at least to check executed translations competently and authorize them. This was invaluable for the unfalsified spreading of scientific Communism.

Engels had a predilection for comparative philology and its problems. He even toyed with the idea of writing a book about general linguistics during the mid-fifties, but the plan never materialized since he had to give priority to other political and scientific work and, more important still, much of his time was taken up by a steady succession of professional commitments. But Engels formulated his findings on the origin, function and essence of language in many of his letters and in several of his writings. These findings have become the foundation of a Marxist philology. Subsequently, during the mid-seventies, he summarized at least some of the results of his studies on the origin and essence of language in an essay that remained unfinished: *The Part played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man*. Engels looked into the subject of historical dialectology in another treatise, *Der fränkische Dialekt* (The Franconian Dialect), which he wrote from 1881 to 1882. His judgement of the High-German sound-shift, types of place-names and, above all, the historical associations of the Franconian dialect gave modern dialectal research many a valuable impetus.

Apart from these military and philological studies, and besides constantly exchanging ideas on questions of political economy with Marx, Engels branched out into an increasingly thorough study of the natural sciences during the late fifties. He informed Marx in detail about the physiology, physics and chemistry he was reading in a letter dated 14 July 1858. He was

absolutely enthusiastic about the tremendous discoveries that had been made by German biologists Matthias Jakob Schleiden and Theodor Schwann and the British physicist James Prescott Joule. The acumen with which he established even at this early stage of his natural scientific studies that the latest scientific discoveries went to confirm the correctness of the dialectic-materialist method in an ever-increasing degree is quite amazing. So it is not surprising that Engels felt nothing but contempt for the mechanical materialism of Karl Vogt and Ludwig Büchner, two philosophers who became very fashionable with the German petty bourgeoisie during the fifties and the sixties.

Engels and Marx were immediately agreed about the epoch-making significance of Charles Darwin's principal work, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, when it appeared toward the end of 1859. "Incidentally, Darwin, whom I'm reading just now, is absolutely splendid," Engels wrote to his friend in mid-December of 1859. "There was one side from which teleology still hadn't been broken and this is what has happened now. And what is more, never before has such a magnificent attempt been made to demonstrate historical evolution in nature, and least of all so successfully."[61] To be sure, so highly Engels rated Darwin's theory of evolution as a whole, he–and likewise Marx–had critical objections to the way Darwin linked up his scientific statements with Malthus' unscientific and inhuman Principle of Population according to which the working people's hunger and wretchedness originated not in the capitalist relations of production but in Man's natural procreative property. Also, Engels argued passionately against the attempts that grew more and more frequent in the following decades to transfer Darwin's teaching on the struggle for existence to the history of the development of human society. Later on these views led to so-called Social-Darwinism and culminated in various imperialist "élite theories".

Engels continued with his pursuit of the natural sciences throughout the sixties. He became deeply interested in the molecular theory, and to this end he made a thorough study of chemistry in the mid-sixties. Whilst Marx primarily turned his attention to the different branches of applied natural science, particularly technology, Engels devoted himself more and more to the theoretical natural sciences and so laid the foundation-stone for yet another subject upon which he was later to spend many years of intensive research: the inter-relationship of natural science and philosophy.

The "General Staff" in Manchester

When Engels arrived in Manchester at the end of 1850 he embarked on a systematic and, indeed, enthusiastic study of military science. This pursuit was no end in itself for him but, rather, a means of reaching his goal of deepening and scientifically enlarging on the military theory of the working class that had already been shaped out in the rough.

Both the ideological altercations with Willich's and Schapper's faction and the events of the years of revolution that went before had shown clearly that the working class and its Party need a conception and an orientation of their own in military science affairs. The faction was headed by ex-officers who claimed the military leadership of the revolution for themselves, but advocated in this context a petty bourgeois standpoint. Both in the *17 Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* and in the

Neue Rheinische Zeitung Marx and Engels had already formulated important principles of the proletariat's military programme in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Their central demand was aimed at abolishing the regular army system and placing the universal arming of the people in its stead. Equipping the people with weapons would dispossess feudal reaction of its military power and enable the people to secure the revolutionary achievements and, if necessary, lead the revolution to its final victory by means of force.

The coup d'état that had taken place in Prussia in the autumn of 1848 and the bloody events of the spring of 1849 had corroborated the warnings Marx and Engels had uttered time and again against the armed counter-revolution. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had advocated as expressly as it had anticipated the oppressed nations fighting a revolutionary people's war against all alien rule. Finally, Engels himself had seen active service in revolutionary democracy's defensive against the counter-revolutionary troops' campaign of suppression. Marx and Engels had exposed the class character of war anew in the fire of political and military battles, and at the same time had found confirmation of the vast importance of the military question for the working class's fight for emancipation.

Engels had already started to build up the military lessons of the revolution into a theory of armed insurrection and the conduct of revolutionary war in his *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne*. He set out from the idea that like everything else both armed insurrection and the conduct of a revolutionary war are governed by their own laws, and that victories cannot be won without their having been mastered.

The first thing that needed to be analyzed in Engels' view was the concrete conditions under which the revolutionary Party might use armed force. But doing this kind of research was really difficult in Manchester which had no large science library where Engels could have found the subject literature he required. True that Marx and other friends bought many an important work for him in the London bookstores, but to begin with Engels had to rely largely on what Manchester had to offer.

He set out by reading upon the revolutionary French conduct

of war and the Napoleonic warfare which emerged therefrom during the late 18th and the early 19th century. When, in the early fifties, war threatened to break out between a revolutionary France (which many democrats were still hoping for at that moment) and the infamous Holy Alliance, Engels summarized his ideas in an essay which remained unpublished at the time: *Bedingungen und Aussichten eines Krieges der Heiligen Allianz gegen das revolutionäre Frankreich im Jahre 1852* (Conditions and Prospects of a War by the Holy Alliance against Revolutionary France in 1852). He was already proceeding from the dialectical relationship of revolution and war, politics and warfare, in this essay. Also, he investigated the political and military function of revolutionary armed forces.

He proved both historically and logically that the then modern art of warfare and army organization were of a bourgeois class character, and that they epitomized the military interests of the bourgeoisie. But, he asked, will not "a new revolution which brings an entirely new class to power also generate, as did the former, new means of war and a new conduct of war"[54] which must of necessity make presently modern warfare seem outdated and powerless? His answer to this question was that the emancipation of the proletariat would likewise have "a specific military expression"[55], would engender a new conduct of war that constituted a "necessary product of the new social relationships".[56] This, however, did not mean that one would disregard the methods and rules of bourgeois warfare–just as the proletarian revolution was not going to abolish steam engines, but multiply them. It followed that in its own conduct of war the working class's job was to raise to a higher power the degree of "massiveness and mobility"[57] the bourgeoisie had reached. Also, it needed to work out a comprehensive Socialist military science both during and after the proletarian revolution.

Engels set himself high standards for his military studies: he attached the greatest importance to getting every detail right, and he tried to read all the available subject literature. He had nothing but biting scorn to spare for the hollow rodomontades of some of the professional military writers who were only too ready to glorify their country's army and its commanders in chief.

When Marx suggested, in late March of 1851, that Engels write the history of the 1848–49 Hungarian War, he replied: "One makes a fool of oneself nowhere more easily than in the history of war by hoping to reason without having at hand all the data on strength, provisionment and ammunition supply, etc."[58] Engels combined revolutionary partisanship with scientific thoroughness in an exemplary fashion when he analysed military facts and generalized his findings.

It was still summer in 1851 when Engels decided to base his study of military science on a reading programme he drew up for himself. The object of this exercise was not only to ground himself in military knowledge, but also to work his way through the most important books on military theory. "Self-instruction is always nonsense, and unless one follows up a thing systematically, one won't achieve anything worthwhile,"[59] he wrote to Weydemeyer. About a year later a delighted Engels wrote to tell Marx that he had been able to buy the military library of a veteran officer who lived in Cologne. He had little enough spare time as it was, but he forged ahead with iron discipline to familiarize himself thoroughly with the tactics each arm of the Service employed, with strategy, army organization and the command structure, with supply and transport, and weapons technology, and with other specific questions.

Both Engels and Marx looked upon war as being by no means indispensable to the revolution. In the *Communist Manifesto* they had already stated that it is the duty of the working class to free mankind from the horrors of war. But they both realized that the social and national contradictions which prevailed in their time made military conflicts between states and nations inevitable for the time being. Moreover, they always supported the liberation struggle enslaved peoples fought for their national independence and recognized that it would only be successful if force was used against the oppressors. Finally, so long as the reactionary classes were determined to defend their rule with the bayonet, with bullets and with grenades the proletariat would also have to replace the weapon of criticism with the criticism of weapons in the storms of revolution if the need arose.

Engels' extensive military studies gained in political signif-

icance from the moment he started to produce for the *New York Daily Tribune* an ever-increasing number of articles on military policy and history within the framework of his journalistic collaboration with Marx. The so-called Oriental crisis which erupted in 1852 and the ensuing diplomatic tension in Europe provided him with very interesting material. War broke out between Russia and Turkey in the autumn of 1853 and developed into the Crimean War when Britain, France and Sardinia entered the hostilities in early 1854. A few bourgeois papers were prepared to print articles on military-political, strategic and tactical questions that were related to the course the war was running on the Danube, in the Crimea and on the Baltic even though the views there expressed did not always coincide with their own.

Engels turned this opening to good use. Certainly he did not overlook the fact that the Party could profit only indirectly from his military writings for the time being, but both he and Marx thought it imperative that the Communists' views on the events of the war be put before the already political-minded workers and all other progressives in the name of revolutionary democracy, and that every available opportunity be used to this end.

Throughout the fifties and the sixties Engels kept an alert eye on the chain of numerous wars that started with the Crimean War and ended with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. In quick succession he wrote a large number of articles on both their various histories and military developments for the *New York Daily Tribune*, the *Neue Oder Zeitung* in Breslau and, in later years, for the London weekly *Das Volk* of which Marx was also the editor for a while. He fathomed the complicated interrelationships of diplomacy and warfare, strategy and tactics, weapons technology and forms of action, and was ever in a stimulating exchange of ideas with Marx in the process. His writings proved him to be a proficient military writer. In the spring of 1854 he even applied for the post of military correspondent with the well-known *Daily News* in London. Although the attempt failed he never entirely abandoned the plan of becoming a military correspondent.

The broad range of subjects Engels covered in his newspaper

writing brought him face to face with the most important events that occurred in Europe, Asia and America. Thus, he penetrated more and more deeply into social and world-policy connections. To follow up contemporary wars and recognize fundamental changes in military affairs in good time was easier from Britain, the centre of the British Empire, than from elsewhere. The electric telegraph linked England up with many countries and the very generously financed bourgeois papers received and published day after day really news-worthy despatches. Nevertheless, Engels had to glean the facts he needed from an abundance of contradicting and incomplete data. Much acumen was required to interpret the course of an action correctly. There was more than one occasion when he had to console his readers with the prospects of in-coming despatches, or correct an opinion already formed because fresh news items arrived which read quite differently from previous releases. All this apart, Engels had to take into account the fact that the bourgeois papers practised class politics deliberately and therefore distorted or suppressed details, or even launched false news reports to rig the market.

The British press supplied a pertinent example when it carried sanctimoniously indignant reports about what it called the barbaric means of war of the Asians. By contrast, Engels ripped the mask off the cruel overseas wars the European Powers were conducting and vigorously defended the anti-colonial people's war. He stood up categorically for the right of every people to use every possible means–from guerilla warfare to terror–against the highly-developed war machine of its European colonial masters. He reasoned that the generally recognized rules of regular warfare simply did not apply in a people's war.

Engels' open partisanship for the oppressed colonial peoples' fight for independence, particularly the Indians' and the Chinese', was rooted in his realizing that national liberation movements against colonial rulers also support the revolutionary movement in Europe. He was well aware that a people who is oppressed, or threatened by the colonial yoke, is hardly in a position to defeat a modern army so long as it remains socially backward. Engels regarded the overthrow of the feudal regimes that existed in all the Asian countries and a joint struggle by the

industrial proletariat in the European "mother countries" and the oppressed peoples in the East against their common enemy, the bourgeoisie, as being the most important precondition for the insurgent peoples fighting successfully for their independence.

Engels also studied military history from the mid-fifties onward. He had written a series of articles on the European armies and their military strength for an American periodical, *Putnam's Monthly*, in the summer of 1855. Engels used this opening for a well-knit exposition of the methodological questions of writing a materialist military history. Also, he investigated the social dependency of warfare and military affairs.

In 1857, and again together with Marx, Engels embarked on a series of articles on military matters and a set of biographical and geographical entries for the *New American Cyclopaedia* Charles Dana was then editing in New York. Engels referred to Dana's offer somewhat carelessly as a "regular occupation for my evenings"[60] when Marx told him about it, but he quickly realized what a valuable piece of work it would be if he used it to round off his knowledge of military matters. Engels contributed well over 60 entries. What he had to say under the catch words Army, Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry, and in other entries besides, is particularly outstanding for the wealth of ideas he presented. Engels analysed the historical development of the armed forces and in many important respects corrected the history that had been handed down to his generation. He presented a convincing outline of how the dialectics of class struggle and the emergence of new weapons had always influenced military organization and warfare. The material accessible to Engels in Manchester was frequently inadequate and so Marx collated the data necessary for many of the articles at the British Museum at Engels' request, or made excerpts from the subject literature there available. Then there were other entries that Marx and Engels worked up together. The correspondence they conducted to this end prompted Marx, who had already referred proudly to his "ministry of war at Manchester,"[61] also to include military history in his economic studies.

The inordinate amount of work Engels put into his military writing demanded a great deal of time, strength and endurance.

But he set about fulfilling his undertaking with such sedulous care that he neglected neither his political and other scientific interests nor his social commitments. Indeed, it was typical of Engels that he studied military theory objectively on the one hand, and always associated it closely with the other fields of learning he had mastered on the other. He acknowledged how useful this "encyclopedic course"[62] had been in February of 1858.

Engels took up riding again and also participated in large fox-hunts at this time. He told Marx, maybe slightly ironically, that he regarded his horsemanship as "the material basis of all my war studies".[63] When, in the late fifties, new revolutionary crises started to mature, Engels hoped that the hour had come when he might place his military knowledge in the service of the revolution. His hopes failed to materialize, but he nonetheless continued to pursue military developments with a watchful eye. Capitalist industry's penetration into military affairs and the new elements thus engendered in warfare aroused his lively interest.

Engels' name became known in the military world as the years went on even though he had published his military writings anonymously for a long time, and he himself came to be recognized as an authority. Bourgeois military gazettes like the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, Darmstadt, or *The Volunteer Journal*, Manchester, were more than willing to publish his articles. The highest praise for his achievements in military theory came from Marx. He and other comrades-in-struggle looked on him as the qualified military affairs expert of the proletarian Party. Writing to Ferdinand Lassalle in February of 1859, Marx remarked that "Engels has turned military matters into his special subject".[64] The "general staff" in Manchester joined in the further elaboration of the working class's revolutionary strategy and tactics as a far-sighted and appreciative adviser on all military questions.

Engels' military-theoretical findings are still as valuable in our time as they were to begin with even though war and military affairs have meanwhile taken on many a new characteristic trait. Engels was a past master at applying both the dialectical

method and historical materialism to military thinking. It was upon the foundation of his insights that V. I. Lenin built up the Socialist military science of the first workers' and peasants' state in the storms of the civil war and the wars of intervention that shook Soviet Russia after 1917.

Friends and Family

Widely as the politician's eye roved, manifold as the interests of the scientist were, boldly as the ideas of the theoretician outpaced the times of their conception–compared with the years that preceded and came after the fifties–Frederick Engels led a comparatively secluded life in Manchester. The main reasons for his seclusion were objective ones, rooted in his enforced exile, in the counter-revolution that triumphed virtually without let or hindrance on the continent. The comrades-in-arms of the revolution had scattered and some had even deserted the cause.

To this must be added the fact that Engels, no less than Marx, dissociated himself strictly from the petty bourgeois emigrants who had lost all sense of dignity, and were either giving themselves up to the fruitless pastime of playing at revolution or going around collecting money off which they then lived very

comfortably themselves. By 12 February of 1851, Engels was already writing to Marx: "One sees more and more that emigration is an institute where everyone who does not withdraw from it entirely and for whom the status of the independent writer (. . .) will not do must of necessity become a fool, an ass and a base villain."[65] He improved on this idea the next day: "At last we've got a chance again–the first in a long time–to show that we need no popularity (. . .). From now on we are responsible only for ourselves, and come the moment when the gentlemen need us we shall be in a position to dictate our own conditions. We shall at least have some peace until then. A certain loneliness too to be sure–*mon Dieu* (my God), I've already had my share of that here in Manchester these past three months and have grown accustomed to it."[66]

This "certain loneliness" was definitely not to be mistaken for self-isolation, let alone political retirement; on the other hand this passage from Engels' letter does not entirely hide his disappointment that Marx and he were now virtually on their own, surrounded by a hostile world and lack of understanding. However, he was wholly confident that the views they shared on the course of history would again be proved correct for all the world to see. He knew only too well that the exploiting classes could throw back, but never check in its law-governed development, a force like the labour movement which had been born of the bourgeois relations of production. Confidently he wrote to his friend: "They cannot expunge from history the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the *Manifesto* and *tutte quante* (all the rest), and all their howling won't help them either."[67]

This optimism is typical of the way Engels faced up to realities for all the vicissitudes and setbacks of everyday life. Letters show that it determined his relations with the friends who remained, the comrades-in-struggle of yesterday, and the newly-won companions. This optimistic attitude also made it easier for him to settle down in Manchester again even though he never really felt absolutely at home there.

He sent Ernst Dronke, fellow-combatant from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, a light-hearted "summary of the personal affairs" of the other one-time editors in 1851: "Freiligrath is (. . .) in

London and getting out a new volume of poetry. Weerth is in Hamburg and, like myself, writing business letters until the next scrimmage. (. . .) Red Wolff has gone through various phases of Irishism, dignified middle-class life, madness and other interesting conditions (. . .). Père (Father) Marx goes to the library every day and is multiplying his knowledge, and his family too, in an amazing way. Lastly, I'm drinking rum and water, swotting, and dabbling in twist and boredom."[68] There is no mention of two of the former editors in this letter: Wilhelm Wolff who had just arrived in London from Switzerland, and Heinrich Bürgers who was in the clutches of the Prussian police at the time.

Yet in time to come Engels was to be helped greatly by Wilhelm Wolff, and their friendship, to bear more easily the "forced labour of business life"[69] in Manchester. For after a number of abortive attempts at earning a living in London Wolff, who was jocularly known to his friends as Lupus, moved to Manchester in September of 1853. Engels and a good acquaintance of his, a German doctor called Louis Borchardt who also lived at Manchester, helped Wolff establish himself as a private tutor. He was a gifted teacher and gradually found so many pupils that he managed to make a livelihood for himself. Long afterwards, Engels wrote that for years Lupus was "the only likeminded companion I had in Manchester, no wonder that we saw each other practically every day, and that on these occasions I had the chance often enough of admiring his virtually instinctively correct appraisal of daily events."[70] What Engels appreciated especially in Wolff was his "unshakable strength of character, his absolute reliability which permitted of no doubts, his strict, unswerving sense of duty toward friend, foe and himself alike."[71]

Occasionally Engels had the pleasure of having Georg Weerth stay with him during his first years in Manchester. He deplored the business trips which repeatedly separated him from this friend of his for months and even years at a time. But they enjoyed the pleasure of their company all the more when they did come together. And what a wonderful story-teller Weerth was! "Although he may not be writing feuilleton articles now he's narrating them instead, and the listener has the additional ad-

vantage of his lively gestures, mimicry and roguish laughter."[72] And Weerth, who worked for a trade firm as a commercial traveller after 1850, had so much to tell! "He has seen, experienced and observed many things. Roamed through large parts of South, West and Central America. Ridden across the pampa on horseback. Climbed the Chimborazo. Stayed no less a time in California." And: "He'll be sailing for the tropics from here in eight days' time. To listen to him is very amusing."[73]

The man who writes so enthusiastically about his being together with Weerth is none other than Marx who had spent cheerful days in Weerth's company at the time of his long stay with Engels in the autumn of 1855. But this was destined to be his last meeting with the poetry-writing trader for Weerth never returned from that voyage to the West Indies: he died of a tropical fever in Havana on 30 July of 1856.

The news of his death was a hard blow for Engels. He planned to honour his late friend by publishing an obituary in the press but was unable to persuade even a single German paper to carry an obituary notice. And so more than a quarter of a century went by before Engels was able to raise a lasting monument to the "first and *most significant* poet of the German people"[74] in an essay that appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat*.

The youngest of the erstwhile editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Ernst Dronke, had to begin with found a situation as a clerk in Bradford, not far from Manchester. He was an obliging fellow and a cheerful bottle-companion, but a little frivolous too. However, he gradually withdrew from political life as the years went by and then devoted himself entirely to business matters in Glasgow and Liverpool.

Toward the end of the fifties, Engels struck up a firm friendship with a German physician, Eduard Gumpert, and his family. The Gumperts lived in Manchester and Gumpert himself was Engels' family doctor. Marx, too, set great store by his medical advice. Engels was ever a welcome guest in Gumpert's home. Particularly the children loved him for his cheerful, humorous ways, and there was more than one occasion when he had to go to a pantomime with them during the Christmas season.

For Gumpert, Engels was not only a friend but the "great

Socialist"[75] too, the author of political and scientific articles and pamphlets which he read interestedly and then talked over with Engels. In his friendship with Eduard Gumpert we find yet another instance of Engels' profound humanitarianism and absolute reliability. Engels corresponded regularly with his friend and physician after he moved to London at the end of 1870. It was thus that he learned one day that Gumpert had a serious heart condition and would probably be unable to keep up his highly frequented practice. Engels offered to help at once. He disguised his offer of financial asisstance in his own, typically unobtrusive way by pretending that he owed Gumpert money and announcing his intention of paying off this debt. Gumpert was deeply moved for, as he wrote to Engels, the debt was quite out of the question, and he admired the "brilliant way in which you'd like to make me your present."[76] Engels' will testifies that he wanted Gumpert to be one of his executors when the time came, but he died two years before Engels.

Gumpert and other German acquainances introduced Engels to the Schiller Anstalt toward the end of the fifties. This club was founded in November of 1859 in Manchester as part of the festivities that marked the centenary of Schiller's birth. It stood in Cooper Street and was intended as a cultural club for the resident German community. Engels restricted himself to using the club libraries every now and again in the beginning. Later on, in 1864, he was elected member of the club's board of directors, and even became president of the Schiller Anstalt soon afterwards.

Close political and personal ties bound Engels with Ernest Jones whose acquaintance he had already made prior to the revolution. He and George Julian Harney headed the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement during the late forties and the early fifties. Marx and particularly Engels were ever in touch with Jones–be it at a debate in which they all took part, or by attending Chartist meetings, or through the contributions they wrote for the journals Jones edited, and as a result he became a follower and propagandist of scientific Communism in the British labour movement. He was very popular with the class-conscious British workers. Jones died in 1869, only 50 years old,

and Engels broke the news of his death to Marx by writing: "That's another of the veterans gone!"[77] To which Marx replied: "Naturally the news about E. Jones wrought deep dismay in our household since he" was "one of the few old friends".[78]

Typical of the relations Engels had with his friends and like-minded companions was that he felt fully responsible for them and was always ready to lend a helping hand once they had gained his confidence and won his heart. The most convincing example of this is his relationship with Marx's family. To speak of what is generally understood by friendship would be utterly inadequate in this case. Engels was one of the family. He felt for his friend's children what he would have felt for his own, and all three of them–Jenny, Laura and Eleanor–loved him as a second father. Marx had to report in minute detail if one of the girls fell even slightly ill, and there were times when Engels became so alarmed that Marx had to make haste to calm his friend down again. Engels thought up one thing after another to add a little charm to the childhood and adolescence of these three girls who suffered so many privations.

From infancy onward Marx's daughters were used to the postman delivering a regular succession of letters from Manchester. What these letters meant to Marx was later described by his youngest daughter Eleanor: "I can still remember how Mohr, as my Father was called at home, frequently spoke to the letters as if the writer were present: 'No, it's not quite like that, or 'You're right there,' etc. etc. But what I remember best of all is that Mohr sometimes laughed so over Engels' letters that his cheeks were bathed in tears."[79]

Engels took a few days off from work to go up to London whenever business and his purse permitted. Seeing Engels was always as good as a feast for Marx and his family. Paul Lafargue, Marx's future son-in-law, describes the scene thus: "The coming visit was a topic of conversation for days in advance and on the day of his arrival, Marx was so impatient that he could not work. At length came the hour of reunion, and then the two friends would spend the whole night together, smoking and drinking, and talking of all that had happened since their last meeting."[80] Engels also met up with many a fellow-combatant from the day

of the revolution or from Communist League times on these occasions. For instance, with Ferdinand Freiligrath who was working in London as a bank employee, or Wilhelm Liebknecht who stopped off at Marx's house nearly every day. But these get-togethers were few and far between because a trip to London could only be arranged about once or twice a year.

It was, therefore, all the more important for Engels that he had someone very near and dear to him in Manchester: his Mary. She was everything to him: the lover who fascinated him ever anew, the faithful companion with whom he found peace and refuge, the exuberant comrade with whom he was united by shared aims and strivings. Mary Burns had introduced him to the life of Manchester, had shown him all its horrors and humiliations, and he was united with Mary by a passionate partisanship for the people of Ireland whom the ruling classes of England held in subjugation. When he went to the Emerald Isle with her for the first time in 1856 he realized that "the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies." Also: that "the ways and means by which England rules this country" consisted of "repression and corruption".[81]

Engels' love of Mary Burns also engendered a feeling of responsibility for her family. He not only provided for Mary's sister Lydia (Lizzy or Lizzie) with whom Mary had set up house together, but also lavished his unselfish care on other members of the Burns family. Some were living in direct poverty and he enabled them to emigrate to America. He took into his own home a niece of Mary's and Lydia's, Mary Ellen Burns, nicknamed Pumps, in the mid-sixties, provided her with a good education and always treated her as his own child in spite of the disappointments she brought him.

The happiness Engels found with Mary and the affectionate ties that bound him to Marx's family let him mind less about being separated from his own family. Relations with his father and brothers improved as the years went by. Engels senior came to Manchester several times to see whether everything was in order and to confer with his partner Gottfried Ermen on the further expansion of the business. But although he sometimes stayed with his son on these occasions, the correspondence that

has been preserved clearly indicates that they were on terms which were correct rather than affectionate.

Relations between mother and son, on the other hand, were very close. True that Elisabeth Engels was never able to appreciate her eldest's political views; certainly much in his way of life went against her hopes and ideas, but she never doubted his integrity or the probity of his strivings, and her letters show that she always loved and implicitly trusted him. She met her eldest son whenever it could be arranged: when she spent a summer holiday at Ostend in Belgium, or when she went to stay with her daughter Marie who lived in London with her husband Merchant Emil Blank during the first half of the fifties. Engels accompanied his mother to the City on these occasions, showed her the sights of London, and spent many an hour with her that was so carefree and gay that she was forced to admonish him, more in jest than in earnest: "Please don't drink too much beer and port-wine so that I won't find you later with a red English nose."[92]

Elisabeth Engels accompanied her husband to Manchester when he inspected the business in the summer of 1859. Afterwards, Frederick and his parents toured Scotland together for several weeks. It was the last time he ever saw his father.

The Labour Movement Rearoused

The late summer of 1857 brought an event which Engels and likewise Marx had long predicted and awaited impatiently: an international economic crisis rocked the pillars of the capitalist system which had experienced an unprecedented world economic upswing during the preceding decades. The more the rates of exchange dropped, the gloomier the entrepreneurs became, the more cheerful Engels grew. "The knaves are ready to burst with vexation at my suddenly and oddly improved frame of mind," he told Marx and added: "I'm a different chap altogether. I've already got the feeling that this crisis is going to be just what the doctor ordered."[93]

Just as Engels had foreseen, the economic crisis furnished the impetus for a general political revival. The era of reaction drew to its close in Europe. The upsurge of the democratic mass

movement opened up fresh revolutionary prospects for the working class as well. The problems which the bourgeois revolution had failed to resolve pushed themselves to the fore again in a number of European countries. The urgency of forming a unified bourgeois nation-state grew in the same proportion as capitalism developed in Germany and Italy. Engels was especially interested to note that peasant revolts were becoming increasingly frequent in Czarist Russia where the revolutionary-democratic movement was gaining strength. In France, the popular masses grew more and more dissatisfied with the dictatorship of Napoleon III, and the workers started to reorganize themselves. The British trade unions re-launched their agitation for universal suffrage. And in Germany a growing occurrence of strikes and worker demonstrations announced the reawakening of the labour movement.

The commencing revolutionary upswing moved Engels to pursue his military studies with doubled energy, whilst Marx in London worked day and night to bring his economic researches to a stage where they might be concluded for the present. Again Engels urged his friend to publish his new findings quickly, and assisted him in many ways to this end. And Engels was no less happy than his friend when, in June of 1859, the first outcome of Marx's economic studies appeared in print in Berlin: *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Part One.*

With this book, Marx laid the foundation-stone for the scientific explanation of the essence of capitalist exploitation. He furnished irrefutable proof of the fact that commodity and value are no eternally valid phenomena, but historically transient. The most important discovery Marx made was that a commodity has a use-value on the one hand, i. e., the sum total of all the useful properties inherent in a thing which serves to satisfy some human need, and a value on the other, i. e., the crystallized social labour embodied in it. Proving this dual character of commodity-producing labour paved the way to solving a large number of other complicated problems of political economy, and laid the ground-work for the classic presentation Marx later gave in *Capital* of his economic doctrine. The introduction Marx wrote for his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

is the now famous *Preface* where he presented to the public for the first time a concise and systematically arranged synopsis of the principal theses of the materialist conception of history. The basic ideas he so presented were the ones he had evolved together with Engels 14 years previously in their unpublished manuscript of *German Ideology.*

Engels was full of praise for his friend's scientific work and reviewed it in *Das Volk*, London, in August of 1859. He appreciated the revolutionary transformation Marx had introduced in the sphere of political economy with his book in this review, explained the characteristics of Marx's scientific method, which was based on dialectical materialism, and underlined the outstanding significance of Marx's discoveries for science in general and the theory and practice of the revolutionary labour movement in particular.

France and Italy went to war against Austria that year in connection with the Italian people's struggle to establish national unity and independence. This war lent a strong impetus to the national and democratic movements all over Europe, and especially in Germany. In this complicated political situation, Engels took on the job of publicly presenting the stance the proletarian revolutionaries took on this conflict and on the question of the unification of Germany.

Marx and Engels made a thorough analysis of the situation in Europe, and of the economic, social and political conditions which obtained in Germany, and concluded that there were only two ways of bringing about the unification of Germany: either by means of a revolutionary popular movement which would have to target its efforts against feudal reaction and its stays at home and abroad, or by dynastic means under the hegemony of reactionary and militaristic Prussia. Only the first way, however, could meet the real interests of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the progressive middle-class forces. With the help of a popular revolution this way could lead to a unified democratic republic.

Hence, the prime yardstick by which Engels assessed the events of the Italian war was whether or not they could bring about the speediest and most comprehensive upswing possible

of the democratic popular movement in Germany and so alleviate the development of the labour movement and the emergence of an independent working-class Party. For the unification of Germany by revolutionary means depended first and foremost now on whether the working class made a political stand of its own. To act with political directness along Party lines, as a Communist, was, however, impossible in Germany, and so Engels used his analysis of the military-strategic conditions, which he later supplemented with newspaper articles on the course of the war, to present his political orientation for the patriotic and democratic forces. Engels' writing appeared as a pamphlet he entitled *Po und Rhein* (Po and Rhine) in an issue of one thousand copies in April of 1859. It was printed anonymously on Marx's advice to ensure its legal distribution.

Entirely at one with Marx, who thought it imperative that it be stated that "we definitely do not identify our cause with that of the present German governments,"[84] Engels began his brochure by destroying the Hapsburg legend which alleged that northern Italy needed to remain under Austrian rule because the Rhine could only be defended on the Po. He proved convincingly that only an independent Italy lay in Germany's interest. "So instead of seeking our strength in the possession of foreign land and in the oppression of a foreign nationality, (...) we would do better to see to it that we *are at one and strong in our own home*."[85]

He opposed Napoleon III's interference just as decisively as he rejected Austria's policy of suppression toward Italy, and demonstrated that the Bonapartist Empire was stretching out its hands to seize Italian provinces under the pretext of supporting the Italian fight for independence, and at the same time laying claim to Germany's cis-Rhenish territories with the help of a theory that purported the "natural frontiers" of France. Engels said that in view of this threat, the German governments, spearheaded by the Governments of Prussia, should resolutely confront Napoleon III's lust for annexation at Austria's side. He hoped that a war against Czarist Russia, which was allied with Bonapartist France, would unleash a broad revolutionary popular movement in Germany that would

be able to sweep away the governments of Prussia and Austria and unite the whole of Germany on a bourgeois-democratic foundation. Engels explained his tactical line thus: "All the existing Powers must ruin themselves and the Parties all destroy themselves one after another in such a crisis, (...) the moment must arrive when only the most relentless, most determined Party is in a position to save the nation."[86]

Engels sent the completed manuscript to Marx who wholly endorsed it: "Perused; exceedingly clever," he replied, "and what was damned hard, the political dealt with splendidly as well."[87] The appearance of the pamphlet created something of a stir. The most important military journal in Germany, the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, and other newspapers carried positive reviews.

Marx and Engels thought it imperative to find new openings for spreading their ideas in this turbulent situation. Contributing to the *New York Daily Tribune* was obviously no longer enough since, as Marx wrote to Lassalle in March of 1859, "times have changed and I think it essential now that our Party take up a position wherever it can, even if it should only be for the present, so that others do not seize the ground".[88] Above all, Marx and Engels were looking for a direct path to their readers in Europe. Thus, Marx agreed to contribute to *Die Presse*, a Viennese bourgeois-liberal paper. At the same time he and Engels left no stone unturned to get an organ of their own where they might present their views without let or hindrance. Their chance came in the shape of a weekly gazette German refugee workers had set up in London: *Das Volk*. In effect, Marx became the paper's editor and Engels supported its publication by contributing money and a number of important articles which primarily covered the various aspects of the Italian War.

Engels wrote another pamphlet, *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein* (Savoy, Nice and the Rhine) in early 1860—a continuation so to speak of his *Po und Rhein*, and another perfect example of how to investigate complicated international problems from the standpoint of scientific Communism. In this writing he explained once more to his readers why the reactionary policy the

ruling classes were practising under the pretext of defending national interests was incompatible with the true national interests of the Italian and German peoples. Engels demonstrated that when the proletariat assesses the tasks a national struggle sets it also needs to set out from its own class interests and from the position of proletarian internationalism. From this it followed that even after the Italian War there could be just one practicable way both in Germany and Italy to creating a bourgeois nation-state, and that this way could only consist in orienting the revolutionary-democratic masses toward the fight against the reactionary dynasties of Europe who were headed by Bonapartist France and Czarist Russia. Engels underlined the significance of the revolutionary situation in Russia in this context, and welcomed as the allies of the European proletariat the Russian peasants who were rising in revolt against the Czar's rule.

These elucidations also constituted a thrust against the political conception Ferdinand Lassalle had set out in his *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens* by advocating that Prussia use Austria's conflict with Italy and France to place herself at the head of the rest of Germany and unite the country under her hegemony. If the Prussian Government took on this task, wrote Lassalle, "German democracy would even carry Prussia's banner and knock to the ground all the obstacles in her path."[89] So whereas Engels called on the peoples of Germany and Italy to take into their hands the job of establishing the bourgeois nation-state, Lassalle aroused the ruinous illusion of the Prussian Junker state's "national mission" with the democratic forces.

The appearance of Marx and Engels with a revolutionary programme for the creation of a bourgeois German nation-state called all the opponents of a democratic unification of Germany on to the scene. Napoleon III had erstwhile petty bourgeois democrat Karl Vogt circulate vicious slander about Marx and the Communists which the Prussian press made haste to hawk out to its readers. Marx found himself obliged to write a polemic treatise he entitled *Herr Vogt* to repel these anti-Communist slanders and so frustrate the attempt to isolate the Communist from the resurgent popular movement. Engels assisted his friend to the best of his ability in the execution of this important project. He sifted the material on the history of the Communist League he had in his possession and talked the concept of the pamphlet over with Marx. Also, at Marx's request, he wrote several smaller contributions on the military-strategic significance of a number of European territories which were dealt with in the book. Engels was quite explicit in saying that one of the merits of this treatise was that "we can set forth an exposition of our policy on Italy which (...) will give us the advantage, although not with the Berlin liberal, but in the major part of Germany, that we are representing the popular, national side."[90] Engels congratulated Marx after having read the completed book: "It surely is the best polemic treatise you have written to date."[91]

These growing political activities probably helped Engels to get over several misfortunes more quickly which all occurred during the early sixties. The news of his father's death brought him to Barmen in March of 1860. He had not been back home since the 1848–49 Revolution, and now he reported back to Marx how astounded he was at industry's prodigious advance on the Rhine on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie's political backwardness on the other. He had to return to Barmen only a few weeks later: his dearly beloved mother had fallen perilously ill.

To these worries came the brothers' quarrels about their father's estate. In the end Engels disclaimed his rights to the patrimonial enterprise at Engelskirchen, for "not for anything in the world" did he want to "conduce even the slightest bit"[92] to souring his mother's declining years with domestic discord. "I can get a hundred other businesses, but a mother never again."[93]

Engels suffered a grievous blow when Mary Burns, his faithful companion-for-life, died suddenly of a heart condition at the beginning of 1863. Deeply shaken, he wrote to Marx: "I can't begin to tell you what I'm feeling like. The poor girl loved me with all her heart."[94] Marx referred only in passing to Mary's death–and this more than anything else indicates plainly the state of desperate poverty he found himself in at

the time–and then went on to describe "horribly egotistically"[95] the oppressive wretchedness in which he and his family were living. Marx's "callous attitude"[96] to his misfortune affronted Engels who made no secret of his disappointment in his return letter. But he also made several suggestions as to how Marx might be helped. Marx answered at once. He admitted frankly in an effort at tactful reconciliation that he had done wrong, and described the "desperate circumstances"[97] in which he had written the letter. These heartfelt words reconciled Engels immediately: "It is impossible to live with a girl for years without being deeply affected by her death. With her I felt that I was burying the last bit of my youth. When your letter came she was not yet in her grave. I can tell you that I thought about your letter for a week. I could not forget it. Never mind–your last letter puts things right again and I am glad that when I lost Mary I did not at the same time lose my oldest and best friend."[98]

A little over a year later Marx and Engels lost another of their dearest friends: their loyal old comrade-in-struggle Wilhelm Wolff died in May of 1864 at the age of not even 55. He had never spared himself in the turbulent life that is the lot of a proletarian revolutionary and, as Engels mourned, had hastened on his death through his grim devotion to his professional duty. The loss was particularly hard for Engels to bear since Wilhelm Wolff had come to be his closest companion during the years they spent together in Manchester.

The early 1860s also provided the setting for two political events that attracted Marx's and Engels' lively attention: the Civil War in the United States of America and the Polish uprising.

1861 saw the outbreak of a Civil War in the United States that raged between the northern states, which were developing on the basis of a capitalist economy, and the slave-owning states of the south. Engels, as did Marx, held that the American Anti-Slavery War would sound the tocsin for the European proletariat just as the American War of Independence had initiated a new era of ascendancy for the European middle classes during the latter third of the 18th century. Engels wrote a series

of articles where he analysed at length the course the military hostilities were running. He was quick to realize that the "American Civil War presents a spectacle without parallel in the annals of military history."[99] In his eyes, the forms and course of the military operations were entirely new to the European spectator, not least because of the stormy development of weapons technology.

What gripped Engels most of all, however, was the political prospects this war offered. He called on the northern states to wage the war in a revolutionary fashion and involve the popular masses in a greater degree. He regarded the abolition of slavery as the pivotal point of the entire war. Engels stressed that the fight to free the Negro was an innate working-class concern and that so long as black workers were still shamefully branded as slaves white workers could not be free either. He therefore welcomed with a particular sense of satisfaction the mighty actions the English and Irish proletariat launched to frustrate the British Government's plan of joining the American Civil War on the side of the Confederate states. He was able to appreciate all the more highly the English and Irish workers' selfless and courageous attitude for he lived in the centre of Britain's textile industry and saw daily the terrible sufferings the cotton crisis and mass unemployment, the results of the Civil War, burdened on to the workers in their hundreds and thousands.

And just as Engels had fully endorsed the British workers' successful stand against that threatening war of intervention, so he supported with all his might the insurrection of the Polish people when they rose up in revolt against the Czarist regime in early 1863. He looked upon the restoration of a free, independent Poland as being an important precondition for the weakening of Czarism's reactionary influence in Europe and the unfolding of the democratic movements in Prussia, Austria and Russia herself. Marx and Engels discussed the whole issue, and Marx subsequently drew up for the Workers' Educational Association in London an appeal for solidarity with the Polish patriots. In Manchester, Engels organized a collection for the Polish revolutionaries. In addition, he planned to write in collaboration with Marx a pamphlet he intended to call *Deutschland und*

Polen (Germany and Poland). It was to be based on a wealth of historical material and explain the disgraceful policy of oppression Prussia and Russia practised toward the people of Poland, and the support they were receiving from the Western European Powers in the process. Engels intended to write the military part of the pamphlet and Marx the diplomatic section. But the project never materialized, their copious preliminaries notwithstanding. The uprising was crushed, and from its defeat Engels drew the conclusion that only a close alliance with the revolutionary movement in Europe could help the national liberation struggle of the Polish people to success.

Political resurgence in the economically advanced countries was paralleled by a growing political consciousness in the working class. The proletarian movement started to separate itself gradually from those of the bourgeois liberals and the bourgeois democrats, and take once more the path of independent struggle. Marx and Engels had helped decisively to bring this about by their systematic contributions in the progressive press, their unflagging efforts to spread the revolutionary proletarian world outlook, and their clear political orientation.

In Germany, the striving of the progressive sections of the working class to free themselves of the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie and form their own class organization expressed itself in May of 1863 in the establishment of the General Association of German Workers. Ferdinand Lassalle was elected its president. In so far as he helped the advanced German workers to separate themselves from the bourgeoisie once more both politically and by organization, Lassalle took historic merit to himself. Engels welcomed the fact that after years of starkest reaction a working-class organization had re-emerged in Germany which was independent of the bourgeoisie, and that there was "in this way won a position again for anti-bourgeois matters".[108]

But he watched Lassalle's political activity with great concern. On the banner of the General Association of German Workers Lassalle inscribed not the destruction of the exploiters' state, but the reformation of the Prussian Junker state. This reformation was to be carried out through the introduction of

universal suffrage and, with the state's assistance, the foundation of production co-operatives. This programme could never give the labour movement a revolutionary perspective. Rather, it spread the pernicious illusion that the working class could grow peacefully into Socialism without either class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What Engels disapproved of most of all with Lassalle was that he aimed his attacks more and more one-sidedly at the leftist-liberal Progress Party which was fighting the Prussian Government, and that he showed signs of being prepared to come to terms with the principal enemy of the German working class and the whole of the German people: the Prussian military state. Although Engels had no means of knowing at the time that contacts had indeed already been established between Lassalle and Prussia's Prime Minister Bismarck, he wrote in an outraged letter to Marx: "The fellow's simply working in Bismarck's service now."[109]

Much as Engels had to object to Lassalle's political activity, he agreed with Marx that they would not come out against him in public for the time being. But they repeatedly pointed out to their friends in Germany all the more clearly Lassalle's incorrect theoretical opinions, condemned his fatal political tactics, and explained the principles of a truly revolutionary working-class policy that had already been laid down in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Chapter VI

1864–1870

Birth of the International

I'm planning to sail for Hamburg from Hull next Thursday, 8 September, or on Saturday the 10th, and look over our new property in Slesvig and Holstein a little and, provided there are no passport difficulties, also to go from Lübeck to Copenhagen! I won't be back before the end of September,"[1] Engels wrote to Marx venturesomely at the beginning of September 1864. And although he had to alter some of his itinerary he only returned from his extended tour of Slesvig-Holstein in October.

It was an occupied country that Engels traversed: occupied by the Prussian and Austrian troops who a few months before had beaten the far weaker Danish army and forced the King of Denmark into an armistice and a preliminary peace treaty. This was the outcome of the first of the three wars with which

Bismarck pushed through Prussia's predominance over Germany. In February of 1864, soon after the outbreak of hostilities, Engels had already spoken out in the press as a military writer. Now he wanted to make a fact-finding tour of the country, review its political situation and the morale of the occupation forces. Also, he planned to continue on the spot the studies of Friesic, Jutlandish and Scandinavian philology and archaeology he had already embarked on in Manchester.

The country and its inhabitants–including the "colossal Friesic women with their clear red and white complexion"[2]–made the best of impressions on Engels; the Prussian army, however, very contradicting ones. The open-mindedness of many of the artillery and engineer corps officers who came from middle-class homes never deceived him into thinking that the notorious spirit of drill-discipline had stopped pervading the army.

Marx surprised him with a very important piece of news when he arrived back in Manchester. His letter covered several pages and included an account of the events that had occurred over the past weeks:

"Some time ago the London workers had sent an address about Poland to the Paris workers and summoned them to joint action in this matter.

"A public meeting was called in St. Martin's Hall for September 28, 1864, (. . .). A certain *Le Lubez* was sent to ask me if I would take part on behalf of the German workers, and especially if I would supply a German worker to speak at the meeting, etc. I provided them with Eccarius, who made a creditable showing, and was also present myself as a mute figure on the platform. 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. (. . .)

"At the meeting, which was packed *to suffocation* (for a revival of the working classes is now evidently taking place), (. . .) it was decided to found a 'Workingmen's International Association', the General Council of which should have its seat in London and should act as an 'intermediary' between

the workers' societies in Germany, Italy, France and England. A Provisional Committee was appointed at the meeting: Odger, Cremer and many others, some of them old Chartists, old Owenites, etc. for England; Major Wolff, Fontana and other Italians for Italy; Le Lubez, etc., for France; Eccarius and I for Germany. The Committee was empowered to co-opt as many members as it chose. So far so good. I attended the first meeting of the Committee. *A Subcommittee* (including myself) was appointed to draft a declaration of principles and provisional rules."[3]

That meeting of 28 September 1864 about which Marx reports back to his friend in his letter so briefly, albeit with obvious satisfaction, was the natal hour of the International Working Men's Association, the organization that was to enter the annals of history as the first international revolutionary mass organization of the proletariat, the organization that was subsequently called the First International. The moment was an historic one, and one that Marx and Engels had long yearned for. They had never lost their confidence, or stopped believing that the proletariat would reawaken to political activity. With all the abilities and means they had at their disposal, and primarily through their theoretical work, had they prepared this "revival of the working classes".

Engels was very satisfied: "It's a good thing (. . .) that we're coming into contact again with people who at least represent their class. And that's the main thing in the end," he wrote back to Marx, and then went on to analyse Marx's full account of the various groupings that went to make up the General Council: "Incidentally, I've got the suspicion that as soon as the issues are defined more accurately this new Association will very shortly be splitting up into the theoretically bourgeois elements and the theoretically proletarian ones."[4]

And at the beginning the various organizations and representatives of the international labour movement who had attached themselves to the Association were indeed by no means of one ideological and organizing mould. The consciousness of only a very few was already rooted in scientific Communism. Most of them subscribed to petty bourgeois

Socialist opinions, and not a few still laboured under an entirely bourgeois ideology.

First of all there were the trade unions in England. The leaders of what was then the biggest labour organization in the world strove not to overthrow capitalism, but were content to try and improve the social condition of the workers and extend their political rights within the capitalist society. In France, on the other hand, Proudhonism swayed the majority of the working-class organizations, whilst others still had absolute confidence in the teachings of Louis-Auguste Blanqui. While the Proudhonists rejected both the fight for working-class political rule and the trade unions' economic struggle and dreamed of a world where the workers would be small commodity-producers, the Blanquists championed putschist tendencies, had no regard for economic struggle, and thought that they could break the power of capitalism with a handful of death-defying revolutionaries. Things were different again in Italy where the working class was still very small in number and for the present wholly in the tow of bourgeois democrat Giuseppe Mazzini, a revolutionary who rejected the proletarian class struggle and wanted to win the workers exclusively for the job of completing the national unification of Italy. Lastly, in Germany, there existed an independent proletarian class organization, the General Association of German Workers, but its Lassallean ideology prevented it from standing up consistently for the social and national class interests of the German workers. On the other hand, the organizations amalgamated in the League of German Workers' Unions were still entirely under the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Drafting a uniform programme for all these labour organizations that differed so vastly with regard to both their political standpoints and the stage they had respectively reached in their theoretical development was an extremely complicated task. On 4 November of 1864, Marx wrote to Engels: "It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. (. . .) It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be

necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* (strong in the matter, moderate in the form). As soon as the stuff is printed, you will get it."[5]

Engels replied by return post: "I'm eager to see the address to the workers. It must be a regular feat after what you've told me about these people."[6] He received "the stuff", the *Inaugural Address* and the provisional rules of the International Working Men's Association, on 25 November. In these foundation documents of the International Marx had made a masterly job of putting the principles of scientific Communism into a form appropriate to the level then reached by the labour movement, acceptable to all of its extremely manifold trends, and yet at the same time unequivocally proclaiming the revolutionary objective of the proletariat: "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."[7] Marx rated the revival of the proletarian movement at the beginning of the 1860s as the first step along the road to this goal. He pointed to the way the working class had grown in number in the advanced countries, but immediately added: "... but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge."[8] 'By combination' spelled a unified workers' organization on both the national and the international plane. Knowledge meant cognizance of the laws of social development and putting these laws to use, meant making one's own the scientific doctrine of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Guided by scientific Communism, the working-class Party is such a political organization of the proletariat.

The Inaugural Address closed with the battle-cry: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"[9] This closing line symbolized its close link with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, its continuation of the traditions of the Communist League.

Also, when Engels read the provisional rules he found that they, too, contained the fundamental ideas which had been set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx had laid down quite clearly in them:

"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 subjection of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

"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."[10]

Evidence of the fact that the workers of one country are powerless without the solidarity of the workers of other countries, that the proletariat of all lands has common interests and goals, and that therefore all the successes of the international labour movement and its several national sections depend on proletarian internationalism being strictly observed ran through both documents–the *Inaugural Address* and the provisional rules–like an unbroken thread. These principles were in keeping with both scientific knowledge and the proletariat's experiences. The century that has passed since their elaboration has seen them confirmed time and again by social practice.

A tense Engels eagerly pursued the first measures of the Association, the way the various workers' organizations reacted to the founding of the International, the establishment of organization-to-organization contacts, and its increasing publicity. He knew beyond all doubt that the progress the organization made depended now in a decisive degree on how quickly and intensively the scientific knowledge of class struggle that had been expounded in the *Communist Manifesto*, the *Inaugural Address* and the provisional rules would carry the day in the International. This, in its turn, depended largely on Marx's position in the new organization, on the influence he would be able to exercise there.

It soon became obvious that Marx, although not formally at the helm of the General Council, whose President and Secretary General were usually British labour leaders, was "the soul of this as of all subsequent General Councils".[11] He drew

up almost every one of the programmatic documents the International issued–both those the General Council passed and those declared binding decisions by the Association congresses. "To describe Marx's activity in the International," Engels wrote in later years, "is to write the history of this Association."[12]

How greatly did Engels regret his not being able to stand and fight personally side by side with Marx in this situation! It worried him to see Marx's activities in the International taking up such a large part of his working time that his friend was being forced more and more to work at night on *Capital*, his great economic work. Inevitably this also further delayed the appearance of the book. On the other hand, Engels fully understood that Marx could not sit at his desk in times like these. Placed in the same position, he himself would not have had a moment's hesitation to do likewise.

And so he did all he could to help Marx. This was not easy since in most cases his assistance could of necessity be only indirect by nature. Engels did not serve on the General Council, nor could he so long as he lived in Manchester, for the General Council had at Marx's instance decided on 8 November of 1864 only to co-opt such persons as could regularly attend its meetings. The object of this measure was to ensure that the General Council remained a really viable body and did not turn into a merely representative organ.

It goes without saying that Engels joined the International Working Men's Association. He had, however, become a partner in the firm of *Ermen & Engels* in the meantime and so was unable to come forward publicly as an Association member. All the more important, therefore, was the support he gave Marx as his adviser and as a publicist.

Marx briefed Engels about every important event that took place in the General Council and sent him a substantial proportion of the documents for his considered opinion. It was thus that Engels shared actively in the International's development problems, influenced Marx's tactics with his recommendations, and supported the General Council's efforts to get out a paper of its own and refill its ever-empty coffers. By

March of 1865 a delighted Engels was already to write and tell his old comrade-in-struggle Joseph Weydemeyer: "The International Association in London is progressing splendidly. Especially in Paris, but no less so in London. It is doing well in Switzerland and Italy, too. Only the German Lassalleans refuse to bite (. . .). We are getting letters and offers, however, from all over Germany; things have taken a definite turn, and the rest will follow."[93]

There was nothing fortuitous about this pronounced reference to the reawakening of the labour movement in Germany. Marx had participated in the founding of the International as the representative of the German workers. Shortly afterwards he was elected the General Council's Corresponding Secretary for Germany–an office he was then entrusted with for year after successive year. That he be able to lean on the "real 'powers'" in the German working class was vital to his position in the General Council under these circumstances. True that the traditions of the Communist League had come unstuck in Germany, but numerous examples showed that they were not forgotten, and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Marx's and Engels' friend and pupil, had made a great effort to revive these revolutionary traditions as soon as he arrived back home in 1862.

Although Engels was basically justified in the optimism he showed in his letter to Weydemeyer, years were to pass before the organized German workers joined the International. This delay was not least caused by the opportunist policy of the General Association of German Workers.

The Fight against Lassalleanism

Engels heard of Lassalle's sudden death from Marx on 3 September of 1864, and still moved by the sad tidings he wrote to his friend in reply: "Whatever Lassalle may have been personally, or from the literary and scientific point of view, politically he was undoubtedly one of the most important fellows in Germany. For us he was at the moment a very uncertain friend, and in the future would have been a fairly certain enemy."[94]

Engels shared Marx's hopes that it would now be easier to get the members of the General Association of German Workers to abandon Lassalle's ideology and tactics, and to win them over to a revolutionary class policy. He therefore agreed to Marx's proposal of November 1864 that he join the correspondent staff of the *Social-Demokrat*, the General

Association of German Workers' paper which was edited by Johann Baptist von Schweitzer. "That we're getting an organ again is a very good thing", he told his friend, but went on to add: "However, we had probably better not show our eagerness."[15] This cautious approach proved to be only too right before long.

Engels trusted that the experiences the German workers had gained in class struggle would bring them to realize that Lassalle's one-front position against the liberal bourgeoisie and its party, the Progress Party, was playing into the Junkers' hands. He, and likewise Marx, therefore endeavoured also to promote and speed up this necessary process of cognition by working on the staff of the *Social-Demokrat*. This they did by sending critical recommendations directly to Schweitzer on the one hand and, on the other, by forwarding advice to Liebknecht who acted as their confidential agent in the paper's editorial office. Finally, they wrote special articles as well: "I am sending the chaps the little Danish folksong about the Tidman who is struck dead in the Thing (parliament) by the old man because he lays new taxes upon the peasants. This is revolutionary without being punishable and above all it is against the feudal aristocracy, and the paper *absolutely must come out* against them."[16] And in order to make unmistakably clear to the Lassallean workers the purpose he pursued with the publication of this folksong, Engels commented: "This meaty old ditty will be just the thing in a country like Germany where the propertied class is comprised of as much feudal aristocracy as bourgeoisie, and the proletariat of as many agricultural proletarians as industrial workers, or more."[17]

Schweitzer, however, carried on Lassalle's ruinous policy of coming to terms with Bismarck. He operated less conspicuously to be sure, but more thoroughly when all is said and done. "Another S. D. (Sau-Dreck) (a play on capital letters by Engels signifying a filthy piece of work–trans.) just arrived," jeered an outraged Engels in the letter he sent Marx when he received the *Social-Demokrat* of 8 February 1865. "What an insipid whining about the Party's position! No cut or thrust. Ever the little escape hatch to Bismarck open."[18]

And whilst Schweitzer used Marx's and Engels' names as contributors to the *Social-Demokrat* to take political merit to himself with the class-conscious workers, he simultaneously defamed the International Working Men's Association in his paper and worked behind Wilhelm Liebknecht's back. Hence, breaking with him became inevitable.

Engels agreed at once when Marx suggested a public statement against Schweitzer's horse-trade with Bismarck, and when their joint public renunciation of Schweitzer and his "Royal Prussian Government Socialism"[19] appeared in various German papers Engels confessed: "It's a load off my mind that the breach has at last been perfected with that crowd."[20]

Breaking off relations with Schweitzer drew a clear divide between revolutionary class politics and opportunist "realistic politics", between Marx and Engels on the one hand and the Lassalleans' "Bismarckery" on the other. But the job of explaining to the German workers the tasks incumbent upon a revolutionary working-class policy in the complicated situation of the sixties still remained. "In order (...) also to undertake something positive against the people jumbling us together with Bismarckery"[21] Engels wrote a pamphlet, *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party). This pamphlet was one of the writings that prepared both programmatically and ideologically the emergence of an independent, revolutionary working-class Party in Germany and at the same time furnished decisive recommendations for this Party's strategy and tactics.

The idea for the book came from Liebknecht and was vigorously seconded by Marx. Engels was immediately sympathetic and emphasized that he would "come out against the government–past and present–as much as against the Progressives".[22] He first planned just an article and, to begin with, still for *Social-Demokrat* publication. He embarked on the project at the end of January 1865, but on 5 February was already admitting to his friend: "I am afraid the thing will be so long that it will only do as a pamphlet."[23] And when he sent Marx the manuscript for his considered opinion on 9 February "the thing" really had assumed the proportions of a pamphlet.

Marx was satisfied with the piece. "The thing is good," he told Engels. "All polishing and perfecting would be nonsense now, even though the style is too careless now and then. To come in the nick of time is the main thing"[24], i. e., whilst the conflict lasted between the Royal Prussian Government and the bourgeois Progress Party. Nevertheless, Marx suggested a number of improvements the next day, but assured his friend in the same letter how very happy he was that "your hand is in again. It is natural for your way of working fast to come back to you automatically."[25]

In actual fact Engels had at the most had ten evenings in which to write this three-and-a-half-quired pamphlet. It was published by the *Otto Meissner Verlag*, Hamburg, at the end of February, and was the first of Engels' works to appear under his own name after his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.

Engels explained to the German proletariat the strategy and tactics it needed to follow to resolve in a revolutionary and democratic way the question that was pressing for solution in Germany: the creation of the bourgeois nation-state. He proceeded from the reorganization of the army the Prussian Government had been seeking to push through in the face of strong resistance from the liberal bourgeois opposition since 1859. Engels coolly weighed the balance of power that obtained between the classes and left no doubt open as to the actual objective behind this reorganization of the army: Bismarck wanted to have a modern army, efficiently equipped and effective in its fighting strength, to unite the other German states forcibly in a Germany that stood under Prussia's hegemony, and at the same time suppress the democratic movement which was gaining strength. Moreover, Engels pronounced an expert judgement on the actual requirements of a modern army organization and argued unequivocally against the petty bourgeois democrats' widespread pro-militia fanaticism.

All that the German working class and its organizations could do so long as they were unable to resist the Junkers' military policy effectively, said Engels, was "to let the military question proper go its own way, aware that the workers' Party" would

"also set up its own, *German* 'army organization' one day".[26] Thus Engels indicated the inevitable dawn of the day on which the German working class would have and use an army of its own as an instrument of its political rule–a prediction that has materialized in the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic.

Turning to Germany's unification into a nation-state, Engels stated that the working class's position had been traced out clearly ever since 1848: "For the full unfolding of its political activity the working class needs a bigger scope by far than afforded by the several states of disunited present-day Germany. Separatism will obstruct the proletariat in its movement, and its existence will never be justified or a matter of serious contemplation." Dealing with all the manifold reactionary plans for unification, Engels advised the German working class to explore them only in order that it might "sweep them clean away"[27] one day. This was indeed the language of the *17 Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* and of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*!

Engels paid priority attention to the political aspects of the army's reorganization in his pamphlet. He investigated the relationship of the proletariat with Prussia's two propertied classes: the Junkers and their government, and the liberal bourgeoisie which was demanding the decisive say in the supreme power. He demonstrated that in Germany the main contradiction prevailed between the Prussian Junkers on the one hand, and all the sections of the population who were interested in social progress on the other: the proletariat, the peasantry, the democratic petty bourgeoisie, and the middle classes too.

Engels explained why the Prussian military state was the cardinal enemy of a democratic solution of the national question, indeed of all democracy. This in itself was plainly a thrust against the policy of Schweitzer who saw the whole issue very one-sidedly and maintained that the antithesis between proletariat and bourgeoisie was the determining factor.

In this context, Engels also warned against over-estimating the universal suffrage Lassalle had extolled as the panacea. In

France, Napoleon Bonaparte had shown how easy it is for the ruling classes to misuse universal suffrage for reactionary purposes. Engels explained that universal suffrage can only become effective in the proletarian struggle for emancipation if the working class is led by a revolutionary Party and fights the exploiting classes with an independent policy. This, he said, would enable it to use universal suffrage as a means of democratic mass struggle against the ruling classes. So the proletariat ought only to "answer with the proud words of the Song of Hildebrand: 'Gifts shall one receive with the spear, point against point,'"[28] when feudal reaction made a few pseudo-concessions in order so to decoy the workers. This remark was meant for the Lassalleans and particularly for Schweitzer—a crushing verdict on his flirting with Bismarck.

But what position ought the working class to adopt toward the bourgeoisie? Writing his pamphlet in the middle of the last century, Engels thought that the German bourgeoisie could by all means still play a role that was positive in certain respects. The bourgeoisie's objective interest in carrying the capitalist mode of production through to success forced it to strive after political rule. But, said Engels, it cannot conquer political rule for itself without at the same time granting bourgeois democratic freedoms willy-nilly to the working class it needs for an ally in every serious confrontation with the feudal class. It follows that every victory over the feudal class is "also a victory for the workers in one direction, contributes toward the ultimate overthrow of capitalist rule" and brings "forward the time when the workers will be victorious over the bourgeoisie."[29]

But what if the bourgeoisie repeated its performance of 1848–49? What if it "were to hide behind the skirts of reaction" for fear of the workers and "request protection against the workers,"[30] asked Engels, and told his readers that "even then the workers' Party will have to go on agitating for bourgeois freedom, the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly and association the bourgeois betrayed, and in spite of the bourgeois. It itself cannot move freely without these freedoms; it is fighting for its own vital element in this fight, for the air it needs to be able to breathe."[31]

Engels' warning that the working class has to fight courageously and consistently to secure and extend bourgeois democracy in order that it may prepare for its own victory was of essential significance for the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and its Party, and has lost none of its immediacy today. The interrelationship of the fight for democracy and the fight for Socialism had already been a point of departure for Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and in their practical activity in the 1848 Revolution. They had always regarded the bourgeois revolution as a precondition for the proletarian revolution. It followed, therefore, that the working class had to fight for the consistent implementation of the bourgeois revolution without, however, looking on it as its ultimate goal. This dialectical-materialist mode of viewing the course of history differed fundamentally from Lassalle's and his successors' who at bottom were guided by an idealistic conception of history.

Engels used his analysis of the class relations that obtained in Germany in the sixties to demonstrate that the destiny of the German people depended on the fight for democracy now as before, indeed even more than before in view of the threat that hovered over democracy in the shape of Prussian militarism. Also, he proved that only the working class can act as the forward-driving element in this struggle. Engels enriched the teaching on the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution substantially with these concepts. In later years, V. I. Lenin further developed these ideas of the founders of scientific Communism into the working-class theory of revolution in the imperialist era. He proved that just one class is in a position to lead a joint action by all the democratic forces of a people in the monopoly stage of capitalism: the working class; and that the proletariat gets itself ready for the Socialist revolution in the fight for democracy.

The last one hundred years of history have proved these findings correct. They confirmed that the working class is the most consistent pioneer and advocate of democratic rights and freedoms, that it must leave no stone unturned to secure bourgeois democracy. In so doing, the working class creates the pre-

conditions it needs to seize power itself. History has also shown clearly that real democracy for all working people is feasible only under the conditions of working-class rule. The enemies of Socialism have never stopped trying to invent a contradiction between democracy and Socialism, and over a century's experience of class struggle has unmasked these attempts as both theoretical nonsense and counter-revolutionary policy. Particularly the modern revisionists are calling demagogically for more democracy under Socialism. Closer inspection, however, has always shown that this demand screens nothing less than an attempt to substitute bourgeois for Socialist democracy in order so to undermine the proletarian state power and, if possible, engineer its ultimate elimination.

Engels left his readers in no doubt as to the imperative precondition for the working class's only revolutionary strategy and tactics he had just expounded: an independent revolutionary class Party. He demanded of the German working class that it never function "as the mere tail of the bourgeoisie", but always "as a separate Party which definitely differs from it"–no matter whether it was driving the bourgeoisie on or had got into a position where it marched in the van of the bourgeois democratic revolution. "It will remind the bourgeoisie at every opportunity that the class interests of the workers are diametrically opposed to those of the capitalists, and that the workers are aware of it. It will maintain and continue to build up its own organization vis-à-vis the Party organization of the bourgeoisie, and deal with the latter only as one power with the other. It will thus secure for itself a position that commands respect, enlighten the individual workers as to their class interests, and stand prepared for action when the next revolutionary storm (...) breaks out."[2]

This was an entire programme, a guide-line for the policy of a revolutionary German workers' Party. With his directions, Engels had applied the general programme of the International Working Men's Association to the particular situation in Germany.

Bourgeois "Marxologists" have always had a predilection for claiming that Marx and Engels changed their minds about the

need for a proletarian class Party after the dissolution of the Communist League, and that the subsequent founding in Germany of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party took them by surprise. Hard facts–the unflagging efforts the founders of scientific Communism made to prepare and promote the foundation of national workers' Parties with the help of the International Working Men's Association–render "discoveries" of this sort absolutely absurd. From the mid-forties on, Marx and Engels adhered firmly to the knowledge that the proletariat must of necessity found a Party that is conscious of its own state and separate from all other Parties.

Engels and Marx asked good friends–Wilhelm Liebknecht, Engels' friend and relation Carl Siebel, and Ludwig Kugelmann M. D. amongst others–to arrange for the printing of announcements and reviews of *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* in the German press to ensure the political effect of the pamphlet. And their friends rallied to. The *Social-Demokrat* helped inadvertently as well by carrying an article that argued fiercely against Engels' opinions. Thus, Engels' conceptions were spread amongst the politically advanced German workers and livened up the discussions that were going on in the General Association of German Workers about the path and the goal of the working class. A number of smaller, local Association groups started to go into opposition against Schweitzer's policy of coming to terms with Bismarck.

Engels' pamphlet made its mark on the class-conscious workers–and on quite a different kind of readership as well. The military theory sections of the work aroused the interest of the military journals, and Engels' proficient knowledge of the subject as well as the excellent way he put his views earned him a sound reputation as a military writer with the well-read military in Germany.

Engels continued the public altercation with Lassalleanism he had launched in 1865 with his pamphlet from a different aspect the next year. Marx approached him in January of 1866 with the urgent request that he deal with the revolutionary working class's stance on the Polish question in a series of articles. The whole thing was triggered off by the French

Proudhonists who claimed that the Polish question—indeed, the national question altogether—had nothing to do with the working class. Consequentially, Engels wrote several articles which appeared under the title *What Has the Working Class Got to Do with Poland?* in the British paper *The Commonwealth* in the spring of 1866.

Engels marshalled the historic facts in these articles to prove that "wherever the working class" has "come out independently in political movements its foreign policy (can) from the very onset be expressed in the few words: *Restoration of Poland*".[33] He took the example of Poland to reason why the proletariat must reject and fight every policy of national oppression and, indeed, all nationalism and Great Power chauvinism, as well as every sort of national nihilism. He also warned against the danger of reactionary Powers, e. g., Czarism with its ideology of Pan-Slavism or Bonapartism with its demagogically applied "nationality principle", utilizing the justified national liberation movement of smaller peoples to their own ends. It was with a very special sense of urgency that Engels called on the German workers to work unswervingly for the establishment of an independent, democratic Poland. The restoration of Poland, he said, would break Czarism's sway over the home and foreign policy of the ruling German classes. Engels aimed this emphatic stress he laid on proletarian internationalism as an essential feature of every revolutionary labour movement not least against the narrow national character Lassalle had imposed on the General Association of German Workers.

Marx and Engels used the International Working Men's Association as a means of qualifying the proletariat in the various countries to set up independent, revolutionary Parties. Events in Germany proved clearly how deeply rooted in life their efforts were. As Engels had anticipated in a letter to Marx on 2 April 1866, Bismarck was steering steadily toward a war with Austria in order to secure and further extend "with blood and iron" Prussia's hegemony in Germany. Engels also saw through Bismarck's tactics of forestalling the democratic unification movement in Germany by swift military action, and at the same time paralyzing the liberal bourgeois opposition by taking over

himself "for good pay, the management of state and society in the interests of the bourgeoisie".[34]

There was just one point on which Engels was mistaken, and thoroughly so: in his assessment of the military course the war would probably run. The war was lost not by Prussia, as Engels had assumed it would be, but by Austria whose army suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Sadowa on 3 July of 1866. Prussia excluded Austria from the German Confederation for good with the peace treaty that was signed shortly afterwards at Prague. Bismarck comprehended 22 separate states and Free Towns under Prussia's primacy in the North German Confederation and so moved an important step closer to the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony. The bourgeoisie rewarded this success by going over to Bismarck with flying colours. The democratic popular movement fought Bismarck's "unification from above" bravely and aspired after a democratic nation-state, but it had neither a determined leadership nor a unified organization in 1866 and so was too weak to prevent the Prussianization of Germany. The fact that the German working class lacked a revolutionary Party now took its disastrous toll.

Engels never hesitated to correct an error in his thinking, or a mistake he had made. The swift victory of the Prussian armies had taken him by surprise, but he very quickly worked his way to a realistic appraisal of the newly arisen situation: "The business in Germany seems to me to be fairly simple now," he wrote to Marx on 25 July. "From the moment Bismarck by using the Prussian army carried out the Little-Germany scheme of the bourgeoisie with such colossal success, the development in Germany has taken this direction so resolutely that we, like others, must acknowledge the accomplished fact, we may like it or not." And then, with his eyes already turned to the future: "The thing has this good side to it that it simplifies the situation (. . .). The petty states in their totality will be swept into the movement, the worst localizing influences will cease and Parties will at last become really national instead of merely local."[35]

It was in this sense that Engels immediately exerted his in-

fluence with his friends and like-minded associates in Germany, particularly with Wilhelm Liebknecht. He advised them to assess the newly-created facts soberly, utilize the improved conditions to organize the working class at the national level, concentrate all forces on the formation of an independent working-class Party and, altered circumstances notwithstanding, go on fighting for a democratic republic and against the "flooding of Germany with Prussianism."[2] To enlighten the German workers and their class comrades in the other industrially advanced countries about the historic position and mission of their class, and to equip them with the necessary theoretical weapons for their struggle was essential to the success of this task. Nothing was better suited to this purpose than carrying into the international labour movement the findings expounded in Karl Marx's great economic work, *Capital*. The first volume was fast reaching completion at this time–the middle of the 1860s.

ERRATUM

Page 327, line 15 from bottom: The meaning of this line has been distorted by a typing error. It should read "the land, offered them propitious prospects . . ."

Die

preußiſche Militärfrage

und die

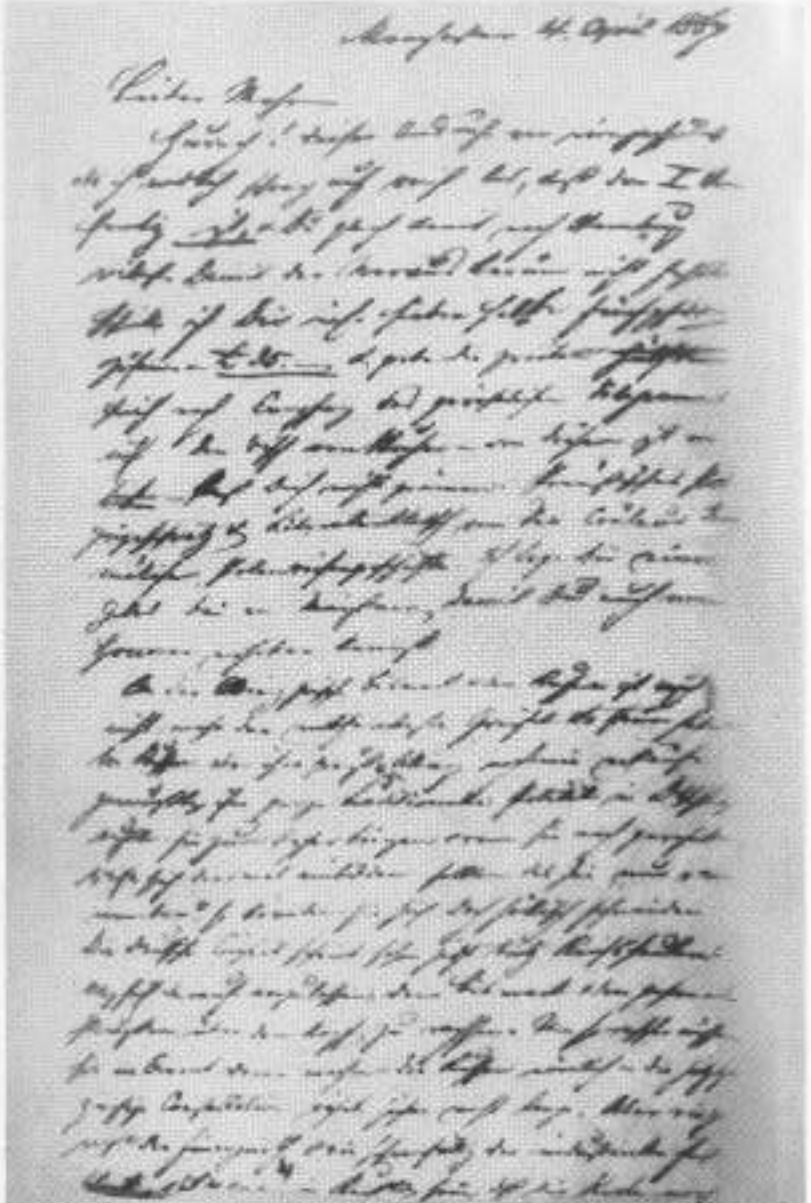
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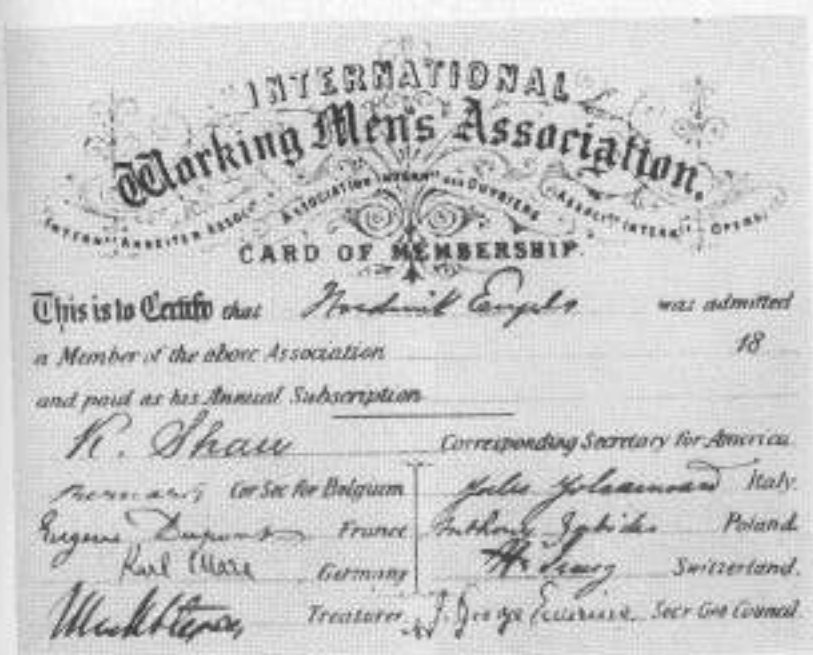
Friedrich Engels.

Hamburg.
Otto Meißner.
1865.

Title page of the first edition of
The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party



The first page of the letter Frederick Engels wrote Karl Marx on 4 April 1867



Frederick Engels' membership card of the International Working Men's Association



Karl Marx



Wilhelm Liebknecht



Hermann Jung



Johann Philipp Becker



August Bebel



Wilhelm Bracke



Eugène Dupont



Paul Lafargue



Leo Frankel



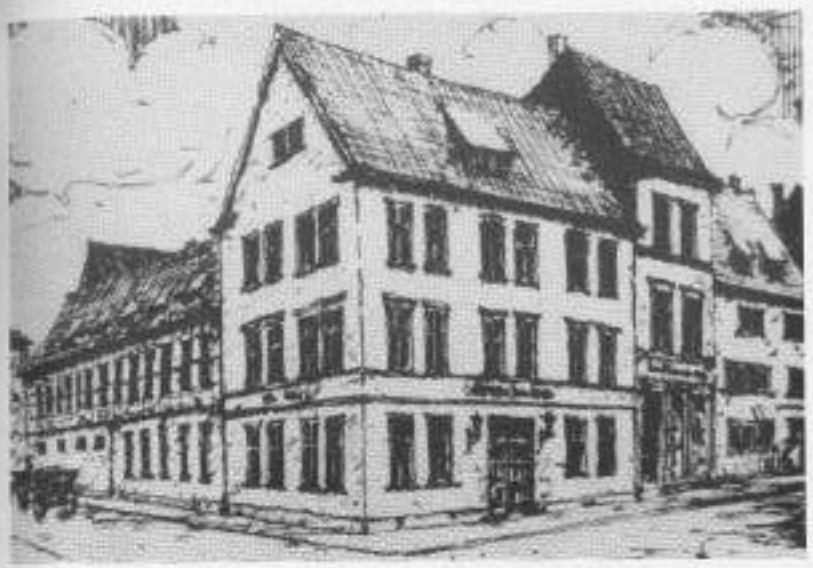
G. A. Luparin



Walery Wroblewski



Friedrich Adolph Sorge



The *Zum Mohren*, guest-house in Eisenach and venue
of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party Foundation Congress



122, Regent's Park Road, London;
the house where Frederick Engels lived from 1870 to 1894

Guardian and Propagandist of *Capital*

Frederick Engels had realized that economic relations are the foundation of class struggle and determine both the formation of parties and the policies they pursue as early as the beginning of the forties, when he first stayed in Manchester. Ever since, Engels had also been aware of the fact that the theory of the proletarian struggle for emancipation could only be substantiated by exposing the economic laws of the motion and development of capitalism. He himself had furnished important foundations for the execution of this task in 1844 with his *Critical Essays in Political Economy*, and in 1845 with his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.

The political economy of the working class was evolved in all its facets by Karl Marx. It found its mature presentation in the *magnum opus* Marx had been working on steadily ever

since the early fifties: *Capital*. This principal work of Marxism occupies a central position in the unique friendship of its founders. Neither the elaboration nor the epoch-making effect of Marx's *Capital* are thinkable without the passionate sympathy and the scientific collaboration of Frederick Engels.

It was Engels who actually enabled Marx to engage in his long years of economic study by selflessly shouldering the yoke of "damn business"[37] and earning most of the living for Marx and his family who had to fight hard to make ends meet. This support assumed even more urgent proportions when Marx was obliged to stop contributing to the *New York Daily Tribune* as a result of the American Civil War, and so lost his only source of regular income. Marx frequently asked himself whether he ought to accept such sacrifices from his faithful comrade-in-struggle. On one occasion he told Engels: "I assure you that it has always been a nightmare for me that you let your splendid powers be wasted commercially and grow rusty mainly for my sake."[38] Elsewhere he owned: "The only thing that lets me hold my head up in this matter is the thought that the two of us are running a joint venture in which I am giving my time to the theoretical and Party side of the business."[39]

Engels helped his friend selflessly at all times. He consulted several doctors and urged his friend to spare himself when Marx's health deteriorated rapidly during the mid-sixties because his manifold activities at the head of the International Working Men's Association and his efforts nevertheless to continue his scientific research at an unabated pace were forcing him to work further and further into the night. "What will become of the whole movement," he admonished his friend in February of 1866, "if anything happens to you; and the way you're operating, it *certainly* will. Honestly, I shall not have a moment's peace until I've seen you through this thing. Each day I haven't heard from you I'm restless and think you're worse again."[40]

Engels made Marx's work on *Capital* possible not only through his moral support and the material assistance he provided, but above all by his intellectual participation in the project. Engels had stimulated Marx in question of political

economy even during the early years of their friendship. "Contact with Engels," wrote V. I. Lenin in later years, "was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy, the science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution."[41] It was also largely due to Engels that *Capital* was based on a mode of outlook that "conceives of the development of the economic formations of society as a natural historical process".[42] Marx carried on an uninterrupted exchange of ideas with Engels during all the many years he worked out the political economy of the working class. Engels was always the first with whom Marx discussed the theoretical problems that occupied him, and he was always the first to hear of Marx's great economic discoveries. The great store Marx set by Engels' assistance in the elaboration of *Capital*, and the high opinion he had of both his knowledge of and views on economic questions is evidenced by a letter, dated 20 August 1862, which reads in part: "Couldn't you come here for a few days? I've set aside so many old things in my critique that there are several points on which I'd like to consult with you before I go on."[43]

Engels was able to advise Marx in all the spheres of economic theory. His reviews of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), which appeared in *Das Volk*, London, demonstrated how fully he had participated in elaborating methodical questions. Engels gave the first coherent characterization of the scientific method of political economy that is based on dialectical materialism in these reviews.

Marx found Engels' advice on practical questions extremely valuable. Living in the industrial metropolis of Manchester, and himself an entrepreneur, Engels knew all the ins and outs of the practice of capitalist economic life. Thus, Marx was able to ask him for information about capital turnover, the different rates of turnover in the various branches of the economy, and the way they influenced profits and prices. On another occasion Marx wanted to know all about the proportional division of a factory's floating capital into raw material and wages, and the average time after which machines needed to be replaced. In March of 1862, he enquired: "Could you, for example, write and tell me all the types of operatives employed at your factory

(. . .) and in which proportion to one another?"[44] Shortly afterwards he requested full particulars on certain details in double-entry book-keeping. He always received precise answers. Engels followed up the cotton crises in England and other countries with a very watchful eye in 1865 and 1866. He recorded relevant data which Marx subsequently used in *Capital*. Engels paid a special measure of attention to the condition and the economic struggles of the workers in Britain's most important industrial centre, and it was thanks to him that Marx learned many facts from which he was able to deduce the laws that govern the workers' fight under capitalism.

Engels promoted Marx's intellectual creativity with a profound sense of empathy. He was only too familiar with his friend's inclination not to consider a problem solved until he had convinced himself that he really had read every available book on the subject and that no objection remained for him to explore. He therefore urged him frequently not to overdo his conscientiousness. On the other hand, he fully appreciated Marx's desire to create his work as "an artistic whole".[45] However, when the draft of the complete work was finished he finally managed to prevail on Marx to publish the first volume before the others were ready for printing. And when Marx wrote to tell him on 2 April of 1867 that the first volume was ready for the press he sent an enthusiastic "Hurray!"[46] in reply.

Marx took the manuscript to his publisher, Otto Meissner, in Hamburg, and went on from there to Hanover where he visited his friend Dr. Kugelmann and read the first proof-sheets. This accomplished, he stayed with Engels in Manchester from the end of May to the beginning of June to recuperate and exchange views on all manner of topics. Subsequently, he sent his friend all the proofs that came from Hamburg. Engels read them all, and at the end of June 1867 Marx assured him: "Your satisfaction up to now is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it."[47] Engels advised Marx when he explained the knotty problem of the form of value in an addendum, and the advice he gave on other questions also went into the making of the final version.

Karl Marx read the last proof-sheet on 16 August of 1867.

It was 2 a. m. when he took up his pen once more to thank his friend: "So *this volume is finished*. It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible! Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!"[48]

The first volume of *Capital* appeared in Hamburg on 14 September of 1867. Its publication was a happy event in the life of the two friends and of the utmost significance for the entire international labour movement. "So long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us,"[49] stated Engels with justified pride.

The political economy of the working class found its comprehensive scientific substantiation and classic presentation in *Capital*. In it, Marx unveiled the secret of capitalist exploitation and exposed the inner laws of economic motion upon which are conditional the origin, rise and fall of capitalism, and its inevitable replacement by Socialism. He analysed the specific economic laws of capitalism, and likewise the laws that govern more than one economic formation of society. The working class received a peerless intellectual weapon with the political economy Marx evolved in *Capital*, a weapon for use both in the fight against capitalism and in the construction and shaping of the Socialist society.

Marx also further developed all the other components of scientific Communism in this *magnum opus*. He had been able to disclose the laws of the economic motion of capitalism thanks only to the dialectical-materialist method and world outlook. On the other hand, the philosophy and conception of history he and Engels had jointly created were enriched and deepened by his analysis of one socio-economic formation of society, an analysis that covered every pertinent detail. The materialist conception of history Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had already worked out during the forties was now given its precise theoretical substantiation in Capital. Likewise, the analysis of the capitalist production process was instrumental in founding and evolving the doctrine of class struggle and Socialism. In *Capital*, Marx proved that irreconcilable antagonisms obtain

between bourgeoisie and proletariat, that there can be neither harmony nor conciliation between these two classes. The workers, he stated, would be exploited so long as capitalist private property existed. From this followed the historic mission of the proletariat: to overthrow capitalism and then construct Socialism by means of the political power of the working class.

Frederick Engels regarded the economic theory expounded in *Capital*, and dialectical and historical materialism as the firm theoretical foundation of scientific Socialism. He made the findings contained in *Capital* his own, used them in all the works he himself wrote after the book came out, and contributed significantly toward their further development. He had already had a large share in the elaboration of the first volume of *Capital*, but his share in the completion of the subsequent two volumes was to be larger by far. Whilst Volume I presented the production process of capital, Volumes II and III were to investigate respectively the process of circulation and reproduction of capital and the process of capitalist production as a whole. But although Marx set to work to write these two volumes as soon as the first had appeared, he was not to complete and publish them. It is to Frederick Engels that the international labour movement owes the completion of *Capital*.

The publication of the first volume of *Capital* started a fresh chapter in the dissemination of the scientific world outlook of the working class that Marx and Engels had founded. And scarcely twenty years later Engels was able to state in retrospect: "After its first presentation to the world in Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* and in the *Communist Manifesto*, this mode of outlook of ours, having passed through an incubation period of fully twenty years before the publication of *Capital*, has been more and more rapidly extending its influence among ever-widening circles, and now finds recognition and support far beyond the boundaries of Europe, in every country which contains on the one hand proletarians and on the other undaunted scientific theoreticians."[50]

Engels deserved excellently of this truly epoch-making effect *Capital* exercised. No one else was able to explain in so precise and at the same time so readily intelligible a manner as he the

essence of the revolutionizing scientific discoveries this work contained. And from the moment the work appeared, no one worked harder than he to put these discoveries into the intellectual possession of the most advanced section of the working class.

The labour movement had reached a new stage in its development at the time Volume I of *Capital* came out. Having gathered forces gradually in the previous years, the International Working Men's Association now entered a period of fierce struggles, primarily large-scale strikes. In Germany, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht led the League of German Workers' Unions through a process of step-by-step separation from the liberal bourgeoisie, whilst revolutionary proletarian opposition to the Lassallean leaders flared up anew and ever stronger in the General Association of German Workers. Conditions for creating a revolutionary proletarian Party were fast coming to maturity. And it is largely thanks to Frederick Engels that *Capital* became the panoply of the most advanced representatives of the German working class in the execution of this task.

Bourgeois political economy and the bourgeois press had already tried to hush up Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* in the past, and so it was predictable that the ideologists of the bourgeoisie would counter *Capital* with the same "conspiracy of silence". That the workers had no paper in Germany at the time which could have positively reviewed the work and spread the ideas it contained made these tactics all the less acceptable. Engels, however, thought up a promising plan. *Capital* had not even come from the press before he was asking Marx: "What say you? Shall I attack the thing from the bourgeois standpoint in order to set things going?"[51] Marx's immediate reply read: "Your plan (...) is *the best means for waging war.*"[52]

Capable and battleworthy people who could help to propagandize *Capital* in the bourgeois press were soon found amongst their friends and associates in Germany: Dr. Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, Engels' cousin Carl Siebel in Barmen, Wilhelm Liebknecht in Leipzig, and others besides. In Hamburg, Otto Meissner joined the project as a publisher. These

men set to work with ingenuity and vigour, but Frederick Engels was the soul of the undertaking. He was the qualified interpreter of *Capital*, and indeed, the only person at the time who was able to produce a scientifically flawless review of the comprehensive theoretical work. He could rightly say: "I'm at hand as usual on the Party's service."[52]

Engels explained to his assistants that the main thing at the moment was not "*what* and *how* but *that* the book" was "reviewed".[54] Yet in his own reviews he certainly did more than just "make a stir".[55] Under the cloak of criticism, he presented Marx's views in such a way to the reader that the latter became convinced that it was Marx and not the critic who was right. Engels was a past master at using the limited opportunities of the bourgeois press to elucidate the significance and the most important findings of *Capital*, and in the process to show how paltry bourgeois vulgar economics, how untenable the theoretical conceptions of Lassalleanism were by contrast.

The first of Engels' reviews offers a perfect example of the way he tackled this job. It appeared in *Zukunft*, a Berlin democrat paper, on 30 October 1867. Engels adroitly assumed the role of a common-or-garden German who was saddened by the fact that "we, the nation of thinkers, have achieved so little in the sphere of political economy up to now"[56] and therefore welcomed the appearance of *Capital*. He lashed out sharply at German political economy, saying that it had at best produced people who could compile data. They disowned classical bourgeois economics and in the same breath parroted the phraseology used by the shallowest representatives of vulgar economics. Then, touching on Marx's presentation, Engels wrote: "We do not think that out of all our economists one will come up who is capable of disproving them."[57]

He then proceeded to characterize the main content of *Capital*: "The investigations carried out in this book are of an exquisite scientific finesse. Above all, we are referring to the artistic, dialectical design of the whole thing, to the way in which money is already presented in the term commodity as existing in itself, to the way it is shown how money is turned into capital. We acknowledge that we find the newly-introduced

category of *surplus-value* an advance (. . .). We are bound to admit that we were very much taken by the sense of history which runs through the whole book and forbids the author to look on the economic laws as eternal truths, as anything but the formulation of the conditions of existence of certain transient states of society; that the scholarship and acumen with which the different historical states of society and their conditions of existence are presented in this context will, unfortunately, be probably sought for in vain amongst our official economists."[58]

Engels used similar methods in his subsequent reviews. He wrote as a South German democrat in the democratic *Beobachter*, Stuttgart; as a champion of industrialization in the official gazette, the *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg*; and as a practical man of industry in the *Badische Landeszeitung*. But whatever role he chose to play, he always emphasized the scientific nature of Marx's work, drew the reader's attention to its revolutionary conclusions, and demonstrated Marx's superiority to bourgeois political economy whose representatives he provoked in every possible way.

At the same time Engels used his reviews of *Capital* to criticize the theories and the ruinous policy of Lassalle and his successors. In the democratic *Beobachter* he pointed out that "the whole of Lassalle's Socialism consisted of scolding the capitalists and flattering the ignorant Prussian Junkers". He unsparingly mocked the Lassallean illusions about "Bismarck's vocation to introduce the Socialist millennium".[59]

Engels threw the revolutionary-Socialist character of Marx's theory into clearer relief in two reviews he wrote for papers that appeared in the industrial Rhineland, the stronghold of the General Association of German Workers. In the *Elberfelder Zeitung*, he drew his readers' attention to the fact that "with his criticism of all hitherto political economy" Marx "wants to give Socialist strivings the scientific foundation which neither Fourier nor Proudhon or Lassalle were able to furnish them with up to now".[60] In the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*, he stated: "...he who has eyes to see with, sees plainly enough here the demand for a social revolution. The point here is not

workers' associations with state capital as with erstwhile Lassalle, the point here is the *abolition of capital* altogether."[61]

Acquainting the ascending labour movement with *Capital* was the prime objective Engels and his helpers pursued with their efforts to break the bourgeois conspiracy of silence. They found a fresh opening for their purpose when Wilhelm Liebknecht got out and edited the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* in Leipzig in January of 1868. Engels was able to write with less restraint in this weekly than he had to exercise in the bourgeois press. The *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* carried his review in March of 1868. In it he appraised Marx's work as the most important book of all for the working class. This book, he said, set out from the economic laws and proved that capitalism would be abolished and replaced by Socialism; also, it provided the foundation for a revolutionary strategy and revolutionary tactics.

"The relation between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time,"[62] Engels emphasized. He presented in as precise as readily intelligible a manner the theory of surplus-value—the cornerstone, so to speak, of Karl Marx's economic doctrine. Engels laid special stress on the discovery Marx had made on the basis of his theory of surplus-value: that the worker's labour power turns into a commodity under capitalism, and what is more a commodity that produces more value than is required for its own production. According to Marx, the whole bourgeois society rests on the proletarian's unpaid labour which the capitalist appropriates to himself. Nor would or could this exploitation change by even an iota so long as there obtained capitalist private ownership of the means of production. It was thus and with this review that Engels made the readers of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* understand that bourgeois and proletariat are facing each other irreconcilably and that no class harmony whatsoever is possible between them.

Engels then went on to deal more fully with the accumulation of capital. He outlined its general law and its historic tendency which had been analysed by Marx. Engels explained that the working of the objective laws of capitalism results in an ever-increasing sharpening of the contradiction between social production and private appropriation, and turns the monopoly of capital into a fetter for further social development. At this point Engels drew his reader's attention to the most important of all the conclusions *Capital* has handed down to the working class in the capitalist countries to this very day: Just as wealth on the one hand and poverty on the other are reproduced on an ever greater scale, so is simultaneously created "in the numerous and oppressed workers, the social class which is compelled more and more to take possession of this wealth and these productive forces for the whole of society—instead of their being utilized, as they are today, for a monopolist class."[63]

In developing the fundamental ideas of *Capital*, Engels laid particular stress on the passages that were of immediate practical significance, specifically for the trade union movement which was gaining strength. For instance, he gave prominence to what Marx had to say about the historical experiences of the class struggle to reduce working hours. Engels held that the German workers, too, could and had to gain by organized political struggle a normal working day that was fixed by law, and that use ought also to be made of the rostrum parliament offered for this fight. He advised the workers' Deputies to the North German *Reichstag* to prepare themselves for the coming debate on new factory regulations by making themselves fully conversant with Marx's *Capital*.

Engels intended to write a readily intelligible pamphlet for workers to explain the most important findings of *Capital* to them. Unfortunately, the plan never materialized. But a detailed conspectus was found amongst his literary remains which covered nearly two-thirds of the book. He had written it in April of 1868. This conspectus and Engels' review for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* are to this day the best succinct introductions to the first volume of *Capital*.

Engels and his helpers put a vast amount of work into propagandizing Marx's principal work under difficult conditions. At least 15 German-language papers and journals had published reviews of and annotations on *Capital* by July of 1868 at their initiative, and other papers carried the Preface or pre-

views. And so the bourgeois ideologists were forced to alter their tactics. Their first reviews were not long in appearing. Most of them consisted of clumsy attacks and primitive defamations, but as early as August of 1868 Engels was able to say that "the hush-up is over now".[64]

Engels was especially gratified to note that the progressive forces in the working class started to study Marx's work quickly. In September of 1868, the League of German Workers' Unions assembled for its Nuremberg Congress. With August Bebel in the chair, the League shook off bourgeois tutelage, and Wilhelm Liebknecht appraised *Capital* as Marx's "great work, the first to substantiate Social Democracy scientifically".[65] Wilhelm Bracke, the outstanding representative of the proletarian opposition in the General Association of German Workers, gave a lecture on *Capital* at the General Meeting the Association held at Hamburg in August of 1868. Afterwards, the delegates declared in a resolution that with this work Marx had "taken to himself undying merit with the working class".[66]

The Congress of the International Working Men's Association met that same year at Brussels where it passed a resolution the German delegates had moved. Addressed to the workers of all lands, it recommended that they study *Capital*, and that the book be translated. Engels learned from Marx shortly afterwards that preparations were already under way for a Russian edition. By the time it appeared in Petersburg in the spring of 1872, Marx was already busy editing the French translation, and a second German edition had already gone into print.

True that some 15 years were still to pass before Engels was able to state that "the conclusions drawn in this work are daily becoming more and more the fundamental principles of the great movement of the working class, (. . .) that everywhere the working class is recognizing more and more in these conclusions the most apposite expression of its condition and its strivings."[67] But it was the campaign Engels had run for *Capital* as early as 1867 and 1868 that had triggered off this process which was so vital to the unity of the international labour movement.

Adviser of the International and Pioneer of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party

Making propaganda for *Capital* was only one of the many kinds of political work Frederick Engels performed during those years in Manchester when business activities took up such a large part of his time. He was Marx's right-hand man in the guidance of the International Working Men's Association before he was able to assume a function in the organization. Marx included his friend's suggestions in many of the International's decisions and documents which he prepared. Engels himself drew up specific documents, wrote for daily papers, and attended to part of the Association's growing correspondence with labour officials.

The International Working Men's Association was quite obviously gaining strength by the end of the sixties, and drawing ever broader sections of the proletariat into the struggle against

capitalist exploitation and for political rights and freedoms. An enthusiastic Engels followed up the strikes of the Geneva building workers, the miners of Charleroi and the Borinage, as well as those of the ribbon-weavers and silk dyers of Basle in 1868 and 1869. From Majorca to Stockholm, from Budapest to New York, sections of the International and its adherents supported these actions. "You're right," Engels wrote and told Friedrich Lessner, his old comrade-in-struggle from Communist League times, on 4 April 1869, "the thing's running better than ever before and we, Mohr and I, were right years ago when that whole stupid crowd of democrats were complaining about reaction and the people's indifference and we, in contrast to them, already anticipated in this reaction the enormous industrial development of the last 18 years and stated that the result of a sharpening of the contradiction between labour and capital would be a fiercer class struggle!"[68]

The more practical experiences the workers gained, the more thoroughly they made their own the cognition of the path and goal of the proletarian struggle for emancipation Marx and Engels had elaborated. Back in September of 1866, the majority of the delegates to the Geneva Congress of the International had already declared themselves for important fundamental ideas of scientific Communism, particularly those concerning the link between the economic and the political struggle. The realization that the working-class movement had to set its sights at the erection of Socialism was now pushing itself through in an ever greater degree. The 1868 Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association passed a resolution which stated the necessity of bringing into public ownership all landed property, the railways, the mines, and other means of production. The main point now was to make it clear that the Socialist transformation of society presupposed the conquest of political power by the working class, and consequentially the imperative need to form revolutionary proletarian Parties in the several countries.

The swifter conditions for bringing revolutionary workers' Parties to life matured, the more vigorous was Engels' support for the fight against petty bourgeois sectarianism and liberal

reformism in the international labour movement. Thus he helped to create better preconditions for founding proletarian Parties. Whereas orthodox Proudhonism had already lost some of its influence in France and Belgium by the end of the sixties, as had Lassalleanism in Germany, a new and dangerous variety of sectarianism–Bakuninism–emerged in the lesser-industrialized countries like Switzerland, Italy and Spain. This schismatic trend was established by the Russian emigrant Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin. Its conceptions were based on subjective idealism and its followers propagandized a Utopian Socialist programme which claimed that every state is noxious. In logical corollary, political rule by the working class was harmful in their eyes as well. The Bakuninists advocated adventuristic tactics which distracted the workers from political struggle and the foundation of revolutionary Parties. This apart, they used the most unscrupulous methods to try and bring the International under their sway.

From the very onset, Engels agreed with Marx's assessment that Bakuninism was harmful. "I have never read anything more contemptible than the theoretical programme,"[69] reads Engels' opinion of the application for membership of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy Marx sent him in late 1868 to see what his friend thought of it. Above all, Engels warned against admitting to the International the Alliance as a special international organization–with a programme and statutes of its own, as well as its own leadership. He wrote to tell Marx that this would be "*l'Etat dans l'Etat* (the state within the state)".[70] And when Marx drew up the General Council's answer to the Alliance he practically worked Engels' appraisals verbatim into the reply. He also talked over with his friend most of the subsequent documents in which he came to grips with the Bakuninists. Engels helped him to demonstrate that the Bakuninists' pseudo-radicalism and their subversive activities against both the revolutionary forces and the unity of the international labour movement only played into the hands of reaction.

Just as Engels condemned the petty bourgeois adventurism Bakuninism stood for, he also censured the liberal reformism that was spreading in the British labour movement. This trend

found a social basis amongst the sections of highly skilled workers to whom the British bourgeoisie was able to concede certain privileges on account of its monopoly of international trade and its vast colonial empire. Also, the bourgeoisie had turned more and more to corrupting influential labour leaders by direct and indirect methods. The policy of compromise authoritative trade union leaders pursued had resulted in the franchise being extended to the labour aristocracy with the Reform Bill of 1867, but not to the mass of the British workers who were left voteless. Most important of all, however: the reformist leaders did nothing at all to mobilize the army of workers who were organized in the unions for an all-out fight for their political rights. The situation became clear to Engels at a moment's notice when Ernest Jones, an old fellow-combatant of his and Marx's, decided to run for the 1868 elections in Manchester. The former leader of the left-wing Chartists was unable to poll a sufficient number of votes even though he had made concessions to the Liberals. "Everywhere the proletariat are the rag, tag and bobtail of the official parties,"[71] wrote Engels furiously about the upshot of the reformist leaders' policy which became so obvious during the elections. He saw one of the main reasons for the British labour movement's falling behind in the fact that the English bourgeoisie had been able to reap extra profits and split the working class by oppressing the Irish. Consequently, he studied the history and the liberation struggle of the people of Ireland thoroughly in those years, and together with Marx re-examined the proletariat's stance on the national liberation movement.

Engels pinned growing hopes on developments in France where strikes and political actions evidenced an advancing revolutionization of the proletariat. He and Marx discussed in great detail the crisis of Napoleon III's Empire and the ensuing conclusions for the labour movement's policy. Engels pointed out that Bonapartism was planning to crush the revolutionary movement before it could organize itself firmly, and therefore trying to provoke putschist actions. He carefully analysed both the political and the military balance of power and on the grounds of his findings proved that on no account

should the workers let themselves be drawn into these attempted provocations. He assisted Marx in the conflict with the petty bourgeois, adventuristic elements in the French section of the International in London. The growing strength of the International's sections in France was a source of deep satisfaction to Engels—as was the formation of the Paris Federation in April of 1870—a first step toward the setting up of a French working-class Party. Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law and Engels' friend was one of the Federation's grass-root propagandists of scientific Communism. When the French labour movement defied the new persecutions courageously, Engels wrote enthusiastically: "The behaviour of the French workers is great. The people are in action again now and that is their element, that is where they are masters."[72]

Yet Engels paid prime attention to the German labour movement, and not only because he always had a special feeling of association with the events that occurred in his native country. Preconditions for executing the task decisive to a successful struggle by the working class, i. e., the creation of a revolutionary proletarian Party, were developing more quickly in Germany than in other countries. So it was precisely on the German labour movement that Engels exerted his influence not only as Marx's adviser, but also in his own personal capacity. In both newspaper publications and many of the letters he wrote to German Socialists, Engels gave the advanced forces of the German working class important recommendations as to how they should fight for a revolutionary proletarian Party, and on questions concerning their strategy and tactics.

Engels was in lively correspondence with Wilhelm Liebknecht in particular. The progress the German labour movement was making was largely due to Liebknecht and his young comrade-in-struggle August Bebel. The vigorous fight they put up against Bismarck's policy of uniting Germany from above, and the revolutionary stand they took as Deputies in the North German Reichstag had considerably strengthened the class-consciousness of many German workers. In September of 1868, they had been instrumental in getting the Nuremberg Congress of the League of German Workers' Unions to decide the League's affiliation

with the International Working Men's Association–with the result that the International won a mass influence in Germany. The point now was to step up the fight against all the varieties of bourgeois ideology, and combine the most advanced part of the German working class in one revolutionary Party.

Time and again Engels explained to Liebknecht why the labour movement had to separate itself now by organization, politically and ideologically from petty bourgeois democracy which was its ally in the struggle against Bismarck's reactionary policy. Preparing a revolutionary Party required clarity about the objectives of the working class, the preconditions of the proletarian revolution, and the characteristic features of the Socialist social system. Moreover, the working class could only be the definitive force in the democratic movement if it was absolutely independent. So Liebknecht was wrong in thinking that the independent class interests of the proletariat ought to be set aside for the sake of the alliance with the petty bourgeois People's Party. He was making an ever bigger mistake when he made concessions to the federalism of the petty bourgeois democrats. Engels' criticism of these vulgar-democratic tendencies was often exceptionally trenchant for he and Marx expected great things precisely of Wilhelm Liebknecht. They thought of him as their old comrade-in-struggle and pupil upon whom now rested a special responsibility which arose from his position at the head of the revolutionary trend in the German labour movement.

Alertly and with much pleasure Marx and Engels also watched the young August Bebel growing into a revolutionary labour leader. Engels found "*Bebel* by far the best"[73] during important Reichstag debates and in altercations with the Lassalleans. Even in those early days Engels had a great deal of confidence in Bebel, but he pointed out that he needed to ground himself more thoroughly in theory.

Pushing back Lassalleanism for once and for all was just as important in Engels' and Marx's eyes as accomplishing the complete separation from petty bourgeois democracy. A revolutionary proletarian Party could only emerge by lining itself off clearly from the Lassallean leaders' petty bourgeois Socialist ideology and their policy which was as reformist as it was sectarian. Equally, it could only emerge after their dictatorial principles of organization and the Lassallean cult of the personality had been unequivocally rejected.

Marx and Engels chose for their point of departure the hard facts the members of the General Association of German Workers had learned in practical struggle, and it was from this point that they set out to disenchant these misled workers of Lassalle's noxious dogmas. Engels, for example, wrote two articles for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* where he recalled his previous criticism of Lassalleanism in his *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei*–a criticism that had since been fully corroborated by experiences in plenty. He voiced his hopes in this context that the decisions the General Meeting of the General Association of German Workers had taken a little while before at Hamburg would prove to be the "break with opinionated Lassalleanism", that the Association would leave "its hitherto sectarian position" and enter "the wide field of the great labour movement".[74] This would pave the way to "amalgamating all German Social Democrat workers in one big Party".[75]

Engels also viewed the formation of numerous trade unions at the national level as an important step toward preparing a revolutionary workers' Party. Their establishment made 1868 and 1869 the actual natal years of the German trade union movement. He joined Marx in condemning Schweitzer's efforts to subject the unions to his dictatorship and degrade them into places where recruits for Lassalleanism were won and trained –particularly because by this means Schweitzer split the trade union movement. Engels predicted that Schweitzer would "work himself to death (. . .) on this inner contradiction".[76]

Marx and Engels spurred Liebknecht and Bebel on to an even greater activity and supported them in their plan to create revolutionary trade unions that were organized on democratic lines and oriented toward the principles of the International Working Men's Association: the International Trades' Association. At Marx's request, Engels wrote his detailed *Bericht über die Knappschaftsvereine der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken*

Sachsens (Report on the Combinations of the Body of Mineworkers in the Collieries of Saxony) in early 1869. The report itself was based on information and documents miners in Lugau, Niederwürschnitz and Oelsnitz had sent Marx. A fierce accusal of the mine-owners, it was endorsed by the General Council and then published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* and other German papers, as well as in Britain. In his report Engels crossed swords with the type of labour official "who would like to make reforms by permission of capital".[77] But as Engels demanded, the point was to put the entrepreneurs entirely out of circuit and create independent trade union organizations. Later, the Saxon mineworkers were the initiators of the International Trades' Association of Mine, Foundry and Salt Workers.

Marx's and Engels' ideas were gaining more and more influence with the German labour movement. August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht started making direct preparations for the foundation of the workers' Party in the spring of 1869. True that Schweitzer was still able to exert his influence on most of the members of the General Association of German Workers, but the revolutionary forces in the Association broke off relations with him and rallied around Bebel and Liebknecht–as did the most politically aware trade unionists, and the sections and members of the International. On 17 July, Bebel and Liebknecht summoned a general congress of German Social Democrat workers to assemble at Eisenach, and in full keeping with the intent of Marx and Engels they defined as their aim *"to form into one the Party of all the Social Democrat workers of Germany, and to channel it into the right and only course that leads to victory, the course of the great labour movement that rests on an international foundation."*[78]

Frederick Engels supported this effort by writing an essay on the life and work of Karl Marx in late July of 1869. It appeared both in the *Zukunft*, Berlin, and in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. This was the first Marx biography to come out in Germany, and in it Engels outlined Karl Marx's theoretical creativity which had provided the proletarian struggle for emancipation with a firm scientific foundation. Above all, he appreciated Marx's efforts to create a revolutionary working-

class Party. They had carried him to the head of the International, "this at any rate in the labour movement epoch-making association".[79] Engels countered the legend that Lassalle had been the originator of the German labour movement in this context. He reminded the German workers both of the revolutionary traditions of 1848–49 and of the Communist League–the first revolutionary Party of the proletariat. Lassalle "had a predecessor and an intellectual superior whose existence he passed over in silence, to be sure, while he vulgarized his writings. And the name of this intellectual superior is Karl Marx."[80]

Marx's and Engels' ideas achieved a success of international significance at the Eisenach Congress which met from 7 to 9 August 1869. Led by August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bracke, the progressive forces of the German labour movement created a new Party which announced the opening of uncompromising hostilities with both the militarist Prussian state and the bourgeoisie: the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. This Party declared itself the German section of the International Working Men's Association. Its leaders considered themselves the pupils and followers of Marx and Engels who for their part regarded the Eisenachers as "our Party".[81] Whereas twenty years before the Communist League had united just a few hundred proletarian revolutionaries, and at that mostly journeymen-craftsmen who were living abroad, the Eisenacher Party already numbered approximately 10,000 members who came from all over Germany and all the various sections of the proletariat at its foundation. Thus was laid the foundation-stone for a revolutionary working-class Party that operated on the national plane. From then on Marx and Engels were able to lean on the practical example of the German labour movement in the fight to set up revolutionary proletarian Parties in the different countries.

Following the foundation of the International Working Men's Association and the publication of *Capital*, the creation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was another important step toward linking scientific Communism with the labour movement. Marx's and Engels' ideas began to take hold of the masses. The bourgeois ideologists reacted in their own particular way. More

and more their main concern was to fight the working class's scientific world outlook Marx and Engels had substantiated. In so doing, they increased their attacks on the rationalist and humanistic ideas of German classical bourgeois philosophy and literature Marx and Engels had worked over critically, and by contrast advocated agnostic and irrational conceptions. Whereas the German bourgeois ideologists lent themselves in their majority to extolling brute power politics as a sign of national greatness, the most advanced section of the aspiring working class–its revolutionary Party–became the upholder of the most progressive world outlook in the history of mankind: scientific Communism.

Marx and Engels now helped the Social-Democratic Workers' Party by word and deed just as they had formerly paved the way for it. In 1870, Engels was already lending the Party a valuable hand in its consolidation by preparing a second edition of his *The Peasant War in Germany*. It was published by the *Volksstaat's Verlag der Expedition*. He wrote a new preface in which he presented his considered opinion on the central questions of the strategy and tactics of the working class. He set out from an analysis of the changes that had taken place in the economic and political life of Germany since 1848, and particularly since 1866, as well as from the role played by the different classes and parties. He emphasized that in its fear of the strengthening working class the German bourgeoisie had abandoned its innate liberal demands, was now allying itself with the most reactionary forces, and leaving the exercise of power to the Prussian Junkers and their Hohenzollern monarchy. Thus, he assigned to the working class and its revolutionary Party the task of moving to the head of the struggle for the democratic transformation of Germany. By stating that there had been "only *one* serious adversary of the revolution in Germany–the Prussian Government"[82] since 1866, Engels oriented the German Socialists toward a determined struggle against the Prusso-German military state–the principal enemy of the working class and all other democratic forces at that time.

Engels' most important concern consisted in drawing attention to the necessity of a revolutionary policy of alliance, above all with regard to the peasantry. He analysed the rural class structure minutely and on the basis of his findings proved that the Party needed to differentiate very clearly in its approach to the peasantry. Also, he pointed out those sections of the peasantry that could be won for allies. He underlined that "to draw into the movement" the farm labourers "is the immediate and most urgent task of the German labour movement."[83] It was in this context that Engels explained the decision the Basle Congress of the International took in September 1869: that to transform landed property into common, national property is in the interest of society. He helped the Eisenachers to realize the importance of this decision, and apply it correctly, for the massive assaults of the petty bourgeois People's Party had resulted in uncertainty and vacillations spreading in their ranks. Considering that big landed property was the main bulwark of reaction in Germany, the Basle decision "was most *timely precisely for Germany*."[84] It had to be used to mobilize the agricultural proletariat into battle against the Junkers and the big farmers.

Moreover, patient explanatory work would have to be carried out amongst the agricultural proletarians in order that they might realize that Socialism, with its co-operative farming of the land, offered them suspicious prospects. Engels' explanations were instrumental in the Social-Democratic Workers' Party declaring itself clearly for the International's Basle Congress decision when it held its next congress at Stuttgart in June of 1870.

On one occasion a German Social Democrat complained how hard it was to arouse the great majority of the workers who were not yet aware of their class interests. Engels took this up in a letter he wrote to Wilhelm Bracke, the leading politician and theoretician in the Eisenachers' Party Executive, in April of 1870: "Of course each success has to be attained by arduous struggle, and the matter always moves too slowly for the people who've got to attain them. But compare 1860 with 1870, and compare the current state of things in Germany and in France and England–for all the lead those two countries had over

us!"[80] It became increasingly obvious that the development of the German labour movement had turned with the foundation of the Eisenacher Party. And so Engels was able to state happily and proudly: "I find, rather, that the matter is progressing at an unhoped-for pace in Germany."[81]

"Hurray! . . . I'm a Free Man."

When Engels signed his preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany* in the spring of 1870 a momentous change had already taken place in his life. He was rid of the burdensome life of a business man and had become a "free man".

Certainly his position with the firm of *Ermen & Engels* had improved substantially after his father's death in the early sixties, and the agreement he signed with Gottfried Ermen on 25 September 1862 had already secured him a 10 per cent share in profits apart from a salary of £ 100 per annum. But the same contract stipulated that in his capacity of Corresponding Clerk and General Assistant he "devote his whole time and attention to the employment aforesaid and duly observe all the lawful directions of the said Godfrey Ermen", "keep true and regular accounts in the books . . . of all payments, receipts, sales, orders,

transactions . . ." and "not . . . divulge or make known any of the secret, business or connexions of the said employer . . ."[87] And how frequently in all those years did observing these stipulations mean wasting time at the office instead of putting it to far better use at home at one's desk!

Nor had this state of affairs improved much when Engels joined the partnership in 1864 thanks to an original £ 10,000 the family had brought into the firm. Although his share in profits rose to 20 per cent of the net profits and the working capital yielded interest at an annual rate of 5 per cent, the monotony of everyday business life remained. But since the position each of the three partners occupied (the third was Gottfried Ermen's younger brother Anton whom the principal had taken into the firm as an associate) was determined by their share of working capital, the elder Ermen went on piping the tune with his approximately £ 48,000 share of the capital stock.

Nonetheless, Engels' rights in the firm had grown substantially since 1864, but so had his field of business activity and his duties. The correspondence apart, he was now responsible for the entire administration and management of the office. In April of 1867, he wrote a letter to Marx where he disclosed how heavily his job was resting on him at the time, how worn down he was by the frictions that occurred continuously between Gottfried Ermen and himself, and how the idea tormented him that the life he was leading could in the end stunt his intellectual powers: "My contract with beastly Gottfried will expire in two years' time, and the two of us will scarcely want to renew it with things as they are here. Indeed, dissolution before the contract is due to expire is not beyond the bounds of possibility. I'd have to quit commerce *altogether* in that event, for setting up a business of my own would mean working terribly hard for five or six years without a notable result and then working hard for another five or six years to reap the fruits of the first five. But I'd go to pieces in the process. I have no dearer wish than to be released from this damn business which is demoralizing me completely with its waste of time. I'm good for nothing so long as I'm in business, and this has become much worse, particularly since I became principal."[89]

The same letter indicates the circumstances that forced Engels to hold out for the next two years in spite of everything: "Anyway, my business life will have come to an end in a few years' time," he wrote, "and there'll be a very considerable drop in my income when that happens. How we'll arrange things for you then has always been on my mind."[90] For determined as the nearly 50-year old Engels was to break with all office life and exchange business as quickly as possible, weighing the pros and cons as to whether his post-resignation income would still suffice to secure the necessities for Marx and his family in the future was the prime factor that guided him in deciding whether or not to leave the firm.

Engels rightly assumed that Gottfried Ermen would want to dissolve the partnership at the earliest opportunity. As early as the autumn of 1868 Ermen offered Engels a specified sum of compensation money if he renounced his title with the firm and undertook not to set up in competition to the Ermen brothers for the next five years. Also, he was to permit the Ermen brothers to use the old respected name of the firm over the same period.

Engels had never planned on carrying on his old life in a new way–as a competitor. But the interests of Marx and his family certainly made netting the largest sum of compensation possible a matter of utmost importance with him. As soon as Ermen submitted his proposal, Engels wrote to Marx, requesting exact information as to whether he, Marx, could "make do on £ 350 a year for *ordinary* regular necessities". He would *"definitely"* be able to remit this sum of money "annually for five or six years" to his friend "and even a bit more in exceptional circumstances".[90] Marx's reply to his "dear Fred" reads: "I'm quite knocked down by your over-kindness."[91] And so, after lengthy negotiations, Ermen finally made a single compensation payment of £ 1,750 and this money was used exclusively over the next years to help the Marx family eke out their living. Engels withdrew the major proportion of his capital stock from the firm even before he and Gottfried Ermen had signed the certificate of dissolution in mid-August of 1869; he took the remainder out soon afterwards.

One will on occasion find offensive remarks in the bourgeois literature which all come to one thing: to place Engels the proletarian revolutionary in contrast with Engels the prosperous factory-owner in order thus to arouse doubts as to the genuineness of Engels' proletarian world outlook or even his political and moral integrity. The opponents of the working class would, of course, have preferred Engels to give up his job and renounce his income. He would have been unable to support Marx in this case, *Capital* would not have been written, and the process of the working class's becoming politically and theoretically independent would have been delayed. But Engels did well when he let himself be guided by the *overall* interest of the working class in this matter. He always set out from the fact that money is power under capitalist conditions. To use this power in the interests of the working class and its emancipation was to defeat the class enemy, the bourgeoisie, with its own weapons. Looking back in later years, Engels wrote: "One can perfectly well be a stock jobber and a Socialist at one and the same time and for this reason hate and despise the *class* of the stock jobbers. (. . .) if I were sure that I'd make a million on the Exchange tomorrow and so be able to place large sums of money at the Party's disposal in Europe and America, why, I'd play the market like a shot."[92] Engels looked on the profits he made as a factory-owner and merchant as a contribution toward the working class's fight for emancipation, and used them accordingly all his life.

His mother's wish that her eldest might retire a rich man never materialized, but from now on Engels was at least able to do what mattered most of all to him: to guarantee Marx and his family the money for an adequate and secure, albeit modest, livelihood. Fulfilled, too, at last was the ardent desire to be free–free of going into the office every day, of the firm's correspondence and the Ermens, free above all for political and scientific work, and for the frequent conversations with Marx which he had so long done without.

"Dear Mother, Today is my first day of freedom and I can put it to no better use than by writing to you first thing," reads the opening line of the letter Engels wrote on 1 July of 1869.

"Since yesterday I have been a different chap, and ten years younger. This morning, instead of going into the gloomy city, I walked for some hours in the fields in beautiful weather; and at my writing table in a comfortably furnished room, where one can open the windows without blackening everything with smoke, with flowers in the window and a few trees in front of the house, work is very different from work in my gloomy room in the warehouse looking out on the yard of a public house."[93]

Another letter was mailed instantly to Marx: "Horray! Doux commerce (sweet commerce) is over and done with today, and I'm a free man."[94] Marx sent his hearty congratulations on his friend's escape "from Egyptian captivity" and added: "I drank 'one over the eight' in honour of the event."[95]

It was no less than 18 years since Engels had given up his free life as a writer for that of a business man and settled in Manchester. He had never stopped wanting to return to London, to Marx; and making this wish come true was gradually coming into his reach now. However, several business matters still had to be wound up and this kept Engels in Manchester for over another year.

The town had never been a second home to him, not even in the sixties. The feeling that he was not living there because he wanted to was too strong, but it did not prevent Engels from seeking contact, making friends, and going into society. To his old friends, Dr. Gumpert and Ernest Jones, he added new and no less reliable ones.

Engels met Carl Schorlemmer at the Schiller Anstalt in 1863. Schorlemmer was 14 years his junior, Darmstadt-born and a chemist by profession. He was at Owen's College at the time where he worked as an assistant to one of the professors. Later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and became Professor of Organic Chemistry, the first man to occupy this chair in Great Britain. Apart from the interest the two men shared in natural science problems, they soon discovered that they were of one political mind as well. Marx and Engels familiarized Schorlemmer with the problems of the international labour movement. He joined the International Working Men's

Association and subsequently the revolutionary German workers' Party.

When Engels got to know Schorlemmer "he was already a Communist who only had to learn from us the economic substantiation of a conviction he had won long ago".[86] Their friendship and mutual appreciation lasted all their lives. After Engels moved to London, Schorlemmer often spent his holidays with him there, and with Marx too, and the friends undertook several journeys together as well.

Samuel Moore was another of Engels' very close friends in Manchester. Moore was a former manufacturer who read law after the failure of his cotton spinning mill and now sat on the bench. He, too, sided politically with the working class, and it was through Marx's and Engels' influence that he became a member of the International. Both Marx and Engels held Moore's intellectual powers in very high regard. He made an ideal third to their discussions and was able to give them splendid advice where mathematics were concerned. Although Moore had not yet fully mastered German at the time, he started to read *Capital* the moment it appeared in 1867. In March of 1868, Engels wrote to tell Marx: "The most conscientious reader of your book here is Sam Moore. He has actually worked his painstaking way through more than 600 pages and is sweating on indefatigably."[87] For Engels, only one Britisher was capable of translating the content of Marx's principal work correctly into English: Sam Moore. That is why, years later, Moore, together with Edward Aveling, became the translater of the first volume of *Capital*.

Engels placed all his trust in Moore and Schorlemmer. Both were utterly committed to the cause of the working class. They accepted political commissions without a moment's hesitation when the need arose, and Schorlemmer even went "on secret mission" to Germany during the time of the Anti-Socialist Law.

Lizzy and the Irish

ary, Lizzy and Engels had made their home together for many, many years. Engels had felt absolutely at home with the Burns sisters and their house was his true home in Manchester. Mary's sudden death in January of 1863 had been a grievous blow to the two who survived her. Engels felt that he had irretrievably lost his youth when his early love died. Lizzy mourned for her elder sister with whom she was linked not only by sisterly feelings, but also by the same political conviction. It was only natural for Engels and Lizzy to be drawn closer together and become more heedful of each other until, finally, mutual sympathy and affection grew into sterling love. Thus, Lizzy became Engels' second wife.

This Irish working woman, seven years' his junior, vivacious and wise, had a sure class instinct, and throughout her life

she sided passionately with her people who had been oppressed and exploited for centuries on end. In her, Engels found a good comrade. She understood and approved of his life-work and that of his friend in London, and took a lively interest in everything that moved Engels.

Daugther of an Irish textile dyer, childhood and youth must doubtlessly have been cheerless for Lizzy who, like most working-class children during the first half of the 19th century, was very probably never able to go to school properly at all. She must have started working at the mill as a young girl, and it is more than likely that she was never able to read or write. But lack of education never prevented her from observing what went on around her with wakeful and critical eyes, from realizing that the workers of Ireland and England were oppressed by one and the same class: the English bourgeoisie.

A few lines Engels wrote many years after Lizzy's death in loving memory of the full and happy life that was his at her side make especially clear how deeply attached he was to her, and how much he admired her kindness, intelligence and humor: "My wife was also of true Irish working-class stock, and her innate passionate feeling for her class was worth infinitely more to me, and sustained me more in all critical moments, than could have all the literary affectations and clever talk of the 'refained' and 'fraightfully sensitive' bourgeois girls."[98]

Marx and the members of his family also felt at home with "Mrs. Lizzy" when they went up to Manchester. Little Tussy accompanied her father more frequently than either of her two sisters, and an enraptured little girl always arrived back in London. "Little Tussy is practically causing bad blood in this household with her dithyrambic praise of the Manchester home and her outspoken desire to go back there as soon as possible,"[99] wrote Marx after one of these visits. Admiration of Lizzy also fired the 13-year old girl to a boundless devotion to Ireland, and so when Engels and his wife toured Ireland in September of 1869 they took Marx's youngest daughter with them. She returned from this journey "a stauncher Irish lass than ever".[100]

Engels always enjoyed travelling, and he went on at least one extensive journey a year whenever time and his purse permitted. During the second half of the sixties, he went to Switzerland and Italy, Wales, Sweden and Denmark, and to his native Wuppertal several times as well. But he rarely travelled for pleasure alone. The preserved notes Engels made on his journeys and his letters bear witness to the fact that he used every opportunity to study the language spoken in the country he was visiting and improve his knowledge of its history, geography, ethnology and folklore. In a word: he sought to combine study with recreation. And this applied no less to his journey to Ireland.

Thirteen years had gone by since Engels had first seen the Emerald Isle. He wanted to get to know the country better this time for he meant to write a lengthy treatise on the history of Ireland. He and Marx had always been stirred by the ever-flickering flames of the Irish movement for liberation from English rule. Ireland constitutes an absolutely classic example of the methods the English bourgeoisie used to plunder a country and decimate its population for the sake of profit. The forcibly implemented agrarian reforms cleared more and more of the small holdings to make way for the huge grazing farms, and hundreds of thousands of Irish tenant farmers were forced to emigrate if they did not want to starve to death. Over one-and-a-half million Irishmen and women had left their native shores between 1851 and 1861 alone, with most of them settling in the United States.

Marx and Engels followed up the activities of the Fenian movement with marked sympathy. Formed during the fifties, the Fenian Society, a brotherhood of Irish revolutionaries, was a secret petty bourgeois organization which pursued the goal of establishing an independent Irish Republic. Whilst Marx and Engels disapproved of the Fenians' tactics of conspiracy on the one hand, they appreciated the revolutionary nature of the movement on the other. Marx and the General Council of the International Working Men's Association stood up for the Fenian leaders when many of them were arrested and horribly maltreated in September of 1865. The Fenians tried to organize an armed uprising one-and-a-half years later, but the attempt failed and led to another wave of arrests. Marx's son-in-law

Paul Lafargue recounts in his memoirs that Lizzy "was constantly in touch with Irishmen" and "always posed about their plots". He recollects that "she sheltered more than one Fenian in her house. The leader of the abortive attempt to free the condemned Fenians on their way to the gallows owed it to her that he managed to give the police the slip."[101] It goes without saying that Engels knew about and agreed with Lizzy's activities.

Engels also helped Marx who, with the aid of the General Council of the International, was endeavouring to organize a campaign in support of the Irish liberation movement amongst the English workers. Another important point in this context was to lead the Fenians on to the path of mass struggle and convince them of the need for joint action with the English working class. The Fenians had to understand that the Irish national question was a class question, and that its solution was linked up very tightly with the emancipation of the English working class.

Touring Ireland, Engels found confirmed the picture he had made for himself from what he had read in the press and the relevant literature. "Ireland's trade has grown enormously over the past 14 years," he wrote to Marx. "Dublin harbour was changed beyond recognition. (...) But the country itself seems virtually depopulated and instantly one gets the impression that there are far too few people. Also, one comes up against the state of war everywhere. The Royal Irish are everywhere going about in gangs, complete with bowie-knives and in some cases revolvers for side-arms, and openly holding truncheons in their hands (...) and soldiers here, there and everywhere."[102]

Back in Manchester, Engels returned to his studies of Irish history with doubled intensity. The list of books he drew up to this end contains more than 150 titles, specifically works by ancient, medieval and contemporary writers, Statute books, folklore literature, fiction, books on the country's history, archaeology, geography and economy, and other writings besides. He filled 15 notebooks with excerpts—quite apart from the notes and fragments he jotted down on numerous separate sheets of paper. Engels learned Celtic Irish in order that he might also

read Irish manuscripts in the original, and he translated passages therefrom into German. He exchanged ideas on his subject by correspondence with Marx who gave him many a reference to the pertinent subject literature.

The planned book was to be divided into four main sections: 1) Physiography; 2) Old Ireland; 3) The English Conquest, and 4) English rule. Engels embarked on the book in May of 1870, but was able to complete only the first of the four chapters. He began the second, but it was to remain but a fragment: the momentous political events that began in July of 1870—the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Commune that followed, and the broad range of practical work in the International Working Men's Association which commenced for Engels when he moved to London—prevented him from finishing his book on Ireland.

Yet even the completed parts of the work are clearly indicative of the point Engels intended to make. Delving far back into history and presenting a wealth of hard and fast facts, he meant to expose and pillory the barbarous policy of conquest and extermination the English feudal lords and bourgeois had pursued and were pursuing toward the Irish people. At the same time he planned to use the example furnished by the history of Ireland to unmask the whole system of British colonial rule, and its methods, and disclose the fatal consequences colonialism has not only for the oppressed but also for the oppressor nation. "Irish history," he wrote to Marx, "shows how disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation."[103]

As Engels exchanged ideas with Marx he came to realize that a free Ireland constitutes the precondition for the victory of the English proletariat over its own bourgeoisie and the landed gentry as well. And just as Engels had ceaselessly championed a free Poland ever since the forties, the free Poland that was the precondition for the victory of the democratic movement in Germany and the destruction of Czarism, so he now fought energetically for the liberation of Ireland in the interest of social progress in England.

Engels polemized fiercely with the bourgeois literature when he evolved his thoughts in his fragments on the history of Ireland. He criticized the distortions of Irish history and the

Irish present by English bourgeois historians and economists whose writings were dictated by chauvinist and racist motives. He went on to demonstrate that the apologists of capitalist exploitation and national oppression must of necessity resort to lies and falsifications. "The bourgeoisie," he jotted down on a bit of paper, "turns everything into a commodity, including historiography. Adulterating all commodities is part of its nature, of its conditions of existence: it falsified historiography. And the best paid historiography is the one that has best been falsified in keeping with the intent of the bourgeoisie."[106]

This apposite characterization of the class function of bourgeois historiography is at present more topical than ever before: the sharper the crisis of the imperialist system grows, the more pronounced is the apologist nature of bourgeois ideology and science.

Chapter VII

1870–1883

Reunited with Marx in London

In February of 1870, Engels wrote cheerfully to Marx: "My moving to London late next summer is now a settled matter. Lizzie has told me that she wants to leave Manchester, the sooner the better."[1] It was therefore time to look about for a suitable dwelling in London. And what could be more natural than that Marx, his wife and daughters should help with a will?

Finding an available house in London was then not so difficult, but it *was* difficult to find one that was near the Marx home, roomy, in good condition and not too expensive. In mid-July came promising news. "Dear Herr Engels," Jenny Marx wrote joyfully, "I have just come home from another reconnoitering trip and hasten to report to you immediately. I have now found a house that delights us all with its wonderfully free

setting. Jenny and Tussy came along, and both find it especially attractive." And after an exact description: "It is naturally of the greatest importance that you and your wife see it yourselves, and as quickly as possible, since such a well-situated house is surely snapped up quickly... You know that we are all very happy to see you again."[2]

Jenny Marx had found the right thing, and Engels agreed. It was house number 122, Regent's Park Road, opposite the beautiful Regent's Park, and above all, hardly a quarter of an hour's walk from the Marx home.

During the weeks of searching for a house and the subsequent moving of the Engels family, political events on the Continent followed in rapid succession. The guns sounded again in Central Europe, and the labour movement badly needed the help of Marx and Engels.

On 19 July 1870, the French Emperor Napoleon III declared war on Prussia after Bismarck, through diverse diplomatic intrigues, had provoked him into doing so. Marx and Engels were surprised by so sudden a "turn in events". It was difficult for them "to make peace with the thought that instead of fighting for the destruction of the Emperor's empire, the French people are sacrificing themselves for its expansion, that instead of hanging Bonaparte, they are gathering under his flag".[3] But since the war had now broken out, they did not hesitate a moment to arm the workers of the various countries, especially those of Germany and France, for the new situation that had arisen overnight.

As humanists, Engels and Marx detested war. They knew that wars are neither a matter of fate nor the result of human failure, but emerge from the contradictions of an exploitative society. For that reason they had taught the working class that the dream of mankind for peace could only be fulfilled through the destruction of the power of the exploiting classes. This task objectively confronting the proletariat had to determine the attitude of the working class to war, including those wars it was still too weak to prevent.

But Marx and Engels were also conscious of the fact that there are wars in the history of mankind which help clear

the road to social progress and which, despite all the suffering and agony they bring, play a positive role, because they aid the new against the old. For that reason, the founders of scientific Communism differentiated between revolutionary, just wars and those that are reactionary and unjust, and in this they have been emulated since then by all Marxist-Leninists. Marx and Engels saw every war in its concrete historical setting. They investigated the class character of the given war, its historical and economic reasons, its foreseeable results and its often contradictory and dual nature. They did that in 1870 also.

Marx expressed Engels' viewpoint too when, in the first Address on the Franco-Prussian War which he worked out and which was approved by the General Council, he analyzed the character of the war that had broken out and outlined the tactics the revolutionary workers' movement had to follow under the conditions imposed by the war. Marx and Engels recognized that this was a dynastic war on the part of France designed to guarantee the personal power of Bonaparte, the French Emperor, and if possible, to increase it. In view of that fact, Germany had to carry on a defensive war in the interests of her national independence. "But who made it necessary for Germany to defend herself? Who made it possible for Louis Bonaparte to carry on the war against Germany? *Prussia!* It was Bismarck who conspired with the very same Louis Bonaparte in order to crush popular opposition at home and to have the Hohenzollern dynasty annex all Germany."[4]

Marx and Engels therefore called upon the German working class to counterpose its own national peace policy, its own alternative foreign policy to the anti-national war policy of the ruling classes. The German workers had to support the war as long as it was a just war, a war against Napoleon III, the main enemy of the unification of Germany as a nation-state. But they had to oppose it with all their energy the moment Bismarck carried it further as a war against the French people.

Asked by Marx for his opinion, Engels some weeks later summed up his views in five succinct theses. His suggestions for the tactics of the class-conscious German workers were to

"1) join the national movement... in so far and for so long

as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is arrived at);

"2) at the same time emphasize the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;

"3) work against any annexation of Alsace and Lotraine...

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

"5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who did not approve of the war and are also not making war on each other."[5]

It filled Engels with pride that both in France and Germany thousands of workers raised their voices against the nationalism and chauvinism of the exploiting classes at mass meetings and affirmed their proletarian internationalism across their countries' borders. And when August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht courageously protested in the North German *Reichstag* against the anti-popular foreign and war policy of the Prussian Government, when they called upon the European peoples "to win the right of self-determination for themselves and to abolish the present class rule of the sword, which is the basis of all state and social misfortune"[6]–then Engels was filled with admiration "for the brave intervention of the two... in circumstances where it was truly no small thing to come forward freely and defiantly."[7]

A favourable circumstance made it possible for Engels to express his views on the war, not only in letters to friends and comrades-in-arms, but also in the press. The editors of the London newspaper, *Pall Mall Gazette*, had asked Marx to write for the paper as a war analyst. Marx did not find that possible, but immediately passed on the request to Engels, who agreed to deliver about two articles per week on the course of the hostilities.

In the preceding years, Engels had developed a clear picture for himself of the very different military situation in France and Germany. On 29 July, he began his regular reports in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Headed mostly as "Notes on the War", 58 other reports followed until the end of the conflict. Engels'

profound military commentaries and reports soon stirred great interest in London. Since he wrote anonymously, there was much discussion about the identity of the author. The articles from his pen were so remarkable that even large newspapers like the *Times* had no hesitation in quoting him verbatim and even in citing him as an authoritative witness.

At the end of July 1870, the English public tensely awaited the beginning of a French offensive. Even well-informed circles considered a French victory possible. But Engels was sceptical. He drew attention to the fact that Bonaparte found himself confronted, to his surprise, not merely by King William "Annexander" but by the German people, and that instead of a bold advance across the Rhine he now had to resort to difficult measures for a long field campaign. In that way, Engels said, France had practically lost the limited chances for victory. He expected rather that the Prussian Supreme Command would advance with an army against France, "which would overrun everything B(onaparte) would raise up to oppose it, even if that required numerous hard battles".[8]

Engels' assignment from the *Pall Mall Gazette* covered military questions exclusively. Though urged on by the responsible editor, who viewed his contributions with a certain amount of suspicion, to write as many articles as possible, Engels investigated the war developments in their larger historical, political and military interrelationships. Thus, through references to historical examples, he was able to put the interests of the popular masses in both warring countries more in the foreground. He took the side of those forces fighting on the battlefield for national independence and democratic freedoms and repudiating depredations and oppression as criminal. Behind the pseudo-patriotic phrase-mongering of Bismarck, Engels immediately detected other motives than merely the rejection of France's interference in German affairs, but that did not prevent him from recognizing the superiority of the Prussian army command under its General Staff Chief Helmuth von Moltke. In contrast to the planned goals revealed in the strategy and in the offensive spirit of the German troops, Engels ridiculed the Bonapartist generals who, through their incom-

petence, were responsible for the weaknesses of the French army.

Engels could claim to have uncovered Moltke's secret plan of campaign, which was, after the deployment of the troops had been completed, to surround and defeat the major French forces standing on the Moselle. With just as much certainty, he foretold Moltke's aim, almost to the day, and in the exact area, to encircle and destroy the last still freely operating army under Marshal Patrice Mac-Mahon. In actual fact, this was what happened in the battle of Sedan on 1 September. It led to the capitulation of Mac-Mahon's troops and to the taking of Napoleon III as a prisoner. That sealed the latter's military defeat.

Engels found full recognition for his articles on the war among his friends in London. Marx, who was his constant adviser, said on 3 August that Engels was on the road to becoming "recognized as the *leading military authority in London*".[9] And his wife wrote enthusiastically to Engels about the articles: "You cannot imagine what a sensation they are making here! They are also, however, wonderfully understandable and clearly written, and I cannot resist calling you the *jeune* (young) Moltke."[10] Marx's eldest daughter Jenny expressed her enthusiasm for her father's friend by referring to him jokingly as the General Staff. The nickname, "General", was to be fastened on Engels for the rest of his life.

When the Republican and democratic forces of France proclaimed the French Republic after the defeat and capture of Napoleon on 4 September, every reason for continuing the war disappeared for the German side. On the same day, Engels expressed the opinion to Marx that the war was actually ended and that the cry for guarantees of security was absurd, because France would lose a small strip of land and 1,250,000 inhabitants with Alsace-Lorraine, but could not be gagged. Although the Prussian headquarters had proclaimed at the beginning of the war that it desired to carry on war only against the Emperor Napoleon, and not against the French people, it continued its offensive operations after 4 September. France was to be further humiliated and completely deprived of power.

The war thereby changed its character: from an act of the national defence of Germany it became the open robbing of French territory.

When Marx, in a second Address of the General Council, vigorously protested against the crime that "in the second half of the 19th century the *policy of conquest* has once more been resurrected"[11], he based himself on Engels' military writings which had shown that the German people did not need possession of Strasbourg and Metz, because a united Germany was capable at any moment of repulsing an invasion across the Rhine. If Germany had in the first phase of the war defended herself against French chauvinism, Engels wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, now the war would "slowly but surely" change "into a war for the interests of a new German chauvinism".[12]

Like Marx, Engels supported the German workers' leaders who had been arrested because of their courageous resistance to the predatory Prussian policy. He paid the greatest respect to the stand taken by Bebel and Liebknecht. Both had spoken out courageously in the North German *Reichstag* against continuation of the war, against all annexations, and for an immediate and honourable peace with the French Republic, and had remained firm in the face of the cry of rage from the conservative and liberal Deputies.

In his articles *On the War* with which he also enriched the military theory of the revolutionary labour movement, Engels defended the right of the French people to defend the inviolability of their homeland with all means. With a sure hand he criticized the bourgeois government set up in Paris after the overthrow of Bonaparte, a government which showed no energy and which was inclined to national betrayal. From September on the *franc-tireur* war flamed up in all of France. Engels, in whose eyes every people which "permitted its subjugation only because its army had become unable to carry on resistance"[13] was a nation of cowards, held the irregular people's war against the German troops to be fully justified to the extent that it was carried on energetically enough. He indignantly denounced the brutality and cruelty of the occupying forces, which could not

suppress the people's resistance but only multiplied it many times over.

Engels hoped that the *franc-tireurs* movement would lead to an appreciable material and moral weakening of the enemy. "This constant gnawing of the masses of the people's resistance in the end undermines the strongest army and makes it possible to crumble it, piece by piece,"[3] he wrote in December in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But a complete turn, as he knew, could only be achieved by the appearance of tough regular troops at the decisive concentration points of the hostilities. That, however, was prevented by France's propertied classes, the urban bourgeoisie and the larger landowners. In their majority, they worked against further resistance, committing wretched national betrayal, and came to terms openly with Bismarck out of fear for their class rule.

On 19 February 1871, after a cease-fire had begun, Engels wrote his last article on the Franco-Prussian War. Most of his articles *On the War* had been written in London, for on 20 September 1870 he, Lizzy and Lizzy's niece Mary Ellen had moved into the new house.

Engels' home in Regent's Park Road was a typical London one-family house standing in a row of similar houses, in which families with medium incomes used to live. It was plain and differed in no way from the other houses on the street. For an English dwelling it was quite roomy. In the basement, there was a large kitchen and the bathroom, as well as a coal cellar and a wine cellar. On the ground floor there were two living rooms. On the first floor up there was a very large room which Engels fixed up as his workroom, and a further room. On the next floor there were three bedrooms and guest rooms. The house also had a small garden. Especially attractive was the fact that it was in a green setting, near Primrose Hill.

Primrose Hill was an area of meadows, hillocks and woods in the northwest of the big city which–just like Regent's Park–was most inviting for walks and wandering. That was ideal for Engels, for he was an enthusiastic hiker even in old age. His hours' long "marches" were always a pleasure for him, an especially valued form of intellectual relaxation. In Manchester, Schorlemmer or Moore had often accompanied him on his walks. Now, in London, he could at last be together with Marx again, and not only in promenades but in the circle of the Marx family and above all in their joint work. Everything that in the course of two decades had had to be discussed and cleared up in the form of letters was now again the subject of daily talks.

There was hardly a day on which the friends did not meet, mostly at Marx's home at 1 Modena Villa, and from 1875 on, at 41 Maitland Park Road, but also in Engels' spacious workroom. Often, Marx's daughter Eleanor later recounted, they went walking together or, when they remained at home, paced up and down in Marx's room, "each one on his side of the room, and each hollowed out special holes in his own corner where they wheeled about on their heels with unusual vigour. Here they discussed more things than the philosophy of most people can imagine, and not infrequently they went up and down silently alongside each other. Or, on the other hand, each spoke of what concerned him at that particular moment, until they confronted one another and with loud laughter confessed to each other that they had been occupied with quite different plans for the last half hour."[35]

Both of them felt years younger, now that they could be together again daily. At the end of 1870, Marx's oldest daughter wrote happily to a friend of the family: "Engels ... is better for Mohr than every medicine ... We see the General daily and spend very jolly evenings together."[36]

The contact between the two families now became even closer. Lizzy had long ago won the sympathy of Jenny Marx and her older daughters with her modest, kind and ever helpful spirit, and had often looked after Karl Marx and his youngest daughter in Manchester. For Tussy Marx, Lizzy remained in London also the respected motherly friend and intimate, and Lizzy and Jenny spent holidays at the seaside together.

Engels and his wife, however, were caused some anxiety by Mary Ellen, Lizzy's niece. Pumps was a madcap, difficult to restrain and rather shallow. Even a number of years at a Heidelberg boarding school changed little. When she married the

English businessman, Percy Rosher, in 1881 after many flirts and founded a family, she and her family still remained for a long time dependent on Engels' support.

All the greater was the joy Engels had with Marx's daughters. Jenny and Laura had in the meantime grown up to be young women. Just as in their parental home all thoughts and acts were dedicated to the liberation struggle of the proletariat, so they too participated personally in the workers' movement. Since the middle of the sixties, Jenny had more and more taken over the secretarial work from her mother. She was passionately bound up with the liberation struggle of the Irish people, and that alone would have had guaranteed her a place in Lizzy Burns' heart. In 1872, Jenny married the French journalist, Charles Longuet, who had fought in the ranks of the Communards as a member of the International Working Men's Association and now was struggling along as a political emigrant in England. In 1880, he was able to return to his homeland with his wife on the basis of an amnesty.

Laura, Marx's second daughter, had married the French doctor, Paul Lafargue, in 1868. Lafargue revered Marx and Engels as his paternal friends and worked in France and Spain as one of the most zealous protagonists of scientific Communism in the ranks of the International. At the beginning of the seventies, the Lafargue couple also had to seek asylum in England and, even though they were frequently and generously assisted by Engels had to fight hard for their subsistence. When Lafargue was able to return to Paris again with Laura in 1882, he became one of the founders and most significant leaders of the Marxist Party in France.

Eleanor Marx, the dark-haired Tussy, was of all Marx's daughters the closest to Engels. Later, when it was a question of spreading Marxism in England and building up revolutionary workers' organizations, she became his comrade-in-arms.

Engels also had a place in his heart for the Marx grandchildren. One of them, Jean Longuet, lovingly called Johnny by everyone, lived for a long time with his grandparents. Wilhelm Liebknecht, who was then on a visit to London, related how Johnny would mount Marx's shoulders as a coachman, while

he and Engels had to "pull" as omnibus horses: "Mohr had to trot until the sweat poured down from his forehead, and when Engels or I would try to slacken our speed, down came the whip of the cruel driver."[17]

The Marx family circle also included Helene Demuth, the loyal Lenchen. A pillar of strength in the Marx house, she knew only too well how to value Engels' selflessness and constant readiness to be of assistance. As long as he lived, Engels greatly respected the unflinching loyalty and selflessness of this woman. Above all, he enjoyed Lenchen's original humour.

His daily contact with the Marx family compensated Engels also for the fact that he had had to leave good friends behind in Manchester. But he saw Schorlemmer, Moore and Gumpert when they were his guests from time to time, and some old friendships going all the way back to the days of the revolution were now renewed in London. The very active work in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association brought Engels into contact with many new comrades-in-arms, of whom some became his friends with the passage of time.

In the General Council and on the Side of the Communards

When Engels moved from Manchester to London, the International Working Men's Association had entered a decisive stage in its development. The implementing of its historical task–to aid in the building up of revolutionary workers' Parties in the advanced industrial countries–was near realization. In Germany–in the shape of the Eisenach Party–the first organized Party on a national basis was already in existence. The International also had numerous sections in many other countries which had joined together to form federations. The response to the two Addresses of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War had shown that the International had become a power.

Its authority in the international workers' movement had grown enormously. The General Council in London was daily inundated with questions. Advice on questions of the political

struggle, support of strike actions, information on the development of the labour movement in the individual countries–all of this had increased in importance and scope to such an extent that Marx longed for the day on which Engels would begin to work at his side in the General Council. On the evening of 20 September 1870, when Engels moved into his London house, Marx proposed at a session of the General Council that the Council accept Engels as a member. Fourteen days later he was co-opted into the General Council.

Engels threw himself into the political and organizational work of the leading organs of the International Working Men's Association with genuine zest. The problems were not unfamiliar to him, since he had already taken part in all important discussions while still in Manchester through his constant exchange of views with Marx. Marx had also informed him in detail about developments involving the International. But what a difference now! Now all problems could be jointly discussed immediately. Free of all other responsibilities, Engels was able to dedicate himself completely to the liberation struggle of the proletariat. As in the case of the leadership of the Communist League, or in the editing of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels now once again worked shoulder to shoulder.

Engels immediately took over a substantial portion of the work of the General Council. Until August of 1871, he was responsible for Belgium. In September of 1871, he was confirmed in his post as secretary for Italy, after he had already taken over this function in May. In October of 1871, he was elected secretary for Spain, which he had also until then represented provisionally in the General Council, and in 1872, in addition, he took on the duties of secretary for Portugal and Denmark. He was also a member of the Finance Committee of the International. His rich theoretical knowledge, his long years of experience in the workers' movement, and last but not least, his outstanding knowledge of languages, made him alongside Marx, one of the people with the best prerequisites for the most responsible functions.

One of his first tasks in the General Council was to give strong support to the mass movement which had developed in

England at the time for the recognition of the French Republic. In order to be able the better to rob France, out of counter-revolutionary hatred for the bourgeois Republic, Bismarck had at first rejected recognition of the republican Government as an authorized negotiating partner, since it was allegedly not legitimized. Although Engels did not for one moment underestimate the anti-national role of the French bourgeoisie, and from the beginning saw through their efforts to make a deal with Bismarck at the expense of the people, he nevertheless firmly supported recognition of the young Republic by the Great Powers, especially England. He saw such a move on the part of England as more than a diplomatic act. In his opinion, the quick recognition of the Republic which had come into being after Sedan and the overthrow of Napoleon would have strengthened France's position in the peace negotiations with Bismarck. Perhaps it would even have provided a last opportunity of ending the Franco-Prussian War without the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. At the same time, it would have been a means, from the long-range point of view, of checking the influence of the Junkers and militarists in Germany.

Engels' hopes were not fulfilled, particularly since the leaders of the trade unions gave only hesitant support to the movement for recognition of the French Republic. But together with Marx, Engels used these controversies among the English public as the occasion for promoting a debate in the General Council on basic principles with respect to the attitude of the English working class to the foreign policy of the Government. During a number of sessions there were stormy discussions, until the viewpoint fought for by Marx and Engels carried the day, the viewpoint that the class-conscious English proletariat had to force its Government to oppose the policy of conquest of czarist Russia and its Prussian allies. The goal of the two friends in their fight for this concept was the strengthening of democracy in Europe by orientating the international working class and its allies on the struggle against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and for the re-establishment of Poland.

At the same time, in the spring of 1871, Engels participated energetically in a solidarity action for the striking cigar workers

of Antwerp. At his motion, the General Council called upon the trade unions for support. In the publication *Volksstaat* Engels published an appeal to the German workers in the same cause. The measures of assistance undertaken by the General Council made it possible for the cigar workers to hold out until September in their struggle in defence of their trade union and forced the employers to accept the workers' demands. Just as firmly, Engels supported the strike movement in Spain, where the textile workers of Barcelona, the coopers of Santander and the tanners of Valencia were on strike. More than anything else, however, Engels was now occupied with an event about which the General Council was informed on 19 March: the revolution of the Paris workers.

In the early morning hours of 18 March 1871 the red flag waved from the City Hall in Paris, and the workers marched through the streets with the cry, "Long live the Commune!" The first signals of a proletarian revolution caused the propertied classes all over the world to listen fearfully. But for the international proletariat, the news that the Paris workers had taken up arms, had chased out the bourgeoisie and seized the power of Government became a blazing symbol. Within a few days, the General Council of the International transformed itself into a fighting staff for the support of the Communards. At the session of 21 March, Engels reported for the first time on the Paris events. The news was still meagre, and the individual reports still contradicted one another. Basing himself on information from the committee of the International in Paris, Engels outlined to the members of the General Council "what had been incomprehensible before".[18]

The Paris workers had won honours with their defence of the French capital against the overwhelming superiority of the Prussian-German troops. Badly trained, and supplied with insufficient weapons and munitions, the National Guard had fought very bravely. The selfless spirit of the Parisians was so great that they had made public money collections for the purchase of cannons. In contrast to the patriotism of the workers, the artisans, the traders and the lower employees, however, the Republican Thiers Government of the *haute bourgeoisie* tried to

make a deal with the Prussian conquerors. Thiers negotiated secretly with Bismarck on the conclusion of a peace treaty that was dishonourable for France, and the French bourgeoisie was determined to brutally beat down the revolutionary proletariat of Paris the moment it showed resistance to this shameful policy.

The long-pent-up indignation over the bourgeoisie's cowardly betrayal of the interests of the nation broke loose when the Government on the night of 18 March ordered the National Guard to be disarmed. The order was not carried out. The treachery ended with a complete fiasco for the Government. The workers, supported by their women, offered energetic resistance. A part of the troops sent against them fraternized with them, and when two generals gave the order to shoot on defenceless women and children, they were seized and shot on the spot by their own troops. Thiers had the troops which had not gone over to the side of the people removed from Paris as quickly as possible and fled head over heels with his Government to Versailles.

"The town was now in the hands of the people."[27] That is how Engels described the situation which had resulted from the rising of the workers in Paris before members of the General Council. The working class had conquered power in alliance with the other working people. Thus began a new period in the history of the proletarian class struggle. "With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained,"[28] Marx wrote to his friend Ludwig Kugelmann. Like Marx, Engels also stood firmly on the side of the Paris Communards from the very first day. Both recognized that the struggle of the Paris workers was a milestone in the working class's fight for the conquest of political rule and thereby brought the proletariat an important step forwards in its efforts to carry out its historical mission. For that reason the heroic battle of the Paris workers was from the very beginning the cause of the entire international worker's movement.

At Marx's suggestion, the decision was immediately made that

members of the General Council should speak to workers' meetings on the Paris events, in order to call upon the English workers to make declarations of sympathy for the Paris Communards. But that could be only a beginning. Above all, a connection had to be established at once with the Paris workers so that they could be helped in their struggle against the Versailles Government, for Thiers soon began feverish preparations to destroy the revolution with the help of the Prussian Junkers and militarists. Now it was necessary to mobilize the international labour movement! Hundreds of letters had to be sent to members of the International throughout the world, and at the same time, there had to be a decisive refutation of the slanders which the bourgeois press systematically spread about the struggle of the Paris workers.

Marx and Engels learned with satisfaction how energetically the Communards had destroyed the old bourgeois state apparatus and had started on the creation of proletarian state power. Immediately after its election, the Council of the Commune dissolved the reactionary standing army and went ahead with the general arming of the people in the form of the National Guard. Deputies freely elected by the people replaced the old officials and the judicial bureaucracy. They were workers and artisans, men and women who were ready to work for the well-being of the working people. Representing the proletarian state in its essence, they were accountable to their electors and could be relieved of their duties at any time. They not only discussed and adopted laws but also carried them into effect. Soon these representatives of the people introduced equality for women and gave effect to social and economic decrees, for example, measures for labour safety, for the abolition of rent debts and for the setting-up of workers' cooperatives.

Marx and Engels looked with great pride on these accomplishments of the Commune in a city surrounded by the enemy. In every phase of their struggle, the two friends helped the Communards with advice and deeds, even though they were quite aware of the great failings of this first attempt of the working class to conquer political power. Thus Engels made sharp criticisms of the Communards in the General Council

because they had neglected to open up the struggle against the Versailles Government immediately. He held it to be equally false that the Bank of France was not immediately seized, for with possession of its enormous fortune, the Commune would have been able to exert a decisive pressure on the Government. Its failure to do so, however, granted the bourgeoisie a breathing spell and the latter was able itself to determine when it was sufficiently armed–with Bismarck's support–to settle accounts with the Paris workers in a bloody manner.

The decisive reason for a number of mistakes and inconsistencies of the Communards was seen by Marx and Engels in the absence of a revolutionary workers' Party. In France as in other countries, naturally, the International had done significant work in spreading the knowledge that the liberation of the working class could only be the work of the workers themselves. The members of the International were among those representatives in the Commune who more energetically than all the others worked for the implementation of deep-going democratic and social measures. Nevertheless, no one knew better than Marx and Engels that the Commune had, indeed, been prepared intellectually by the International, but not "made" by it. As against the Blanquists and Proudhonists, the proponents of Utopian-Communist or petty-bourgeois Socialist views, the members of the International in the Council of the Commune–including, again, the convinced representatives of scientific Communism–were a small minority.

Engels, however, viewed with interest and satisfaction the fact that the Blanquists, just like the Proudhonists, to a great extent outgrew their own theoretical views in the fire of the revolutionary struggle, and "that both did the opposite of what the doctrines of their school prescribed".[31] While the Utopian-Communist and petty-bourgeois dogmas showed themselves to be useless for the solution of the social problems thrown up by the Paris Commune, for the first time in a proletarian revolution Marxism demonstrated its vitality and power as a weapon of the working class in the struggle for a new society freed of exploitation and oppression.

The most progressive forces of the international proletariat

recognized that the struggle in Paris was also one for their own liberation. At numerous mass meetings, the English, German, Austrian, Swiss and American workers, and also the workers in other countries, courageously expressed their solidarity with their Parisian class brothers. The General Council was regularly informed about their actions. Thus Engels, among other things, kept the Council informed about mass demonstrations and meetings of the German workers in Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Essen, Cologne, Mainz, Dresden, Leipzig and Chemnitz.

In the *Reichstag*, Bebel declared before the Prussian Junkers and militarists who supported the Versailles Government through the early release of French prisoners of war in the name of the German working class: "Gentlemen . . . you may be sure that the entire European proletariat and all those who still carry a feeling for freedom and independence in their breasts are looking at Paris . . . and if Paris is oppressed at the moment, then I remind you that the struggle in Paris is only a small outpost skirmish, that the main battle still lies ahead of us in Europe, and that before a few decades have passed the battle-cry of the Parisian proletariat–War against the palaces, peace to the hovels, death to poverty and the idlers!–will become the battle-cry of the entire European proletariat."[32]

Marx and Engels were enthusiastic at these brave words, since they showed how deeply the ideas of proletarian internationalism spread by them had taken root in the workers' movement. But even more important was the fact that in the ranks of the Communards, alongside Frenchmen there stood many revolutionaries of other countries. Hundreds of Poles, including Jaroslaw Dabrowski and Walery Wroblewski, many Hungarians–among them Leo Frankel–Russian revolutionaries such as Yelizaveta Lukinitchna Tomanovskaya and the representatives of other nations fought together with the Paris workers at the risk of their lives for the aims of the working class. Some of them, like Wroblewski and Frankel, even had leading functions in the Commune.

At the beginning of April, Thiers' counter-revolutionary troops began to attack the capital from the west, while the

Prussian-German occupation troops surrounded the city from the east. Engels had at first hoped the Parisian workers would be able to offer successful resistance to the advance of the Versailles troops. In April, and early in May, he emphasized in the General Council that the Paris workers would this time be better organized militarily than in any previous rising. The struggle would for that reason possibly be drawn out until other large cities also set up Communes. But although the workers, their women at their side, defended themselves heroically, they were defeated by the military superiority of the Versailles troops. Thiers' soldiers, who during the bitter battle had already run amok in the city, now murdered men, women and children wholesale. "The breech loaders could no longer kill fast enough; the vanquished were shot down in hundreds by mitrailleuse fire. The 'Wall of the Federals' at the Père-Lachaise cemetery, where the final mass murder was consummated, is still standing today, a mute but eloquent testimony to the frenzy of which the ruling class is capable as soon as the working class dares to stand up for its rights."[23] With these words Engels, filled with abhorrence and indignation, twenty years later denounced the brutality of the bourgeoisie in the destruction of the Commune, in which 30,000 were killed and 60,000 thrown into prison or sent to forced labour in the penal colonies, that is to say, to certain death.

A stream of refugees poured out of Paris: most of the refugees headed for London. They hoped for help from the International Working Men's Association, the only organization in Europe which openly held to the cause of the Commune after the defeat of the revolution. The General Council set up a refugee's committee in which Engels and Marx were tirelessly active. In order to alleviate the most immediate need, the committee sponsored a number of collections. Above all, however, work had to be found for the refugees. Passes were arranged for the Communards living illegally in France, so that they could flee abroad. As twenty years earlier, after the defeat of the German revolution, Engels was now again the initiator and organizer of numerous relief projects. The poverty of the Communards was a reminder of the difficult times when Marx

and his family, and many other comrades-in-arms, had had to emigrate from Germany and arrived in London penniless.

Marx and Engels not only saved the lives of many fighters for the Commune; they also saved their legacy from the slanders of their enemies and the distortions of their supposed friends. They evaluated the historical contributions of the Communards for the international proletariat and made their experiences accessible to the workers' movement in the various countries. At the session of the General Council held on 11 April 1871, Engels took the initiative in that direction by declaring that it was not enough "to allow the Paris affair go on without saying something about it".[24] At the next session, Marx made the proposal that an Address should be issued to all members of the International on the significance of the struggle in Paris, in order to make the experiences of the Paris Commune the common property of all proletarians. Marx was assigned the writing of this Address. On 30 May, two days after the last barricade of the Communards had fallen in Paris, Marx read the work to the General Council in which, as Engels later remarked, "the historical significance of the Paris Commune is delineated in short, powerful strokes, but with such trenchancy and above all such truth as has never again been attained in all the mass of literature on this subject".[25]

In his work, *The Civil War in France*, Marx created a permanent memorial to "these Parisians, storming heaven".[26] His shattering revelations of the crimes committed by the Versailles Government placed the bourgeoisie in the prisoner's dock as cold-blooded murderers of the proletariat and pilloried the bourgeois press as mean slanderers. At the centre of his investigation Marx put the scientific analysis of the Commune as a *"Government of the working class"*, as the "political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of Labour."[27] Marx and Engels had already reached the viewpoint in the course of the class struggles in the 1848 revolution that the proletariat could not simply take over the old bourgeois state apparatus after the conquest of political power, but would have to replace it through its own state apparatus, created by itself; now, however, the Commune had confirmed

this theoretical farsightedness for the first time in practice. It had made it possible to discern the basic characteristic of the future proletarian state: the direct exercise of power by the people, embodied in the election of all people's representatives, in their duty to give an accounting to the people, in the right to recall them, in the transforming of Parliament into a genuine representative body of the popular masses and in the joining of the power to legislate and the power to enforce the legislation.

The unrestricted identification of the International Working Men's Association with the Paris Commune called forth the unanimous anger of the ruling classes. "In all of London's history no publication has caused such a stir as the Address of the General Council of the International,"[28] Engels wrote in the *Volksstaat*. He immediately translated it into German, in order to make this significant work of scientific Communism available also to the German workers.

While in Germany, Belgium, England, Switzerland and other countries the workers greeted the Address of the General Council on the Civil War in France in a lively manner, right-wing leaders of the English trade unions who had at first agreed with it in the General Council now raised a protest. George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft, both co-founders of the International, capitulated before the attacks of the bourgeois press. Engels, for whom there was nothing worse than timidity and cowardice in the class struggle and for whom compromisers and capitulationists were an abomination, was indignant at this dishonest attitude. At the next session of the General Council, he moved that the traitors be expelled from the Council. The motion was approved. With equal consistency, he cut his connections with the editorial board of the *Pall Mall Gazette* when it, too, joined the chorus of the enemies of the Commune.

From Engelskirchen he received a reproachful letter about his public support for the Paris Commune. His mother, now 74 years old, complained that only the influence of Marx on her eldest son, surely, was responsible for everything. Engels replied carefully but unequivocally. Showing understanding for the anxiety of his mother, he reminded her of the experiences which she herself had had in her long life. Revolutionaries had

always had all imaginable horror stories attributed to them, whether the "Tugendbündler" (members of the "Morality Federation"–transl.) under Emperor Napoleon I, the demagogues of 1817 and 1831, or the democrats of 1848 were involved. "I hope, dear mother, that you will remember that and also regard the people of 1871 in this light when you read about these imaginary shameful acts in the newspaper," Engels wrote. As far as his attitude to the Commune was concerned, however, he stated clearly: "That I have changed nothing in my opinions, which I have had for almost 30 years, you have known, and it should be no surprise to you that I, as soon as the events made it necessary for me, would not only speak up for them, but would also carry out my obligations in other ways. You would have to be ashamed of me if I did not do that. If Marx were not here, or simply did not exist, that would change nothing in the matter."[29]

That is the last letter by Engels to his mother which has come down to us. Two years later, in the autumn of 1873, Elisabeth Engels died. She had not been in agreement with the political opinions of her eldest son, but her loving sympathy had always been his.

Marx and Engels could with justice see in the Paris Commune a brilliant confirmation of the theoretical insights they had developed in revolutionary struggle, especially their view that the class struggle must be carried through until the setting-up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And yet there are today imperialist and right-wing Social-Democratic ideologists–one hundred years after the Commune, more than fifty years after the Red October and decades after a whole series of victorious Socialist revolutions on three continents–who attempt to deny the class character of the Paris Commune and thereby the general validity of the law of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our epoch, which is marked by the world-wide transition from capitalism to Socialism, the imperialist rulers fear nothing more than the teaching of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the construction of Socialist society, as discovered by Marx and Engels and repeatedly confirmed by history.

For Marx and Engels there was not the shadow of a doubt

about the world-historical significance of the Paris Commune. For that reason, Engels, in later years and decades, again and again recalled the theoretical lesson of the Paris Communards that the working class can establish its power, guarantee it and build up Socialism only with the help of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For Marx and Engels, as well as for the entire international revolutionary workers' movement, the attitude towards the Commune, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, was from now on a decisive test for every one of the workers' Parties and every member of the proletarian movement. Wherever in the world the working class, in the interest of its victory has determinedly fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has achieved brilliant successes; but wherever it has followed the revisionist prattle about the peaceful "growing into" Socialism and has ignored the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has suffered defeats. And even when it allowed itself to be misled by bourgeois ideology into neglecting the consolidation of proletarian state power for only a short period, it also had to suffer bitter setbacks.

Naturally, in the 1870's, the proletarian revolution was not directly on the agenda even in the most industrially developed countries. The last quarter of the 19th century was a relatively peaceful period of development for capitalism, a period in which the working class had to prepare itself for the decisive conflicts with the bourgeoisie, for the proletarian revolution. It was a time about which Lenin later wrote: "Socialist Parties, basically proletarian, were formed everywhere, and learned to use bourgeois parliamentarianism and to found their own daily press, their educational institutions, their trade unions and their cooperative societies. Marx's doctrine gained a complete victory—and *began to spread*. The selection and mustering of the forces of the proletariat, and its preparation for the coming battles made slow but steady progress."[30]

In 1871, the international workers' movement was still at the beginning of this period. The solution of the tasks outlined here by Lenin still lay ahead. Marx and Engels knew the scope of these tasks, the difficulties to be faced, but also the irreversible necessity of taking this road.

Revolutionary Class Party or Anarchism

Immediately after he had completed the German translation of Marx's *Civil War in France*, Engels put before the General Council a proposal "for the convening of a closed conference in London on the third Sunday in September"[31]. The International, represented by its General Council, had resolutely taken the side of the Paris Commune, despite all opposition, and the Council had arranged support for the refugee Communards from France with all the means at its disposal, but Marx and Engels knew only too well that that alone would not be sufficient to firmly embed the legacy of the Commune in the revolutionary practice of the international workers' movement. For that, concrete conclusions were necessary for the further development of the International Working Men's Association.

But in view of the reprisals which were launched in almost

all countries against the revolutionary workers' movement after the defeat of the Commune, normal annual congresses on the continent were out of the question. Just as the reactionary rulers after the revolution of 1848–1849 had joined together in a campaign of incitement against social progress and especially against its most consistent representatives, the members of the Communist League, so the Governments supported one another after the bloody triumph of the French bourgeoisie over the Paris workers in the prosecution of members of the International. Forgotten were the differences which only one year earlier had led to the outbreak of the France-Prussian War; in the struggle against the revolutionary workers' movement, the ruling classes of all countries were united.

Despite this counter-revolutionary incitement against the International, the discussion of the most important experiences of the Paris Commune for the further development of the labour movement could no longer be postponed. It was not only the opportunist leaders of the trade unions who in this difficult situation had stabbed the General Council in the back and deserted to the bourgeoisie; at the same time, the Bakuninists also increased their attacks on the General Council.

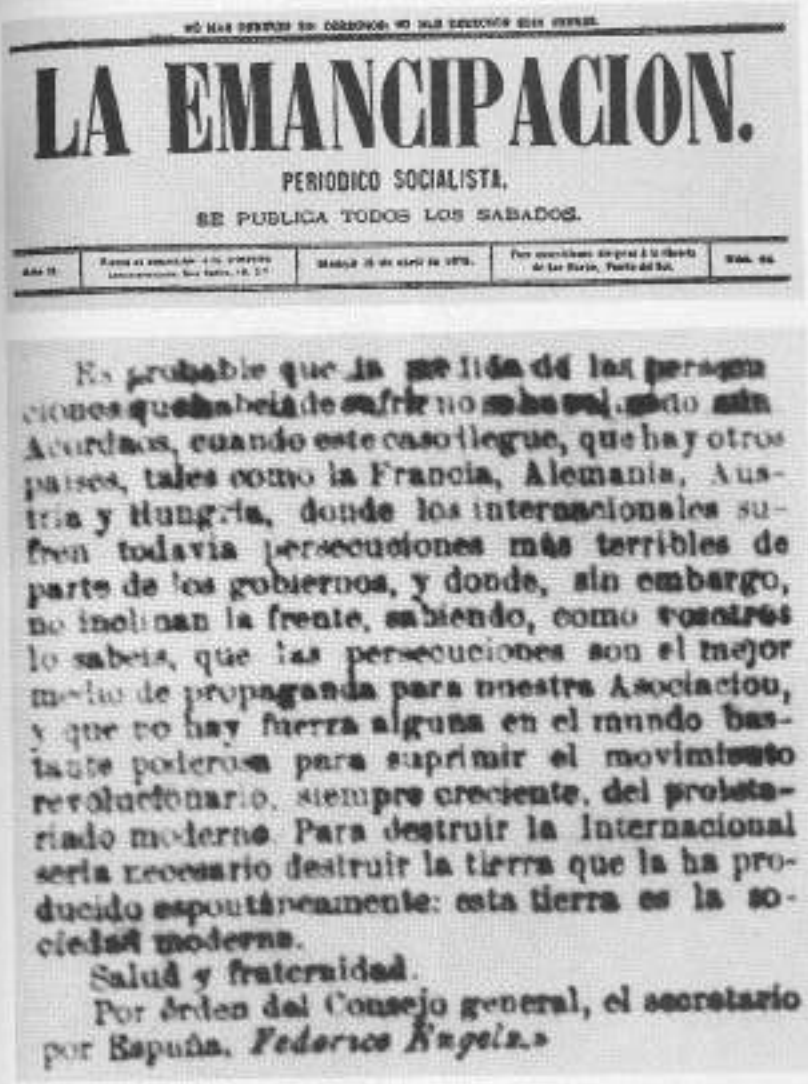
Bakunin, who had joined the International only with the intention of forcing his anarchist programme onto it, now felt his hour had come. He loudly proclaimed that he was the real heir of the Commune, although his seemingly revolutionary words were in blatant contradiction to the experiences of the Communards. Bakunin's phrase about the rejection of every form of state power, that is to say, that of a Socialist state also, was absurd, in view of the historical contribution of the Commune in creating a proletarian state. Bakunin's claim that the proletariat did not need to, and in fact, should not, set up political Parties, had shown itself to be no less nonsensical: the Paris workers had had to pay with their blood for the fact that they did not as yet have a revolutionary class Party with a clear, scientifically-grounded programme. Practice had also refuted the putschist concept of Bakunin that it was possible everywhere and at all times to make a revolution if only a band of courageous men summoned the masses to the struggle.



Proclamation of the Paris Commune on 28 March 1871



Shooting of Communards by Versailles troops



LA EMANCIPACION.

PERIODICO SOCIALISTA.

SE PUBLICA TODOS LOS SABADOS.

Es probable que la mayoría de las persecuciones que habeis de sufrir no sean evitadas. Acordaos, cuando este caso llegue, que hay otros países, tales como la Francia, Alemania, Austria y Hungría, donde los internacionales sufren todavía persecuciones más terribles de parte de los gobiernos, y donde, sin embargo, no inclinan la frente, sabiendo, como vosotros lo sabeis, que las persecuciones son el mejor medio de propaganda para nuestra Asociacion, y que no hay fuerza alguna en el mundo bastante poderosa para suprimir el movimiento revolucionario, siempre creciente, del proletariado moderno. Para destruir la Internacional seria necesario destruir la tierra que la ha producido espontáneamente: esta tierra es la sociedad moderna.

Salud y fraternidad.

Por órden del Consejo general, el secretario por España, *Federico Engels*.»

The 13 April 1872 issue of *La Emancipación* carrying a Proclamation of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association signed by Engels



Jenny Marx (daughter)



Charles Longuet



Laura Marx



Paul Lafargue



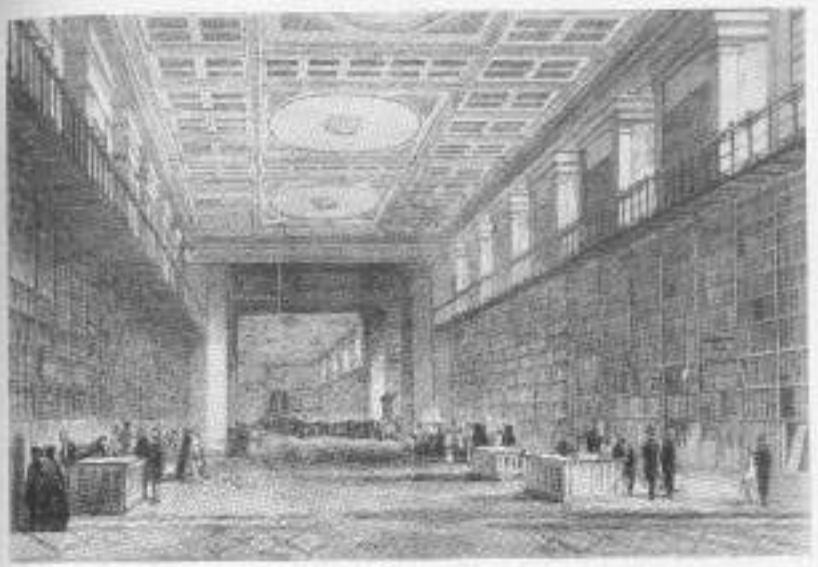
Frederick Engels in 1879



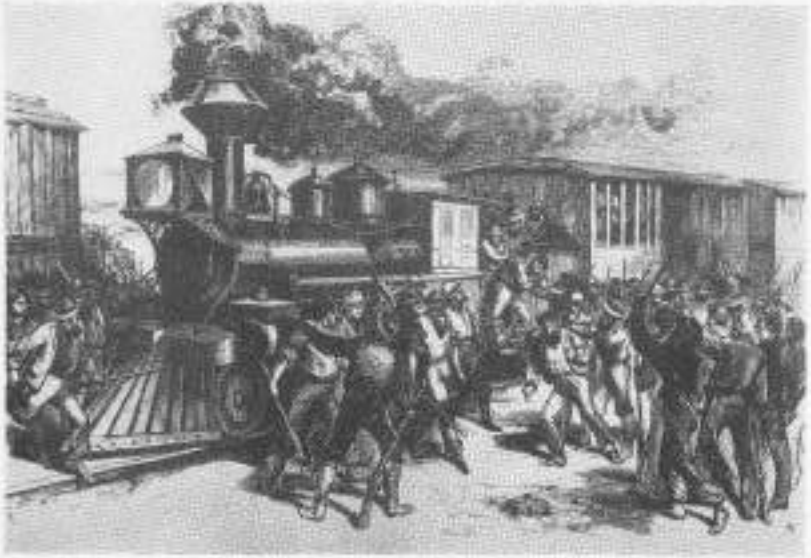
Lydia Burns



The seaside at Eastbourne



Partial view of the British Museum's library in 1851



Strike action along the Baltimore-Ohio railroad in the USA

Engels was in full agreement with Marx that Bakunin's anarchism was a deadly menace to the revolutionary workers' movement and that the General Council had to expose and denounce, before the international working class, not only the catastrophic policy of the anarchists, but also its petty-bourgeois-idealistic intellectual basis. Most of the other members of the General Council also recognized that these controversies had become a question of life and death for the International. In this connection, an especially difficult task fell on Engels as corresponding secretary for Spain and Italy; along with Belgium and the Italian and French sections of Switzerland, it was in Italy and Spain where the Bakuninists had won most influence. In these economically still backward countries, the anarchistic propaganda of the Bakuninists found favourable soil among the petty-bourgeoisie and the *lumpenproletariat*, frightened by capitalist development. But even in the working-class movement in these countries, which was taking its first steps and therefore had hardly enough experience in the class struggle, anarchism caused great damage.

In his numerous letters and other documents Engels sent to the leaders of the national sections of the International in Italy and Spain on behalf of the General Council, he laid special stress on the evaluation of the experiences and lessons of the Commune. He drew attention to the underlying ideological reasons for the irresponsible playing at revolution of the anarchists, and explained that the followers of Bakunin based themselves on an idealistic standpoint and were therefore unable to comprehend the dialectical unity of evolutionary and revolutionary processes in the class struggle of the proletariat. Just as representatives of anarchism had at all times, on the basis of their insufficient political, ideological and organizational preparations of the working class for the decisive class battles, caused a great deal of mischief, so the Bakuninists now risked once again to plunge the workers' movement into chaos with their anarchistic views. As bitter enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as decisive opponents of the organized struggle of the working class, and as zealous propagandists of a putschist policy, the Bakuninists, as Engels demonstrated in detail, were

in practice opposed in all basic questions to the tasks which the international labour movement had to face and solve after the Paris Commune. Above all, anarchism hindered the proletariat in solving what had become the central task, which after 1871 could no longer be put aside: the setting-up, strengthening and development of revolutionary Marxist workers' Parties in the individual countries.

In order to help carry through this task, Engels at all times combined the settling of accounts with anarchist views and the defence of scientific Communism with the spreading of the theories evolved by Marx and himself. To those with whom he was in correspondence, he unflaggingly explained the foundations of the scientific strategy and tactics of the working class. With a great empathy for the specific problems of the class struggle of every country, Engels corrected the false views which appeared among the leaders of the individual sections of the International, and helped these leaders to master scientific Communism with concrete suggestions drawn from the treasury of experience of the international labour movement. Although the correspondence with the leaders of the International in Italy, Spain and Portugal, as well as in Germany and other countries, by itself made great claims on Engels, it was only a part of the preparatory work he carried on for the London conference. Together with Marx he worked out the agenda and the draft resolutions, for the final editing and translating of which he was responsible.

At the conference, which took place in London from 17 to 23 September 1871, 22 delegates with voting powers took part and 10 with the right to speak but not vote. The workers of the countries which could not send delegates because of the police measures of the Governments against the International arranged to be represented through members of the General Council, as a rule through their corresponding secretaries. Delegates participated in the conference who, because of their many years of work in the international workers' movement, were well known and had taken an active part in the development of the International ever since its foundation, such as the Frenchman, Eugène Dupont, and the German, Johann Georg Eccarius.

Along with such famous leaders of the Paris Commune as Auguste Serraillier or Edouard Vaillant, there were other workers' functionaries among the participants who had found their way to the International only a few years earlier, such as the Spanish delegate, Anselmo Lorenzo, who enjoyed Engels' hospitality.

To this circle of people Engels delivered a much-acclaimed address on the political action of the working class and settled accounts with the Bakuninists' propaganda for political abstention and their rejection of organized political work. He said: "The morning after the Paris Commune, which has made proletarian political action an order of the day, abstention is entirely out of the question." In striking words he then drew the conclusions which emerged from that thesis for the class struggle of the proletariat: "We want the abolition of classes. What is the means of achieving it? The only means is political domination of the proletariat. For all this, now that it is acknowledged by one and all, we are told not to meddle with politics! The abstentionists say they are revolutionaries, even revolutionaries *par excellence*. Yet 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 without which they are sure to become the dupes of the Favres and Pyats the morning after the battle. However, our politics must be working-class politics. The workers' Party must never be the tag of any bourgeois Party; it must be independent and have its goal and its own policy."[12]

The Bakuninists present at the conference immediately raised a protest against discussion of this question. Marx and some participants in the Paris Commune entered the debate. On the basis of their own experiences and of the experiences of the international labour movement, they refuted the pseudo-revolutionary phrases of Bakuninism. Their joint efforts made it possible to get the conference to make a decision on a basic principle, namely, the decision on "the political effectiveness of the working class", in the formulating of which Engels played a determining role. This decision made clear in un-

equivocal terms that the "constituting of the working class as a political Party is essential for the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate goal–the abolition of classes".[33] At the initiative of Marx and Engels, the conference participants emphasized the close connection between the economic and the political struggle of the working class, underscored the role of the trade unions, demanded that the farm labourers be drawn into the movement of the industrial proletariat, and proposed that organizations of women workers be set up within the International wherever possible.

The decisions of the London conference represented a clear victory for the views of Marx and Engels. When they were published, the Bakuninists reacted with blind rage. Though they had themselves aimed at grabbing the leadership of the International, they now accused the General Council of having usurped power and screamed about a dictatorship of the Germans in the General Council. Their cry that centralization in the workers' movement and the authority of its leadership had to be abolished was answered by Engels with the telling words: "And when I am told that authority and centralization are two things that should be condemned under all possible circumstances, it seems to me that those who say so either do not know what a revolution is or are revolutionaries in name only."[34]

The Bakuninists went even further. At their congress in Sonvillier, Switzerland, they officially rejected the decisions of the London conference and accused the General Council of having misused its mandate. They arrogantly called upon all federations to oppose the decisions of the London conference, just as they had done.

This appeal to all the elements in the workers' movement hostile to Marxism to join together was welcomed by the bourgeois liberals in the English trade unions, as well as by the hard-core Lassalle followers in the General Association of German Workers. Marx and Engels therefore doubled and redoubled their efforts in this difficult situation. Engels was greatly concerned over the attitude of those sections for which he was personally responsible. In numerous letters to the

Federal Council in Spain and to the members of the International in Italy, he explained the necessity for the decisions made at the London conference. Although he was not able at first, despite all his intensive efforts, to break the influence of anarchism in these countries, he nevertheless succeeded, by educating numerous cadres in the struggle against Bakuninism in Italy and Spain, in laying the foundation for the spread of Marxism and the development of the revolutionary labour movement in the years and decades to come.

But even where the workers' movement had long outgrown anarchist sectarianism, a systematic explanation of the true aims of the Bakuninists was also urgently necessary in order to organize the forces for the overcoming of anarchism on an international scale. "Our German readers, who know only too well the value of an organization that is able to defend itself, will find all of this remarkable," Engels wrote in an article published in the *Volksstaat* in which he reported on the congress of Sonvillier, and especially on the attempts made by the Bakuninists to destroy the revolutionary unity of the international labour movement. "Precisely now, when we have to fight tooth and nail, the proletariat is not to be organized in accordance with the needs of the struggle, which are daily and hourly forced upon it, but according to the notions spun by some phantasts of an undetermined future society!"[35] Engels then pointed out to the members of the Eisenach Party what would have happened to their Party if they had given up their fight for Party discipline and the much needed centralization of their forces. Thanks to their own experiences and their increasing knowledge of the laws of the proletarian class struggle, the Eisenachers defended the General Council against all attacks of the Bakuninists and showed themselves to be one of the most dependable pillars of support for Marx and Engels in the struggle against anarchism.

In the spring of 1872, Marx and Engels, in weeks of joint work, wrote a comprehensive document in which they exposed to the members of the International the disorganizing activity of the Bakuninists and their anti-working class machinations. In this work, which they entitled *Fictitious Splits in the Inter-*

national, they described the role played by Bakuninism as "the infancy of the proletarian movement"[36], which differed in principle from the proletarian mass movement just as much as astrology and alchemy from modern natural science. Although Marx and Engels mercilessly revealed Bakunin's intrigues against the International, the actual menace of the conspiracy was at that time not yet known to them in its full scope.

It was only a short time later that Engels learned from Spain, from Paul Lafargue and the member of the Spanish Federal Council, José Mesa, of the existence and the catastrophic working of a secret Bakuninist organization within the International. Its activity had already led to the fact that the International in Spain, despite the selfless work of its best members, was completely disorganized in a short period of time.

Engels' revelations about what had happened in Spain set off a stormy debate in the General Council. Most of the members were determined to put an end, once and for all, to the irresponsible machinations of the Bakuninists. They planned to do so at the approaching congress of the International, which was to take place at The Hague in September of 1872. Others thought Engels' report to be somewhat exaggerated, if not actually blown up, since they did not hold the Bakuninists to be capable of such duplicity. But these doubters were taught otherwise by the Bakuninists, for on the same day that the General Council was discussing the treacherous role of the Bakuninists in Spain, an anarchist congress took place in the Italian city of Rimini at which the followers of Bakunin, although meeting as an Italian Federation of the International, nevertheless declared their links with the General Council in London to be null and void and called a counter-congress of their own.

Never before had the situation in the International been so serious as on the eve of the Hague congress. While the Bakuninists blew the trumpets for an offensive against the London General Council, not only in Spain and Italy, but also in parts of Switzerland and even in Belgium, Marx and Engels gathered together the best elements of the international labour movement for the defence of the proletarian class character and the political programme of the International Working Men's Association.

More intensively than ever, Engels carried on further correspondence with the sections of the International in the Latin countries still loyal to it. He tirelessly explained the aims of the Bakuninists to the members. At the same time, he performed a vast amount of routine organizational work in order to guarantee the supporters of Marx a secure majority in the congress. In numerous letters, he very vigorously reminded Wilhelm Liebknecht to send a strong delegation of the Eisenach Party to the forthcoming congress, for he was completely in agreement with Marx that the life or death of the International would be decided at the Hague Congress.

When Engels and Marx–the latter accompanied by his wife, Laura and Paul Lafargue, and his daughter Eleanor–arrived in The Hague, they were soon convinced that their efforts had not been in vain. Among the 65 delegates, they found many loyal and battle-tested supporters and friends, such as Johann Philipp Becker, Theodor Cuno, Joseph Dietzgen, Eugène Dupont, Leo Frankel, Ludwig Kugelmann, Friedrich Lessner, Auguste Serraillier, Friedrich Adolph Sorge. Outstanding leaders of the international labour movement from 14 countries of Europe and the United States had responded to the call of the General Council, and it was in fact the most representative Congress of the International that had ever taken place.

Marx and Engels were taking part for the first time in a Congress of the International. Along with a mandate of the General Council and of Section 1 in New York, Marx had a mandate from Leipzig. Engels represented Section 6 in New York and the Breslau Section of the International.

Bakunin preferred to keep away from the congress. The first discussions already showed that the overwhelming majority of the delegates supported the General Council, and thereby Marx and Engels. They approved the report of the Council, which described the progress made by the International, not only in Europe, but also in America, in Australia and even in New Zealand. Above all, the participants in the congress decided in favour of the views of Marx and Engels on the questions fundamental to the development of the workers' movement. The congress supported the view that the setting up of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat was the precondition for the Socialist transformation, that that principle, however, could only be carried out and made secure under the leadership of revolutionary proletarian Parties. The formulation on this point worked out by Engels for the London conference was taken over by the Statutes of the International word for word as Article 7a. With this victory of scientific Communism, the working out of the basic common ideological, political and organizational principles of the labour movement in the framework of the International Working Men's Association was completed at the Hague Congress. At the same time, the decisive precondition was created for forming Socialist Parties in these countries.

The anarchist views of the Bakuninists were repudiated with the adoption of these basic decisions of the Hague Congress by the representatives of the international revolutionary labour movement. And when the special commission set up by the congress reported on the systematic work of disintegration carried on by Bakunin and his followers in the ranks of the International, the feeling expressed here and there that a personal injustice had been done to the Bakuninists disappeared. On behalf of the General Council, Engels had worked out a *Report on the Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, in which he said about the posture the Bakuninists had assumed in the International as a matter of principle: "For the first time in the history of the struggles of the working class, we come up against a secret conspiracy which is organized within this class itself and has the aim, not of undermining the existing exploitative regime, but the very Association that is fighting it most energetically."[37]

Basing his statement on comprehensive factual material, Engels showed beyond the shadow of a doubt the divisive activity of the Bakuninists in the sections of the International in various countries. The evidence of the commission was overwhelming. The congress delegates demanded the expulsion of Bakunin and of his most zealous supporter, James Guillaume, from the International and secured a resolution to that effect.

Great excitement was stirred among the delegates to the congress when Engels–in his own and Marx's name–moved a resolution that the seat of the General Council of the International

be moved from London to New York. It was not easy to persuade the delegates of the expediency of this proposal. After all, such a decision made it necessary for Marx, Engels and other tested workers' leaders to leave the General Council. Engels justified his proposal on the grounds that the divisive activity of the Bakuninists and the disruptive actions of the petty-bourgeois emigrant groups had made the work of the General Council in London extraordinarily difficult. Further, London had now been the seat of the General Council for eight years, and "one has to make a change sometimes in order to prevent an anticipated calcification".[38] There was also the fact that in Europe the police terror against the workers' movement had grown to an unusual degree and in some countries, such as France, the activity of the International Working Men's Association had been almost completely crippled. In view of these arguments and facts, a bare majority finally approved the transfer of the seat of the General Council to New York.

Deeply satisfied by the political results of the congress, Engels returned to London. Here, he discussed with Friedrich Adolph Sorge, who had been named General Secretary of the New York General Council at The Hague, to define the principles of their further work. But for Engels himself, just as for Marx, there were still numerous responsibilities waiting. Firstly, many sections and functionaries of the International in many countries had to have the significance of the Hague decisions and the conclusions to be drawn explained to them. The organizational and tactical experiences of the London General Council had to be passed on to the new Council members in New York. Last but not least, it was necessary to defend the scientifically based action programme of the Hague congress against the attacks of the Bakuninists and their fellow-travellers, all the more so, since immediately after the Hague Congress the English reformists allied themselves with the anarchists.

The representatives of the reformist wing in the British Federal Council demonstratively refused to accept the decisions adopted at The Hague. They launched a campaign of slander against Marx and Engels and split the English labour movement which was at that moment on the verge of constituting itself as

a political workers' Party. When the supporters of a revolutionary workers' policy who had fallen into confusion applied to Engels for help, he gave them every possible support. He helped them draft documents and letters to the papers, informed them about the development of the International in the individual countries and helped the Secretary of the British Federal Council, Samuel Vickery, in the preparation of a congress called by the federation for June 1873 in Manchester. The joint efforts made to develop a revolutionary workers' Party, however, had no immediate success at that time, since the divisive activity of the reformists at first crippled the strength of the English working class. It was only in the eighties and nineties that Engels, building on his activity in the British Federal Council of the International, was able to push forward the process of forming an English working-class Party with greater success.

After the Hague Congress, Engels continued to settle accounts with the anarchist views of the Bakuninists and their putschist practice in numerous publications, notably in a brochure, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, written together with Marx and Lafargue, as well as in articles for the workers' press. Thus, for example, he wrote a contribution for an Italian almanac in which he dealt with the significance of authority for the class struggle of the working class. He refuted the phrase always put forward by the Bakuninists that the working class would no longer need authority in Socialism, since the producers could administer their plants themselves. Engels declared emphatically that for the working class, authority and discipline are indispensable in organizing and defending the Socialist social order, especially of the Socialist state, for "if the victorious Party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."[39] But the organization of social life in Socialism will also lead to the fact "that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority".[40]

The general validity of the criticism made by Engels and

Marx of anarchism has been emphasized by the class struggles of the hundred years that have gone by since then. Wherever anarchism has raised its head, wherever it has been able to win influence, it has everywhere and at all times injured the working class. Neither adventurism nor putschism have shown themselves to be prerequisites for bringing success in the conquest of political power by the working class and establishing a society free from exploitation and oppression. Only the creation of revolutionary workers' Parties on the basis of scientific Communism has fulfilled that function. Precisely for that reason the enemies of the working class and of Socialism always direct their attacks against the Party of the working class. Their ideologists ally themselves both with the propagandists of anarchism, who would like to persuade the workers that they can abolish capitalist exploitation without a Party, and the revisionists, who slanderously claim that Socialist construction is hampered by the activities of the Marxist-Leninist Party. History, on the contrary, has completely confirmed the theory of the leading role of the Party in the workers' movement as enunciated by Marx and Engels and evolved by V. I. Lenin. The working class has been able to overthrow the capitalist exploitative system only where it has been led by a Marxist-Leninist Party. It has been able to achieve lasting success in building Socialism only where the new society has been created in a planned manner under the leadership of the Party.

This theoretical and political orientation, which was worked out and spread by the International Working Men's Association, thanks, above all, to Marx and Engels, was the most important legacy of the Association. Engels was able to see for himself, as the years went by, that the International had in fact successfully prepared the setting up of revolutionary workers' Parties in the individual countries. That made new forms of international cooperation necessary. The role of the General Council as a leading centre moved more and more into the background. But before the International was dissolved in 1876, Engels wrote to Sorge that, "after Marx's writings have produced their effect for some years", the next International will "proclaim precisely our principles".[41]

In the Struggle Against the Prussian-German Military State for the Revolutionary Unity of the Workers

In the spreading of scientific Communism in the ranks of the International Working Men's Association, and during the controversies with the anarchists, the Social Democratic Workers' Party had been a trustworthy ally of Marx and Engels. The Eisenach Party, through its determined internationalist attitude in the Franco-Prussian War, and above all, towards the Paris Commune, had been able to consolidate its authority quickly, not only within the German working class but also in the international labour movement. When the French counter-revolution, supported by the Prussian-German conquerors, had triumphed over the Paris Communards, the German workers had shown themselves capable of taking on a high responsibility: they now stood, as Engels declared, "in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle".[92] This responsibility was all the

greater, since the German working class was confronted by a very powerful enemy in the Prussianized German *Kaiser Reich*, an enemy which proceeded to the task of building up Germany rapidly as the strongest military power in Europe.

Engels, who had fought on the barricades of the 1848 revolution for a democratic Germany, and in the fifties and sixties had tirelessly supported the working class and the other democratic forces in their struggle for the unity of Germany through a people's revolution, now had to watch with anger and disgust that Germany found its unity in a Kaiser Reich, at the head of which stood the Hohenzollern Wilhelm I, who was notorious as the grape-shot prince and hangman of Rastatt. Engels loved his people and was proud of their revolutionary deeds and cultural achievements. He now felt the national shame more deeply than most of his fellow-countrymen. But he did not capitulate for one moment.

Although bourgeois Germany now also had a united state which—as Marx accurately wrote—was nothing more than a "police-guarded, military despotism embellished with parliamentary forms, alloyed with a feudal admixture, already influenced by the bourgeoisie and bureaucratically carpentered"[93], all the more energetically did one have to fight to democratically transform this bourgeois nation-state, which had been brought into existence in a reactionary manner, from within with revolutionary means. According to Engels' and Marx's view, this goal could only be achieved through the overthrow of the Prussian-German military state and the setting up of a democratic republic. Only in that manner would it be possible, they held, to create the free and democratic nation-state which the workers, the peasants, the artisans and the progressive representatives of the intelligentsia and the middle classes had dreamed of. On this road, however—of that both friends were firmly convinced—only one class could place itself at the head of all the democratic, humanist and anti-militarist forces of society: the revolutionary working class under the leadership of its Party. In this process, the proletariat acted not only in its own interests but in the vital interests of the entire nation. By fighting for a democratic republic, it prepared the battleground

on which the working class could best fight for its own political rule, for setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. For these reasons, Engels declared optimistically and with conviction, only a few years after the Franco-Prussian War, when the victorious German bourgeoisie was still in the grip of its chauvinistic ecstasy: "The future historian will attach much less importance in the history of Germany since 1869–74 to the roar of battle at Spichern, Mars-la-Tour and Sedan, and everything connected therewith, than to the unpretentious, quiet but constantly progressing development of the German proletariat."[46]

Although Engels fought Bismarck's policy of the Junkers and big bourgeoisie, which was aimed at strengthening militarism and Prussianizing Germany, with all the means at his disposal, he nevertheless could not agree with those opponents of the Hohenzollern Reich who believed that it was necessary to undo what had already been done. As a realistic political leader, Engels recognized that a unified bourgeois nation-state offered better conditions by far for economic and social development in Germany than the territorial fragmentation ever could. Watchfully, and with satisfaction, Engels observed how rapidly industry now developed in Germany. New, and in the technical sense, most modernly equipped plants were established. The existing railway network was quickly expanded in order to connect up the industrial centres and cities more closely. The war reparations squeezed out of France—a total of 5,000,000,000 francs—furthered this development.

The industrial upswing entailed a numerical growth of the proletariat. Engels directed the attention of the leaders of the Eisenach Party to the fact that the working class had gained a more favourable footing for its struggle through the unification of Germany. Now the German proletariat could organize on a national basis. The revolutionary workers' movement could develop its strength more cohesively and take up the struggle against the Prussian-German military state in more favourable circumstances. For that reason, Engels declared, it was necessary to accept the fact that the Reich had been founded, but never to give it approval. Twenty years after the founding of the

Prussian-German military state, Engels summarized this conception of the revolutionary working class, which Marx and he had held from the beginning, in these words: "The revolution from above of 1866 and 1870 must not be reversed but supplemented and improved by a movement from below."[45] And again: "This system can be finally broken, not from the outside, through another victorious military state, but only from within, through its own inevitable consequences."[46]

But the "movement from below" demanded by Engels could no longer be expected from the bourgeoisie. Bismarck had satisfied their economic claims and they had thus bought "gradual social emancipation at the price of the immediate renunciation of political power".[47] Within a few years a Junker-bourgeois exploiting group developed, ever clearer in its contours. Out of thirst for profits and fear of the working class, the bourgeoisie took refuge in the arms of the reactionary Junkers. Together with them, they sought to carry through the anti-democratic and aggressive policy of the Prussian-German military state.

In this situation, Engels and Marx urged the revolutionary German workers' movement to rally all peace-loving and democratic forces for the struggle against the Prussian-German military state. This struggle required, above all, cohesive action by the working class. Engels could confirm for the members of the Eisenach Party that they knew "what was involved" and had, "alone among all the Parties, a correct view of the history of our day"[48], but that the German labour movement was nevertheless split. It was therefore necessary to spread the same clarity as existed in principle in the Party of Bebel and Liebknecht on the character of the Hohenzollern state among the members of the Lassallean General German Workers' Union. Among the latter, the illusion brought into the working class by Lassalle to the effect that the labour movement could expect support from the Bismarck state in the carrying through of its aims was still widespread. This illusion constituted a basic obstacle to the overcoming of the split in the working class in the struggle against the Prussian-German military state. It was just as important to carry an understanding of the anti-national and especially the anti-working class character of the

German Reich into sections of the working class that still stood aside from the political struggle.

The Prussian-German military state, its historical roots in reactionary Prussianism, the catastrophic influence it had on freedom and democracy in Germany, and its dangerous character as a disturber of the peace in Europe—these were problems with which Engels now occupied himself ever more frequently. He discussed them with Marx, wrote about them to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and other friends in Germany and prepared newspaper articles and scientific investigations on them. He formulated the first exact analysis of the Bismarckian ruling system, of Bismarckian Bonapartism. Contrary to all claims that the state put together by Bismarck stood above classes and for that very reason could represent all classes and strata, Engels defined it as a fake constitutionalism in which "the real governmental authority lies in the hands of a special caste of army officers and state officials"[30], who came mostly from Junker families and were only to a limited extent recruited from the bourgeoisie. Engels described the declared aim of the Bismarck state to be the transformation of Germany into a centre of reaction and militarism, in which the army had become the "main purpose of the state"[30]. In a sharp polemic statement against the rulers of Germany who thought in terms of a preventive war against France, Engels emphasized in the mid-seventies that "not France, but the German Reich of the Prussian nation is the true representative of militarism".[31] The aggressive external policy of this state, he held, was internally supplemented by the oppression of all democratic aspirations, especially of the revolutionary workers' movement, the prosecution of which had become more and more the common concern of both Junkers and the *haute bourgeoisie*.

Engels knew better than anyone else, outside of Marx, how to encourage the Eisenachers to master scientific Communism. He declared: "In particular, it will be the duty of the leaders . . . to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that

it be studied."[32] Engels himself made a decisive contribution to the spreading of scientific Communism in the ranks of the Eisenach Party. His collaboration with the *Volksstaat* made the newspaper into the best press organ of the period, not only for Germany but for the entire international labour movement. Especially in the period after the Hague Congress, Engels strengthened his ties with the editors of the *Volksstaat*. The reason for that was to be found in the division of labour between him and Marx, about which Engels said that it fell upon him "to present our opinions in the periodical press, and, therefore, particularly in the fight against opposing views, in order that Marx should have time for the elaboration of his great basic work".[33] In addition, Marx had been so overtaxed physically by the work of the last years that he urgently needed special consideration. But the relations between the Eisenachers and Marx had not fallen away. As ever, they continued to seek his advice. But when Bebel and Liebknecht asked him to write some articles for the *Volksstaat* which would refute Lassalle's ideas, he turned the task over to Engels. The latter provided the paper with a series of brilliant journalistic pieces which were remarkable for the sharp humour and biting irony with which he carried on a polemic against anti-working class views. These articles of Engels were of inestimable value for the Party both in its fight against the ideology of reactionary Prussianism and against Lassalleanism, against the vulgarized democratism and all the other forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. They were all the more significant in view of the fact that since the Paris Commune the ruling classes had increased their efforts in the intellectual conflict to achieve an ideological breakthrough in the workers' Parties that were taking shape. Unable to prevent the advancing integration of scientific Communism with the workers' movement, the bourgeois ideologists came forward as apologists of the existing situation and thus became active propagandists of nationalism and chauvinism. Anti-Socialism took on organized forms and the combating of scientific Communism became a feature of bourgeois ideology.

Engels' extraordinary ability to combine polemic with the exposition of his own standpoint, and the clarification of cur-

rent questions of class struggle with the explanation of the principles of scientific Communism, showed itself again in his series of articles, *The Housing Question*, which appeared in the *Volksstaat* from the summer of 1872 to the spring of 1873. Here he entered a discussion which at that time played a great role in the press and at meetings. As a result of the rapid advance in industry and the concentration of the proletariat in the industrial centres bound up with it, the miserable housing conditions of the working class in Germany at the beginning of the seventies had taken on catastrophic proportions. In this situation, social reformers, the so-called academic Socialists–a group of bourgeois professors–came forward and propagated various projects for the alleged solution of the housing question and of the so-called labour problem in general. But all these projects left capitalist property and the bourgeois social order completely untouched.

Engels recognized immediately that the enemy had to be fought before he had the least opportunity to penetrate into the ranks of the Party. In his polemic against the representatives of Proudhonism, which had furthered the spread of Bakuninism in the Latin countries and in some respects coincided with Lassallean views, he declared that the teachings of both Proudhon and Lassalle contradicted the practical needs of the revolutionary class struggle. In order to prove this assertion, he quoted at length from Marx's major economic work, *Capital*. He explained the basic thoughts of this work of genius, of this critique of the capitalist mode of production, and presented the theoretical riches of *Capital* in a readily understandable form to meet the immediate needs of the political struggle of the working class. In this way he helped spread the teachings of *Capital* in Germany just as the second edition appeared.

Using the housing question, Engels demonstrated that every one-sided emphasis on individual social measures could only serve to disguise the exploitation in society. But that was precisely the aim of those bourgeois social reformers who presented themselves in public as workers' friends. Engels' investigations ended with the proof that the revolutionary class policy of the proletariat could not be replaced by a policy of

reforms, for "it is not that the solution of the housing question", he wrote, "simultaneously solves the social question, but that only by the solution of the social question, that is by the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, is the solution of the housing question made possible".[54]

Basing his elucidations on the experiences of the Paris Commune, Engels explained to his readers the "necessity of political action by the proletariat and of its dictatorship"[55]–a view which Marx and he had already formulated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. For the Eisenach Party, Engels deduced from the experiences of the Communards: "Since each political Party sets out to establish its rule in the state, so the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party is necessarily striving to establish *its* rule, the rule of the working class, hence 'class domination'".[56] The repetition of the fact that the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the construction of Socialism are possible only when the working class wields power in the state in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was most important for the working out of a scientific strategy and tactics for the German workers' Party.

Only a few months after the last article on the housing question had appeared in the *Volksstaat*, Engels wrote a letter to Bebel in which he developed at lengths his views about the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party to be pursued against the Lassalleans. Like Marx, Engels also supported the unification of the two workers' organizations into a single Party. But it was clear to him that revolutionary workers' unity could only last if it came into being on the basis of scientific Communism. Engels therefore saw the strengthening of the Eisenach Party's own position in the working class as a precondition enabling it to wage a successful struggle for revolutionary workers' unity. The Party thus could not concentrate its political activity in a one-sided manner on the Lassallean Workers' Union. It was now above all necessary to draw in the sections of the proletariat which had not yet been reached at all by the labour movement.

Engels urgently warned against the "unification fanatics". Citing examples from the history of the international workers'

movement, he advised Bebel that unity at any price could only damage the revolutionary proletariat and that there were situations in the political struggle "where one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things".[57] Engels came to the conclusion: "In any case, I think the efficient elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in the course of time and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to."[58]

Engels himself did whatever he could to create the ideological and political preconditions for the establishment of revolutionary workers' unity. In his articles for the *Volksstaat*, he devoted special attention to two series of problems. On the one hand, he made the experiences of the international labour movement accessible to the members of the Eisenach Party; on the other hand, he delved deeply into the question of militarism in Germany and thereby supported the Party in its struggle against the Prussian-German military state.

When it was necessary to draw conclusions from the struggle of the labour movement of other countries for the development of the German workers' movement, no one was better equipped for the task than Engels. He had wide-ranging connections with the leaders of the individual national workers' organizations which, after the transfer of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to New York, continued to approach Engels and Marx for advice and support. Engels was in constant correspondence with Friedrich Adolph Sorge, the general secretary of the International, and there was hardly an important development in the international workers' movement that they did not thoroughly discuss.

Engels' expert judgement on problems of the international labour movement was also the result of his excellent knowledge of the concrete situation in the individual countries. In England, he took a direct part in the controversies between the members of the British Federal Council of the International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions, and he of course followed with special interest the struggle in the Latin countries which he had represented in the International. In Spain, he supported

José Mesa, among others, as well as Francisco and Angel Mora, who then founded the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain at the end of the seventies. He corresponded with Enrico Bignami, who was working for the creation of a class-based proletarian Party in Italy. He took a lively part in the workers' movement which was gradually coming alive again in France and consulted with the refugees of the Commune on their future tasks. In addition, he was in contact with Polish and Russian revolutionaries, and with workers' leaders and revolutionary democrats in the whole world. In the years after the Hague Congress, when national workers' Parties began to emerge in many countries, there was nobody apart from Marx who had as deep and comprehensive an insight into the problems of development of the international labour movement as Engels.

His firm conviction that the partisans of revolutionary workers' unity would win out over the divisive elements in the German labour movement was to be confirmed. In the autumn of 1874, unity proposals were made by the Lassallean leaders. Engels saw in these proposals the result of the revolutionary class policy of the Eisenach Party and its growing political strength. Like the members of both workers' organizations, Marx and Engels also greeted the impending unification wholeheartedly. However, they had not been informed by Wilhelm Liebknecht about the concrete development of the negotiations with the Lassallean leaders and learned only through the newspapers that the unification was to take place on the basis of a compromise programme.

It was the same with August Bebel and Wilhelm Bracke. Bebel, who in March of 1875 was still in prison, had already asked Engels what the latter and Marx thought about the unification question even before the publication of the draft programme. Bebel and Bracke were indignant when they learned what concessions had been made to the Lassalleans in the draft programme. Now Bracke too asked for advice from his experienced friends in London and declared in a letter to Engels that he would "like to know what you and Marx think about the business. Your experience is riper, your insight better, than mine".[59]

Engels responded to this wish after he had analyzed the compromise programme with Marx, point for point. His letter to Bebel of 18–28 March 1875 was the first stand taken on the draft programme by the friends.

In his letter, Engels vigorously condemned the lack of principle in the concessions made to the Lassallean leaders and wrote: "Our Party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere and therefore in what is decisive for the programme, but the Lassalleans certainly have something to learn from our Party."[59]

Engels directed his main attack against Lassallean phrases which the Eisenach Party–and some members of the General German Workers' Union also–had long outgrown. At the same time, he criticized the vulgarized democratic views which the Eisenachers themselves had not yet overcome and which found expression especially in their attitude to questions of the state.

Seven weeks after the criticism begun by Engels' "programme letter", there followed Marx's *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*. In it, the main points of the joint criticisms were worked out in detail and broadened by a number of new concepts. In both documents, the friends concerned themselves with the application of the experiences of the Paris Commune to the conditions which had emerged after 1871. In his *Marginal Notes*, Marx enriched scientific Communism to such an extent, especially with regard to the theory of the state, of the revolution and of the building of Socialist and Communist society, that the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* is counted among the most significant works of Marxism.

Marx explained to his pupils and comrades-in-arms in the German labour movement the fundamental difference between a democratic republic–the draft programme limited itself to this demand–and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Naturally, the revolutionary proletariat had to work for the bourgeois-democratic republic, because without it the working class would not be able to arm itself for the final struggle for its own rule. The German people could achieve the democratic republic only after it had destroyed the Prussian-German military state. But even then the democratic republic would remain a bourgeois

state, a system based on exploitation. The working class therefore had to carry on the class struggle until the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Between capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other," Marx wrote. "Corresponding to this there is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."[60] Only with its help could Socialism be built up. The struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement for democracy was of course bound up in the closest manner with the struggle for Socialism, but they were not identical. All illusions that Socialism could be made a reality without proletarian revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, or even–as Lassalle imagined–with the help of the exploiting state, would be catastrophic for the working class.

The development in the Soviet Union, in the German Democratic Republic and in the other Socialist countries has in the meantime shown that the working class can only build Socialism after setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. And it has at the same time confirmed the scientific discovery, formulated in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, that the final victory of Communism is possible only over a prolonged period. In a splendid social prognosis, Marx refuted in the *Marginal Notes* all ultra-revolutionary phrases which were supposed to make the working class believe that mankind, after the overthrow of capitalism, could overnight, in one great leap, so to say, enter the realm of Communism. He showed the necessity of two phases of development in Communist society and investigated both their similarities and their differences. From the presence of "birth marks of the old society"[61] after the overthrow of bourgeois rule, Marx concluded that in the first phase of development, in Socialist society, remuneration would have to be made in accordance with work done by the individual members of society. Only in a later phase of development, in Communist society, when the contradiction between physical and intellectual labour had been overcome and the difference between town and countryside had fallen away, when labour had become the primary need in life for all members of society,

and when, above all, a surplus of material goods was guaranteed by the development of the productive forces–only then could the principle of remuneration be proclaimed: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"[92]

Marx was able to reach such brilliant prophetic insight because–in contrast to the dreams of the petty-bourgeois Utopians and the fantastic plans for the future of the anarchists–he had, together with Engels, soberly and exactly analyzed the trends of development which had begun to show themselves in the capitalist social order. This knowledge of Marx and Engels on the road to the Communist social order, knowledge which Lenin later perfected and made concrete in theory and practice, has since then been completely confirmed in social reality. It was and remains a weapon of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the building up of Socialism and forms part of the theoretical foundations for the creation of an advanced Socialist society in the German Democratic Republic.

With their critique, Engels and Marx were not able to prevent the adoption of the compromise programme at the Gotha Unity Congress in May of 1875, but their critical remarks were heeded in two basic questions. Engels learned with satisfaction that the delegates assembled in Gotha had emphasized the need for the trade union movement in the class struggle of the proletariat in a special resolution. Sectarian views originating from Lassalleanism were thereby overcome in practice. Just as emphatically, the delegates recognized the international responsibilities of the proletariat and carried into the Party programme, almost word for word, the formulation proposed by Engels in this matter.

"The unification as such will be a great success if it lasts two years,"[93] Engels declared a few months after the Unity Congress in a letter to Bebel. Soon after the unification, the Social-Democratic movement began to grow rapidly. The number of Party members increased, the trade union movement won strength and influence, and in the *Reichstag* election of 1877, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was able to send 12 Deputies into parliament. To their great joy, Engels and Marx soon were able to note that their fears with regard to the consequences of the compromise programme were not entirely realized. Regardless

of the opportunistic formulations in the programme, the workers held on to their revolutionary outlook with regard to the Prussian-German military state and were not prepared to enter into compromises of any kind with the Bismarck regime. Engels and Marx were able to hold back from making a public criticism both of the programme and its protagonists.

But Engels was nonetheless confirmed in his prophecy that opportunistic views would gain influence in the Party as a result of the compromise programme. That showed itself one year later when the Berlin university lecturer, Eugen Dühring, turned the heads of even leading Social-Democrats with his petty-bourgeois Socialist ideas. That was helped greatly by the fact that Dühring presented his theories in a scientific garb and for a while sympathized with Social-Democracy. And since he had been persecuted by the Prussian bureaucracy, although he was blind, he also enjoyed the sympathy of all honest democrats. But his eclectic-mechanistic views, with which he wanted to replace scientific Socialism, endangered the ideological bases of the revolutionary labour movement and had to be reduced to absurdity publicly. Liebknecht besieged Marx and Engels with requests that they open up an attack on Dühring. But Engels still hesitated.

Anti-Dühring

From 1873 on, Engels occupied himself ever more intensively with philosophical problems of the natural sciences. His aim was to write a book, after thorough preparation, in which he wanted to provide a dialectical-materialist generalization of the theoretical knowledge of the natural sciences. With his researches, a further area of the sciences was to be analyzed from the standpoint of scientific Communism, and the working out of the proletarian world outlook was to be carried forward on the basis of the latest advances in human thought.

An objective need for such an analysis had prompted Engels to undertake this project. The development of the international workers' movement, on the one hand, and the enunciation of the theory of the working class, on the other, had reached such a stage with the appearance of the first volume of *Capital*, with

the evaluation of the Paris Commune and with the emergence of revolutionary workers' Parties and organizations in numerous countries that a further clarification of the systematic interconnection in the scientific theory of the working class was urgently necessary. This clarification was needed in order to beat back the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, and above all, in order to equip the working masses, who had now awakened to class-consciousness and were searching for a firm orientation in the class struggle, with a theory which differed from all other theories by its scientific and integrated nature.

Engels was deep in these studies when the urgent appeal came from Germany to counter-attack the "Dühring epidemic"[65], as Wilhelm Liebknecht aptly described it. When Marx also urged him to act, Engels delayed no longer. At the end of May 1876, he wrote to his friend somewhat testily: "It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie warm in bed and study ground rent in general and Russian agrarian conditions in particular with nothing to disturb you–but I am to sit on the hard bench and . . . suddenly interrupt everything again and get after the scalp of the boring Dühring." But in the same letter he already developed in a detailed manner his concept for settling accounts with Dühring and closed with the words: "Anyhow, I have him on the hip now. My plan is ready. First of all I shall deal with this trash in a purely objective and apparently serious way, and then the treatment will become more trenchant as the proofs of the nonsense on the one hand and of the platitudes on the other begin to pile up, until at last a regular hailstorm comes pouring down on him."[66]

That was the true Engels again. Once he had reached the point of taking on a new task, he tackled it with all his force and feeling. Thus, in the autumn of 1876, he began his work on *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, known as *Anti-Dühring*, for short, which as Lenin later wrote, analyzed "highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences".[67]

While he was still working on the book, *Anti-Dühring* appeared as a series of articles in *Vorwärts*. The first 20 articles were published in the central organ of the Socialist Workers'

Party of Germany from the beginning of January until May of 1877, under the title, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Philosophy*. The second section, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Political Economy*, was published by the *Vorwärts* in nine articles from July until December of 1877. The third section, entitled, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Socialism*, followed in the period from May until July of 1878, and closed the series. In addition, all the articles appeared in a special publication in two sections, and soon thereafter, immediately before the promulgation of Bismarck's anti-Socialist law, as a book. In this manner, Engels' work became known to thousands of class-conscious workers and had a great mass effect.

How much the systematic combating of the petty-bourgeois views of Dühring was needed was revealed when the first series of articles appeared in the *Vorwärts*. The followers of Dühring in the German Party–including even leading Social Democrats–raised a storm against Engels' polemic and even demanded of the 1877 Congress that it cease publication of the articles in the central organ. Although Bebel and Liebknecht saw to it that *Anti-Dühring* continued to appear in the supplement of the *Vorwärts*, a confrontation on principles with the Dühring followers did not materialize. Engels referred to this neglect in the theoretical struggle when he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht: "I have never said that the *mass* of your people do not want real science. I spoke of the *Party*, whose image is determined by the way it presents itself in public, in the press and at congresses. And here half-education is the rule now, along with the ex-worker who blows himself up into a littérateur. If these people are only a tiny minority, as you say, then you must obviously handle them carefully because every one of them has his followers. The moral and intellectual decay of the Party dates from the unification and could have been averted if a bit more reserve and understanding had been shown then. A healthy Party 'sweats out' things as time goes by, but this is a long and difficult process, and the healthy state of the masses is certainly not a ground for injecting them with a disease unnecessarily."[68]

Engels had consciously conceived of his book as a polemic

treatise, as emphasized by the ironic title, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. From the first to the last sentence, *Anti-Dühring* is imbued with the spirit of uncompromising struggle against all attempts to replace the integrated and truly scientific theory of Marxism with a conglomerate of varied, primarily petty-bourgeois ideas and viewpoints. With vigorous partisanship, Engels defended the theory worked out by Marx and himself.

But Engels did not limit himself either to the defence of their theory nor to a polemic against Dühring and his like. Dühring's claim to have created a new, comprehensive system of philosophy, of political economy, of the natural sciences and of Socialism, as opposed to scientific Communism, enabled Engels, as he himself wrote, to develop, "in opposition to him and in more coherent form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself on this great variety of subjects".[69] Thus the critique of Dühring's "system" was transformed into an exposition of the theory of scientific Communism in its totality. Thus *Anti-Dühring* became a genuine encyclopedia of Marxism. Engels here outlined all the three components of Marxism: dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific Socialism.

With the materialist view of history and the discovery of the economic laws of capitalism, the essential bases of the "Communist world outlook"[70] were created. "With these discoveries Socialism became a science".[71] But "the next thing was to work out all its details and relations".[72] In other words, it was necessary to describe the overall system of the world outlook which is "comprehensive and harmonious" and "is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression,"[73] which reflects the general laws of motion and development of nature, of society and of human thought and which contains the scientific strategy and tactics of the struggle of the working class as an essential component.

Engels could handle this task only in close collaboration with Karl Marx. Just as they had created the foundations of their theory together, they now worked together on the further development and defence of their views. Thus Marx–without

his name then being given as the author—wrote the chapter on the history of political economy and attacked Dühring sharply. Further, the entire book also expressed Marx's viewpoint down to individual formulations, for he had read it before publication as was customary between the two men.

Marx and Engels had from the beginning developed and looked upon scientific Communism as a system, but in *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* Engels presented the entire system of the Marxist world outlook for the first time. He showed what constituted the specific significance of the three components of scientific Communism and their place and function in the overall system of the scientific substantiation of the world-historical role of the proletariat. In order to make this understandable to his readers, he showed how the individual components of scientific Communism were interrelated and influenced each other, how they thus merged into an overall system in which all the components were relatively independent and at the same time could only be correctly understood in their internal interconnection with the overall system. Thus Engels was able to show that the negation of a single one of these components inevitably led to the disintegration of the whole, which was, and is now too, confirmed in full measure by the pernicious practices of opportunism and revisionism. Scientific Communism is an integrated, universally valid and logically self-contained world outlook—that was the quintessence of Engels' analyses in *Anti-Dühring*.

By demonstrating, with the means of materialist dialectics, that the scientific theory of the working class is a coherent system, Engels made a theoretical contribution of his own. His proof of the dialectical interconnection of all components and individual aspects of scientific Communism was directed against all the attempts made then and later to consider one or another of the laws and one or another of the components of Marxism in isolation; it also protected the world outlook of the working class against ossification and forced its protagonists to proceed dialectically at all times in the application and further development of Marxism. At the same time Engels made it possible for his readers, through the systematic exposition of the theory of

the working class, to become acquainted with all aspects of Marxism, to study it as a system and to make it their own.

Imperialist ideologists, and in our day, the theoreticians of Social-Democracy and revisionism especially, engage in lamentations over the integrated and self-contained character of the theory and world outlook developed by Marx and Engels and evolved by Lenin. In opposition to it, they fall back on the pluralism of their philosophies and social theories and, not least, on their model of "Socialism", which they would like to export to the Socialist states and infiltrate into the Communist world movement. But a closer look reveals what Engels already indicated and Lenin later conclusively proved—namely, that the manifold bourgeois outlooks stem from a single common basis, which from the philosophical viewpoint is characterized by idealism and metaphysics, and from the political viewpoint by apologetics of the exploiting capitalist order and hostility to Socialism. Nor do these bourgeois ideologists tire of attacking Marxism-Leninism for its integrated nature and to decide it as a "dogma".

For the Marxist-Leninists, however, the revolutionary proletarian theory has never been a dogma, but has always been looked upon as a living science, as a guide to action here and now. Engels and Marx energetically opposed all attempts of the opportunists of their day to treat scientific Communism as something that was rigid and to present their theory as sealed off rather than integrated. But that is precisely what the adherents of the bourgeoisie do who try to belittle Engels' exposition in *Anti-Dühring* of the systematic character of the scientific theory of the working class as "the spinning of dogmas" or "fascinating simplification". In order to conceal their own renunciation of Marxism, indeed, often even their hostility to the revolutionary proletarian theory, they deny the incontrovertible historical fact that scientific Communism has developed further in the century that has gone by since the appearance of *Anti-Dühring*, not despite but because of its systematic character and the materialist dialectics that is its foundation.

To what extent every systemization of all knowledge that has been worked out by a dialectical approach leads to the pos-

ing of new problems and new theoretical discoveries, Engels himself showed in *Anti-Dühring*. That was especially so in connection with dialectical and historical materialism. In his book, Engels formulated a number of decisive principles of Marxist philosophy, evaluating the great scientific discoveries in the natural sciences in the middle of the 19th century in exactly the same way he evaluated the experiences of the class struggle.

In *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, Engels expounded the central thesis of materialism: "The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved not by a few juggled phrases, but by a long and wearisome development of philosophy and natural science."[75] This philosophical orientation was revolutionary. Instead of searching for "eternal" truths, philosphical knowledge had to be deduced from developments in the natural and social sciences. Instead of asking about the "eternal" essence of man, it was necessary to analyze the concrete conditions of his development in capitalism, which gave rise to the scientific substantiation of the world-historical mission of the working class. The principle of the method of research developed by Marx and Engels, which had been sucessfully applied for more than 30 years, was thus generalized in *Anti-Dühring* in a consummate form.

The struggle for a consistent dialectical materialism in all areas of nature and society, and indissolubly bound up with it, the general criticism of idealism, were Engels' main concern in the settling of accounts with Dühring. Lenin wrote: "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*."[75] Engels showed in *Anti-Dühring* that dialectical materialism is the philosophical and theoretical foundation of all the components of Marxism and is at the same time the ideological tie that binds them together as an integrated system.

From the organic unity of dialectics and matter, Engels in a vigorous attack on the metaphysical concepts of the inalterable nature of the world, also drew the conclusion that motion is the mode of existence of matter. "Matter without motion is just as inconceivable as motion without matter."[76] Engels considered

space and time to be the basic forms of existence of matter – a view which was to be confirmed in a completely new manner in the succeeding decades by the discoveries in the field of the natural sciences.

For the first time, Engels also presented in *Anti-Dühring* a coherent exposition of the dialectical-materialist laws of development and formulated three basic laws of dialectics: the law of the unity and conflict of opposites, the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and the law of negation of the negation.

The formulation of these basic laws of dialectics had decisive significance for the development of philosophical materialism, demonstrating as it did the material unity of the world through laws which are valid for nature, society and thought. Science in the 20th century, which is mastering the power of the atom, which is pushing into the cosmos and is discovering the essence of the manifestations of life, confirms Engels' belief that it is necessary to strengthen the tie between the natural sciences and Marxist philosophy. One can achieve a dialectical view of nature only "because the accumulating facts of natural science compel us to do so", Engels wrote, but "one arrives at it more easily if one approaches the dialectical character of these facts equipped with an understanding of the laws of dialectical thought." He continued: "In any case natural science has now advanced so far that it can no longer escape dialectical generalization."[77] This task of philosophically generalizing the development of the natural sciences was solved by Engels and Marx for their time. Lenin carried on this theoretical work under the conditions of the 20th century.

On the basis of the new developments in the sciences, Engels demonstrated the unity of materialism and dialectics and repudiated every separation of theory and method in the system of Marxist philosophy, anticipating in many respects the polemic against today's revisionists. At a time when bourgeois philosophy had begun to deny the existence of objectively working laws in social development, he proved that the basic laws of materialist dialectics also determine the course of historical development, and demonstrated how the law of the conformity of the relations

of production with the level of the productive forces condition the emergence, the development and the decline of capitalism and its replacement by Socialism. In this way he deepened in *Anti-Dühring* the philosophical substantiation of the historical mission of the working class, which Marx and he had worked out in the forties.

On the basis of extensive factual material, Engels showed that the application of the dialectical-materialist method made it possible to solve complicated problems in the natural and social sciences. Consistently attacking the at times idealistic, at times vulgar materialist, views of Dühring, he analyzed, among other things, the nature, the emergence and the development of living things, the relationship between economics and politics, the rise of classes, the role of force in history, the material bases of the military system, the nature of the state, the connection between freedom and necessity, morality and justice as forms of the superstructure, and many other problems.

In the economic portion of *Anti-Dühring*, Engels' purpose was, on the one hand, to defend and propagate the laws of the capitalist mode of production discovered by Marx, and on the other hand, to make clear, with the help of materialist dialectics, the connection between political economy, the proletarian world outlook and the strategy and tactics of the struggle of the working class. In his polemic against Dühring, Engels declared that the former's "appeal to morality and justice" did not "help us an inch further" and that the issue was rather "to show that the social abuses which have recently been developing are necessary consequences of the existing mode of production, but at the same time also indications of its approaching dissolution".[78] Only on this basis, he explained, was it possible to define the strategic and tactical tasks determining the struggle of the working class.

In this connection, Engels already drew attention to the new manifestations in the capitalist economy heralding the tendency to monopoly and even to state capitalism, which Marx had not yet been able to deal with ten years previously in the first volume of *Capital*. Engels pointed out that the process of concentration of production and of capital forced the capitalists to join together "in ... different kinds of joint-stock companies".

But, he added, "at a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient ... the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production."[79]

While bourgeois and opportunist ideologists in the last third of the 19th century tried to pass off these early manifestations of state capitalism as Socialist phenomena, Engels proved unmistakably: "The more it (the bourgeois state) 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. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head."[80]

Engels' strict dialectical-materialist research methods enabled him to show in *Anti-Dühring*, not only the inevitable disappearance of the capitalist mode of production in general, but, in addition, to make prognoses about the coming Socialist society. He devoted special attention to the planned nature of the Socialist economy. He anticipated the basic economic law of the future society, free from exploitation, and wrote "that distribution ... will be regulated by the interests of production, and that production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution, which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality."[81] He also outlined the mechanism of production and distribution in the Socialist society and pointed out the necessity of rational distribution of the productive forces and the abolition of the antithesis between town and country.

In the third section of his book, Engels presented a basic exposition of the history and theory of scientific Socialism. He considered it to be necessary, in the first place, to make unequivocally clear the difference between the theory developed by Marx and himself and Utopian Socialism. He praised the sharp criticism made by the Utopian Socialists of bourgeois society and emphasized the important features of the future Socialist society already anticipated in this criticism. At the same time, however, he also showed the decisive weaknesses of the Utopians which consisted in the fact that for them Socialism was not an historical necessity, an historical law, but only a

demand of reason, a moral postulate. In contradiction to such idealistic forms of thinking, in his view, the scientific theory of the working class found its substantiation in the laws of social development. According to this theory, "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in the human mind, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of each particular epoch".[83] As a result, the methods of abolishing social abuses, the means for liberating the working class, "are not invented, spun out of the head, but *discovered* with the aid of the head in the existing material facts of production."[83]

The "existing material facts of production" were dominated, Engels continued, by the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, which had been investigated especially by Marx–namely, the contradiction between social labour and private capitalist appropriation. This basic contradiction–a drag on all social progress–demanded a solution, since the social character of production also demanded social, Socialist ownership of the means of production. It could only be solved through the proletarian revolution. *"The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production in the first instance into state property."*[83] Only then could the means of production develop unhindered, in a planned manner and for the benefit of the whole of society. The conquest of political power was therefore described by Engels as a responsibility of the working class, which resulted from its objective historical mission. The theoretical expression of the interests of the working class and of the conditions of its struggle–that was scientific Socialism.

In the third section of *Anti-Dühring*, Engels dealt also with a number of general laws of the transition from capitalism to Socialism and with basic features of the future Socialist society. In his prognostic thinking he used the materialist dialectics which saved him from every kind of speculation. With its help, he was able to draw conclusions for the future from the analysis of the general laws of development of society, and especially of the productive forces, on which Lenin then based himself in

working out his teachings on the building up of Socialist and Communist society and which were completely confirmed by practice in the Soviet Union, in the German Democratic Republic and in the other Socialist countries.

The Socialist reshaping of society was seen by Engels as a transition from an essentially spontaneous development to a development consciously shaped by people. He wrote: "With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by plan-conforming, conscious organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history–only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." And Engels ended this optimistic social prognosis, which has been confirmed by history, with the sentence: "To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat."[85]

For Engels–and since then, for all Marxists–freedom was not an imaginary moral postulate removed from classes, nor was

it the expression of the subjective whim of the individual, as seen by bourgeois ideologists of all shades, all the way up to revisionists. Freedom, Engels declared, cannot consist in people being independent from objective laws, but is based rather on the fact that they are able to recognize them and to use them in a planned manner for specific purposes. Freedom is thus in its essence far more than the possibility of making independent decisions. It is the recognition of objective necessity and the conscious application of recognized necessity in practice. To make this understanding the common property of the working class and–under Socialist conditions–of the whole of society, is the task of the revolutionary workers' Party.

Engels left no doubt about the fact that true human freedom is possible only under the conditions of Socialism, that is to say, after the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, but that a Socialist order cannot be set up until the working class, having achieved power, socializes the means of production. It is especially the spokesmen of so-called democratic Socialism who with a great deal of rhetoric deny this fact, which has been clearly confirmed by the course of history. Though they never tire of misusing the word freedom and of applying it against the states liberated from the imperialist yoke, they also describe one of the most basic preconditions of human freedom–the socialization of the means of production–as "a terrible concept". But every comparison between the position of people in imperialism, on the one hand, and those in Socialism, on the other hand, shows convincingly that all the talk of human freedom remains empty chatter as long as the old demand of the revolutionary working-class movement is not implemented: what the hands of the people have created belongs to the people.

With his far-seeing ideas, Engels also demonstrated that under Socialism the gradual abolition of the contradiction between town and countryside, between physical and intellectual work, will be the logical outcome of economic development, namely, large-scale Socialist production. He emphasized that the change in the relations of production and the development of the productive forces in Socialism will lead to a change in the position of the human being, in human relations and

forms of life, to the emergence of a new Socialist man. "The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties–that possibility is now for the first time here".[86] In the society free of exploitation, also, "productive labour, instead of being a means of subjugating men", will become "a means of their emancipation ... a pleasure instead of being a burden".[87]

Engels showed that the social morality of Socialism will be fundamentally different from that prevalent in the exploiting order. He refuted the idealistic view of a supposedly eternal morality and proved that morality, and social consciousness in general, are determined by social existence, that every social formation, accordingly, must have specific moral attitudes. What morality, he asked, "is the true one? Not one of them, in the sense of absolute finality; but certainly that morality contains the maximum elements promising permanence which, in the present, represents the overthrow of the present, represents the future, and that is proletarian morality".[88]

The riches of ideas in Engels' book on the future Socialist society have in our time, when Socialism has become the determining force in social development, gained in significance. But in the first years and decades after the appearance of *Anti-Dühring* it already exercised a lasting influence on the German and the international labour movement by its comprehensive exposition of the whole system of Marxist theory.

Engels' *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* effectively supported the efforts of the theoretically consolidated forces in German Social-Democracy which now wanted to give a firm political and ideological foundation to the organizational unification achieved at the Gotha Congress of 1875. As Engels specifically declared, the united workers' Party was "fast becoming a power. But to make it a power, the first condition was that the newly-conquered unity should not be imperilled."[89] With his *Anti-Dühring*, Engels helped the Party members to become conscious of the historical mission of the working

class and to maintain the revolutionary character of the Party. Through *Anti-Dühring*, tens of thousands of revolutionary workers during Engels' lifetime became acquainted with the theory and world outlook of their class and learned to use theory as a weapon in the class struggle. In the period that followed, the number grew to millions. *Anti-Dühring* became, as Lenin wrote, a "handbook for every class-conscious worker".[90]

Natural Science Studies

That Engels could deal with problems of the natural sciences in such a basic manner in his *Anti-Dühring*, especially the relations between research in the natural sciences and philosophy, was possible only because of the fact that he had built up the basis for such a treatment in long years of study. From the fifties on he had kept returning to problems of the natural sciences which were his domain in their division of labour with Marx and which had stood the test of time. His office work, however, left no time for a systematic and continuing study. That changed now in the seventies.

Later, Engels himself reminisced: "Marx and I were pretty well the only people to reserve conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history. But a knowledge of mathematics and

natural science is essential to a conception of nature which is dialectical and at the same time materialist. Marx was well versed in mathematics, but we could keep up with the natural sciences only piecemeal, intermittently and sporadically. For this reason, when I retired from business and transferred my home to London, thus enabling myself to give the necessary time to it, I went through as complete as possible a 'moulting', . . . in mathematics and the natural sciences, and spent the best part of eight years on it."[91] These were the years between 1873 and 1876 and from 1878 to 1883. Engels had to interrupt his studies in natural science in 1876, when he began to write *Anti-Dühring*. He had to break them off after Marx's death in 1883, when he had to use all his energy and time to prepare for publication the economic manuscripts Marx had left behind, and when, above all, he had to meet his ever greater duties as adviser to the international workers' movement. Only in 1885–86 was he able to make some additions to what he had already put on paper on the subject. Thus the work–consisting of ten more or less finished articles and chapters and about 170 notes–remained uncompleted. It was issued for the first time in 1925 by the Marx-Engels Institute of the Central Committee of the CPSU, under the title, *Dialectics of Nature*. Some of the basic thoughts of *Dialectics of Nature*, however, were worked up by Engels in other books which he published in the 1880's and 90's.

Engels formulated the problem for which he sought a solution in his work on *Dialectics of Nature* as follows: "My recapitulation of mathematics and the natural sciences was undertaken in order to convince myself also in detail–of what in general I was not in doubt–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; the same laws as those which, similarly form the thread running through the history of the development of human thought, and gradually rise to consciousness in the mind of man."[92] Engels also wanted to show how the natural sciences impel man towards the materialist dialectics, in a contradictory but irresistible manner. Philosophical materialism thus became the most important partner of research in the natural sciences. On the other hand, it was necessary to demonstrate that philosophical materialism is confirmed by the advances being made in the natural sciences. These advances thus became indispensable preconditions of the Socialist world outlook.

About his approach, he wrote: We all agree that in every field of science, in natural as in historical science, one must proceed from the given *facts*, in natural science therefore from the various material forms and the various forms of motion of matter; that therefore in theoretical natural science too the interconnections are not to be built into the facts but to be discovered in them, and when discovered to be verified as far as possible by experiment."[93]

That, however, required enormous work. It was possible for Engels to manage it only through his division of labour and joint work with Marx. The book excerpts and notes left by them, and also their correspondence, show that the two friends supplemented each other in their study of the natural sciences. Marx occupied himself, alongside his major economic work, with mathematics and geology, while Engels concentrated on physics, chemistry and biology, especially biological anthropology. Among other things, he read the works of the German physicists, Rudolf Clausius, Hermann Helmholtz and Robert Mayer, and those of the French mathematician and philosopher, Jean le Rond d'Alembert, of the English physicist, William Thomson, of the German chemist, Carl Schorlemmer, as well as those of the Austrian physicist and philosopher, Ernst Mach. He knew the discoveries of the German biologists, Mathias Jakob Schleiden and Theodor Schwann, naturally Charles Darwin's major work, and all the important writings of Ernst Haeckel. He had a special interest in the theory of evolution, the law of the conservation and transformation of energy, and the problems of organic chemistry. He took up once again the natural philosophical works of the metaphysical materialists of the 17th and 18th centuries and of the representatives of the classical bourgeois German philosophy, especially Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach. In order to deepen his knowledge of physics and chemistry, he had to have an understanding of mathematics. At the age

of 45 he began to study differential calculus, with Marx as his teacher.

It was only after these comprehensive preparations that Engels tackled the task he had set himself: to reveal the objective dialectics in nature through a fundamental analysis of the discoveries of the natural sciences, and thereby to prove the need for the conscious application of materialist dialectics in the natural sciences. That was not possible without settling accounts with the idealistic, agnostic and also the vulgar materialist views which complicated any philosophical generalization of the discoveries in the natural sciences and thereby ultimately impeded the further development of the natural sciences themselves. On the other hand, Engels gave vigorous support to the progressive theories and hypotheses in the various scientific branches, brought them into the foreground, underscored the forward-pointing thoughts in them and evolved them. Thus he saw in Immanuel Kant's *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels* (General History of Nature and the Theory of the Heaven), in which Kant described "the earth and the whole solar system . . . as something that had *come into being* in the course of time"[96], as the "point of departure for all further progress"[97], while the bourgeois philosophers denied that there were any materialist and dialectical rudiments in Kant and fell into sterile doubts about the possibility of cognition of the world.

On the basis of extensive factual material drawn from the history of the natural sciences, Engels demonstrated that the development of the natural sciences is ultimately determined by the needs of practice, of production. In his *Dialectics of Nature* he also investigated, for the first time in the history of Marxism, all aspects of the interdependence between philosophy and the natural sciences, demonstrated their indissoluble interconnection and showed that "the metaphysical outlook has become impossible in natural science owing to the very development of the latter", and the "return to dialectics takes place unconsciously, hence contradictorily and slowly,"[98] and dialectics, freed of idealism and mysticism, has become "an absolute necessity for natural science"[97]. In this connection,

Engels assigned natural scientists the task, still as urgent as before, of using the dialectical method *consciously*.

The dialectical-materialist generalization of the knowledge about nature had great significance, not only for the various branches of science, but also, and especially, for the workers' movement. It supported the proletarian class movement in the struggle against philosophical idealism, strengthened its ideological positions and thereby helped it in the sharpening ideological conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working class. This became especially clear in connection with the theory of evolution worked out by Darwin. Engels foresaw that sooner or later Darwin's theory of evolution would be in the centre of the fight between progress and reaction. "That the representatives of Darwinism . . . would not be able to avoid the necessity of taking a stand on the Socialist world outlook was taken for granted on the Socialist side,"[98] he wrote somewhat ironically in 1878 to a bourgeois scientist. He considered it to be a task of major importance to emphasize the unity of the theory of evolution and philosophical dialectics, in order to show the ideological demarcation line between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It was thanks to his influence, primarily, that the German workers' movement, as well as leading proletarian theoreticians in other countries, basically used Darwinism correctly as an instrument of struggle against the bourgeois ideology.

The great discoveries with which Engels in his *Dialectics of Nature* enriched historical materialism especially include the theory of the role of labour in the origin of man. In an article entitled, *The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man*, Engels showed how, in a lengthy historical process, with the help of labour, which included making and the conscious use of tools, man developed out of his ape-like ancestors as a qualitatively different social creature. With his theory of labour as the basic condition for the development of man, Engels cleared up an important theoretical problem of the transition from nature to society.

Many ideas which Engels could only sketch out in the *Dialectics of Nature* and in *Anti-Dühring* were taken up a quarter

of a century later by Lenin and further developed. Lenin was not acquainted with the *Dialectics of Nature*, but in his work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, in his *Philosophical Notebooks* and in other writings the philosophical generalization of the natural science materials which had piled up by the beginning of the 20th century, led him in most cases to conclusions fundamentally identical with those of Engels.

Research in the natural sciences in the decades since then has brought a great number of new discoveries. It has also corrected or refuted some individual statements of Engels, has shown new types of solutions and raised new questions. But the development of research in the natural sciences in the 20th century has clearly confirmed the dialectical-materialist view of nature worked out by Engels and Marx. Thus the discoveries in the field of quantum theory proved the dialectical thesis of the unity of the continuity and discontinuity of matter; in the field of physics, Einstein's theory of relativity concretized the philosophical ideas of Engels about matter, motion, space and time, and the theory on the elementary particles confirmed the views of Engels and Lenin on the inexhaustibility of atoms and electrons.

Most important in Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*, however, was not this or the other individual study which often led him to brilliant conclusions in the field of the natural sciences and philosophy far in advance of the times, but the proof that the materialist dialectics and its basic general laws are the theoretical basis and the method of cognition of the natural sciences, and the complete proof of the material unity of the world. Engels broadened and deepened materialism and the dialectics basically, he showed the road to the solution of basic problems of research in the natural sciences of his time, but above all he proved the universal validity of materialist dialectics.

"Indeed, dialectics cannot be despised with impunity", he wrote warningly. "However great one's contempt for all theoretical thought, nevertheless one cannot bring two natural facts into relation with each other or understand the connection existing between them without theoretical thought. The only question is whether one's thinking is correct or not, and contempt of theory is evidently the most certain way to think . . . incorrectly."[10] The demonstration of the decisive role of materialist dialectics in the cognition of the world–in that task Engels succeeded completely in his *Dialectics of Nature*.

Difficult Times

At the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties Engels began to experience a difficult period. In 1876, his wife Lizzy began to fall ill: she seemed to suffer from asthma and sciatica. At first a stay at the seaside would invariably help her, and at the end of 1876 Engels was able to write a friend with relief that it is "almost a wonder what things of this kind one experiences in women between 40 and 50. I only hope that the improvement continues."[410]

But in the spring of 1877, Lizzy began to develop new symptoms. Engels tried to do everything to make it possible for her to enjoy relief and convalescence at the seaside or in the Scottish mountains. It was axiomatic for him that he took over part of the household duties and was able to report: "If you had seen me making the bed and the kitchen fire this morning, you would have laughed."[411] In mid-1878, Lizzy was completely confined to bed. "The thing is *very serious* and can have a bad ending,"[412] Engels wrote with concern. Then, in the autumn, Lizzy's pains became ever greater. She suffered acutely.

At Engels' side she had spent happy years filled with inner understanding and joint work. On her deathbed, she asked Engels to make her his wife also in the eyes of the world. Engels, for whom the blessing of the Church and state for his marriage had always seemed superfluous, fulfilled the last wish of his dying life companion and was married to her officially on the evening of 11 September 1878. A few hours later she passed away in his arms.

Not a word, not a line has been handed down concerning Engels' inner feelings during those days. But more eloquent than words is the fact that he, who normally took part in international political developments so passionately, now almost completely broke off his correspondence with comrades in Germany, France and other countries for many weeks.

By the late autumn of 1878, however, he had found himself again. He was filled once again with the consciousness that the political struggle and his comrades were waiting and that he too needed living contact with the struggle of the working class. Indeed, the labour movement, especially in Germany, needed the advice and the help of the *Londoner Alten*, the "old ones in London", as Marx and Engels were sometimes called by their friends, more urgently than ever.

In Germany, reaction, led by the Junkers and the *haute bourgeoisie*, and the representative of their interests, Bismarck, launched a general offensive against the Socialist workers' movement in 1878. That, however, was not a sign of strength. The transition to open terror against the class-conscious proletariat showed rather that the Social-Democratic movement had begun to worry Bismarck who was no longer able to contain it with the old resources of power. He used two assassination attempts against the Kaiser, carried out by declassed elements remote from Social Democracy, in order to incite a pogrom spirit against the revolutionary workers' movement. On 19 October 1878 he whipped through the *Reichstag* an emergency law, the Law

Against the Exertions of Social Democracy Dangerous to the State.

The Party and all Socialist organizations were banned, meetings were prohibited, and in the period that followed, hundreds of Socialists were forced to leave the towns and cities where they lived and innumerable Party members were dismissed from their jobs. All Socialist publications were suppressed, including–like most of the writings of Marx and Engels–*Anti-Dühring* also. A period of great hardship had come for German Social Democracy, the most difficult since the war period of 1870–71.

Engels entertained no illusions about the difficulties of the situation, even though the extent of the arbitrary police brutality became clear to him only in bits and pieces, because of the distance between him and Germany. Letters from Liebknecht and other German workers' leaders contributed to his information.

Help was necessary, and Engels gave it. He supported the solidarity collections for the Party members who had been punished and robbed of their means of existence, and advised his friends in Germany to bring out a Party newspaper quickly abroad, in order to guarantee the organizational and ideological cohesiveness of the Party now fighting underground. He received the Berlin Socialist Paul Singer, who had come to London on a mission from Bebel and Liebknecht. In the press outside Germany, he denounced the terror law. He suffered with the persecuted, but remained optimistic at all times and had full confidence in the power of the working class: "Despite everything, our workers in Germany are conducting themselves famously, and I hope the entire Prussian Reich will founder on them."[183]

Marx and Engels shared this certainty of victory in the period of the harshest repressions with Bebel, Bracke, Liebknecht and thousands of class-conscious German workers. The knowledge of the historical mission of the working class gave them this strength of conviction. Engels at the same time also foresaw –completely the dialectical thinker here too–alongside the blows which the Party daily received, and the great personal suffering caused by the ruthless application of the emergency law, the consequences which the government terror was bringing in its

wake, against the wishes and the will of its initiators. He wrote in the Italian newspaper *La Plebe:* "The German workers have learned what constitutional freedoms are worth as soon as the proletariat allows itself to take them seriously and to make use of them, in order to combat capitalist rule. If there were still illusions in this connection, friend Bismarck has ruthlessly dispersed them."[184]

Marx and Engels learned with satisfaction that the mass of the class-conscious workers, led by revolutionary Party leaders like Bebel, Liebknecht and Bracke, took up the struggle against the shameful law without hesitating. Secret organizations were built up, leaflets and publications were issued and distributed in clandestinity, self-sacrificing solidarity was shown those driven from their places of residence, and every remaining possibility of public activity, for example, elections, was utilized. The workers cleverly combined illegal and legal, extra-parliamentary and parliamentary forms of struggle and directed all their efforts at forcing withdrawal of the emergency law and carrying on the struggle against the Prussian-German military state. This strategic and tactical concept expressed the experiences gained in the class struggle and the discoveries of scientific Communism. Engels agreed with it fully.

All the greater was his indignation when this revolutionary policy was falsified and even publicly opposed by opportunist elements. Engels knew from his own experience that at necessary turning points in the policy of the Party vacillations or anti-Party currents often appear. But life had taught him that the very existence of the Party is at stake if it surrenders to such opportunist forces. He and Marx therefore encouraged the leaders in the German Party who were determined to fight back in their resistance to the opportunists, supported them with their authority, and above all, with their advice.

Engels and Marx energetically combated a Leftist, sectarian current represented by the workers' leader, Johann Most, who had emigrated to London, a current which finally degenerated into open anarchism. Engels correctly prophesied a shortlived existence for this form of left opportunism, but nevertheless pointed out warningly that these "knights of the revolutionary

phrase",[103] with the tactics of individual terror propagated by them, would isolate the Party from the masses and thus play directly into Bismarck's hands.

Marx and Engels considered an even greater danger to be the one threatening the Party from the right, from reformists with a petty-bourgeois outlook, and this was all the more so since these forces were trying to get the future central organ of the Party, to be issued in Switzerland, into their hands. When Engels, in late August of 1879, returned from a holiday in Eastbourne, on the English Channel, to London, he found waiting for him a *Yearbook of Social Science and Social Policy*, issued by German emigrants in Switzerland, and in it there was an article with the heading, *The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect*. This article, signed by German Party members living in Zurich, Karl Höchberg, Karl August Schramm and Eduard Bernstein–even though the first draft had been prepared by another hand–was a programmatic declaration of the right-wing opportunists. And these were the same people whom the underground Party leadership in Germany wanted to entrust with the Party newspaper!

In the history of the workers' movement, the opportunists have often begun their attacks against the principles of Party policy with an attack on the scientific world outlook of the working class. The authors of the *Yearbook* articles attempted to set up an ethically, idealistically orientated "emotional Socialism" as the ideological basis of the Party, "to water down the class struggle of the proletariat against its oppressors to a general institution of human brotherliness"[106], and thus to blow up the indissoluble unity of revolutionary Marxist theory and the Party.

The authors accused German Social Democracy of having in the past orientated itself too much on the winning of the masses and too little on the propertied and educated strata. By adopting such an attitude and by identifying itself with the Paris Commune, it had shared responsibility for the Anti-Socialist Law. Now at last the Party had to show "that it does not intend to take the road of violent, bloody revolution, but is determined, despite some earlier improprieties and transgressions . . . to embark on the road of legality, that is to say, of reform".[107] That was a declaration of ideological and political capitulation to the Prussian-German military state.

Engels was enraged by this *Arschkriecherei*, this boot-licking.[108] He immediately conferred with Marx on a joint response to this sally of the opportunists and in mid-September drafted a lengthy letter which was then sent in both their names to the German Party leaders, especially August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bracke. This letter has entered history with the name of the *Zirkularbrief*, the Circular Letter. It belongs to the most important writings in which Marx and Engels outlined their views on the historical mission of the working class, on the role of the Party and on the necessity of constant struggle against opportunism.

While Marx and Engels in the first two parts of their letter explained their view on the organizational preparations for the founding of the newspaper and passed on political and tactical suggestions for the conduct of the future Party organ, in the third and most important section of the letter they subjected the ideology of opportunism to a thorough criticism, using the *Yearbook* articles as an example. They proceeded here from the attitude of Socialists to the class struggle, to the seizure of power by the proletariat and to the class character of the Party. They measured the attitude of the Zurich trio against these criteria.

Marx and Engels showed that Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein formally agreed with the conquest of power by the proletariat, but they deferred this act, a law of history, to an unattainable distant period, in order to be able to "mediate, compromise and philanthropize"[109] unhindered. The two friends explained to their comrades in Germany that such an intellectual position is always the expression of petty-bourgeois ideology and inevitably leads the working class to degeneration. "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 . . . Historically necessary conflicts are all interpreted as misunderstandings and all

discussion ends with the assurance that after all, we are all agreed on the main point."[110] With these acute observations Marx and Engels painted a basic picture, still valid today, of opportunism, in whatever form it may come forward. They showed that the political consequence of such opportunist views was to be seen in the fact that it subordinated the working class and its political movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels drew the attention of Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke and the other addressees to the fact that the ideological basis for opportunist views is to be sought in the petty-bourgeoisie's fear of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and added: "In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these ideas certainly have their justification. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party."[111] Further, one could see for oneself in the *Communist Manifesto,* in the section on German or 'True' Socialism, what attitude the working class had to this type of "Socialism", regardless of what new name it might use. It was quite possible, indeed, even necessary, for the revolutionary workers' Party to agree for a time with the democratic petty-bourgeoisie on joint actions, and to carry them through. But in the workers' Party, Engels and Marx wrote, such representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie are "an adulterating element" adding: "If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time."[112] Only when German Social Democracy could overcome opportunism and unconditionally maintain the proletarian character of the Party could it carry out its national mission of leadership in the struggle against the Prussian-German military state.

These were thoughts which not only served to orientate the German Party correctly on a revolutionary policy towards the Anti-Socialist Law, but which, on the basis of the experience gathered by the Paris Commune and the Eisenach Party, laid down the general character and tasks of a revolutionary class Party and thereby perfected the theory of the Marxist Party. The principles developed by Marx and Engels in the struggle against the opportunism of that period are proving themselves

to be of great interest in the ideological controversies of our day, notably with the reformists and the "intellectual avant-gardists", with the "democratic Socialists" and with the "humane Socialists", in short, with all the varieties of Social Democratism and revisionism. Precisely for that reason bourgeois historians and revisionist ideologists either maintain total silence about the Circular Letter or seek to diminish its significance when they talk about the concept of the Party defended by Marx and Engels.

"As for ourselves," Engels and Marx said in ending their powerful appeal, "in view of our whole past there is only one road open to us . . . We cannot . . . cooperative with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic big bourgeois and petty bourgeois. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen, that is bourgeois and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, though we should regret it, but, to declare our opposition to it and to publicly dissolve the bonds of solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass."[113]

It did not go that far. The Circular Letter had the effect hoped for by Engels and Marx. Engels was able to note with satisfaction that the revolutionary German Party leaders also condemned the *Yearbook* article and took the necessary measures to deprive the opportunist spokesmen of influence on the planned Party newspaper. But Engels knew that the controversy with opportunism is always a long and tough struggle, in which momentary successes may often be deceptive. Thus he was exceedingly glad when a "specimen" number of the *Sozialdemokrat,* the new weekly central organ of the clandestine Party, appeared on 28 September 1879 in Zurich, but he remained watchful at first in order to see what direction the newspaper would take.

It was not only the German labour movement that needed his attention and help. Since Marx, whose physical strength had deteriorated considerably, devoted himself primarily to the work on the second volume of his *Capital,* at Engels' urgings, Engels had to devote an even greater part of his time to their international correspondence. And thus he resumed what he had been

doing when he had worked in the General Council of the International at the beginning of the seventies.

In 1879 and 1880, the French as well as the German labour movement needed help from Marx and Engels. The class-conscious French workers had decided on the founding of a French workers' Party at the Socialist Congress in Marseilles in October of 1879. A short time later one of their leaders, Jules Guesde, asked Marx and Engels to help the young Party with the working out of its programme. Both agreed. In early May of 1880, Guesde came to London, and the programme was prepared in Engels' home together with Marx and Paul Lafargue. Marx formulated the theoretical section, and together with Engels worked over the second section, which contained the direct political and social demands.

Engels had already earlier helped the French Socialists to settle accounts with the widespread petty-bourgeois, Utopian Socialist views among them and to embrace a scientific world outlook. In the spring of 1880, he wrote a number of articles for the workers' newspaper, *l'Egalité*. Further, at Lafargue's request, he put three chapters of his *Anti-Dühring* into an independent work. It appeared in the summer in a French magazine, translated by Lafargue under the title *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Then it appeared as a booklet. Marx, who wrote an introduction for it, said it was "in a way *an introduction to scientific Socialism*".[114] Soon Engels was glad to note "what an unmistakable revolution the thing (has caused) in the heads of many better Frenchmen".[115] Soon a translation in Polish appeared. Two years later, again revised by Engels, the German version was to open up the offensive for the consolidation of Marxism in the German labour movement.

In August of 1880, the first clandestine Party congress of German Social Democracy met in Wyden Castle in Switzerland. It created important preconditions for the firm establishment of Marxism in the German workers' movement in the years to come. Here the controversies on the strategy and tactics of the Party were summed up, in a clearly revolutionary direction. Engels greeted the decision of the 56 delegates to carry on the struggle against the emergency law now "with all means"[116], not only with

"legal means"[117], as had been called for in the Party programme up to then. He also approved wholeheartedly of the strong criticism made by the delegates of the right opportunists, and the same was true of the delegates' appeal to strengthen the Party through "*the most general and most energetic activity*" and "firm organizing *in every suitable manner*".[118] He also approved of the expulsion of the anarchist spokesmen from the Party.

If Engels allowed himself to hope, on the basis of the decisions taken at the Wyden Congress, that German Social Democracy would now pursue clearly revolutionary tactics in the struggle against the emergency law, the hope turned to certainty when he was informed by August Bebel, in the course of several days of talks with him in December of 1880, about the situation in the Party.

Bebel had come to London to inform Marx and Engels about the affairs of the Party and to consult with them. He was accompanied by Eduard Bernstein, who, under the influence of the unyielding struggle of the German Socialist workers, had more and more overcome the opportunist views he had expressed in 1879. Although Bebel had already been corresponding with Marx and Engels for more than a decade, they met personally now for the first time. Later, in his reminiscences, Bebel reported: "Arrived in London, we at first visited Engels, who sat at breakfast between 10 and 11 in the morning. Engels had the custom of never going to bed before two in the morning. He received us very cordially; he addressed me immediately with the familiar 'Du', as did Marx, whom we visited in the afternoon. In addition, Engels invited me . . . to live with him, and the days of our stay were naturally used for an exchange of fundamental views on a wide range of questions, in the course of which the two visibly gained more confidence in Bernstein. During our days in London, with Engels as the freer and more mobile of the two often acting as our guide and showing us London's sights, Paul Singer arrived."[119]

Engels, like Marx and his wife, were very much taken with August Bebel. He wrote to Laura Lafargue a little later: "Where to find such another head not only in Germany but anywhere else? Where such theoretical clearness, such practical tact, such

quiet determination among the younger generation?"[120] Paul Singer, whom Liebknecht had introduced to Engels with the then accurate description, "big bourgeois and model Social Democrat"[121], and Bernstein also won Engels' respect, which in the years that followed grew into a cordial friendship.

Engels at all times exerted himself so that young, theoretically trained fighters, loyal to the working class, would come to the fore and be consciously and systematically developed by the Party as much as possible. He found such pupils and comrades-in-arms among the younger generation in Bebel especially, but also in Singer and Bernstein, in Lafargue and Guesde, and most of them became his personal friends. Thus he won new friends at a time when death reached out for his closest friend of all.

The Death of Marx

At the end of the 1870's, Engels saw with anxiety how Marx's health deteriorated. Nerve inflammations, racking coughing, almost unbearable headaches and chest pains often made his friend unfit to work for prolonged periods. And even greater was everyone's concern for Jenny Marx. She was suffering from cancer and had to endure unbearable pain. These were terrible months for the Marx family and for Engels. On 2 December 1881, Jenny died. Engels knew better than anyone what this blow meant for Marx. "*Mohr is dead too,*"[122] he said to the weeping Eleanor at the deathbed.

And so it was. Marx could not get over the death of his wife. At the advice of his doctors he sought rest and recovery in France, in Switzerland, in Algeria and on the Isle of Wight. There were moments when his health seemed to improve. He

wrote to Engels in the autumn of 1882: "Dr. Dourlen today examined me . . . My general state is extraordinarily improved; I have also grown 'fatter'."[123] But hopes for a lasting improvement grew ever dimmer.

Then came the terrible moment in mid-January 1883 when Jenny Longuet, Marx's oldest daughter, died suddenly. The news brought Marx once again to his sickbed. Engels came daily, often remaining for many hours with his mortally sick friend. He wrote his old comrade, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, "I had a deathly fear, every morning for the past six weeks, of finding the curtains down when I turned the corner of the street."[124] In March, thanks to the loving care of the loyal Lenchen Demuth, there was again hope for improvement. But the appearance was deceptive.

On 14 March 1883, when Engels entered Marx's home at 41 Maitland Park Road, he found "the house in tears. It seemed that the end was near. I asked what had happened, tried to get at the bottom of the matter, to offer comfort. There had been a slight hemorrhage, but suddenly he had begun to sink rapidly. Our good old Lenchen, who had been looking after him better than any mother cares for her child, went upstairs and came down again. He was half asleep, she said, I might go in with her. When we entered the room, he was lying there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain."[125]

In his grief he added: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time. The movement of the proletariat goes on, but gone is the central point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans, Germans spontaneously turned at decisive moments to receive always that clear indisputable counsel which only genius and consummate knowledge of the situation could give."[126] But then, despite his deep pain over the loss of his friend, he concluded, like the unyielding old fighter he had been all his life: "The final victory remains certain, but the detours, the temporary and local deviations–unavoidable as is–will now grow more than ever. Well, we must see it through; what else are we here for? And we are far from losing courage because of it."[127]

The class-conscious workers in many countries mourned along with Engels. Piotr Lavrovitch Lavrov wrote in the name of the Russian revolutionaries living in Paris: "The Russian Socialists bow before the grave of the man who sympathized with their aspirations in the course of all the vicissitudes in their terrible struggle."[128] The German Socialists sent Wilhelm Liebknecht to London, the French sent Paul Lafargue and Charles Longuet. Letters, telegrams and other correspondence came from Russia and the United States, from Spain and Holland, from Switzerland and other countries. Carl Schorlemmer, Friedrich Lessner and other old comrades-in-arms stood at Engels' side when Marx was brought to his last resting place beside his wife in the Highgate cemetery on 17 March. Engels paid him his last respects and made the graveside address.

"An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt. . .

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history . . .

"But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and Socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

"Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general . . .

"For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission

in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival . . .

"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 . . .

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"[128]

Thus Engels took leave of his closest and best friend and comrade-in-arms of his life; thus he paid tribute to his world-historical contribution, which was in reality a contribution made by both of them.

Following Engels, Marx's son-in-law, Charles Longuet, spoke at the open grave, and then Liebknecht. "It is a heavy blow that has sought us out," Liebknecht said. "But we do not mourn. The dead Marx is not dead. He lives in the *hearts*, he lives in the *heads* of the proletariat . . . Dear, dead friend! *We will follow the road you have shown us until we reach our goal. We swear that at your grave.*"[129]

The death of Karl and Jenny Marx, the moving of the Lafargues to France in 1882, Samuel Moore's stay in Nigeria for professional reasons–all of this brought the menace of loneliness into Engels' life. Friends like Liebknecht and Bebel, aware of this, advised him to move to the continent, if possible, to Switzerland. Engels himself reckoned up where he was needed most and where he could best fulfil his duties, which were enormous.

He did not for a moment doubt that his own life, after the death of "Mohr", belonged completely to the task of continuing the scientific and political work of his friend. That was a task, the scope and responsibility of which could, and at times did, weigh heavily even on a man like Engels. But that happened only rarely, for timidity and resignation were foreign to him. "We two", he wrote Johann Philipp Becker, his comrade from

the days of the fight for the defence of the Reich constitution, "are just about the last of the old guard of '48. Good, then we will fill the breach. The bullets whistle, the friends fall, but we two are not seeing that for the first time. And when a bullet strikes one of us–good again, as long as it has hit the mark so that one doesn't have to thrash about long."[131]

By the end of April 1883, Engels had made the final decision to remain in London. He reported the decision and his plans to Bebel: "Here alone one has the tranquility needed for further theoretical work . . . And now, in my 63rd year, with a load of my own work on my back and the perspective of one year's work on the second volume of *Capital* and a second year for Marx's biography, alongside the history of the German Socialist movement from '43 to '63 and of the International from '64 to '72, I would have to be crazy if I exchanged my quiet refuge here for places where one would have to participate in meetings and the journalistic struggle . . . Yes, were it once again as in '48 and '49, I would again mount my horse, if necessary. But now–a strict organization of my work . . . Think only of the staggering correspondence formerly divided between M(arx) and myself, which I have had to conduct alone for more than a year. Then the many threads to all countries which came together in M(arx)'s work room, and which we want to maintain unbroken, as far as it is in my power to do so."[132]

In the face of these extensive tasks, Engels set aside his own scientific work and plans without further ceremony. As late as the end of 1882 he had written to Marx: "Now, however, I must finish quickly with the dialectics of nature."[133] From then on there was hardly any further mention of this work, to which he had devoted years of his life. Other studies, such as the history of Germany or Ireland, were also laid aside. Engels was convinced–and rightly so–that only he could decipher the manuscripts of the dead Marx and only he was able to prepare them for publication. This service to his friend, which was simultaneously the greatest assistance for the international workers' movement, now took up the major part of his working time and his creative power.

One thing made it very much easier for him to fulfil this

plan: Lenchen Demuth declared her readiness to manage Engels' household. Lenchen, who had been such a tower of strength for the Marx family, indeed, more, had been a part of it, was best able to help him to sort out and arrange Marx's voluminous literary bequest. Engels also owed it to her to a very great extent that his home in the future also remained open to the world, famous for its hospitality, and that Engels found the quiet necessary for his work.

Chapter VIII

1883–1890

"International Delegate of the Class-Conscious Proletariat"

In 1878, in an article in the North American magazine, *The Labor Standard*, Engels took measure of the position of the European workers' movement and made the following summary: "The men who founded the International Working Men's Association in 1864, and who held its banner high during the years of struggle, at first against external and then against internal enemies, until political necessities, more than inner conflicts, led to a break and to its seeming retreat–these men can now declare proudly: 'The International has carried out its work; it has completely achieved its great goal, the uniting of the proletariat of the whole world in the struggle against its oppressors.'"[1] And even more: it had successfully laid the foundation stone for the emergence of revolutionary workers' Parties in many countries.

It had not always been possible for Marx and Engels to participate so directly in the founding of a new class Party as in the case of the German workers' Party in 1869 and the French workers' Party in 1879–80. But when the workers of a particular country created a revolutionary vanguard for themselves, Marx and Engels had always participated indirectly–either through their capacity as advisers to individual workers' representatives, through the press, in the form of suggestions regarding the programme, strategy and tactics, or in the decisive sense that the uniting into a Party never took place without assimilating the basic knowledge of scientific Communism, even if only in a partial manner.

In bygone years, Engels had already taken over the greater part of the international correspondence, because of Marx's illnesses and increasing inability to work; now, after Marx's death, he had to carry the whole burden on his own shoulders. At the same time, the responsibilities involved increased from year to year, since the labour movement in this period developed with unbelievable rapidity, both numerically and geographically. Engels lived to see with joy how one national formation of the working class after the other separated itself from the ideological influence of Utopian and other petty-bourgeois theories, took over at least the main thoughts of scientific Communism as the basis of its struggle, and created an independent class Party by uniting the revolutionary scientific world outlook with the workers' movement.

With the growth of the workers' movement, Marxism also spread and was taken over by ever new sections of the proletariat. In the 1880's, new editions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* appeared in German, French, Danish, Russian, Spanish and English. The workers showed a vivid interest in this birth certificate of scientific Communism and in other works of Marx and Engels which opened their eyes to the "secret" of their miserable situation, their exploitation and oppression. That was all the more significant, since the offensive of bourgeois ideology against Marxism opened up in 1871 became even more intensive during the eighties. Every step forwards in the political and organizational independence of the working class presupposed a simultaneous struggle against bourgeois ideology, against the various types of the ever more openly anti-Socialist idealist philosophy: nationalism and racism, neo-Kantianism and positivism, agnosticism and the élite theory.

As before, Engels never formally stood at the head of a national or international proletarian organization in the 1880's. But the representatives of the leading workers' Parties, and those just coming into being, turned to him for advice and help. Out of the rich treasury of his decades of experience and his outstanding knowledge, Engels gave them such support, tirelessly, and often to the neglect of his own work and plans. It was characteristic of him that he never claimed the right for himself, because of his leading role in the international workers' movement, to give directives or orders to individual Parties. That did not mean that he did not criticize, sharply but in a comradely manner, individual workers' leaders, even those in the circle of his closest comrades, when the cause demanded it. He listened to the opinions of others attentively and changed his own conclusions, when necessary. That happened especially when practical and tactical problems of the labour movement were involved which could be decided only on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the concrete situation.

To advise and stimulate the individual workers' Parties to measure their policy against the recognized theoretical principles of a proletarian class policy; to pass on the experiences of the various workers' Parties and organizations; to analyze the practical political struggle in order to achieve, and to spread new and universally valid theoretical conclusions–that was how Engels saw his task as adviser to the international workers' movement.

During the lifetime of Marx and Engels–as now also–the enemies of Marxism put forward the absurd claim that Engels and Marx had arrogated to themselves the right to issue commands to individual national Parties or even the entire international workers' movement. The many hundreds of letters exchanged by Marx and Engels with workers' leaders all over the world show how very much this correspondence had the character of a constant give and take between the two sides. What

Engels, whom Bebel later accurately called the "international delegate of the class-conscious proletariat"[2], had in 1881 written about Marx was completely valid for himself: "Through theoretical and practical work achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements throughout the world have full confidence in him. At critical junctures they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best . . . It is therefore not a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on people, but of the people coming to him of themselves . . . It would only harm us to try influence people against their will, it would destroy the old confidence dating back to the time of the International."[3]

Engels devoted his main attention in the 1880's to the workers' movements in France and Germany. That was not an accident, since both the German and the French revolutionary proletarian movement exerted a great influence on the international struggle for liberation of the working class. The more intensive the help for them, the swifter their progress and the more enduring their successes, all the greater were the international consequences, and the more rapidly did the international unification of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat proceed.

Marx and Engels had directly influenced the working out of the programme of the French workers' Party in 1880; now, in the period that followed, Engels also remained loyally at the side of the French Marxists. The connection was maintained mainly through Laura and Paul Lafargue. He kept up a very close correspondence with them, and since he looked upon Marx's daughters–Laura, who was living in Paris, and Eleanor, who was active in London–as his own, he was able to pass on his advice and opinions with complete privacy and yet knew that they were transmitted to the French workers' leaders in a suitable form. In fact, the correspondence with the Lafargues contains a great deal of theoretically most significant thoughts and suggestions from Engels, especially on the question of strategy and tactics.

Engels saw with concern that the French workers' Party

was split once again in 1882 due to the activities of the reformists, who united in their own Party under the leadership of the petty-bourgeois Socialists, Benoit Malon and Paul Brousse. "The issue," he wrote to Bebel, "is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted as the *class struggle* of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or is it to be permitted that in good opportunist (or as it is called in the Socialist translation: Possibilist) style the class character of the movement together with the programme, is everywhere to be dropped where more votes, more adherents, can be won by this means? By declaring themselves in favour of the latter alternative Malon and Brousse have sacrificed the proletarian class character of the movement, made separation inevitable. All the better." And then, generalizing these experiences at once and pointing out the necessary conclusions to Bebel, he wrote: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles, and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have got beyond the first phase of the internal struggle (with the Lassalleans); other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity."[4]

Among such "things" Engels included the class character of the workers' Party, of its programme, of its policy, and equally, the purity of its scientific theory.

While Engels, in the years that followed, had to attack the opportunism of the "Possibilists" with the means at his disposal, he also had to damp down the tendency to revolutionary phrases and the "impotent urge for deeds"[5] among Lafargue, Guesde and their followers. But he saw with satisfaction that the workers' Party led by Guesde and Lafargue was able over the years to create a firm base for itself among the workers in the large industrial centres of the country, especially in the north. Engels supported this process by passing on to the French the experiences of the class struggle of German Social Democracy and by propagating scientific Communism in France. In this direction he found Paul and Laura Lafargue the best helpers. Through Laura's arrangements, in some cases in her own translations which were critically gone over by Engels, the *Manifesto of the Com-*

munist Party, Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, his *Ludwig Feuerbach* and other Marxist works appeared in French editions in the 1880's and the beginning of the '90's. Paul Lafargue, under Engels' influence, developed more and more into a theoretician of Marxism.

In the second half of the eighties, it became evident that the efforts of Engels, Guesde, the Lafargues and other workers' leaders were bearing fruit. The revolutionary French workers reacted to the chauvinistic incitement launched by the French War Minister Boulanger in 1886 with great political maturity. Engels was extremely pleased with the firm internationalist attitude which the majority in the French working class, as well as their German class brothers, counterposed to the war-mongering of the exploiting classes. When the danger of war became ever more acute in the spring of 1887, he himself issued an appeal to the French and German working class: "We find ourselves confronted by an extraordinary danger. We are threatened with a war in which those who detest it and have many joint interests–the French and German proletarian–will be forced to slaughter each other.

"What is the real reason for this situation?

"*Militarism.*"[6]

Engels' call met with a lively echo on both sides of the border. The united efforts of the German and French Socialists, their determined stand against Bismarck and Boulanger, were a serious warning to the ruling classes.

Quite different than in France was the situation in the workers' movement in England. Since the transfer of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association from London to New York, and the dissolution of the British Federal Council of the International in 1874, Marx and Engels had had only a few contacts with the official leaders of the English workers. Almost all had gone over to the bourgeoisie and compromised openly with the bourgeois liberals or at least flirted with them. When Bernstein asked Engels in 1879 for a report on the situation in the English workers' movement, Engels described it as follows:" For a number of years past the English

working-class movement has been hopelessly describing a narrow circle of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, not, however, as an expedient or means of propaganda and organization, but as the ultimate aim. The Trade Unions even bar all political action on principle and in their charters, and thereby also ban participation in any general activity of the working class as a class . . . No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at present no real labour movement in the continental sense exists here."[7]

This harsh judgment remained valid in essentials for the years that followed. At the beginning of the 1880's, a turning-point seemed to have come in the English workers' movement, marked by the resurrection of the Socialist movement and the emergence of new trade unions with more far-reaching economic and political demands. But when Engels himself sought to develop these hopeful beginnings further, and from May to August of 1881, in regular articles in the trade union paper, *The Labor Standard*, attempted to give his readers a basic knowledge of the political economy of the working class and of the strategy and tactics in its struggle, especially an insight into the necessity of having a politically independent proletarian class Party, he met with no response. Somewhat disappointed, he gave up his collaboration with the paper. He became convinced now, more than ever, that only with the complete breakdown of the English industrial monopoly would a decisive turn in the political attitude of the British proletariat follow.

This view, fully confirmed by history, could not, of course, lead Engels the revolutionist to wait passively for that period to come. In any case, he maintained personal contacts with a whole number of English Socialists: with intellectuals like the historian, philosopher and journalist, Ernest Belfort Bax, the writer, William Morris, the poet and university teacher, James Leigh Joynes, as well as with workers like the mechanic, John Lincoln Mahon, the metal worker Tom Mann, who later became one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain, or the gas worker, William James Thorne. He worked tirelessly to draw them out of their often self-elected isolation, to persuade them to abandon all anarchistic and socially philanthropic views,

and to tackle the tasks then objectively confronting the English workers' movement: combining the scientific theory of the class struggle with the proletarian mass movement.

In the 1880's, Engels especially helped Eleanor Marx, the youngest daughter of Marx, who after her father's death devoted herself entirely to the emancipation of the English working class. From 1884 on she lived with Dr. Edward Aveling, an English doctor and Socialist who had for some years dedicated himself to the political struggle. Engels looked upon both of them like members of his family and gave them all possible assistance. When the Avelings, at the end of the 1880's, together with Tom Mann, made efforts to organize into new trade unions the unskilled workers not reached by the existing unions, and very successfully at first, Engels advised them at every step.

On the other hand, he relied on the Avelings for the translation of his and Marx's writings into English. His old friend Samuel Moore also aided him in this important task. Sam Moore and Edward Aveling, after years of work, produced the English edition of the first volume of *Capital*, which appeared in London in 1887. One year later the *Communist Manifesto* appeared in English, again translated by Moore and revised by Engels.

Engels also followed the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia with undivided attention. In his summary of the European workers' movement published in 1878 in *The Labor Standard*, he had made the following judgment on the uprising of the serfs in Russia in 1861: "The great act of emancipation, which was generally so glorified and praised by the European liberal press, had created nothing but the basis and the absolute necessity of a future revolution."[8] From now on, with capitalist development starting in Russia, with a revolutionary-democratic movement beginning to bring its influence to bear, it was clear to Marx and Engels that the European revolution could expect strong impulses from Russia.

Engels was certain that a future revolution in Russia would at first have a bourgeois-democratic character. He energetically opposed the views of petty-bourgeois Russian Socialists who thought Russia was heading directly towards a Socialist revolution and would be able to leap over the capitalist social formation. In the attitudes of these people, the Populists, Engels particularly criticized their pseudo-scientific views about the exceptional aspects of Russian historical development, especially about the Russian village community, the Obshchina.

While the Populists praised the peasant village community and especially its common property as the heart and starting-point of the future Socialist society, Engels and Marx showed, thanks to their fundamental analysis of social development in Russia, that the peasants' common property could not produce Socialism out of itself alone, without the support of a proletarian revolution in the advanced countries, since Socialism presupposed capitalist society, as an historical precondition, with its own high level of development of the productive forces and the sharpening of class antagonisms. But Marx and Engels in 1882 also wrote in their jointly signed preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto:* "If the Russian Revolution becomes a 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."[9] This thought later entered into the theory developed by Lenin and confirmed by practice that in the backward countries freed from the colonial yoke, the non-capitalist road of development is possible to the extent that these countries ally themselves closely with the states which have gone through the capitalist development and in which the dictatorship of the proletariat rules.

No matter how emphatically Engels and Marx criticized the petty-bourgeois and Utopian views of the Populists, they had unlimited respect for the militant, democratic and personal courage, on a heroic scale, of these Russian revolutionaries. Engels had active contact with many of them, especially Piotr Lavrovitch Lavrov, Herman Alexandrovitch Lopatin, Lev Nikolayevitch Hartmann and Sergei Mikhailovitch Stepniak-Kravtchinski. He received them also at his home and helped them in whatever way he could. At a time when the Russian working class had not yet matured to the level of political struggle, Engels saw in the Populists the only fearless revolutionary force fighting against Czarism in Russia.

That changed in the 1880's. Soon after Marx's death, Engels took up his dead friend's correspondence with Vera Ivanovna Sassulitch. In the autumn of 1883, he learned from this former Populist of the founding of the first Russian Marxist organization: the Liberation of Labour group. Vera Sassulitch–and through her, Georgi Valentinovitch Plekhanov, the leading figure in this group–informed Engels about the advance of scientific Communism in Russia, about the spread of the works of Marx and Engels among the Russian intelligentsia and the Russian workers. Engels supported the Russian revolutionaries in this connection by helping the translator of *Capital* into Russian, the writer and economist, Nikolai Franzevitch Danielson, with word and deed. He wrote to Vera Sassulitch that he was "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 Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. And Marx himself would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia."[10]

Engels, who had worked all his life for the national freedom and independence of the Polish people, noted with joy in the 1880's that now too the Polish proletariat took its place in the class struggle as an independent political force and as a pioneer in the fight for independence. He gave his support to Socialists like Maria Jankowska-Mendelsonowa, Ludwik Krzywicki and Kazimierz Sosnowski, who set out to translate basic works of scientific Communism into Polish, especally Marx's *Capital*. He watched with satisfaction how the awakening Polish workers' movement, which in 1882, under the leadership of Ludwik Warynski, created its first proletarian class Party, called Proletariat, developed from the very beginning in close collaboration with the revolutionary Russian movement and German Democracy. At the same time, he repeatedly called upon the revolutionary proletariat of Europe to engage in solidarity with the Polish people. In the foreword to the second Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, he wrote: "Polish independence...

can be gained only by the young Polish proletariat, and in its hands it is secure. For the workers of all the rest of Europe need the independence of Poland just as much as the Polish workers themselves."[11]

Engels maintained constant contact also with Socialist personalities in Italy and Spain, those countries which he had once represented as Corresponding Secretary in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. The slow advance of industrialization in these countries and the strong influence of the petty bourgeoisie resulted in anarchism continuing to play a catastrophic role. The Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party founded by Andrea Costa in 1881 had a clearly anarchistic character, while the Independent Workers' Party set up in 1882 had at most a petty-bourgeois Socialist programme. Engels therefore limited himself in this field to an extraordinarily lively and friendly correspondence with the Italian Socialist, Pasquale Martignetti. This former anarchist had become a convinced follower of Marx and Engels and saw as his life's work the translation of the works of scientific Communism into Italian. Engels helped him in this effort in many ways, and when Martignetti was prosecuted in 1887 because of his Socialist convictions and was threatened with the loss of his job as a government employee, Engels provided him with moral and financial aid in the most tactful manner.

Engels' personal representative in the Socialist movement in Spain was his old friend, José Mesa, one of the first propagandists of scientific Communism in Spain and one of the founders of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain in 1879. Mesa, whom Engels described as "a great chap"[12], translated many works of Marx and Engels into Spanish and worked closely with the French Marxists rallied around Guesde and Lafargue.

Engels also followed the development of the working class in other European countries with close interest. He had direct and indirect connections with the Social-Democratic Parties set up at the end of the 1870's and the 1880's in Denmark, Bohemia and Moravia, Belgium and Norway, in Switzerland, Austria and Sweden. With some of their leaders, such as the Austrian Socialist and doctor, Victor Adler, and with the Danish workers'

leader, Gerson Trier, he maintained correspondence for many years. The programmes of these Parties were in most cases not yet clearly Marxist, but they demonstrated that the revolutionary vanguard of the labour movement in these countries had broken with anarchism and petty-bourgeois Utopianism and made the most important principles of scientific Communism their own in the effort to achieve an independent proletarian class position.

Engels also gave support with advice and deeds to the Socialists in the countries in which the Marxist forces were still working to set up an independent class Party. Thus he corresponded in the eighties with the Dutch Socialist, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, with his old comrade-in-arms, Leo Frankel, a pioneer of the Hungarian workers' movement, and with the Rumanian Socialist, Ion Nădejde.

But Engels' attention was not focused only on Europe. He followed with close attention the development of the class struggle in the United States, the country in which the General Council of the International had had its headquarters after 1872 and to which hundreds, if not thousands, of German Socialist workers had emigrated after proclamation of Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. His North American letter partners were primarily his close friend, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, and Florence Kelley-Wischnewetsky, a Socialist who did meritorious work in translating and spreading the works of Engels and Marx in the United States.

Engels felt that the most important task of the Socialists in the United States–most of them were immigrant German workers–was to bridge the gap between the Socialist Workers' Party, founded in 1876 and pretty well isolated, and the masses of workers who had not yet awakened to political activity but who joined together in trade unions. Engels drew particular attention to the subtle demagogy and corrupt practices of the North American bourgeoisie. He called upon the Socialist German-Americans to develop tactics which would take into account the backwardness and indifference towards theory which was then characteristic of the masses of workers in the United States. In 1886 he wrote to Sorge about the immigrant German Socialists: "The Germans have not understood how to use their theory

as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action."[13]

Engels repeatedly urged the Socialists in the United States to overcome the sectarian tendencies in their ranks and to work with great patience to win the *masses* of the workers still acting from natural impulse. In this connection, he worked out tactical proposals the validity of which extended far beyond the situation which gave rise to them. He called upon the Marxist forces "to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its *faktische* (actual) starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme, they ought, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, to represent in the movement of the present the future of that movement".[14] Thus by the end of the 1870's and 80's national proletarian class Parties came into existence in numerous countries which, no matter how varied their theoretical level may have been, agreed with the most important principles of scientific Communism. They were united in recognizing the historical mission of the working class, in demanding the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and their nationalization, and in striving for the setting up of a Socialist society as their goal.

Moved and proud, Engels wrote at the end of the 1880's that only one theory "was able to bring together all the Socialists of Europe and America into a single fighting army; I mean the theory of my dead friend Karl Marx. The social and political situation that existed at the time of the death of this great thinker and the progress of our Party in all civilized countries permitted him to close his eyes with the certainty that his efforts to unite the proletarians of the world into a single great army, under one and the same flag, would be crowned with success. If only he could see the unimaginable progress which we have made since then in America and in Europe!"[15]

These advances were indissolubly bound up with the selfless help of Frederick Engels. It was thanks also to his encouragement and support that a number of younger, theoretically trained personalities came forward in the international workers' movement in the 1880's. Engels felt he shared responsibility in getting the individual national workers' Parties to learn the theory of scientific Communism, but equally concerned himself with the training and furthering of independently thinking, theoretically qualified Party members capable of creatively applying and further developing the scientific world outlook of the proletariat.

In the German Social Democratic Party he estimated highly the theoretical work of August Bebel and Joseph Dietzgen. He read Bebel's main work, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (The Woman and Socialism) with great interest, and he testified to the fact that Dietzgen had independently found his way to some of the most important discoveries of dialectical materialism. He helped Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein to penetrate more deeply into the world of ideas of dialectical and historical materialism. In France, alongside Jules Guesde and Gabriel Deville, it was Paul Lafargue especially who investigated various areas of capitalist society in numerous works and in an original polemical form from the standpoint of scientific Communism, and who stripped bare the crimes of the exploiting order in works like *The Right to Be Lazy*. Lasting theoretical contributions were made by Georgi Valentinovitch Plekhanov, who showed himself to be a creative Marxist thinker in numerous articles in the international workers' press and in a number of independent writings–for example, in *Socialism and Political Struggle* and in *Our Differences of Opinion*. Engels directly or indirectly engaged in an exchange of ideas with all of them. He encouraged them to be both bold and conscientious in their scientific work, evaluated their publications with friendly criticisms and made suggestions to them for the deepening of their knowledge.

Engels had a masterly touch in advising individual comrades who shared his ideas and the various workers' organizations and Parties on how to apply materialist dialectics, and to lay down the tasks of the fighting proletariat in accordance with the varied stages of the national labour movement of the different countries, yet always on the basis of the universally valid principles of scientific Communism. In this way, he worked not only as an adviser to individual national workers' Parties, as the "theoretical conscience" of the international working-class movement, but with his own personal activity also advanced, in a decisive manner, the spreading and consolidation of proletarian internationalism in theory and practice.

On the Side of the Illegals

Though Engels was an internationalist through and through, he was equally a passionate German patriot. Out of love for his people he mercilessly condemned the betrayal and incompetence of the ruling classes in German history. Out of the same love he at all times remembered the revolutionary deeds and traditions of the German people and strove to keep them from falling into oblivion. In the progressive traditions of a class or a nation Engels saw a forward-driving force. For that reason he kept reminding the German workers constantly to look upon themselves as the executors of all the progressive, revolutionary and humanist achievements of the German people and to act accordingly.

Engels' love for Germany and the German people did not diminish through the decades of exile forced upon him by Prussian reaction. On the contrary. As a 70-year-old he spoke of the joy it gave him "to remember that I am a German, and am proud to stand on the position won for us above all others by our German workers".[16]

Engels never tired of reminding the German workers that their leading international position placed special responsibilities upon them. The fact that German Social Democracy remained at the head of the international workers' movement in those decades, that it was the first Party in which scientific Communism won the day, and that it was called upon to be the first which tested the strategy and tactics of a revolutionary mass Party–all this led to it becoming the main protagonist of the theoretical struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement. And that in two respects. On the one hand, the ever more powerful growth of German Social Democracy occasioned in the ruling classes in Germany an open, militant anti-Socialism which was able to base itself on the dangerous anti-democratic traditions of the Prussian Junkers. This raging anti-Socialism expressed itself equally in the political, ideological and theoretical fields and led to a complete break with the progressive traditions of the German bourgeoisie, to the subordination of science, especially the social sciences, to the class interests of the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie. It was supplemented by a shameless social demagogy. On the other hand, the large influx of petty-bourgeois elements into German Social Democracy and the disguised attempts of the exploiting classes to win ideological influence over the workers' Party led to the controversies with opportunism and the struggle for the ideological and theoretical purity of a revolutionary class Party becoming especially vehement in the ranks of German Social Democracy, and working as an example because of the internationally leading position of the Party. Thus it was that Engels in the 1880's and 90's conducted the struggle against open, militant anti-Socialism as well as against opportunism primarily in connection with the German workers' movement.

Engels' role as a loyal counsellor of the German workers' movement increased in significance during the eighties through the fact that the Socialist workers' Party, outlawed by Bismarck,

had to carry on a struggle for its very existence, the success or failure of which was bound to have great international repercussions.

Engels had noted with great satisfaction the defeat which the delegates at the Wyden congress in 1880 had inflicted on the opportunists in German Social Democracy. But he did not harbour the illusion that the controversy with petty-bourgeois views in the Party was thereby ended. At the end of 1879 he had already warned Bebel: "The joining up of petty bourgeois and peasants is admittedly a sign of the stormy progress of the movement, but also a danger for it, the moment one forgets that these people must come to us, but do come only *because* they must. Their joining up is proof that the proletariat has in reality become the leading class. But since they come with petty-bourgeois and peasant ideas and wishes, one must not forget that the proletariat would forfeit its leading historical role if it made concessions to these ideas and wishes."[17]

In contrast to the 1870's, Engels was now certain that his view of the incessant and necessary struggle against opportunism was shared, not only by many workers' leaders in Germany, especially by August Bebel, but also by the Socialist workers themselves. He experienced that with satisfaction when, at the end of 1881, the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie in Germany resorted to new tactics in the fight against the Socialist movement. They now supplemented their previous "policy of the stick" towards the proletariat with a "policy of the carrot", in the stage of so-called social reforms: sickness and accident insurance laws brought the workers, excluding those on the land, insignificant improvements. In this way the Junkers and the bourgeoisie hoped to corrupt and mislead the workers who had not yet been awakened to class consciousness, and to isolate the Social-Democratic Party from the masses of workers. This tactical turn was accompanied by a well-organized propaganda campaign for the greater glory of "state Socialism", that is to say, the reactionary theory according to which the bourgeois–and especially the Prussian-German–state itself is called upon to prepare the way for Socialism. "Socialism" now became the most popular slogan, which not only bourgeois liberals, but also Prussian

Junkers and conservative industrial barons, mouthed without embarassment. Only what they praised as "Socialism" was already then nothing more than a nationalization policy which filled their own pockets and the treasury of the exploiting state, and plundered and denied the workers their rights all the more. Bismarck, however, found a willing ear for his social demagogy among some opportunistically inclined Reichstag Deputies whom Engels contemptuously gave the title of "whiners"[18], but all the more decisive and more vigorous was the answer of the members of the Party, who in the overwhelming majority spoke up against every tendency to compromise. The *Sozialdemokrat* echoed their deepest feelings when it declared: "And if they multiply their persecutions tenfold against us, *never* will we agree to such 'reforms'. *Never* will we give up the right of the people to work and a livelihood, *never* will we give up the right and duty of the people to implement its demands *in case of necessity* with force for a pottage of lentils in the shape of accident and sickness insurance of doubtful value."[19] In Chemnitz and Gera, in Hamburg and Halle, in Kassel and Cologne, in Leipzig, Potsdam, Weimar and many other cities the Party members showed their solidarity with this fighting attitude of their central organ. In this spirit, the delegates to the second clandestine Party congress, which met in Copenhagen from 29 March to 2 April 1883, unconditionally rejected the Bismarckian attempt at corruption.

Proud of this clear victory of the revolutionary forces, and with unmistakable irony, Engels reported to his friend Sorge: "In Germany, things are on the whole going splendidly. The Herren literateurs in the Party have indeed attempted to carry through a reactionary, bourgeois, tame and educated switch, but it was brilliantly defeated: the infamies to which the Socialist workers were everywhere subjected have made them everywhere much more revolutionary than they were 3 years ago... Among the leaders, Bebel is the one who conducted himself best in this matter."[20]

Engels learned with great pleasure from Germany the details about the heroic struggle of the German Social-Democrats against the emergency law, about the revolutionary resourceful-

ness and cleverness, the heroism and self-sacrificing quality of the workers. The class-conscious workers put into practice his advice to link up all possible extra-parliamentary and parliamentary forms of struggle in order to increase the mass influence of the Party, and did it with cleverness and bravura. The clandestine organizations set up in all localities where Socialists worked maintained contacts among themselves all over Germany through *Vertrauensmänner*, special delegates, and attended to the illegal distribution of Socialist literature and of the *Sozialdemokrat*. In addition, the persecuted Socialists used legal organizations such as relief and mutual aid funds, sport and entertainment associations and especially trade union organizations for agitation among the masses. Engels closely studied these many-sided forms of the struggle, which enriched the treasury of experience of the international revolutionary movement greatly, and helped generalize the experiences gathered and transmit them to other fraternal Parties.

Engels contributed to the consolidation of the Party fighting underground and to the spreading of Marxist ideas in the German working class in many ways: by his own personal influence on Bebel, Liebknecht, Bernstein and others, by his theoretical and publicist activity, and especially by his collaboration with the *Sozialdemokrat*. Where he had previously helped the editors of the paper with advice, criticisms and suggestions in letters, he began in 1881 to be more and more of a direct co-worker of the *Sozialdemokrat*. In order to assist the theoretical struggle and to spread the lessons of the revolutionary past, Engels published many of his scientific articles in the *Sozialdemokrat*, for example, *Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848–49)*, *On the History of the Communist League*, *The Abdication of the Bourgeoisie*.

That was only a part of his assistance to the central organ of the Party, however. Regardless of whether it was a question of pointing out mistakes and merits in articles and editions already published, of sending in important materials for future editorial articles, of tendering advice for the solution of new problems arising in the editorial work, of strengthening the political attitude of the editors towards opportunistic Reichstag Deputies, or of supplying information about the situation of the Socialist movement in other countries, yes, even when it was a question of the editors' financial problems–Engels at all times helped make it easier for the leading newspaper of German Social Democracy to be a collective agitator, propagandist and organizer of the clandestine Party.

Engels was especially concerned with the central organ's task of providing effective help to those struggling in Germany under such difficult conditions and of strengthening their ability to resist. He was of the opinion that offensive tactics should at all times be adopted in the central organ. He advised Bernstein, the editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*: "Not to twist and turn under the blows of the opponent, not to whine and moan and stammer excuses that you did not mean any harm... Hit back, that's what you have to do, two or three blows for every one the enemy strikes. That has always been our tactic, and so far I believe we have got the best of almost every one of our opponents."[21]

Engels looked upon his collaboration with the *Sozialdemokrat* as "an honour and... pleasure", because he was certain he "would be heard by precisely the public by which one wishes to be heard".[22] The desire to utilize every opportunity to transmit Marx's and his scientific discoveries as weapons directly to the German Socialists fighting Bismarck also brought him to collaborate with the *Neue Zeit*. The newspaper with that name was issued by Karl Kautsky, who after completion of his studies had at first been active in the Austrian labour movement, but from 1883 on issued a theoretical monthly magazine in Stuttgart on behalf of the German Party leadership.

Engels had known Kautsky personally from 1881. He put forth great efforts, through an exchange of ideas in personal meetings and by letter, to encourage the young Kautsky, whom he considered to be talented but rather pedantic, to think creatively along the lines of dialectical and historical materialism. Now that Kautsky, as editor of the *Neue Zeit*, had a key position in the ideological struggle, Engels helped him as much as he could in arranging the contents of the paper. He provided Kautsky regularly with suggestions on literature, with ideas for polemics that were necessary, and with critical reviews. Be-

ginning with 1885, Engels also published his own work in the *Neue Zeit*. His foreword to the first German edition of Marx's work, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, was first published in the *Neue Zeit* under the title, *Marx and Rodbertus*. A few weeks later there followed the article, *England in 1845 and in 1885*. The most significant of Engels' works written for the *Neue Zeit* in the years that followed was his study, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

Engels' collaboration with the *Neue Zeit* became more intimate when Kautsky moved to London for a prolonged period during the 1880's and Engels drew him into the circle of his friends. Engels did a great deal to arrange to get such qualified foreign correspondents for the paper as Paul Lafargue and Friedrich Adolph Sorge. In addition, he saw to it that the *Neue Zeit* found a response among the workers' Parties in other countries. In this way he once again helped the exchange of experiences between the various sections of the international workers' movement. He concerned himself even with ensuring the financial stability of the paper, which often stood on the brink of bankruptcy.

Last but not least, it was thanks to his aid that the *Neue Zeit* developed into a base of Marxism in the German labour movement. In mid-1885, Engels called the editorial board of the *Neue Zeit*–alongside the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Zurich printshop and book house–one of the three positions which had to be held at all costs in the controversies with the petty-bourgeois elements in the Party leadership.[33]

This controversy over the strategy and tactics, and ultimately the class character of the Party, became so acute once more in the mid-1880's that the danger of a split developed. The immediate cause was the approval voiced at first by various Social-Democratic Reichstag Deputies for the now more intensively pushed colonial policy of Bismarck. The opportunists linked this capitulationist attitude towards the class enemy with a massive attack on the revolutionary character of the *Sozialdemokrat* and with an attempt to impose a petty-bourgeois reformist policy on the Party.

The controversy, which reached its climax at the beginning

of 1885, was short but violent. Engels advised Bebel and Bernstein to appeal to the class-conscious masses of the Party members. He had unconditional confidence in them. He had told Bebel in person years before: "You can depend upon it–if it comes to a showdown with these gentlemen and the left wing of the Party speaks out, then we shall stand by you under all circumstances, and that actively and quite openly."[34]

The appeal to the revolutionary members of the Party commanded attention. For weeks the *Sozialdemokrat* published communications from local organizations which almost without exception repudiated the right wing, expressed confidence in the central organ and forced the opportunists into complete retreat. Engels declared triumphantly: "We have won all along the line."[35] In fact, the petty-bourgeois forces in German Social Democracy did not dare to come out openly against the strategy and tactics of the Party for the duration of the emergency law.

Engels, however, estimated the situation to be very serious and consulted with his comrades-in-arms in the German Party leadership as to which tactics should be pursued in the event an organizational split became necessary. He proceeded from the view that a revolutionary workers' Party could permanently tolerate representatives of the hostile bourgeois ideology in its ranks only on pain of going under. Decades of proletarian class struggle had already shown that the struggle against the opportunists and their exposure before the entire membership was necessary for the development of a revolutionary workers' Party.

But under the conditions of the emergency law, Engels told Bebel and Bernstein, the open discussion in the Party was made extraordinarily more difficult, which the opportunists could exploit for their own ends. In these circumstances, Engels proposed that the organizational split be deferred, as long as the right wingers did not publicly group themselves into a petty-bourgeois faction in the Party. But if the split then became inevitable, all personal wrangling had to be avoided and the heart of Party policy, and thereby the fundamental opposition to the opportunists, had to be placed at the centre of the discussion. Under all circumstances, the break had to take place in such a manner that the masses could clearly recognize that the

revolutionary wing of the Party was the defender and continuing protagonist of the battle-tested traditions of German Social Democracy. The opportunists, on the other hand, had to be revealed as "an army of officers without soldiers".[26] In respecting all the things that had to be taken into account tactically in political struggle, there was for Engels, as a bitter enemy of "unity at any price", no question of compromise on the issue of the proletarian class character of the Party.

With the publication of the uncompleted works Marx had left behind, as well as with his own works, with the reissuing of Marxist works that had already been published–which he now mostly prefaced with a new foreword–and with his collaboration on the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Neue Zeit*, Engels contributed decisively to the defence of the proletarian world outlook against all bourgeois attacks, to the strengthening of the Socialist consciousness of the German working class, and to the creation of clarity on the most important theoretical and ideological question of Party policy. In this way he helped carry through a demand he had once himself made on the German and all other revolutionary workers' Parties: to conduct the class struggle "pursuant to its three sides–the theoretical, the political and the economico-practical (resistance to the capitalist)–in harmony and in its interconnections and in a systematic way."[27] That Engels and the Marxist forces in German Social Democracy in the 1880's spread the theory of scientific Communism on an especially broad scale reflected the experience, already then confirmed in the class struggle, that in periods of sharpened class conflicts it is more important than ever for the working class and its Party to maintain the purity of their scientific world outlook and to combat the bourgeois ideology and its influences on the proletariat. Only when it was possible to overcome all non-proletarian ideologies hostile to the working class–and in the German labour movement that included Lassalleanism especially–only then could the working class also block the social reformist and social demagogic plans of Bismarck, only then could German Social Democracy triumph over the emergency law and face down the militant anti-Socialism of the exploiting classes.

The clandestine Party congress at St. Gallen in 1887 demonstrated clearly to Engels that these views had become the common property of the Party. The delegates decided unanimously to work out a new Party programme that was to be cleansed of all unscientific views, notably those coming from Lassalle, and was to be completely Marxist. In doing so they emphasized their awareness that the working class could achieve lasting victories only on the basis of its scientific theory. Engels repeatedly dealt with this dialectical interconnection between the various aspects and forms of the class struggle in his writings, as well as in his letters to friends in German Social Democracy. He saw this as a special task which only he, and no one else, could solve after Marx's death.

In his efforts along these lines, Engels was at one with leading German Social Democrats like Liebknecht, Singer, Motteler, Bernstein, Kautsky, and above all, Bebel. In the 1880's, Bebel came to be recognized nationally and internationally as the leader of the German workers' movement, and the correspondence with him now became for Engels a most important exchange of ideas on all basic questions of strategy and tactics. He set his greatest hopes on Bebel. In him he saw his ablest and firmest pupil. He always asked Bebel for his opinion before he expressed a final viewpoint on problems of current politics in Germany.

In personal or written exchanges of ideas with Bebel–and often with Lafargue and others also–many of the theoretical conclusions and views Engels deduced from the practical struggle of the international workers' movement–especially the German and the French–ripened, and then entered into the treasury of experiences of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. Thus he constantly discussed with his correspondents such central questions of the class struggle as the Party's policy of alliance or its work in parliament. He admired the parliamentary ability of his friend Bebel, who on this difficult field of battle, on which some other workers' representatives came to grief, provided a model for the clever linking up of firmness of principle and tactical flexibility, and showed himself to be a master of revolutionary proletarian tactics in theory and practice. But as

demanded by true friendship, he was not miserly with critical, helpful suggestions.

With special intensity and over a period of years Engels discussed with Bebel and others the question as to what varied phases the future revolution in Germany would have to go through. Engels pointed out that in the last third of the 19th century, the petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the liberal bourgeoisie in Germany, despite their inconsistent attitude, still had a certain democratic potential. This potential had to be utilized by the workers' Party in the struggle against Prussian militarism and the reactionary big bourgeoise which was allied to the Junkers. He urged Bebel to give consideration at all times to the fact that the revolution could not be merely a single act and that the proletariat in Germany could not conquer power with the first attack. Precisely for that reason German Social Democracy had first–by overthrowing the Prussian-German military state–to win a democratic republic, for such a republic, he told Bernstein, "will serve us in the beginning to win over the great masses of the workers to revolutionary Socialism," and "only then can we successfully take over."[28]

In the second half of the eighties, Engels once again occupied himself in a basic manner with the problem of what role the revolutionary proletariat had to play in the struggle against war, and on that subject wrote many letters, articles and appeals. The question was of general interest, since the ruling classes in Germany in 1886 sharpened their already reactionary course. That showed itself, on the one hand, in the same year in a fresh wave of oppressive measures against the working class and, on the other hand, in an armaments boom and a provocative policy towards France. Since a broad movement at the same time developed among the French bourgeoisie which spread revanchist thinking, an acute danger of war emerged in Europe.

Engels feared that a European war would kindle chauvinism and would again push back the Socialist movement in all of Europe. The military controversies could not, of course, halt the proletarian revolution, he wrote. The revolution would take place all the same, "but with what sacrifices!–with what universal exhaustion–and after how many twists and turns!"[29] The

Socialist workers' movement, just as the whole nation, in Engels' view, needed peace for its further development. The controversies between Germany and France, he told the German and French workers, were controversies between the ruling classes, originating in their nationalist and chauvinist policy. As soon as the working class could carry into effect its own proletarian foreign policy, the contradictions between France and Germany, as well as between other countries, would be overcome and finally abolished, for the "Socialists of both countries," Engels wrote, "are equally interested in the maintenance of peace"[30].

Alongside the war danger emanating from Czarism, Engels denounced Prussian militarism as the most dangerous inciter of war. "The German Reich," he told Bebel, "will have its existence endangered because of its Prussian basis."[31]

Engels' estimate conformed completely with the views of both the German and the French Marxist workers' leaders. A programmatic appeal of the Social-Democratic Party leadership in 1887 declared: "Between *militarism*, which is an inevitable outgrowth of the ruling political and social system, and Social Democracy there is *just as little chance for reconciliation* as with the system itself. Militarism is incompatible with freedom and the well-being of the peoples."[32] Engels believed firmly that the class-conscious workers of Germany would make this revolutionary and at the same time patriotic and internationalist standpoint their own, and he was not disappointed. More than 763,000 people in 1887 gave the anti-militarist and therefore truly alternative national programme of Social Democracy their votes.

In the following years also Engels concerned himself with the mission of the working class to work for the maintenance and safeguarding of peace as a force fighting for Socialism. Late in 1887, his studies led him to the conclusion that "no other war is now possible for Prussia-Germany than a world war, and a world war with a scope and violence not yet imagined . . . The devastation of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three or four years and across the whole continent . . . the collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that the crowns will roll in the streets by the dozen and there

will be nobody to pick them up; it will be completely impossible to foresee how it will all end and who will emerge from the struggle as the victor; only one result will be absolutely certain: universal exhaustion, and the creation of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class."[53] Engels wrote that in 1887, 27 years before the outbreak of the first imperialist world war, and 30 years before the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In view of the policy of the exploiting classes and of their state, which was leading inevitably to war, Engels never tired in the following period of doing everything to advance the joining together of the workers of all countries in the struggle for peace and to consolidate the basis of this joining together, namely, proletarian internationalism.

Completing Capital

During the period after Marx's death, when Engels worked more intensively than ever as adviser to the international workers' movement and in numerous articles and independent writings applied dialectical and historical materialism to new areas of science, he worked strenuously at the same time on the manuscripts of *Capital* left behind by his friend. Shortly before his death, Marx had expressed the wish to his daughter Eleanor that Engels should "make something"[54] out of the unfinished remaining manuscripts. But even without this specific request it was axiomatic for Engels that he should complete the major scientific work of his friend.

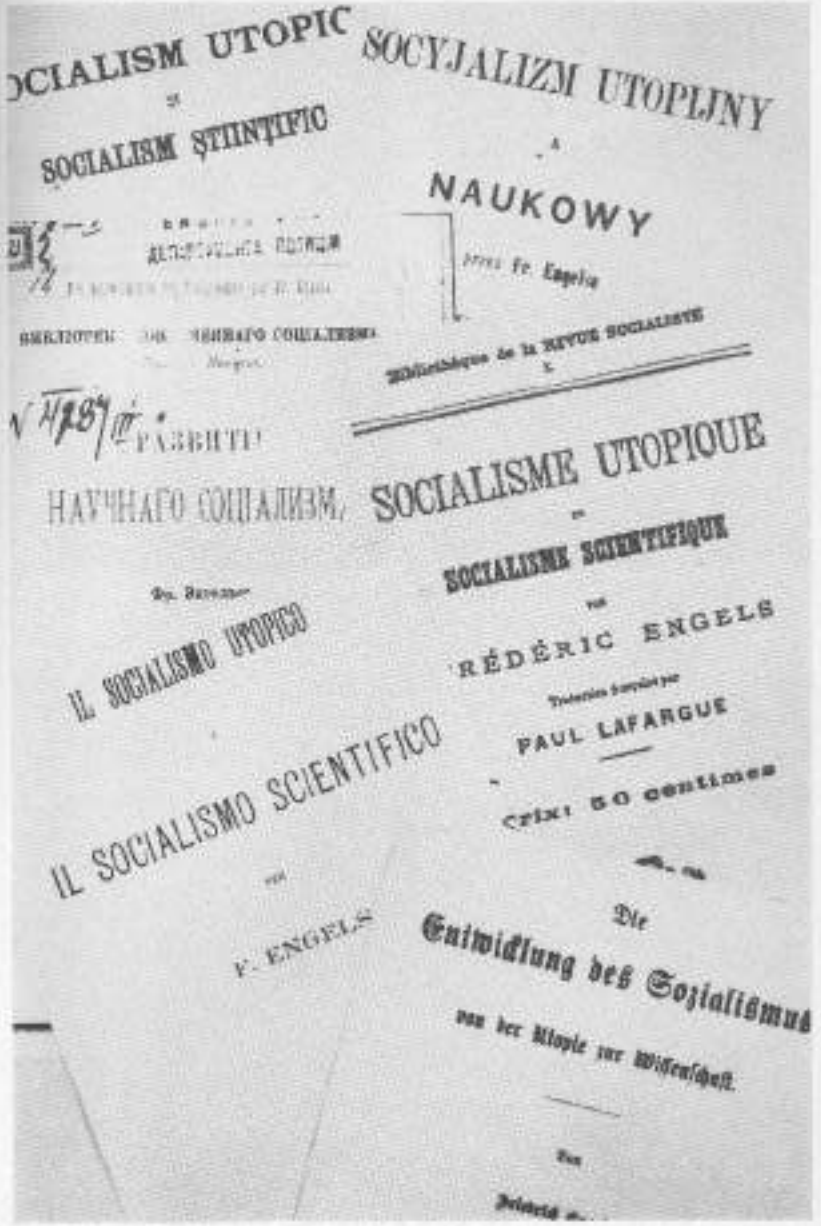
When he went through Marx's literary bequest in the first few weeks after Marx's death, Engels found very comprehensive drafts, notes and excerpts for the continuation of *Capital*. At

first sight, it seemed to him he could prepare the fragments for publication within a year. Only when he became more intimately acquainted with the condition of the manuscripts did the scope of the work he had to perform become clear to him. He wrote to Johann Philipp Becker: "The first thing to be done is the issuing of Volume 2 of *Capital*, and that is not so simple. There are 4–5 drafts of Volume 2 of which only the first is completed and the rest only begun; that will take lots of work–with a man like M(arx) who weighed every word carefully. But it is a labour of love for me; in it, I am with my old comrade again."[58]

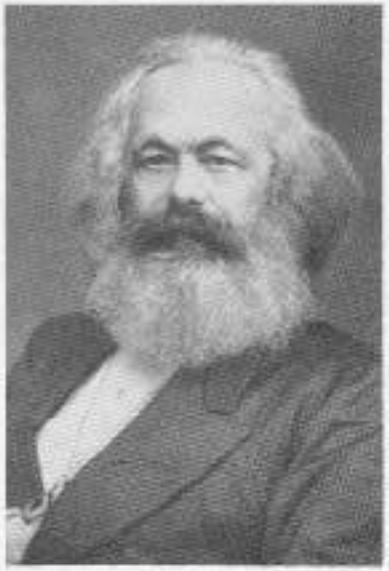
Engels' first task was the decoding of Marx's handwriting, which was almost indecipherable for others, and to turn it into a readable manuscript. Many of his letters indicate what great care he devoted to this task, so that at least this problem should be quickly solved. When he fell ill for a prolonged period soon after Marx's death, he wrote to Lavrov: "Ah–this Volume 2! If you knew, old friend, how it bothers me! But I have lost six months because of my cursed illness ... It bothers me all the more, *since I am the only living person* who can decipher this handwriting and these abbreviations in words and sentences."[59]

Engels sat at his desk day and night to copy out the manuscripts, until the doctors forbade him to work at night because of the poor state of his health. He engaged a secretary to whom he dictated the "clean copy" daily from 10 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon, lying on a sofa because his pains made it impossible for him to sit up and write himself. When his sight began to grow noticeably weaker in 1889, Engels proposed that he teach Karl Kautsky the "hieroglyphic handwriting"[27] as a precautionary measure, so that Kautsky would be able, in the event of necessity, to decipher Marx's handwriting and to take over the publication of the rest of the manuscripts.

From the available text variants, which had come into existence between 1861 and 1880, Engels then selected the most mature. But alongside single, comprehensively drafted parts there were others which were merely hinted at with key words and sketchy notes. This presented the most difficult problem: the filling in of the numerous gaps in the manuscripts as if Marx himself had worked out the text. Engels solved this task brilliantly. He



Editions of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* published in Engels' lifetime





Karl and Jenny Marx in the seventies



Der Sozialdemokrat

Zentral-Organ der deutschen Sozialdemokratie.

№ 13. Donnerstag, 22. März. 1883.

Vorwärts!

Abonnie Pränumerando

Der Sterling

Das Begräbniß von Karl Marx.

The *Sozialdemokrat* carrying Engels' report on Marx's funeral



August Bebel



Wilhelm Liebknecht



Paul Singer



Friedrich Lessner



Carl Schorlemmer



Samuel Moore



Karl Kautsky



Eduard Bernstein



Helene Demuth



Louise Kautsky-Freyberger



Eleanor Marx



Edward Aveling



G. V. Plekhanov



V. I. Sassulitch



George Julian Harney



Eugen Oswald



The police dispersing a workers' rally in Berlin around 1890

grouped together and systematized the available manuscripts, put together comprehensive new data and completed the available texts with numerous annotations and postscripts. In this phase of the work, he decided to divide the manuscripts into two volumes and to publish the extensive material Marx had assembled on the history of political economy in a later volume.

Although Engels always took pains to authenticate Marx's basic line of thought with the latest factual information, he treated the manuscripts left by Marx most conscientiously and took the greatest care with every word, in order to publish the text "exclusively in the spirit of the author".[28] He carefully pointed out all the places where he had undertaken changes, interpolations or supplementary remarks.

His merit in this connection consists precisely in the fact that he completed *Capital* as a unified and integrated work, just as Marx would have done, loyal to every word and at the same time with necessary supplementary remarks. This accomplishment shows once again how silly the attempts of contemporary bourgeois ideologists are to manufacture contradictions in the thinking and work of Marx and Engels.

Engels finished the work on Volume 2 in 1885. In the first volume, Marx had shown how the wage worker is exploited by the capitalist in the process of the production of capital by the fact that the capitalist puts in his own pocket as surplus value the unpaid labour of the proletarian. Here Marx was concerned with surplus value in its pure form. At first he therefore left aside all the secondary aspects obscuring the main issue of exploitation and presupposed that the capitalist finds on the market the commodities which he needs for the carrying through of production, and that the surplus value is realized through the sale of the commodity on the market.

In the second volume of *Capital*, Marx analyzed in an all-sided manner the conditions of the process of circulation of capital. The capitalist, in order to come into possession of surplus value, must find a purchaser on the market for the commodities in which the surplus value is expressed. If there is no sale, then not only is the surplus value not realized, but the capitalist does not come into possession of the money capital that he had laid out

for the production of the commodities. His aim, however, is not merely to draw surplus value out of a single production process, but in the course of the constant repetition of the production process as a reproduction process always to have new surplus value to put in his pocket.

As a result, capital circulates in a constant cycle in which it in turn takes on the form of money capital, productive capital and commodity capital and then starts all over again. If one examines capitalist society as a whole, then there emerges in the sphere of circulation a nexus of mutually interdependent cyclical processes which are bound up with each other. This nexus however, is dominated by the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist appropriation of its products which makes it impossible to carry out this process in a planned and harmonious manner. The spontaneity of the cyclical process and its inner contradictoriness lead to a situation in which the inevitable, periodically recurring economic crises tear the threads between the single stages of the cyclical process and seriously hamper the overall reproduction process.

Even before Marx, classical bourgeois political economy attempted to solve the extraordinarily difficult problem of the reproduction of the total social capital as the unity of reproduction as expressed in use-value and value. It failed, however, despite admirable postulates.

Marx discovered the key with which to solve the problem by dividing the total social product into two large departments: Department I, in which means of production were produced, and Department II, in which consumers' goods were produced. This division made it possible to make clear the decisive central currents in the seeming chaos of innumerable individual commodities in motion, to investigate their mutual relations and to uncover the inner laws of simple and extended reproduction. For the reproduction process to unfold unhindered, the necessary proportions between the two departments must be maintained. The reproduction process, however, takes place in antagonistic forms as a result of the basic contradiction in capitalism. Hence, the necessary conditions are constantly violated, the

contradiction between production and consumption is deepened and disproportions emerge.

The second volume of *Capital*, despite the many decades which have gone by since its appearance, is of great current interest. It shows that all attempts to overcome the inner contradictions in capitalism by state-monopoly regulation in the sphere of circulation leads ultimately to a sharpening of these contradictions because their reasons lie not in circulation but in the foundations of the capitalist relations of production.

In the second volume of *Capital*, also, Marx concerned himself at first only with the complete unravelling of the laws of motion of capitalism. But by penetrating deeply into the structures of the circulation process of capital, he at the same time uncovered structures which are typical for all or at least some social formations. He wrote: "Whatever the form of the process of production in a society, it must be a continuous process, must continue to go periodically through the same phases."[30]

The general laws of the circulation process operate in capitalism in an acutely contradictory manner as a result of its inner contradictions, since capitalist relations of production become operative through the external, seemingly purely objective phenomena of the change in form of capital. The abolition of capitalist relations of production, on the contrary, makes it possible to shape the overall production process, on the basis of recognized economic laws, in a planned and harmonious manner, for the benefit of Socialist society. The political economy of Socialism therefore finds its theoretical foundation for the planned organization of the circulation process in the economic system of Socialism in the second volume of *Capital*– and that in the Leninist sense, according to which the Socialists "*must* develop (Marxism) in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life".[59] On the basis of the theoretical discoveries in the second volume of *Capital*, the political economy of Socialism was able to win many new insights and to prepare them for application in practice.

As soon as the means of production are transferred to social ownership, the financial and material means available to the Socialist economy lose their character as capital. As funds of the

Socialist economy, they are subordinated to a planned cyclical process. The greater the success in organizing the cyclical and turnover process in a planned and rational manner, the greater is the working efficiency of social labour and the growth in the national income at the disposal of society. No less important than for the cyclical and turnover process is the theoretical exposition in the second volume of *Capital* for the reproduction of the total social product in Socialism.

Engels opened the second volume of *Capital* with a lengthy foreword. In it he explained at the outset on what manuscripts of Marx he had been able to base himself and by what editorial principles he had been guided. Then he analyzed the response that the first volume of *Capital* had called forth in the 18 years that had gone by since its first appearance. Once it was no longer possible to maintain a wall of silence around the ideas of *Capital* in official bourgeois economics, a new tactic was attempted which is still fostered in our own day by bourgeois economists. These bourgeois economists accuse Marx of having copied his theory of surplus value from Utopian Socialists like William Thompson or Thomas Hodgskin. Shortly before publication of the second volume of *Capital*, the representatives of the so-called historical school of bourgeois economists spread the version far and wide that Marx, in his theory of surplus value, had plagiarized Johann Karl Rodbertus, the theoretician of the Prussian-Junker "state Socialism". In his foreword to the second volume, Engels refuted the falsifiers of Marxist theory in a scientific manner, defended the honour of his dead friend with partisanship and vigour, and showed irrefutably that Marx could never have copied the theory of surplus value from anywhere because before him there had simply been no theory of surplus value in any consistently scientific sense. With a great deal of irony, Engels called upon the adulators of Rodbertus to show what the latter's economic theories could accomplish. He wrote: "If they can show in which way an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but on the very basis of it, I am willing to discuss the matter further with them."[51]

Engels announced that in the third volume of *Capital* Marx

would clear up this complicated scientific problem, on which the whole Ricardo school of classical bourgeois economics had foundered. Engels' challenge stirred a vigorous scientific dispute, which contributed to the fact that the third volume was awaited with great expectancy. He wrote to Bebel full of optimism: "Book III is in work. It is extraordinarily brilliant. This transformation of the old economics is really unprecedented. It is only herein that our theory gets an irrefutable basis and we are enabled to advance victoriously on all fronts."[52]

But almost ten years were to go by until the third volume could appear, for various reasons. The primary reason was the fact that the demands of the international workers' movement on Engels grew from year to year. In addition, Engels, who was now over 65 years old, had for many years been plagued by a weakness of the eyes which prevented him from working by artificial light. Finally, it developed that the working up of the materials left behind by Marx for the third volume was far more complicated than for the second volume. Engels wrote about this: "When I published the second volume, in 1885, I thought that except for a few, certainly very important, sections, the third volume would probably offer only technical difficulties. This was indeed the case. But I had no idea at the time that these sections, the most important parts of the entire work, would give me as much trouble as they did . . .

"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 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 the outset rendered the author's work increasingly difficult and finally compelled him periodically to stop work altogether."[53]

The fragmentary character of the manuscript made it necessary

for Engels to devote much time and energy to completing the work. Whereas the interpolations and supplementary remarks by him in the second volume barely totalled 10 printed pages, in the third volume they were four times as much, and some parts, as for example the fourth chapter on "Effect of the Turnover on the Rate of Profit", had to be newly drafted by Engels.

Engels correctly anticipated that the publication of the third volume of *Capital* would have a great impact on the international workers' movement. He wrote to Sorge: "The 2nd volume must first be digested . . . because it is so purely scientific and does not contain much agitation. The third volume, on the other hand, will have the effect of a thunderclap, because here the whole of capitalist production is treated in its interconnections and the whole of official bourgeois economics is upset."[64]

In a foreword to the third volume, Engels drew up a balance sheet of the international discussion on the relation between value and the price of production. While the greatest part of the bourgeois economists simply declared that the contradiction between the first and the third volume of *Capital* was insoluble, others used pious hypocrisy. They claimed that for Marx the law of value was an hypothesis and did not really work in objective reality. It had been fashioned by Marx only as a support for the price of production and after its recognition could without harm be dropped. Now Engels showed that both views were false and that none of the attempts that had been made to solve the problem could clear it up in a scientific manner.

In the third volume of *Capital*, Marx had said "it (the third volume) must locate and describe the concrete forms which grow out of *the movements of capital as a whole*"[65]. Just as he had in the first volume made clear how surplus value is squeezed out of the working class, and in the second, what condition it is subordinated to in the process of circulation, so now in the third volume he analysed how a violent dispute breaks out between the various factions of the capitalist class and the class of landowners about the division of the booty, which now appears in the form of profit, employer's earnings, interest and ground rent. In this the exploiters are extraordinarily interested in seeing to it that the origin of this booty remains hidden in the most impenetrable darkness and that their share appears to be merely a category of distribution.

Marx brought light into this darkness by reducing profit, interest, employer's earnings and ground rent to their essence–surplus value–and showed why surplus value had to take on these specific forms. He proved that surplus value is derived from variable capital, that is to say, from the part of capital which is laid out for the purchase of labour power, but that the whole capital outlay is necessary in order to produce and realize surplus value. Superficially considered, surplus value thus appears to be a derivative of the whole capital outlay and as such takes on the form of profit. Since the portion of variable capital in the individual capital investments can be varied, capital investments of the same amount can also produce varied profits. Under the pressure of competition for the best field of investment all capital investments therefore push into the branches of production in which the highest rate of profit can be gained. As a result, the tendency is for a unified, that is to say, an average, rate of profit to develop. For that reason a modification of the value inevitably appears because the products are not exchanged simply as commodities but as products of capital which, in order to guarantee their convertibility into money, demand at least an average rate of profit. A redistribution of profit takes place, in which every capital investment shares in the distribution of the total surplus value squeezed out of the working class in accordance with its size. From that Marx drew the conclusion: "Here, then, we have a mathematically precise proof why capitalists form a veritable freemason society vis-à-vis the whole working class, while there is little love lost between them in competition among themselves."[66]

The workers are thus not only exploited by the given concern, but the capitalist class exploits the working class as a whole and divides the booty among its own members. This discovery, proved scientifically by Marx, has remained of great importance for the class struggle of the proletariat into our own day, since it orientates the working class on a policy, not of contenting itself with "correcting the excesses of capitalism" but of combating and abolishing capitalism as an overall system.

Engels found these ideas of Marx to be fully confirmed by the new developments in the capitalist economy of the 1880's and 90's. In one of his supplementary notes he remarked: "The old vaunted freedom of competition has reached the end of its tether and must itself announce its obvious, scandalous bankruptcy. And in every country this is taking place through the big industrialists of a certain branch joining in a cartel for the regulation of production. Occasionally, even international cartels were established ... But even this form of association in production did not suffice ... This led in some branches, where the scale of production permitted, to the concentration of the entire production of that branch of industry in one big joint-stock company under single management ... Thus ... competition has been replaced by monopoly in England, and the road has been paved, most gratifyingly, for future expropriation by the whole of society, by the nation."[47]

Lenin attached exceptional importance to the fact that Engels, even in the last years of his life, "watched the various changes in modern capitalism and ... was able to foresee to a certain extent the tasks of our present, the imperialist epoch".[48] Naturally, Marx and Engels could not analyse monopoly capitalism and state-monopoly capitalism, since they lived in pre-monopoly capitalism. But they carefully observed the process of concentration of production and the centralization of capital, which developed very rapidly after the economic crisis of 1873. Thanks to this exact study of the facts and the application of the laws of development of capitalism, they were already able to state in their social prognoses that monopoly and ultimately state-monopoly would play a determining role in the collapse of capitalism. From the share-holding system, Engels and Marx concluded in the third volume of *Capital* that a new form of movement of capitalist contradictions had come into existence which establishes "monopoly in certain spheres and thereby requires state interference".[49]

Lenin was able to carry on from these prognoses of Marx and Engels and, after the complete evolution of monopoly capitalism, to undertake a scientific and comprehensive analysis of imperialism which also included the new conditions and the new tasks of

the class struggle of the working class emerging therefrom. Marx and Engels firmly refused to offer final recipes for the concrete, practical Socialist transformation of society. Their scientifically grounded social prognosis, however, included not only the proof of the inevitability of the revolutionary abolition of the capitalist social formation, but also the basic principles and laws of a society free of exploitation. Lenin took up these thoughts and developed a complete programme of Socialist construction, which was carried through for the first time by the Soviet working people. As necessary as it is to observe the multiplicity of concrete historical and national conditions in the construction of Socialism, without the implementing of its general laws and characteristics there can be no Socialism in the scientific sense.

The third volume of *Capital* contains many suggestions and hints for the discovery of the economic laws of motion of Socialism. There is constant repetition of the observation that Socialist economics is not a goal in itself, but has to serve the universal development of the social relations between people, and that what is ultimately involved is the complete development of the individual. That, however, presupposes a maximum development of the forces of production, so that the growing material and cultural needs of the people can be ever better satisfied. Marx showed that Socialist production by its very nature is a planned economy which guarantees a rational organization of the national economy within the framework of Socialist society as a whole through "Socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature".[50] Marx provided many worthwhile hints for the full utilization of the law of time-economy which he, in another connection, described as "the first economic law on the basis of joint production".[51]

The principle used by Marx in the third volume of *Capital* considering the overall process of capitalist production as a cohesive whole is very significant for the development of the

approach to the political economy of Socialism. Since there are differences in principle between the political economy of capitalism and the political economy of Socialism in terms of social roots and of property relationships, there is no possibility of convergence between the individual economic laws. In both modes of production, nevertheless, general laws of development operate as "material conditions of existence"[52] of society. But they work in each case in a specific way: "if we strip both . . . necessary and surplus labour of their specifically capitalist character, then certainly there remain, not these forms, but merely their rudiments,which are common to all social modes of production."[53]

The specifically capitalist categories can only assert themselves for an historical period because simultaneously an element of economic rationality finds expression in them, in an antagonistic form. Freed of the antagonistic form of capitalist relations of production, the utilization of this element for the Socialist mode of production is of the greatest value. When bourgeois economists work industriously to interpret this process as a rapprochement between capitalism and Socialism, they falsify their social content in the crassest manner, since what is now involved is economic categories of Socialism which emerge exclusively from Socialist relations of production.

If the Marxist-Leninist Parties today, in building an advanced Socialist society and laying the foundations of Communism, as well as in struggling against state monopoly capital, keep returning to the major work of Marxism, and can receive worthwhile hints from this source for the solution of newly matured theoretical and practical questions, then it is thanks to Frederick Engels. Lenin wrote with justice: "Adler, the Austrian Social Democrat, has rightly remarked that by publishing volumes II and III of *Capital*, Engels created 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."[54]

The Proletarian Class Movement and the World Outlook

For almost 12 consecutive years the publication of the second and third volumes of *Capital* was at the centre of Engels' scientific work. It was the most enduring theoretical aid he gave to the international workers' movement in his old age. But parallel to his work on *Capital* he also had a whole number of other scientific projects, and these were from time to time so urgent that he himself had to break off his work on *Capital* temporarily. The more rapidly the workers' movement developed, the more national workers' Parties came into existence, the fiercer the ideological struggle of the Marxist forces against the protagonists of the pre-Marxist or petty-bourgeois Socialism became, all the greater was the demand for the works of scientific Communism, including those which had already appeared earlier and those which tackled the new theoretical problems which had

arisen. And Engels acted completely in Marx's spirit when he wrote of this situation: "Precisely now I cannot retire."[55]

But it was not only events transpiring within the workers' movement from which he deduced the necessity for a theoretical and ideological offensive on the part of scientific Communism. It was in this period in which the gradual transition from the capitalism of free competition to monopolistic capitalism became ever clearer, that bourgeois philosophy lost the ability to provide scientifically grounded answers to questions about the future, about the further road to be travelled by mankind. Engels saw in this confirmation of what he and Marx had already prophesied in the *Communist Manifesto*: the more unrestrained the manner in which bourgeois philosophy devoted itself to apologetics for the existing capitalist relationships, all the more shamelessly did it give up its progressive traditions and the rational element of bourgeois philosophy. This reactionary development of bourgeois philosophy and ideology led inevitably to an ever bitter struggle against Marxism.

Engels observed the attempt to force back the elements of bourgeois thought which are pregnant with the future, especially dialectics, in favour of the reactionary aspects of bourgeois ideology, in the intellectual life of the whole of Europe. But it was especially crass in Germany in the eighties. In response to it, Engels declared emphatically: "We German Socialists are proud that we are descended not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel."[56]

The class struggle in Germany very often stimulated Engels to work on one or another book or to bring out a new edition of a previously published writing. He saw to it that his writings, which had mostly appeared in the German language originally, were soon made available to the workers' Parties of other countries through translations or that at least the most important thoughts and insights of new works could be transmitted to the international workers' movement in the form of extracts or with the help of personal discussions.

When German Social Democracy, in the first half of the 1880's began to settle accounts systematically with the influences of bourgeois ideology in its ranks, Engels opened this ideological

offensive of scientific Communism with the German edition of his brochure, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. At the beginning of March 1883, it appeared in Zurich and was distributed illegally in Germany. As an appendix, Engels added to it a sketch of the development of the private ownership of land, entitled *Die Mark*, in which he called the attention of German Social Democracy to the necessity of winning the farm labourers and small peasants, especially East of the Elbe, for the Socialist movement.

His *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was of immediate political interest. By clearly showing the line of demarcation, ideologically and theoretically, between the scientific teachings of Socialism he and Marx had developed and all other tendencies in Socialism, he made it possible for his readers to recognize the character and social function of Junker-bourgeois state-Socialism" and of the various types of petty-bourgeois Socialism. In that way his brochure played a significant role in the ideological conflict within German Social Democracy–all the more, since the brochure appeared in two further editions in 1883 and could thus be distributed in a total of 10,000 copies in Germany, illegally at that.

The influence of this work–the first of a series of writings in which Engels in the mid-1880's systematically investigated ideological problems in a manner that could be understood by everyone–reached much further. The already available French version and the Polish version published at the same time were followed by translations into Italian, Russian, Danish, Spanish, Dutch and English, so that by the beginning of the 1890's it was, together with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the most widely distributed work of scientific Communism. A new generation of workers which no longer had a direct relationship to the influences of the International Working Men's Association and hardly knew its programmatic declarations, learned the ideological foundations of its struggle above all from this work of Engels, became aware of the inevitability of a Socialist society, and was strengthened in its certainty of victory by it.

While thousands of the freshly printed third German edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* went from hand to hand among Social Democratic workers, Engels con-

cerned himself with a new work devoted primarily to the further deepening of the Marxist theory of the state. In the literary remains of Marx he had found comprehensive extracts from the book of the American ethnologist, Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, Through Barbarism to Civilization*. Engels' first impression was that Morgan had "discovered the Marxian materialist conception of history independently within the limits prescribed by his subject".[57] In late March of 1884 Engels decided –"I really owe it to Marx"[58]–to analyse and generalize the results of Morgan's research from the standpoint of historical materialism, utilizing the critical notes of Marx on the book. But Engels by no means based himself only on Morgan. At the same time he evaluated the latest research results of numerous North American, English, German, French, Russian and other scientists on the pre-capitalist social formations and thereby entered into the then very lively international discussion about the ancient and early history of mankind. Now the results of his own long years of research earlier on the history of Greece and Rome, as well as of the Germans and of old Ireland, stood him in good stead.

Originally, he wanted "to play a trick on Bismarck and write something . . . that he simply could not forbid. But it won't work, in spite of all my efforts".[59] So he confessed at the end of April to Karl Kautsky. And when the work, entitled *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, was ready in late May of 1884, it was clear to him that it could not appear in the legal *Neue Zeit*. It was therefore published in Zurich and was distributed in Germany, in part illegally, in part legally.

Whereas Morgan had correctly *described* important characteristics and stages of development of prehistoric society, Engels' aim was to *explain* how the classless primitive society had developed into a society split up into classes. He thereby supplemented in an outstanding manner the analysis undertaken by Marx, especially in *Capital*, of the capitalist social formation with a comprehensive investigation of primitive society, of slavery, and partly also of feudalism. By applying historical materialism in this manner to new areas of social life and of

the sciences, he demonstrated the universal validity of historical materialism for all epochs in the history of mankind. He explained to his readers that world history was a development process with its own laws–in the course of which a socio-economic formation, as soon as it was historically obsolete, was inevitably replaced by a higher social formation. As a result of this, the Socialist and Communist social order is the end product of the world historical process since the disintegration of primitive society.

Proceeding from the crucial role of material production in social life, Engels showed in his book, on the basis of numerous historical facts, that the forms of family and property relations of classes and of the state are historically determined and are therefore also subject to change. He thereby fought the contemporary reactionary bourgeois social theory and philosophy of history and refuted especially the worn-out legend, used by the bourgeoisie and its apologists then as now, of the "eternal" nature of private property and the state. This proof was of immediate interest because it was brought forward at a time when a number of opportunists in the German workers' Party showed themselves to be ready to make a rotten compromise with the Prussian-German state, the state which more than any other openly revealed its function as the instrument of oppression against the working masses through its persecution of Socialists.

The strong contemporary response to the book was in general due to the fact that in it Engels refuted the Lassallean view of the state. Marx and Engels had in previous decades utilized every opportunity to explain to the international workers' movement, on the basis of their experiences, that the state was in essence an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class. Although Lassalleanism was in the 1880's defeated as a whole system of thinking, certain Lassallean views continued to exert an influence, and not only in Germany. These included the idealist falsification of the character of the state which claimed that the state was an unchangeable institution standing above classes. This unscientific view of the state made it easier for the ruling classes in Germany, with their demagogy about "state Socialism", to spread confusion among some Party functionaries,

mostly former members of the General Association of German Workers.

Engels now expanded on what he had already said on this subject in *Anti-Dühring* and in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. He showed his readers that the state of the exploiting classes does indeed play itself up as the official representative of the *whole* of society, but that it in reality "is exclusively the state of the ruling class and in all cases remains essentially a machine for keeping down the oppressed, exploited class"[60]. For the class-conscious proletariat struggling for the setting up of Socialism there was therefore only one possible attitude towards the bourgeois state: uncompromising struggle against it.

Engels also dealt with the role of the state after the proletarian revolution and spoke in this connection of the gradual withering away of the state in the construction of classless society. Bourgeois, especially revisionist, ideologists like to recall this prophecy of Engels in their attacks on the Socialist state power, but very carefully conceal the fact that Engels here proceeded from the assumption that the proletarian revolution and the construction of Socialism would take place simultaneously at least in the developed capitalist states. Also concealed is the fact that Engels said the final victory of classless Communist society was a precondition for the withering away of the state and that, when he spoke of changes in the function of the state, he always had in mind the internal repressive function of the state. "With the disappearance of a wealthy minority," he wrote, "the necessity for an armed repressive state-force disappears also. At the same time, we have always held that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organized political force of the state and with this aid stamp out the resistance of the capitalist class and reorganize society."[61]

Social practice in the Socialist countries completely confirms the fact that the tasks of Socialist state power develop and change in accordance with the level of organization and maturity of Socialist society, and that—as Engels had prophesied—"the government of persons" is ever more replaced by "the administration of things and by the conduct of processes of production"[62]. He declared with equal emphasis, however, that under the conditions of the existence, side by side, of Socialist and capitalist states the working class must in no way give up a strong state power for the protection and proliferation of Socialist achievements if it does not want to put Socialism senselessly in jeopardy—yes, and that under these conditions the role of the state in building an advanced Socialist society and laying the foundations of Communism takes on even greater significance.

Engels, however, was not only concerned with the illusions on the question of the state derived from Lassalle. In addition, he also directly attacked the Lassallean overestimation of universal suffrage and exposed the pseudo-democratic character of the bourgeois-democratic republic. He did not in any way deny the splendid electoral victories of German Social Democracy, but recognized them rather as the results of revolutionary tactics, which enabled the German working class to gain internationally significant experience in the utilization of the bourgeois electoral right. But Engels opposed all those who out of stupidity (their opportunist views leading them to misjudge the power realities) or out of infamy (their aim being to fool the proletariat) propagated the false teaching that the working class could only attain power with the help of the ballot. "Universal suffrage", he wrote in his book, "is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state"[63]. With this assessment, Engels gave the international workers' movement an indication, valid up to our own day, as to what attitude the revolutionary Party of the proletariat in the bourgeois state should assume towards universal suffrage. Decidedly in contradiction to the claims of Social-Democratic and revisionist theorists, history has since then unequivocally, and in our day, more emphatically than ever, shown that bourgeois parliamentary democracy should be utilized, and should be defended with all energy against imperialism, militarism and fascism, but is never the form in which the working class, together with its allies, can set up, defend or consolidate the rule of the people, the Socialist state power.

For the first time in the history of Marxism, Engels also made a fundamental investigation, in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, of the development of the family, of marriage and in connection therewith the different position of the woman in the different social formations. He proceeded from the premise that social institutions such as marriage and family were derived from the relations of production and ownership, and subjected bourgeois marriage to sharp criticism. He showed that the woman lost her full position of equality with the transition from primitive society to slavery, that is to say, with the rise of private ownership of the means of production, that the legal inequality of the woman in exploitative society thus has economic reasons. Under the conditions of private ownership of the means of production, he wrote, the wife "became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production. Only modern large-scale industry again threw open to her—and only to the proletarian woman at that—the avenue to social production"[64]. Engels explained to his readers that Socialist society, thanks to the socializing of the means of production and the ever greater drawing of women into the process of production, for the first time creates the preconditions in all fields of social life—and not only in a technical sense—for guaranteeing the full equality of rights to the woman, a prognosis which in our lifetime has been increasingly confirmed by our Republic and the other Socialist states. In Socialism, Engels foresaw, the woman will also be freed from the burden of housework to an increasing degree by the fact that society takes over an ever greater part of this work. A new, higher form of the family will develop, Engels said, which will be based on the complete equality of man and woman, on mutual respect and genuine love, uninfluenced by any kind of economic considerations.

Where Engels in *Anti-Dühring* and the *Dialectics of Nature* had evaluated the discoveries in the natural sciences to confirm and evolve Marxist philosophy, now in the *Origin of the Family* he utilized the new discoveries in the field of history and social science for the further development of the world outlook of the working class. Like the brochure, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels' *Origin of the Family* in this respect also played

an important role. Soon after its appearance, the book was translated into Italian, Rumanian, Danish and French. Other translations followed. In Germany itself it went through five editions during Engels' lifetime, with the fourth edition in 1891 very much revised by the author.

What is very noticeable in Engels' scientific work after the death of Marx is the astounding multiplicity of the fields and problems with which he concerned himself and in which—partly for the first time—he creatively applied the method of materialist dialectics. Alongside philosophical, economic and historical studies he undertook investigations of state theory, religious criticism, military history and contemporary politics. All the elements of scientific Communism were enriched by new discoveries. Immediately after Marx's death, Engels had drawn up a plan to write a biography about his dead friend. Unfortunately, he was unable to carry out this aim. But he published several articles which directly or indirectly dealt with important stages in Marx's career and thereby represented preliminary work for a Marx biography.

Along with a number of biographical sketches about some of their closest comrades, such as Georg Weerth, Wilhelm Wolff, Johann Philipp Becker and Sigismund Borkheim, Engels in 1884 wrote the article *Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and in 1885 the study, *On the History of the Communist League*. Both articles appeared first in the *Socialdemokrat* and were therefore quickly available to many thousands of readers. Both writings brought alive the honourable tradition of the German workers' movement in the struggle for democracy and social progress with scientific thoroughness and helped awaken pride among the workers in the power and unconquerable spirit of the proletarian movement. By recalling the tactical principles put forward by Marx and Engels in the revolutionary period of 1848-49, they also helped in the working out of the strategy and tactics of German Social Democracy in the struggle against the Prussian-German military state.

Engels attached special importance to showing the Communist League as the revolutionary origin of the German workers' movement. The beginnings of the revolutionary German workers'

movement were indissolubly bound up with scientific Communism. To that extent Engels engaged in polemic, even if indirectly, against certain petty bourgeois views which were then already cropping up. According to these the political and ideological development of the German workers' movement had its roots in Lassalle. Engels' historical studies exposed the opportunists as falsifiers of the Marxist principles which had been tested in decades of struggle and which furthered the education of the class-conscious workers entering the Socialist movement.

The ideological controversies in the international workers' movement and especially in German Social Democracy, in the 1880's, strengthened Engels in the conviction he and Marx had already fought for in the Communist League: that the resoluteness, the persuativeness and ability to develop a workers' Party depended decisively on the scientifically grounded ideological principles on the basis of which the Party as a whole, and all its members individually, conduct their struggle. The core of this proletarian world outlook was and remains dialectical and historical materialism. Only these open the door to a full understanding of the historical mission of the working class and its revolutionary Party.

Just as Engels had in *Anti-Dühring* enunciated dialectical and historical materialism in a systematic form, that is to say, in its interconnections with the other components of scientific Communism, he now took up the task of presenting an exposition of the separate philosophical bases and preconditions of the proletarian world outlook. That aim was served by the booklet he wrote at the beginning of 1886: *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

In a preface about the origins of this work, he wrote that Marx and he had had the aim of dealing with the relationship of their philosophy to that of Hegel and Feuerbach as early as 1845, but had never had the time or the opportunity to present their standpoint on this question fully. The desire to make up for that now, and the necessity of doing so, was strengthened in Engels by the fact that in the eighties a bourgeois philosophical fashion in European intellectual life, neo-Kantianism, had led to a reactionary reassessment of classical German philosophy which began

to influence some petty-bourgeois intellectuals in the ranks of Social Democracy. Thus this work of Engels, which concerned itself in the first place with the defence of Marxism, also developed out of the direct needs of the political struggle of the labour movement.

In his work, which appeared in April and May of 1886 in the *Neue Zeit*, and as a brochure in 1888, Engels gave a critical appreciation of the philosophical sources of scientific Communism, especially the dialectical method of Hegel and the materialism in the philosophy of Feuerbach. In addition, he made a systematic exposition of the foundations of dialectical and historical materialism.

In the first two sections of his work, he explained the epochal contribution of Hegel to the development of dialectical thought and Feuerbach's revolutionizing work, which "without circumlocutions . . . placed materialism on the throne again".[55] Engels thereby defended the progressive traditions of the bourgeois class in the philosophical and ideological fields against the bourgeois epigones who now, at the end of the 19th century, wanted to remove everything progressive from the history of human thought, in order to justify capitalism ideologically. Of great importance for the winning of progressive bourgeois intellectuals as allies of the working class in the struggle against militarism and obscurantism was Engels' demonstration that only in the theory of the modern working class was everything worthwhile preserved which the bourgeoisie had produced on its way up.

Engels linked his praise of Feuerbach with a criticism in principle of the latter's lack of understanding of dialectics and his idealist view of history. Here he continued on from the views to which he and Marx had in 1845-46 already advanced jointly in working out their *German Ideology*, and probably also made use of what they had then written.

Engels showed that every new, epochal discovery in the field of the natural sciences had enriched materialism, but that only through the linking of materialism with dialectics in the shape of dialectical materialism had a completely new quality of philosophy emerged. With Marxist philosophy, he showed, the

idealist dialectics of Hegel and the metaphysical materialism of Feuerbach were overcome and superseded and a new era in the development of philosophical thought was opened up.

In this connection, Engels, taking up and carrying further Feuerbach's ideas, in a classical manner formulated the discovery: "The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being."[66] Engels showed that the answer to this question of the relation of being and consciousness, of matter and mind, represents the decisive criterion for differentiating between materialists and idealists. He thereby refuted forever the unscientific classifications of the enemies of materialism who sought to reduce the contradiction between the materialist and idealist world outlook to conflicting ethical views.

Engels proved that the basic question of the relationship of being to consciousness, of matter to mind, in philosophy was closely bound up with the question of whether the human mind is capable of truthfully knowing the world. While the materialists clearly say yes, the idealists reply in different ways. For the labour movement, Engels declared, these questions represent decisive scientific criteria in the theoretical and ideological struggle and are standards which make it possible to pursue the necessary philosophical struggle with the class enemy in a partisan and consistent manner.

From this point of view it was also significant that Engels took up in his work the origin, the social roots and the function of religion. He lauded Feuerbach's proof "that the Christian God is only a fantastic reflection, a mirror image, of man,"[67] even though he could not agree with Feuerbach's abstract concept of man. Engels sketched the social and political function of religions, especially the Christian religion, in the history of mankind and revealed the transient nature of religion as a part of the superstructure.

In the last section of his study about Ludwig Feuerbach, Engels dealt with the problem of the laws governing social development. As he had already done in previous writings he explained once more why it was only the discovery of materialist dialectics that enabled Marx and him, proceeding beyond Feuerbach, to apply materialism to the development of human society and to uncover the general laws also operating in the life of society. On the other hand, he warned against all attempts to give equal status to the general laws operating in nature and in society: "In nature—in so far as we ignore man's reaction upon nature—there are only blind, unconscious agencies acting upon one another, out of whose interplay the general law comes into operation. Nothing of all that happens . . . happens as a consciously desired aim. In the history of society, on the other hand, the actors are always endowed with consciousness, are men acting with deliberation or passion, working towards definite goals: nothing happens without a conscious purpose, without an intended aim."[68] From this fact, Engels wrote, the enormous historical creative power of the popular masses is derived, especially of the working class and its vanguard, through whose actions alone the general laws of social development can be carried out.

With his book, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels thus provided the international working class with an excellent theoretical basis for its struggle against bourgeois philosophy. His work helped the Socialists of all countries to recognize the followers of an idealist world outlook in their own ranks and to settle accounts with them. Above all, however, it gave the international revolutionary workers' movement the firm conviction that the working class, the scientific world outlook and the revolutionary class Party constituted an indissoluble unity.

This dialectical unity had always been the target of the most violent attacks of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, especially of the modern revisionists. Disguising themselves often as "modern Marxists", they are stubbornly attempting to separate Marxism from the working class, as well as Marxism from the workers' Party. But the young, when only 25 years old, Marx with his statement that "Philosophy cannot be made a reality without the abolition of the proletariat and the proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality"[69], had already begun to establish the necessity, and leading role, of the revolutionary Party, equipped with its scientific

theory, and had thereby already criticized the pivotal point of this variation of today's falsification of Marxism.

The same is true of the efforts of imperialist "Marxologists" or "modern Marxists" to differentiate in a positivist manner between science and ideology in Marxism. The intention here is to ignore the essence of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin as a scientific world outlook, and to degrade Marxism-Leninism from a directing force in the world-changing actions of the working class to an abstract, academic method of analysis for certain areas of social life. But if the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin are torn loose from the struggle of the working class, and if it is denied that it has at no time been possible to achieve a single aim of Marxism without the organized action of the revolutionary working class and all working people allied with it, then that has no longer anything to do with the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This organized action, however, as all historical experience shows, needs a leadership, and in this role only the revolutionary Party of the working class has stood the test since the *Communist Manifesto*. Scientific Communism as the theoretical expression of the interests and the world historical mission of the working class, as Engels wrote at the end of his treatment of *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, for that reason had from the outset to address itself "by preference to the working class"[70] and can only be realized through it and under its leadership.

Engels devoted much time to the reissuing of previously published works by Marx and himself, as well as of translations of their works. He provided numerous writings brought out again at the request of Socialists in different countries with prefaces in which he summed up the latest developments in science, refuted bourgeois critics, made historical explanations or cleared up terminological questions.

In 1883, he wrote prefaces for the third German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and, in the same year, for the third enlarged edition of the first volume of *Capital*. In the following summer, he brought out Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*, and in 1885, for the first time in the German language, *Marx's Poverty of Philosophy*, having written prefaces for the two.

These writings—supplemented by a new edition of *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, which appeared at the beginning of 1886, and another of his study, *The Housing Question*—contributed in an authoritative manner to creating clarity among the German workers about the essence and forms of exploitation and about the demagogy of the "State Socialists" and to the gradual overcoming of the leftovers of Lassallean ideology.

Whereas these works had the primary task of strengthening the theoretical foundations of German Social Democracy and of the international workers' movement in the economic field, Engels provided the workers with the strategic and tactical principles and experiences of the proletarian class struggle through new editions of Marx's *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* (Revelations About the Cologne Communist Trial) and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Engels was especially concerned with having the German Social-Democrats win the farm labourers for the Party and with establishing a close alliance with the peasants in the struggle for a democratic republic. In order to help the Party in the solution of this task, he wrote two books, *Die Mark*, in 1883, and *On the History of the Prussian Peasants*, in 1886.

In an easily understandable form, he showed in these writings how the originally common land, the *Mark*, had been piratically taken over by the Junkers and how the free peasants had been changed into villeins or day labourers. He thereby made it clear to the farm labourers and small peasants that the expropriation of the large landed estates would only be a natural act of historical justice. In order to be of even more direct help in winning the working peasants as allies of Social Democracy, he revised his article, *Die Mark*, as a mass leaflet, which appeared in Germany in 1884, in clandestinity, of course, under the title: *The German Peasant. What was he? What is he? What could he be?*

At the end of his "peasant leaflet", as the *Sozialdemokrat* called it, Engels also showed the farm labourers and working peasants how to achieve the expropriation of the large landed estates and to organize production in the future, namely "by

rejuvenating common landownership under which the latter would not only provide the small-peasant community with all the prerogatives of big farming and the use of agricultural machinery . . ."

He continued:

"To organize big farming and utilize agricultural machinery means, in other words, to make superfluous the agricultural labour of most of the small peasants who now cultivate their fields themselves. In order that these people, made superfluous in agriculture, may not be left unemployed or be forced to go to towns and cities it would be necessary to employ them in industry in the villages, and that can only be profitably organized on a large scale . . .

"How to arrange this? Think well on it, German peasants. Only *the Social Democrats* can help you."[71]

In most cases, Engels' very marked conscientiousness impelled him to undertake the editing of translations of his and Marx's works into other languages himself. In the period from 1883 to 1888 alone, he supervised, corrected and authorized the translation of a number of works: the Italian edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, the German edition of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy*, the English translation of the *Condition of the Working Class in England*, of Marx's *Address on the Question of Free Trade*, of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, of the first volume of *Capital*, as well as of the Italian and Danish translation of *the Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. In the 1890's, he continued this activity without letup. Many of these translations in addition opened with a new preface by Engels. And all of this was done outside of his "real" scientific and political work! Some plans–for example, for a history of the German Socialist movement from 1843 to 1863, or a history of the International Working Men's Association–could for that reason not be carried through. Painful though that was at times, Engels himself considered it to be unavoidable. In a foreword to the third volume of *Capital*, he wrote: "If a man has been active in the movement for more than fifty years, he regards the works connected with it as a bounden duty that brooks no delay."[72]

A Hospitable Home Open to the World

Engels' extraordinary working intensity and productivity, which continually astounded even his close friends, was among other things attributable to an iron self-discipline and an exact division of his time. He had always sought to be careful with his time. But now, after Marx's death, with his duties doubled, he had to be even more careful in using his strength and time as economically as possible. And frequent illnesses reminded him to budget his energy.

He rarely went to bed early; usually he retired long after midnight. But he got up relatively late. After breakfast he occupied himself with reading the numerous newspapers and magazines which the postman daily brought to his house, and with his correspondence, to the extent that other duties did not intervene. After lunch he liked to take a walk in the hilly area

nearby or through Regent Park. Then he turned to his scientific work. Lenchen Demuth called him to dinner, the main meal of the day, at about 7 in the evening. Afterwards he rested for an hour before taking up his correspondence or reading again. When there were guests, there was always a good wine to aid the discussion, or a cool beer, which he liked even better. In fact, he maintained this habit for the rest of his life.

After Mary Ellen Burns' marriage, the house became quieter, although Pumps' husband, Percy Rosher, a merchant, on occasion still provided excitement with his audacious, but often abortive plans. On more than one such occasion the Rosher family then sought refuge and help with Engels. On the other hand, he took pleasure in Pumps' children, especially Lillian, born in 1882. During the summer he often spent holidays at the sea together with Pumps and her children, romped about with the children and delighted them with his self-made paper ships.

Even closer to him than the relatives of his wife were Marx's daughters and their families. He had warm and close ties with Eleanor, who often called on Engels accompanied by her husband, Dr. Edward Aveling, and with Laura. He also concerned himself with the children of the dead Jenny Longuet. He kept Laura Lafargue informed about all family and political developments and was happy when he was able to persuade her to visit him. Since Paul Lafargue, who was a medical doctor by profession, devoted his whole energy and time to the revolutionary workers' movement, and was in addition often subjected to court proceedings, his family was mostly in poor circumstances financially. Engels then stood by them generously and automatically, and from the mid-1880's on provided for the greatest part of the Lafargues' living expenses. He also frequently helped the Avelings, who had no regular income, either. He had the satisfaction of knowing that this support indirectly worked to the benefit of the Socialist movement in France and England.

In addition to the Avelings, the circle of his friends or close acquaintances living in London included, in the first place, the old comrade-in-arms of the days of the Communist League and of the International, Friedrich Lessner, and the English workers' leader, John Burns. From time to time George Julian Harney

was a guest at the house, and there was always great joy when Carl Schorlemmer, fondly called Jollymeyer, came from Manchester, or when Samuel Moore arrived for a visit from Nigeria, which was unfortunately all too seldom.

Bismarck, in his own way often provided Engels with new comrades and friends as a result of his Anti-Socialist Law. In 1885, Karl Kautsky moved to London with his young wife Louise, remaining for a number of years, and directed the *Neue Zeit* from there. He visited the Engels' house often and was "cordially received, like a son"[3]. And in 1888, when the Swiss Government, at Bismarck's instigation, expelled the editors of the *Sozialdemokrat*, and Bernstein, Motteler, Schlüter and others came to London, they were all equally welcome guests at 122 Regent's Park Road.

The army of people from all European countries who came to Engels for his advice, to exchange ideas with him and to get suggestions from him kept growing ever larger. From Germany, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Singer were often his guests, and he usually insisted that they remain under his roof. As representatives of the Russian workers' movement, Vera Ivanovna Sassulitch and Georgi Valentinovitch Plekhanov came to him, and were received with the same friendship as the Polish Socialists, Maria and Stanislaw Mendelson. At the end of the eighties, his relations to the Austrian workers' leader, Dr. Victor Adler, also developed into firm friendship, and the latter enjoyed Engels' hospitality the moment he arrived in London. The same was true for the Belgians, Eduard Anseele and Emile Vandervelde, and the Frenchmen, Marc-Louis-Alfred Delcluze and Ferdinand Roussel.

Engels was a very friendly host and most charming company. As a Rhinelander, he remained a friend of enjoyment and sociability to the end of his life. Every Sunday evening, the friends of the house or those present in London at the moment gathered at his home for a social evening. Well looked after by Mary Ellen Burns or Lenchen Demuth, they all sat together over a glass of wine or beer, listened to the news visitors from other countries had brought, argued about current developments in public life in London, and debated the most important problems of the inter-

national workers' movement or the policy of the ruling classes. Sergei Mikhailovitch Kravchinski, Vera Ivanovna Sassulitch and Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, who had performed fine services in the women workers' movement in Germany often participated in these social evenings which soon developed into a regular institution for exchanging political ideas. On various occasions this confrontation of views will have led to important decisions.

But not only Socialists belonged to the Sunday night circle. An always welcome guest was Dr. Eugen Oswald, an old 48'er whom Engels had met in the Baden campaign and who, although he had never advanced beyond bourgeois democracy—was valued and respected by Engels for his strength of character. Even people with completely different ideas were from time to time introduced to the Sunday night gatherings by Engels when he thought he detected in them a true thirst for knowledge. Eleanor Marx-Aveling wrote accurately: "There is only one thing Engels never forgives—dishonesty. A person who is untrue to himself, and even more, who is untrue to his Party, receives no pardon from Engels."[74] Renegades to the cause of the proletariat were outcasts for him, but he gave all possible help to those who were in error and looking for the truth, on the other hand.

Thus the then conservative publicist, Hellmut von Gerlach, often called on Engels, the same von Gerlach who two decades later developed into a bourgeois opponent of war and an enemy of Prussian militarism, and two decades later again became a participant in the anti-fascist People's Front movement. Dr. Rudolph Meyer, a socially conservative economist, was another frequent visitor. Engels rejected his Utopian social views but recognized that, persecuted by Bismarck, he had accepted exile rather than bend the knee to Bismarck. "As a good East-of-the-Elbe citizen," Bernstein reported, "he was not an enemy of alcohol, and one evening he had drunk himself into a proper state of intoxication at Engels' house. It was very funny when, conscious of his condition, he kept calling out with a thick tongue: 'No, I never would have believed that I, a Prussian conservative, would one day, here in London, drink myself tipsy among the revolutionary Communists'."[75]

Engels attached great importance to the fact that everything

was completely informal at these Sunday night gatherings. Conversation was carried on in German, English and French, and the themes discussed were inexhaustible. Engels was a smiling philosopher, and just as he liked to tell amusing anecdotes out of his battle-filled life, he also enjoyed it when his friends contributed to the general merriment with their own experiences, anecdotes and droll stories. Participants in these gatherings still remembered, decades later, his hearty, refreshing and contagious laughter. He was fond of singing songs, especially the "Vicar of Bray", an English satirical song about the Anglican clergy. But he knew that he sang more loudly than melodiously, and therefore left this form of entertainment to his friend Samuel Moore or Percy Rosher, and the latter, having no political or intellectual ties to this circle, at least attempted to contribute to its enjoyment with his great store of street ballads and comic songs.

On weekdays Engels worked with an intensity equal to his complete relaxation in the circle of his friends on Sunday evenings and holidays. His mode of work and his working habits were completely disciplined. In his workroom, in which the walls were lined with numerous bookshelves, "not a scrap of paper lay on the floor, and the books, with the exception of about a dozen lying on his desk, all stood in their proper place," Marx's son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, once reported. "He cared for his own person in the same manner... I know nobody who wore the same clothes so long without wrinkling them or altering their shape. Though he was economical in things concerning himself, and made only such expenditures for himself as he considered absolutely necessary, there were no boundaries to his generosity towards the Party and Party comrades who turned to him in their need."[76]

In his leisure hours, Engels enjoyed nothing better, next to the cheerful company of friends, than the reading of good literature. He was passionately fond of literature, prose and poetry all his life, even when he could not follow his inclinations as much as in his younger days. His own scientific and journalistic works reflect very clearly how well Engels knew world literature and world culture. Many of his philosophical, historical or

economic writings are filled with examples, quotations from, and allusions to, the literature of many European and even non-European peoples, and there is no doubt that this contributed to the fact that some of his works rank as artistically shaped prose.

He was as familiar with the *Edda*, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as with the contemporary literature of the departing 19th century. In a foreword to the fourth German edition of *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, he made a thorough analysis of the old Greek literature and the literary memorials of the old German tribes. He had a special love and respect for the great writers of the Renaissance and of bourgeois realism. Among the "giants in power of thought, passion and character, in universality and learning",[7], he also included, full of reverence, Dante, Cervantes and Shakespeare, who with genius mirrored in their works the struggle of the emerging urban middle classes against the feudal aristocracy doomed to extinction. In his old age he kept reading Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau as much as Goethe, Schiller and Heine, as well as Balzac, whom he admired for his bourgeois critical realism.

In bourgeois literature, it is sometimes claimed that the works of world literature–as a reflection of their times with artistic means–were for Marx and Engels exclusively a welcome supplement to their historical studies. Such opinions indicate flagrant ignorance. The aesthetic views of Marx and Engels were an indissoluble part of their revolutionary theory and can only be understood as such. In many of his works, beginning with the joint work with Marx on the *German Ideology* and continuing on to his *Anti-Dühring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Engels investigated the role of art as a part of the superstructure, its connections with the relations of production of their times; but he and Marx equally investigated its active power to create consciousness, and in that sense, history also.

Engels did not have only a receptive, passive relationship to art. His own poetic attempts in his younger days were followed later by a series of translations, including poetic works, in other languages. Thus in the sixties, he translated into German the old Danish song, "Herr Tidmann", and in 1882, the "Vicar of Bray", in order to publish them in the German workers' press.

His poetic sense and his understanding for the problems of artistic creation led him into close contact with writers and poets throughout his whole life. His acquaintance with Heinrich Heine and Georg Herwegh was followed by his warm friendship with Georg Weerth and his collaboration with Ferdinand Freiligrath. Among his friends in exile in England were the proletarian poet, Ernest Jones, and Engels' distant relative, Carl Siebel. He carried on a debate at length with Lassalle about the essence of drama and the content of the tragic element in literature and history. Later, he engaged in a lively correspondence with the Austrian writer, Minna Kautsky, and the English story-teller, Margaret Harkness. In an exchange of letters with them, he developed ideas, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, about realism in literature and about the aesthetic and educational effect of art which later entered into the theory of Socialist realism. In his letter to Margaret Harkness at the beginning of April 1888, he trenchantly formulated his thoughts about the essence of realism in literature and art: "Realism, to my mind, implies beside truth of detail, the truth in reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances."[8]

As in the case of Marx, the significance of art and literature was in Engels' view in no way simply that of being a source of knowledge. For him, art and literature were a basic means of educating people and no less an inexhaustible wellspring of joy–joy in the beauty of life and the creativity of man. His systematic preoccupation with music and painting, and especially with literature, were an expression of his rich personality.

Engels' bent for sociability showed itself in his enjoyment of travel. To the extent that time and health permitted, he travelled often and with pleasure, preferably in company.

During the period of the Anti-Socialist Law, Engels was unable to visit Germany. In the summer of 1888, however, a dream he had long had could be fulfilled: accompanied by Schorlemmer, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and her husband, he made a trip to the United States and Canada. Eleanor later related:

"On board the trans-Atlantic ships, 'City of Berlin' and 'City of New York', he was always ready for a walk on deck and a glass of lager, no matter how rough the weather was."[79]

In North America, Engels visited Friedrich Adolph Sorge, saw New York City, Boston and several other cities, Niagara Falls and other sights, and studied the land and the people of the New World. With sharp insight he recognized how "the feverish speculative spirit of the Americans"[80] stamped the life of the country "which is the 'promised land' of capitalist production".[81] Refreshed and full of new impressions, he returned home after seven weeks: "I feel at least five years younger; all my small infirmities have been forced into the background, and my eyes are also better",[82] he reported cheerfully to his brother Hermann.

Two years later, he undertook another extended sea voyage, this time to Norway, as far as the North Cape. Schorlemmer was once again his companion, and once again the sea air was good for his health. With amusement, he reported to his friends that at the same time the young Kaiser Wilhelm II was sailing in Norwegian waters. The travellers on a number of occasions encountered the Kaiser's retinue. When Engels in Molde met a group of young German naval officers, it seemed to him as if he were in Potsdam: "All the old guard language, the old junior officers' jokes and lieutenants' cheekiness. In contrast, we then met a bunch of engineers, quite nice, decent types. And the sailors *were* fellows who could command attention anywhere. But the admirals–they are all fatheads!"[83]

Midwife of the Second International

Engels had not been back long from his trip through the United States before new problems in the international workers' movement demanded his entire attention. Since the mid-1880's, the number of people had multiplied who demanded a firmer international bond between the various national workers' Parties and workers' organizations. That was natural, for in most European countries there were now independent proletarian organizations in existence. Their theoretical and political maturity was, however, extraordinarily varied.

Engels had in the foregoing years adopted an attitude of waiting, even of scepticism, with regard to the pressure of some of his friends–old Johann Philipp Becker should be mentioned as one of them–to start working for the setting up of a new International. He was of the opinion that the next International

could "no longer be a mere propaganda society . . . but only a society for action". Such an organization could not "be weakened by wearing it away and using it up at a time when things are still comparatively quiet". One should rather wait for "the time of a grand demonstration and of the establishment of an *official*, formal International".[84] For these reasons Engels had advised his friends in the 1880's to carefully watch the numerous attempts of the anarchist, trade union and reformist side to set up a new International, but to ignore them in practice. And all these efforts did, indeed, fail particularly since German Social Democracy and the French Marxist workers' Party held themselves aloof from these actions of non-Marxist forces in the international workers' movement.

Towards the end of the eighties, however, the situation changed. An upsurge of the labour movement began in all the capitalist countries in the shape of many strike actions, which at times took on the character of mass struggles. Engels noted that in many countries new trade unions came into being in connection with the strikes, and that the more advanced workers pressed for political organization. In mid-1889, workers' Parties came into existence in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, England, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland, as well as in Spain, Hungary and the United States, and Marxist groups or proletarian organizations in other countries such as Russia. They all urged the unification of their forces for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Party Congress of German Social Democracy which met illegally at St. Gallen in 1887 had decided "to call upon the Party's representative bodies, together with the working-class associations of other countries, to summon an international workers' Congress in the autumn of 1888".[85] But the German Party leadership did little in the following period to implement this decision. Engels reminded them it was necessary to organize an international Congress very thoroughly, in order that the new international organization be set up on a Marxist basis from the very beginning. Above all, the German and the French Marxists had to unite their efforts. An unsuccessful Congress would strengthen the positions of the reformists.

The warning took on added significance when the Possibilists, that is to say, the French reformist Party, together with the equally opportunist Social-Democratic Federation, began preparing an international workers' congress in Paris for July of 1889. Now the danger suddenly emerged that the opportunists would take over the leadership of the future International. Engels saw no alternative but to enter into the preparatory work himself, no matter how much the "writing and running about in connection with the damned Congress"[86] once again kept him back from further work on the third volume of *Capital*. For several months he devoted the greatest part of his time and energy to the thorough political preparation of the Congress. His right hand in this work was Eduard Bernstein.

Engels' tactics was aimed at reducing the Congress of the Possibilists to insignificance if it was impossible to prevent it from taking place. That could only happen if the Marxist forces in the international workers' movement countered it with a Congress which would represent the masses of the European proletariat. The initiators of such a Marxist Congress had to be the Parti ouvrier led by Guesde and Lafargue and the German Socialist Workers' Party. In dozens of letters to Paul and Laura Lafargue, to Liebknecht and Bebel, Engels made tactical suggestions, demanded the sharp repudiation of Brousse and other leaders of the Possibilists, as well as of the attitude of the trade unionists, urged speed and decisive action. "If you do nothing to announce and prepare your Congress for 1889", he wrote critically to Paul Lafargue, "the whole world will go to the Broussists, for nobody runs after those who give up. Announce your Congress, therefore, make a bit of noise in the Socialist press of all countries, so that the others notice that you are still here."[87]

It was clear to Engels that behind the complicated tactical problems of the calling and preparing of the Congress the basic question of the character of the workers' movement and its relationship to the bourgeoisie was concealed. A victory for the trade unionists, who as before continued to oppose the building of revolutionary class Parties and the struggle for the political liberation of the working class, and wanted to replace

these by the trade union struggle within the framework of the bourgeois order, would have thrown back the international workers' movement by decades in its development. Engels fought the Possibilists as relentlessly as he fought the trade unionists. They had sunk so far, as a result of their lack of principle, that they had "sold themselves to the current Government"[88], as Engels wrote, and under the slogan of the struggle for the republic even took up a position against the revolutionary workers' organizations.

Engels reminded his friends of the experience gained in decades of hard struggles of the labour movement which showed that the proletariat must never sacrifice the future interests of the class–namely, Socialism–to any kind of present-day interests. He naturally backed the struggle of the working class for reforms within the capitalist social order, but taught the proletariat to see in reforms not only a welcome improvement in the living conditions of the proletariat, but also in its conditions of struggle, and a possibility of leading the workers to the revolution. Engels never left any doubt that without revolution, without the offensive revolutionary struggle of the masses for the setting up of the rule of the workers and farmers, Socialism could not be realized.

Together with Bernstein, Engels in late March 1889 wrote a pamphlet against the Possibilists which–under Bernstein's name–was published in the *Sozialdemokrat* and appeared in English as a leaflet. In it, Engels was primarily concerned with guaranteeing that the new International would begin work with clear Marxist premises. He wrote to Sorge that it is "again the old split in the International . . . that comes to light here . . . The adversaries are the same, only with the difference that the banner of the anarchists has been replaced by the banner of the Possibilists: the selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions, especially in return for well-paid jobs for the leaders."[89] In this connection, Engels had to engage in vigorous criticism of the conciliatory attitude of some of his own friends at the head of the German Party who for a long time did not recognize that the character of the founding Congress had to be decisive for the further development of the

International, that it was necessary to combat the Possibilists ideologically instead of uniting with them and thereby leading the masses astray.

It was thus thanks to the months of intensive aid by Engels that the International Workers' Congress in Paris became a complete success for the revolutionary international workers' movement. While representatives of only nine countries came to the congress of the French and English opportunists, 407 delegates from 22 countries gathered in the Salle Petrelle on 14 July 1889 for the Congress of the Marxists. Countries such as Norway and Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania or Argentina, in which the revolutionary workers' movement was taking its first steps, were also represented.

"Workers of the world, unite!" and "Political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class, nationalization of the means of production!"–these were the slogans with which the hall was placarded. These were the aims of the proletariat as worked out and formulated by Marx and Engels. In this spirit, the delegates carried on their discussions; in this spirit they approved common programmatic demands and actions, such as international legislation for the protection of labour, annual demonstrations on 1 May for the eight-hour working day, and called for international proletarian solidarity.

Enthusiastic, Engels wrote to his old comrade-in-arms, Sorge: "Our Congress is in session and is a brilliant success . . . All of Europe is represented." And then, already looking to the future: "If the two parallel congresses merely fulfilled the purpose of mustering forces–the Possibilist and London factionalists, in one hall, and the European Socialists (who figure as Marxists, thanks to the former) in another, thus showing the world where the true movement is concentrated and where the fraud–it suffices."[90]

Engels completely approved the fact that the Paris Congress adopted no formal decision on a new international body. In practice, however, with the International Workers' Congress of 1889, which in the succeeding period was followed by further congresses at irregular periods, and finally by the setting up of a permanent international bureau, a new International, the

second, had been founded. Thanks to Engels' collaboration, it took over directly the work of the International Working Men's Association, the First International, but in contrast to its predecessor it already based itself essentially on the teachings of Marx and Engels from the moment it was founded. Whereas it had still been the task of the First International to lead the labour movement to Marxism and to prepare the setting up of national class Parties, the Second International was able to concentrate on furthering the development of mass proletarian Parties and mass organizations in the individual countries. Its task, as Engels had foreseen, was the preparation of the international working class for the proletarian revolution, an historical assignment which, however, was betrayed a quarter of a century later by the majority of its leaders.

Striking a Balance At 70

The splendid success of the founding of the Second International and the more consolidated international ties of the Marxist forces achieved through it was also reflected in Engels' personal life. The greater the number of countries drawn into the revolutionary proletarian movement, the more numerous Engels' contacts became. After the Paris Congress, many new names entered into his correspondence. Germans and Frenchmen wrote to him, Russians and Poles, Englishmen and Americans, Spaniards and Italians, Austrians and Swiss, Czechs and Hungarians, Rumanians and Danes, Belgians and Dutchmen. "A lot of people whom I never saw", Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue in the late summer of 1889, had apparently conspired "to overwhelm me with letters, visits, inquiries, requests of all sorts".[91]

Now Engels devoted his attention and his time, alongside all his other duties, to the consolidation of the Second International. He felt that the paramount objective of the new International was to lead millions of working people into the struggle for the political and social emancipation of the working class and to provide them with the organization they needed. That, however, presupposed the imbuing of their ranks with scientific Communism and the education of the working masses in the spirit of international solidarity through common actions. Engels had demanded of the new International that it be "a society for action"[92], and before a year had gone by it had implemented that demand.

In Paris, the delegates had decided in the future to stage "a great international demonstration"[93] every year on 1 May for the eight-hour working day, for laws providing labour protection, and to come out against the war schemes and the war provocations of the exploiting classes. With this decision, the international fighting holiday of the working class was born. Engels took part in the preparations of the London workers for the first May Day demonstration. At the beginning of the 1880's, the English workers' movement, especially in London, had seen a new upsurge due to the fact that success crowned the determined activity of Laura Marx-Aveling, Dr. Edward Aveling, the workers' leaders Tom Mann, John Burns and others to draw the less qualified workers such as the gas and port workers into the movement. These proletarians organized themselves into their own trade unions for unskilled workers, because they had been denied admission into the old trade unions. Engels had supported this mass movement–as well as the 1889 strike at the London docks–to the extent that he could. Now at last a fresh revolutionary breeze began to blow through the proletarian movement in England also. That made itself apparent at the London May Day demonstration.

This rally, which was staged on 4 May, a Sunday, as in Germany, was for Engels "truly overwhelming", as he enthusiastically wrote to Bebel. "I was on platform 4 (a large truck) and could only see a portion of the crowd–1/5 or 1/8–but jammed together, as far as the eye could see. Two hundred and

fifty to three hundred thousand people, of which more than three-quarters were demonstrating workers. Aveling, Lafargue and Stepniak spoke from my platform–I was only an onlooker."[94] And then, at the end of his comprehensive report: "I carried my head two inches higher when I descended from the truck."[95]

The May Day celebrations of the proletariat were as successful in Austria, Germany, France and other countries as in England. In Engels' opinion this event was "epoch-making ... in its universal character, which made it an international *action* of the militant working class."[96] It was a fulfilment of the legacy of decades of struggle of the international revolutionary workers' movement and of the strivings of Marx and his friends. Nobody saw this historically ordained development more clearly than Engels did. When he drafted the foreword for the fourth authorized German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* on 1 May 1890, he ended it with the words: " 'Working men of all countries, unite!' But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty-two years ago ... But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries ... is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day. Because today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilized for the first time, mobilized as *one* army, under *one* flag, for *one* immediate aim ...

If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes."[97]

The German working class, to whom Engels addressed these words, at that moment stood directly before a great victory. Its constantly growing mass influence in the struggle against the Prussian-German military state had from year to year made apparent the complete failure of Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. The strike movement too kept spreading constantly at the end of the 1880's and reached its height in the mass strike of the German hard coal miners in May of 1889. Even sections of the German bourgeoisie now recognized that the Socialist workers' movement could not permanently be suppressed by means of terror. Thus, under the pressure of the masses and in view of its

complete failure, the emergency law no longer received the necessary number of Deputies' votes in the Reichstag on 25 January 1890. The majority refused to prolong the law beyond 30 September 1890. Even for Engels this development was unexpected.

A few weeks later, on 20 February, German Social Democracy underlined this success with an overwhelming triumph in the elections to the Reichstag. Like all the world, Engels had eagerly awaited this test of strength: "I am tremendously pleased with the election itself. Our German workers will once again show the world of what excellent steel they are forged,"[98] he wrote confidently to Bebel, and predicted 1,200,000 votes for Social Democracy. The election topped even this expectation. The revolutionary German workers' Party received 1,427,298 votes, the greatest number in this election. As Engels wrote in the *Sozialdemokrat*, he saw in this success "the beginning of the end of the Bismarck era"[99]. In actual fact, Engels' prophecy was fulfilled. On 20 March, Bismarck had to give up office and thereby confess the failure of his policy towards the working class.

Engels made a highly appreciative estimation of the national and international effects of these developments–the electoral victory, the overthrow of the "Iron Chancellor" and the already discernible and final defeat of the Anti-Socialist Law. His articles and letters during these weeks show his pride in the "German Social-Democratic workers", who "have just won a triumph which their tough steadfastness, their iron discipline, their cheerful humour in the struggle, their tirelessness have well earned, a triumph which ... has astonished the world".[100] His revolutionary enthusiasm prompted him to regard 20 February 1890 as "the date marking the beginning of the revolution in Germany"[101].

But his eye for problems which had to be solved immediately was not thereby clouded. It was especially necessary to prepare the German workers' Party for legality. Engels helped the German Party leaders to draw the correct lessons from the persistent 12-year struggle against the Junker-bourgeois exploiters' bloc and to work out new tactics in accordance with the new conditions of the class struggle. His help was urgently needed because vacillations had developed among some individual sections of the membership, as is often the case in inevitable tactical turns in the policy of the Party.

At first a "left" opposition emerged in the Party with a half-anarchist character; it was led by young academicians and editors, called "die Jungen", (The Youths) who had just come to Social-Democracy. Engels saw with concern how this group sought to force a sectarian, conspiratorial policy on the Party and decried every form of revolutionary parliamentary work and a policy of alliance as opportunist. At first he contented himself with giving Bebel and Liebknecht suggestions on the attitude to be adopted towards "The Youths". But when one of their publications, the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, claimed that Engels had identified himself with the views of *"The Youths"*, he settled accounts publicly with this "monstrous shamelessness"[102] and described the theoretical position of "The Youths" as "a convulsively twisted 'Marxism'"[103]. Their adventurous tactics, Engels wrote, were marked by the fact that they "recklessly swept aside the actual conditions of Party struggle and, defying death, negotiated all obstacles, though only in their dreams; if, however, their notions were translated into reality it would be possible to bury even the strongest Party, with millions of members, to the legitimate laughter of the entire hostile world."[104]

Engels then gave the arrogant and astonishingly unrealistic protagonists of such "schoolboy politics" some advice of permanent value about the characteristics of a Party worker and his relations to the working class: "May they perceive," he wrote, "that their ... 'academic education' gives them no officer's commission with claims to such a status in the Party; that in our Party everyone must rise from the ranks; that positions of confidence in the Party are won, not through simple literary talent and theoretical knowledge, even if these are unquestionably present, but that one must in addition have a close familiarity with the conditions of the Party struggle and experience in its forms, tested personal reliability and a suitable character, and finally, an ability to fit voluntarily into the ranks of those

doing the fighting–in short, that they, the 'academically educated', on the whole have much more to learn from the workers than the workers from them."[105] These were standards for every single Party member, and through their publication in the *Sozialdemokrat* they were made accessible to the entire membership.

At the Party Congress held in Halle in October of 1890, some of the protagonists of "The Youths" were expelled from the Party after heated clashes in which both their theoretical inconsistency and the practical and political menace of their anarchist position were revealed. After a renewal of the discussion in the following year, the fight with the left opposition was ended at the Erfurt Party Congress in the autumn of 1891. Engels was all the more satisfied with this result, since the rebuff handed anarchism by the German Party had a strong positive influence on the international settling of accounts between the Marxists and the anarchists.

But no less important for Engels was a warning against certain right-wing opportunist elements in the Party and its group of Deputies in the Reichstag. When the *Sozialdemokrat*, in view of the transition of the Party to legality, ceased publication, Engels used his last word to its readers in order to remind Party members that the victory in the struggle against the emergency law was based, among other things, on the revolutionary masses' decisive rejection of all opportunist attacks. This experience, he wrote, should be taken to heart in the future also.

The victory of the German working class over the Bismarck dictatorship and the Anti-Socialist Law, which was sealed by the transition of the Social-Democratic Party to legality on 1 October 1890, was viewed by Engels as a success of international significance. At the same time, he emphasized the enormous moral strengthening German Social Democracy had thereby undergone "which makes it directly into the decisive Party in Europe"[106]. But nobody had contributed so much to this triumph, directly or indirectly, as Engels, who had in all decisive questions been at one with Bebel, Liebknecht and the other Party leaders working in Germany, and especially with the workers

themselves. It was the Marxist stance of the German workers' movement which made it possible for Social Democracy to work out a revolutionary policy and tactics and to emerge as a revolutionary mass Party.

The victory over Bismarck was for Engels the finest birthday present, for in the eventful months of 1890 Engels and his friends and comrades were preparing to mark his 70th birthday. But a few weeks before his birthday he received a hard blow. Lenchen Demuth, affectionately called Nim or Nimmy by those about her, suddenly fell ill in mid-October. Engels saw with alarm how quickly her strength was vanishing. And on 5 November he had to report the sad news to Sorge that his "good, faithful, dear Lenchen . . . passed away quietly yesterday afternoon after a brief and, for the most part, painless illness." He continued: "We had lived seven happy years together in this house. We were the last two of the pre-1848 old guard. Now I am alone again. If Marx, for many years, and I, for the last seven years, found the quiet required for work, it was largely her doing. I don't know what will become of me now. And I shall sadly miss her wonderfully tactful advice on Party affairs."[107]

When Lenchen a few days later was laid beside Karl and Jenny Marx in the Highgate cemetery, Engels, filled with grief, said at the graveside: "Until now the sun shone in my house; now there is only darkness!"[108]

"I don't know what will become of me now." Engels had written to his friend, and had then for days brooded about a way out. At last he thought of a possibility: Louise Kautsky. Engels had taken Kautsky's first wife into his heart during her stay in London during the mid-1880's and had continued to correspond with her after Kautsky had divorced her in 1889. Now she lived in Vienna and worked as a midwife.

Engels wrote to her. It was a letter which probably more than any other provides an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the man who was now almost 70 years old, and which like no other document makes it possible to perceive his gentleness and gallantry. He told her of Lenchen's wish to have Louise with her at the end, and continued: "I said, along with Nimmy:

If only I could have Louise here. But I didn't dare to think of carrying out the wish ... Whatever happens, I would have had no more rest if I hadn't put the question to you first, and at once ... Whoever may conduct my household, will have to accept the attitude here that a woman should not take on any manual services. Perhaps it would be forced upon me, and I would quite certainly have to turn to somebody who is not in our Party ... You would, therefore, only have to take on the supervision and have all the remaining time free for yourself ...

"We can ... discuss the whole business here and remain together as we were or go apart as we were ... I love you much too much to wish you to sacrifice anything for me ... And precisely for that reason I ask you not to sacrifice anything for me, and ask Adler through you to advise you against doing that. You are young and have a beautiful future ahead of you. I will be 70 in three weeks and have only a short time to live. No young life, rich with hope, should be sacrificed to my few remaining years. I still have enough strength, of course, to make my way."[109]

Louise Kautsky answered by coming–at first for a visit. But after only a few weeks Engels was able to inform Sorge that Louise was remaining in London. "I can work calmly again and better than ever, for she will also be my secretary ... The sun is shining in my house again, no matter how foggy it is outside."[110]

Louise was already staying at Engels' house when he celebrated his 70th birthday and a great number of people brought their congratulations. Engels, as he had once confessed to Liebknecht's wife, had "a deeply rooted aversion for such displays".[111] Above all, his modesty led him to maintain that he was "to a great extent only a man harvesting Marx's fame"[112]. But he bowed to the inevitable, accepted the honours as a mark of the solidarity and strength of the international workers' movement, and consoled himself with the words: "One can celebrate one's 70th birthday only once."[113]

He was the most cheerful among the celebrators. "On Thursday, Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer arrived", he wrote in his birthday report to Laura Lafargue. "On Friday, letters and

telegrams en masse, the latter from Berlin (3), Vienna (3), Paris (Rumanian students and Frankel), Berne (Russian Social Democrats), Leipzig city and province, Bochum (class-conscious miners), Stuttgart (Social Democrats of Württemberg), Fürth, Höchst (Paulis), London (Workers' Federation), Hamburg ... Enfin j'étais écrasé!–In a word, I was overcome! Well, in the evening we had the whole lot here ... and we kept it up till half past three in the morning and drank, besides claret, 16 bottles of champagne ... So you see I did my best to show that I was still alive and kicking."[114]

Engels did not look his 70 years. Eleanor Marx-Aveling wrote of him: "He is as upright physically as intellectually. He carries his six feet and something above that so lightly that one wouldn't think him to be so tall. He wears a full beard, which has an unusual inclination sideways and is now beginning to turn grey. His hair, on the contrary, is brown, without a streak of grey–at least a careful examination has not been able to uncover any grey hair."[115] Engels was very glad that "things are still pretty good with my health, if only my eyes would permit me to work more at the desk".[116] The doctor had warned him against writing and reading by artificial light, that is, by gaslight. For that reason the London fog, to his chagrin, appreciably limited his daily working period. Smoking was also seldom allowed him, and he humorously complained to an acquaintance: "And your fine pipes over the fireplace say to me: what have they done to you, old fellow"?[117]

The limiting of his working time and the lessening of his working energy troubled Engels, for he had an enormous amount of necessary and planned work ahead of him. He had closed his expression of public thanks to those people all over the world who had congratulated him on his 70th birthday with the words: "It is my fate that I must harvest the fame and the honour, the seed of which was sown by one greater than I, Karl Marx. And so I can only pledge to spend the rest of my life in the active service of the proletariat in such a way that I will yet make myself worthy of these honours wherever possible."[118]

Engels was not only occupied with issuing the third volume of *Capital*, but had already made preparations for the fourth.

The latter, however, appeared later in three parts under the title, *Theories of Surplus Value*. He also intended to write historical works. And he kept coming back at all times to his fond old plan of writing the biography of his dead friend and comrade-in-arms and issuing all of Marx's writings and articles in a complete collection. Above all, however, his precept for his eighth decade was "that, as long as my strength remains, I will hold out in the struggle for the liberation of the working class"[111].

Chapter IX

1890–1895

For a Marxist Party Programme

The German Social Democratic workers have just won a triumph which their tough steadfastness, their iron discipline, their cheerful humour in the struggle, their tirelessness have well earned."[1] With these words Engels had enthusiastically greeted the outcome of the elections of 20 February 1890 and the victory of the German working class over Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law it portended. At the same time, however, he was fully aware of the new and difficult tasks which now confronted the German workers' movement.

In the victory over the Anti-Socialist Law, Engels saw a turning point in the development of the German labour movement. The working class had once again won bourgeois-democratic rights which were admittedly very limited but nevertheless very important for it in its struggle. The ruling classes were

forced to recognize the legality of the Socialist movement. Now they supplemented their policy of suppression with seemingly liberal and social concessions. Naturally, the victory over the Anti-Socialist Law and the overthrow of Bismarck had not been able to alter the system and the principles of Prussian-German policy basically. Engels repeated that again and again. In the attempts of Bismarck's successors–they demagogically called themselves political leaders committed to a "new course" –to hem in the workers' movement through class justice and police, within the framework of bourgeois law, and to corrupt them simultaneously with concessions, Engels saw not a sign of the strength of the ruling regime but of its weakness.

At an early date he recognized the dangers for the Socialist movement growing out of the changes in the relation of forces of the classes, and thereby out of the policy of the "new course" –dangers which above all came from the renewed emergence of opportunism. The opportunists saw in the "new course" a basic change in principle in the policy of the ruling classes and concluded from that that a "peaceful growth into Socialism" was now possible. Their spokesman, the Bavarian Social-Democrat, Georg von Vollmar, put forward the thoroughly opportunist principle: "An open hand to goodwill, the fist against bad intentions."[2]

These views, hostile to the Party, were at that time especially dangerous for the Socialist workers' movement because German Social Democracy was faced with the task of working out a new strategy and tactics in accordance with the new conditions. It was necessary to embody the political and ideological level of maturity achieved during the period of the Anti-Socialist Law in an organizational statute and in a new programme of the Party. Political, ideological and theoretical questions thus moved once again into the foreground of Party work.

Engels directed the attention of the German Party leaders to the fact that towards the end of the 1880's, but especially after the abrogation of the Anti-Socialist Law, tens of thousands of workers had already joined Social Democracy, the trade unions and the cooperatives. All the more necessary was

it now to imbue the workers, organizing themselves on a mass scale never seen before, with the ideas of Marxism and the aims of Social Democracy, and to equip them for the contemporary and future class struggles. Theoretical and political clarity was equally necessary in order to protect the still inexperienced workers who were coming into the Socialist movement for the first time against the poison of opportunism, and against bourgeois ideology in general. The daily political conflicts also required a high degree of knowledge and insight into social reality. Thorough-going knowledge and clarity regarding the laws of social development, firmness of principles and tactical flexibility were vital for a movement which had already become an important social factor and which was already preparing itself for the conquest of power and the leadership of the state, the economy and society according to its own principles. These thoughts and demands are to be found in many letters Engels wrote at that time to Bebel, Liebknecht and Kautsky. He proceeded from the viewpoint that in the 1890's new beginning, the gathering together, the organizing and the Socialist education of the proletariat and of the entire people for the preparation of the decisive conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie was now indispensable.

In this situation, Engels told the leaders of the German Party, equipping the working class with scientific Communism had to take precedence over other things.

He himself never tired of warning against opportunist dangers and of combating the opportunists. In the last years of his life he contributed decisively to the further development of the scientific theory of the working class in all fields, to its application in practice in the class struggle, and to the tackling of new problems as they arose.

At the beginning of the nineties, he concentrated his help for the German Party on the working out of a new programme. He was in agreement with the Marxist-schooled German workers' leaders that the Gotha Programme had not expressed the level either of the theoretical, ideological development or the practical, political development of the German Socialist work-

ers' movement even at the moment of its adoption, although it contained important demands of the Socialist movement. In the years of the Anti-Socialist Law when German Social Democracy emerged as a mass Marxist Party, the correctness of Marx's and Engels' criticism of the Gotha draft programme had been completely confirmed. The delegates to the St. Gallen Party Congress in October of 1887 had already come to that viewpoint and had decided on the working out of a new programme. The Halle Party Congress in 1890 had reaffirmed this decision and–as Liebknecht put it–demanded "scientific precision" above everything else from the future programme, a precision "which a programme of our Party must necessarily have–the programme of a Party which with justice describes itself as the Party of *scientific* Socialism".[3]

In Engels' view the time had now come for the fulfilment of a legacy of his dead friend. In the second half of January 1891, he published Marx's "Marginal Notes" on the Gotha draft programme in the *Neue Zeit* under the title, "On the Criticism of the Social-Democratic Party Programme from the Literary Remains of Karl Marx". Kautsky wrote enthusiastically to Engels, after he had received the Marxian critique of the programme: "I have today received the Marx programme article. It is excellent and comes just at the right moment. The whole discussion of the programme receives a new basis through it... publication is *necessary*. Especially now."[4] In actual fact, Marx's "Marginal Notes" exerted a decisive influence on the working out of the new Party programme. The manuscript, Engels declared, "makes all equivocation and windiness impossible in the next programme and provides irresistible arguments which most of them perhaps had hardly had the courage to put forward on their own initiative."[5]

But the co-founder of scientific Communism had still another aim in the publication of the document. He himself wrote: "The manuscript, however, has another and more far-reaching significance. For the first time, Marx's attitude to the direction taken by Lassalle since his first entrance into agitation is clearly and firmly presented here, both with regard to Lassalle's economic principles and his tactics."[6] Marx's compelling arguments, were an effective blow against the opportunists who came massively to the fore after the defeat of the Anti-Socialist Law, but also against the Lassalle cult in Social Democracy which was not yet fully overcome. The Party had indeed put aside the Lassallean dogmas, but the cult around Lassalle as the supposed creator of the Social-Democratic mass movement had not yet been extirpated.

Social-Democratic members–in sharp contrast to the opportunists in the *Reichstag* parliamentary group–responded very positively to the publication of the Marx critique by Engels. On 6 February 1891, Kautsky was already able to report to Engels: "The article, insofar as I can see, has called forth pure joy or has at the very least made a deep impression."[7]

Engels, however, did not content himself merely with the publication of Marx's manuscript. In the spring of 1891, he once again published Marx's *Civil War in France*, that masterly description of the history and the lessons of the Paris Commune. It was a further important contribution to the theoretical foundations of the new Party programme. Engels preceded the work with a foreword in which he once again called attention to the lessons of the Paris Commune. Aiming his shafts at the opportunists, he wrote that the Social-Democratic Philistine has "lately again been thrown into a salutary fright by the words: Dictatorship of the proletariat. Good, gentlemen–do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."[8] Engels' foreword also appeared in the *Neue Zeit* before publication of the book and thereby became known to a larger circle of the Party membership.

Engels knew that Liebknecht and Bebel had been working on a draft of the new Party programme since May of 1891. After discussions in the Party executive in June, a draft was completed which was then sent in the strictest confidence to Engels, as well as to Kautsky and other theoreticians of the Party, to the members of the *Reichstag* parliamentary group and of the Party executive for their comments. Hardly was Engels in possession of the draft, when he put all other manuscripts aside and worked out a detailed analysis for the im-

provement of the draft, with concrete suggestions. His analysis entered the history of Marxism under the title, *A Critique of the Draft Social Democratic Programme of 1891.*

At the outset, Engels recognized in general: "The present draft differs very favourably from the former programme. The strong survivals of outmoded traditions–both the specifically Lassallean and vulgar Socialist–have in the main been removed, and as regards its theoretical aspect the draft is, on the whole, based on present-day science and can be discussed on this basis."[9]

In the first part of his critique, Engels carefully took apart the theoretical section of the draft, pointed out errors, equivocations and inexactitudes, and set out his proposals in an accompanying enclosure which had the character of an independent draft. These proposals were then almost without exception taken into account in the final draft. On 4 July 1891, the *Vorwärts*, the new central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, published this revised draft. In his Berlin speech of 16 July 1891, opening the discussion on the draft programme among Party members, Bebel declared that the first part of the draft of 4 July was in fact a draft by Engels.[10]

Of extraordinary significance were Engels' remarks on the transition now taking place from capitalism with free competition to monopoly capitalism, as well as his thoughts on the influence of the struggle of the working class on their position in capitalism. He levelled vigorous criticism at the part of the draft which contained the political demands of the Party and made great concessions to right-wing opportunism. He proceeded from the premise that a democratic republic is the indispensable historical precondition for winning the majority of the working class for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If one thing is certain", he wrote, it is that our Party and the working class can only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. That is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat."[11] He explained his demand for "a single and indivisible republic"[12] further: "On the one hand, the system of small states must be abolished ... On the other hand, Prussia must cease to exist and must be

broken up into self-governing provinces for the specific Prussianism to stop weighing on Germany. The system of small states and Prussianism are the two sides of the antithesis now gripping Germany in a vice, in which one side must always serve as the excuse and justification for the existence of the other."[13]

Engels, however, was very much aware that the demand for a democratic republic could not automatically be included in the programme because of the police laws in Germany. He therefore proposed that the demand for a democratic republic be paraphrased as follows: *"Concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives"*,[14] and "Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state."[15] Even more important, in Engels' view, was the fundamental clarification of this question in the Party leadership. He considered lack of theoretical clarity on this basic question of proletarian strategy to be dangerous for the existence of the Party. He warned: "What can result from this except that at the decisive moment the Party suddenly proves helpless and that uncertainty and discord on the most decisive issues reign in it because these issued have never been discussed?"[16] In actual fact, complete clarity was not established on the relationship between democracy and Socialism, between the democratic republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even such outstanding Party leaders as Bebel, Liebknecht and Paul Singer only partially mastered the problem.

If it was Engels' aim, on the one hand, to help the revolutionary German Party leaders to overcome the lack of clarity in the theory of the revolution and the state with his programme critique, he launched a merciless struggle against the stepped-up activity of opportunism, on the other hand. Opportunism, he wrote, expresses itself above all in the denial of the class struggle and in the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat: "this sacrifice of the future of the movement ... for its present"[17] was and would always be opportunism. Engels scathingly attacked the opportunist phrase used in a part of

the Social-Democratic press, "'present-day society is developing towards Socialism', without asking itself whether it does not thereby just as necessarily outgrow the old social order and whether it will not have to burst this old shell by force, as a crab breaks its shell, and also whether in Germany, in addition, it will not have to smash the fetters of the still semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused, political order".[18]

Engels' criticism of the political demands of the draft programme did not remain without effect. The revised draft programme did not contain all of his proposals but under Point 2 the words were added: "Self-administration of the people in the *Reich*, state, province and commune... Annual tax grants."[19] This formulation was close to Engels' viewpoint.

His critique of the Erfurt draft programme belongs to the most important programmatic documents of scientific Communism. Its significance reaches into our own day. Engels' description of the essence of opportunism, his settling of accounts with the opportunist views regarding the theories of the state and the revolution at the beginning of the 1890's has again become especially pertinent precisely in today's struggle against revisionism and Social Democratism.

Engels' influence on the final draft of the programme was not confined to his criticism of the programme itself. Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein worked out an independent draft modelled on that elaborated by the Party executive. This was supported by Engels and Bebel as the basis for the discussion at the Erfurt Party Congress. This draft was adopted as the programme of the Party by the Erfurt Congress without any essential changes.

From the correspondence between Engels and Kautsky, on the one hand, and Bernstein on the other, it is clear that the co-founder of scientific Communism worked as an adviser with regard to this last draft and influenced its formulations. In this way Engels played an important part in the final version of the Erfurt Programme and helped German Social Democracy to provide a Marxist answer in it to the questions confronting the workers' movement. The programme was not only the work of a small group of Party leaders. The three-month-long discussion of the draft programme in the summer of 1891, in which tens of thousands of Social-Democratic workers participated, showed that the principles of Marxism had won out in the German labour movement. Every sentence in the new programme had been worked out and gained in struggle in long years of effort, especially in resistance to the Anti-Socialist Law.

When Engels heard the news that the new programme had been accepted, he wrote with satisfaction to Friedrich Adolph Sorge: "It is a satisfaction for us to know that the Marxian critique has been utterly successful."[20] This success was all the more important, in his view, because he saw in the adoption of the Erfurt Programme a milestone in the development, not only of the German, but also of the international revolutionary workers' movement. The programme of the strongest, the leading Party in the Second International inevitably set new standards for the elaboration of the programmes of other Socialist Parties. In fact, the Marxist Erfurt Programme set an example for the international Socialist workers' movement. V. I. Lenin in 1899 expressly invoked the Erfurt Programme when he worked on the draft of a programme for the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Russia: "precisely today, when we so often hear opportunist and equivocal criticism of that programme, we consider it our duty to speak openly in its favour."[21]

Despite Engels' help, German Social Democracy was not able in the period that followed, to evolve for itself a clear, scientific concept of the strategy and tactics of the struggle for political power, especially of the dialectical interrelationship between the democratic republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This weakness, which was especially reflected in the discussion of the programme, was in the first place the result of the lack of theoretical clarity in the German Party leadership and of the inadequate conclusions drawn from the lessons of the Paris Commune regarding the struggle for political power. Later, in the epoch of imperialism, these inadequacies made it easier for the revisionists to misuse the Erfurt Programme for spreading views hostile to the Party. At the same time, the Erfurt Programme was the best programme that a revolutionary mass Party in the international

workers' movement had adopted up to the end of the 19th century.

Closely connected with the debate on the new Party programme were the controversies with the semi-anarchist opposition of the *Jungen* and with the right-wing opportunism of Vollmar. The spokesmen of the *Jungen* were expelled from the Party and the representatives of the right-wing opportunists were forced to recognize the revolutionary policy and tactics adopted by the Party. A resolution sponsored by Bebel, which was directed against the pseudo-left and rightist deviations, showed the great influence of Engels and was given the complete endorsement of the delegates to the Party Congress. It declared "that the conquest of political power is the first and the major aim to which every class-conscious proletarian movement must aspire".[37] All members of the Party were obligated to work firmly and unequivocally in the spirit of the Party programme and to keep their sights at all times on "the overall and final aim of the Party".[37]

Against the Arms Race and the Danger of War

In the weeks during which Engels was involved with the preparation of the Erfurt Programme, he raised a further problem with Bebel, Lafargue and other leaders of the international workers' movement. It was: the position of the proletariat on the foreign policy of the ruling classes in general, and on the armaments race and the danger of war in particular. Marx and Engels had from the forties on constantly concerned themselves with defining the working class's stand on foreign policy, especially since the days of the International Working Men's Association. Now, however, at the end of the 1880's and the beginning of the 90's, this question increasingly took on added significance.

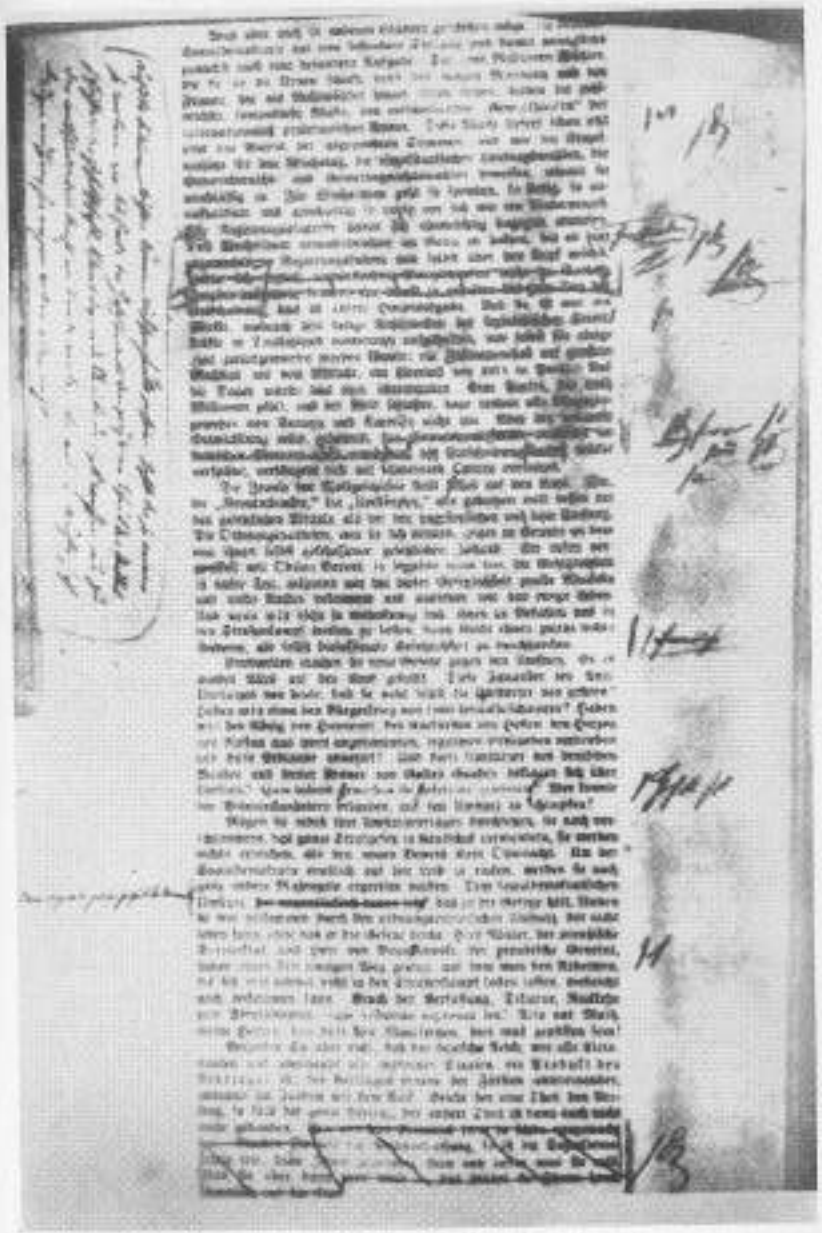
As Marx and Engels had prophesied in 1870–71, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by the Prussian-German state had laid

the seeds of a future war, a war that would inevitably assume European proportions. Engels came to this point of view in the mid-1880's. The ever more feverish armaments race of the great European Powers–the Hohenzollern *Reich* at their head–confirmed this prophecy. To that must be added the fact that the different tempo of development in the individual capitalist states, which showed characteristics typical of imperialism, tended to aggravate the international situation. At the beginning of the 1890's it also became clear that the worsening of German-Russian relations was resulting in strengthened French-Russian rapprochement, which finally led to a firm military coalition directed against the Triple Alliance formed by Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy. The danger of a European war moved ever closer.

Engels followed this development with deep concern. He urged the representatives of the Second International, and especially the leaders of the German and French labour movements, to deal in a matter-of-fact way with this dangerous situation and, in a mutual exchange of ideas, to develop a working-class alternative to the bellicose policy of the ruling classes. As in many other instances, he led the way here too with advice and action.

He and Marx had in 1848 openly called for a revolutionary people's war against czarist Russia as the main bulwark of European reaction. In the fifties and sixties they had held firmly to this concept. Now, however, Engels held just as firmly to the opinion that a world war would indeed shake the power of the ruling classes, but would also retard the triumphal forward march of the workers' movement by stirring up feelings of nationalism and chauvinism. Engels drew the conclusion from that approach that the Socialist workers' movement, as the peoples in general, urgently needed peace for their further development because under peaceful conditions the organized revolutionary proletariat could best prepare itself for the struggle to conquer political power. The struggle for peace thereby became a permanent and inseparable part of the struggle for Socialism.

As with all Marxists since then, Engels was in no way for



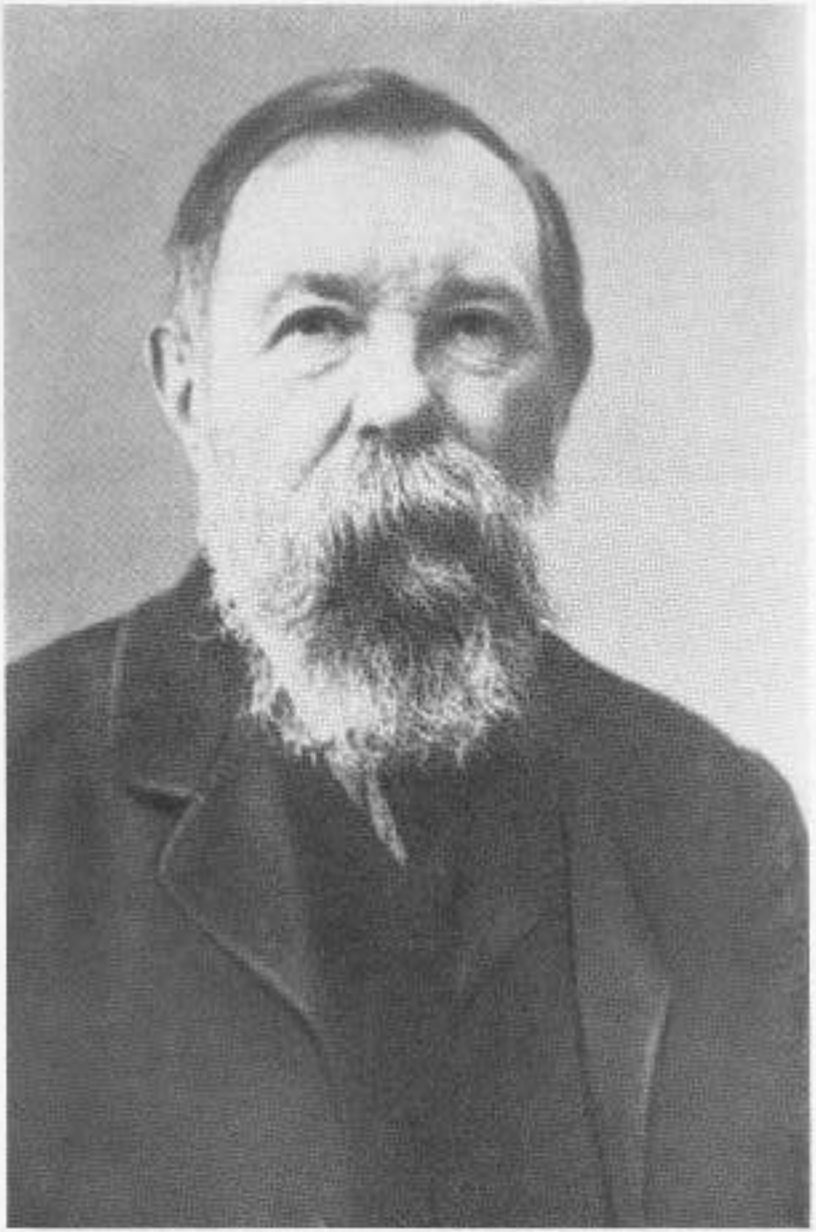
A proof-sheet of the Introduction to Karl Marx's *Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850* with corrections by Engels



May Day rally in London's Hyde Park in 1892.
Standing on the tribune is Frederick Engels (4th from left)



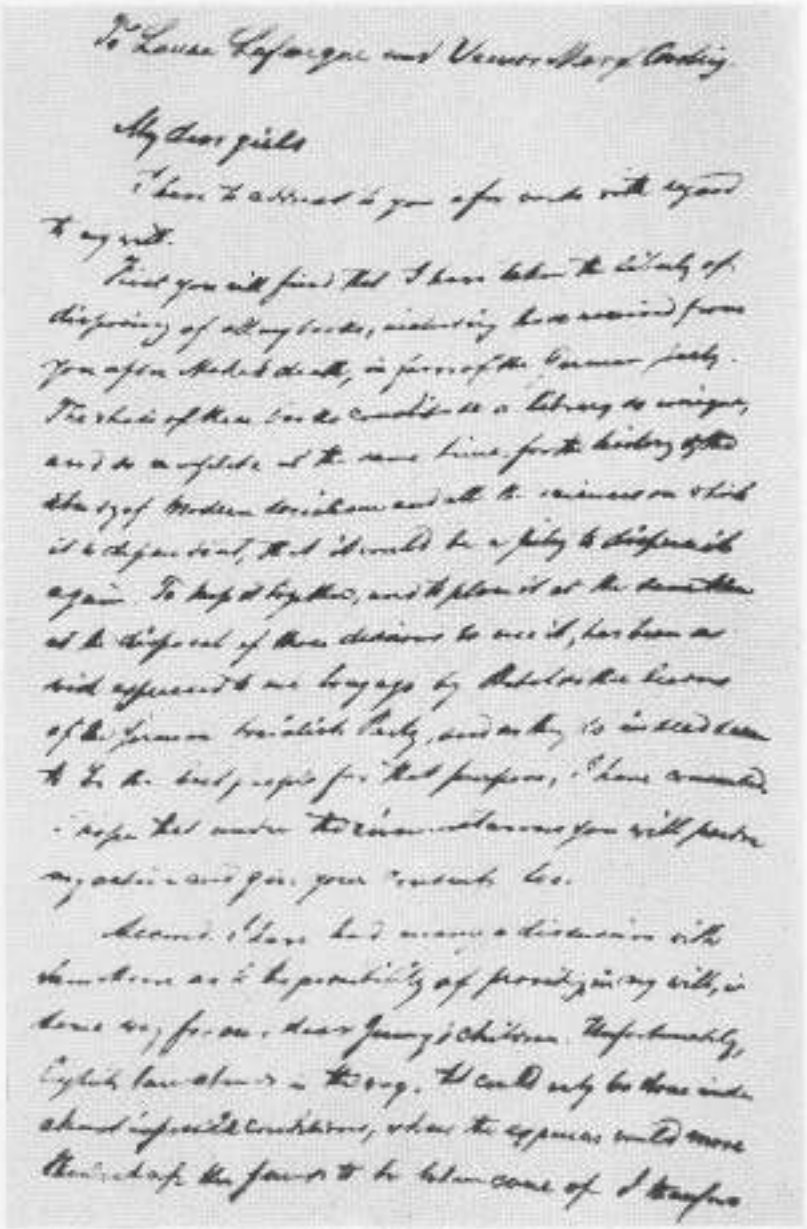
Engels in the vicinity of Zurich in September of 1893
(pictured from left to right are
Dr. Ferdinand Simon, Frieda Simon, Clara Zetkin, Engels,
Julie and August Bebel, Ernst Schattner,
Regina and Eduard Bernstein)



Engels in 1893



Socialist newspapers of the nineties which carried articles or addresses written by Engels



First page of a letter Engels sent to Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling on 14 November 1894 to inform them about his last will

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Dritter Band, erster Theil.

Buch III:
Der Gesammtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion.
Kapitel I bis XXVIII.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1894.

Title page of the first edition of *Capital* which Engels dedicated to Bebel



The coastline of Eastbourne.
Two miles away from this rock Engels' ashes
were consigned to the sea

peace at any price that included the enslavement of a people by a conqueror. His stand for peace and the preservation of the peace had nothing in common with a passive pacifism. He considered the fight for, and the maintenance of, peace just as subordinated to the struggle for Socialism as was the struggle for democracy, because only in a Socialist world could democracy and peace be guaranteed for all times.

He wrote many articles that helped the international and especially the German workers' movement to penetrate more deeply into the secrets of the Great Powers' politics and diplomacy and to put forward a Socialist alternative of their own.

This alternative programme in foreign policy, which Engels worked out in a close exchange of views with Bebel, Liebknecht and other Marxists in the German Party leadership, organically supplemented the alternative concept on domestic politics at the centre of which stood the destruction of the Prussian-German military state. It concentrated on bringing about the ending of the dangerous expansionist arms-first policy of the Hohenzollern *Reich* (which equally required the overthrow of militarism), on energetic initiatives by Germany for universal disarmament, the establishment of peaceful relations with the neighbouring peoples on the basis of mutual equality, especially the reestablishment of Poland and the granting of the right of self-determination to the people of Alsace and Lorraine, as well as the right of self-determination of the German people in all questions of foreign policy, especially with respect to war and peace.

But Engels' assistance was not limited to working out alternative views in foreign policy on behalf of the German workers' movement. He devoted his attention to an ever-increasing degree to the relations between Russia, Germany and France, since the sources of conflict between these states multiplied rapidly.

In late 1889 and early 1890, at the request of Russian revolutionaries, he wrote a lengthy article, *The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism*, for the Russian Marxist journal, *The Social-Democrat*. It was also published in 1890 in the *Neue Zeit*, in

the English monthly, *Time*, as well as in French and Rumanian. In 1891, it appeared in Bulgarian, and in 1893 in Polish.

In this study Engels, proceeding from the strategic ideas of Marx, analyzed the class character of czarist foreign policy and its close interconnection with the reactionary policy pursued at home. Although he took the view that at the beginning of the 1890's czarism still played its disastrous role as the most important bulwark of reaction in 19th-century Europe–an assessment which Lenin shared completely–he nevertheless pointed to a weakening of the base of domestic policy and of its international positions: "The revolution which ended at the Polish border in 1848 is now knocking on Russia's door, and inside it already has enough followers who are only waiting for the opportunity to open the door to it."[26] Engels above all explained the international significance which the growing resistance of the Russian revolutionaries had for the Socialist workers' movements in other European countries, a thought which Lenin later pursued. Engels very strongly emphasized this comradeship in struggle, which he had already stressed in 1888: "A revolution in Russia at the present moment would save Europe from the misfortune of a general war and would be the beginning of the revolution in the whole world."[25]

But for the time being these hopes were not fulfilled. The Prussian-German military state feverishly stepped up its rearming and militarization, and in France the ruling circles whipped up chauvinism and revanchism. The contradictions in foreign relations which had been in evidence from 1871 became so acute at the beginning of the 1890's that Engels even considered the possibility of a war brewing up between Russia and France on the one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. "So that no misunderstanding arises at the last moment between the French and the German Socialists, if it does develop,"[26] he put aside all other work in this critical situation and endeavoured to define the attitude of the working class towards such a possible war. In a matter of days–between 13 and 21 October 1891–he wrote an article in French, *Socialism in Germany*, which at the end of 1891 appeared in the *Almanac du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892* and soon thereafter was published

in a translation in the *Neue Zeit*. Engels did this, as he stressed, "at the request of our Paris friends"[27], but emphasized that he spoke only in his own name and not in the name of the German Party. "Only the elected ... representatives ... of that Party have that right. And in addition, the international position I have attained in fifty years of work prohibits me from taking a stand on behalf of this or that national Socialist Party in opposition to another".[28] It was typical of Engels' style of work that he not only immediately informed the Marxist leaders of the international workers' movement such as Bebel, Lafargue and Soege about the conclusions he had come to, but discussed the decisive problems in correspondence with them even before he formulated his final views.

The main consideration on the basis of which Engels defined the attitude of the French and the German working class to a European war was the overall interest of the international workers' movement. It was true, he wrote, that the French Republic represented the revolution as against official Germany, that is to say, only the bourgeois revolution, but in any event, the revolution; but behind official Germany stood Socialist Germany, the Party to which the future, the near future belonged. "As soon as this Party comes to power, it can not exercise it or retain it without making amends for the injustices which its predecessors in office committed against other nations. It will prepare the reestablishment of Poland, so meanly betrayed today by the French bourgeoisie. It will have to make it possible for North Slesvig and Alsace-Lorraine to decide freely on their own political future. All these questions, thus, can be easily settled and in the near future–only on condition that Germany be left to itself."[29]

On the other hand, the ruling classes in Germany, as well as in France and Russia, had a completely opposite aim in a possible war, namely, the "oppression of the only Party which is 'the enemy' for all three of them"[30]: the revolutionary workers' Party. For that reason the German Socialists, in the "interests of the European revolution, were bound to defend all conquered positions, to capitulate as little before the external enemy as before the internal enemy".[31] Since official Germany

through "its home policy, unworthy of a great nation", had drawn the "contempt of all bourgeois-liberal countries" upon itself, and through its foreign policy, "the distrust, yes, the hatred of the neighbouring nations",[32] Engels was of the opinion that in a possible war at the beginning of the 1890's "German Socialism would unquestionably personify the proletarian revolution"[33] as against a French-Russian attack. In that case, the German workers' Party would have to force through the application of strict revolutionary rules. Engels hoped "that the German proletarians of today are not unworthy of the French Sansculottes of a hundred years ago"[34].

Engels was aware of the fact that his thinking and his proposals demanded a deep understanding for the overall interests of the revolutionary workers' movement, especially from the French Socialists. He was therefore very happy to hear from Laura and Paul Lafargue that the leadership of the French Party completely agreed with his line of thinking. His article was splendid, Lafargue wrote. "Our friends have not the least to object to it; they will even find that it has arrived at precisely the right moment, that it is the clearest and most intelligent presentation of the current situation and that it is most important at the present moment to speak the truth."[35]

No matter how thoroughly Engels had weighed the attitude of the German and French working class in the event of a war–the most urgent consideration was for him the overriding desire for a lasting peace: "For all that, I hope peace remains unbroken. In our present position we do not need to risk everything–but war would force us to do that."[36] Peace, Engels repeated again and again, promises the revolutionary workers' movement victory in the foreseeable future. "War brings it either victory in two or three years or complete ruin for at least fifteen to twenty years. In view of that, the German Socialists would have to be mad if they wanted war on which to risk everything on a single card, instead of waiting for the certain triumph of peace."[37] No Socialist, of whatever nationality, could desire the triumph either of the German or the French Government, and even less the triumph of the Czar. "And for that reason the Socialists in all countries are for peace. If,

however, the war does come, then only one thing is certain... this war must bring the immediate victory of Socialism or, on the other hand, so overthrow the old order of things from top to bottom and leave such a pile of ruins that the old capitalist society would be more impossible than ever and the social revolution, though deferred ten to fifteen years, would then also win out with an all the more rapid and more solid evolution."[38]

Engels' vision of the terrible implications of a coming world war was to be even surpassed decades later by reality. But he could not then foresee that German Social Democracy, on which he had looked with complete confidence, would fall under the domination of an opportunistic leadership which in 1914 shamelessly falsified Engels' views by carrying them over in a schematic manner to a completely altered situation, and which in the end not only supported the imperialist war, but ultimately also betrayed the revolution of the popular masses. It was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who took up the thoughts already formulated by Engels in his first articles on the revolutionary way out of a European war of the Great Powers and implemented them by transforming the imperialist war into a civil war and by setting up the Soviet state.

Engels' ideas on the duty of the working class to banish the danger of war were taken up by the Socialist Parties. As in the case of the founding congress of the Second International in 1889, the International Socialist Congresses held in Brussels in 1891 and in Zurich in 1893 concerned themselves with the attitude of the proletariat towards a threatening war. They revealed the social reasons for war, as well as the class character of militarism, and orientated the international workers' movement on an intensified struggle against the armaments race and the war danger. Engels was able to declare proudly: "While the propertied classes of France are locked in implacable conflict with the propertied classes in Germany, French and German Social-Democrats are working unanimously hand in hand."[39]

Engels not only occupied himself with the question as to how the working class could, and was duty-bound, to fight

against an impending danger of war. Although he left no doubt whatsoever about the fact that peace could only be completely guaranteed under Socialist conditions, he dealt in his correspondence and articles with the possibilities the proletariat already had in the conditions of capitalist rule to set aside or hem in sources of danger. Here he proceeded very cautiously and avoided all illusions. He detested mere talk of the yearning for peace and universal brotherhood. Experience and scientific knowledge had taught him that war and the danger of war could be abolished only by deeds, only through the struggle of the popular masses under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary Party. For that it was necessary to create both the ideological preconditions–in the shape of a firmly rooted proletarian internationalism and a democratic anti-militarism–and the organizational preconditions–the rallying around the working class of all opponents of war and the spreading of military knowledge among the class-conscious workers.

These thoughts, which he had already expressed in the 1880's, Engels took up again some years later and deepened them in a number of ways. In the German *Reichstag* a new military bill was put up for discussion in 1892 which went far beyond all previous moves to strengthen the army. Social Democracy and the working-class press immediately launched a stormy protest campaign and once again accused the militarists of planning genocide. But Bebel recognized that repudiation in principle alone was no longer enough, and that an alternative Social-Democratic programme would be needed on the military question which reflected the security needs of the peoples and their interests in the maintenance of peace, which in actual fact reduced the danger of war and cut down armaments. In early February of 1893, therefore, he wrote to Engels to ask the latter to give him a "lecture"[30] on the subject. In view of the basic significance of the struggle against militarism, Engels did not hesitate a moment in helping the German Socialists. On 24 February he informed Bebel that the "lecture" had already been prepared and had been sent for publication to the *Vorwärts*. The title he had chosen, *Can Europe Disarm?*–he himself

held to be a compromise solution. In actual fact, he wrote, the article should be called a *Social-Democratic Military Bill*[31]. And precisely this Socialist alternative to the militarist arms-first policy was the heart of the article.

In it, Engels once again denounced the armaments race. It heightened the danger of war, strengthened militarism, and crippled the peoples economically. But again Engels was not satisfied only to describe the dismal consequences of such a development. He tied his arguments to the objective tendencies of military development which could not be ignored by the revolutionary workers' Party for both political reasons and considerations of military theory. Along those lines, it was in the interests of an effective national defence to force the ruling classes, through the revolutionary pressure from below, to train every physically fit man in the use of weapons, but not to maintain a numerically very strong standing army. Even under capitalist conditions, as Engels showed, there was no military need to permit the expenditures for the army to keep increasing constantly because of an unceasing enlargement of the military machinery. If that was the case nevertheless, then it was not for military but for political reasons: the armies were intended "not so much" as a defence "against the foreign as against the internal enemy".[32]

Engels proposed that, through an international agreement among all military Powers, the active period of military service be reduced and that such service should step by step be made into more of a militia system based on universal arming of the people. In view of the critical manner in which he had all his life rejected all militia plans, his proposal now for such a system–and that in states which were highly developed but had a completely reactionary character–caused surprise. But with his proposal Engels in no way contradicted his previously held views in the field of military theory; he applied these, rather, to the new political and military conditions. He proceeded from the view that the working class is most deeply interested in the maintenance of peace, but also in national independence and the utilization of universal military service for the aims of its class struggle. For that reason it was a

vital necessity for the working class to wrest all means of internal and external aggression from the Great Powers and thereby from the ruling classes, the standing, highly equipped army being at that time the latters' most important instrument of power. Engels realized fully that such a limited disarmament, based on a mutual treaty, could only be brought into being if a decisive struggle was being waged by all strata of the population menaced by the spectre of militarism and that the people had to ensure strict control measures to enforce its implementation, to say nothing of its continuation.

The series of articles which the *Vorwärts* published in eight instalments under the heading, *Can Europe Disarm?*, in March of 1893 and which it also made available as a booklet at the same time, backed the German Social-Democrats in their anti-militarist propaganda activities. The series was an illustration of how even under capitalist conditions the revolutionary working class Party can conduct an effective military policy directed at peace and against war without neglecting its military interests or lapsing into a feeble pacifist attitude.

This first scientifically grounded and extraordinarily concrete disarmament proposal in the history of the Socialist movement, going beyond the boundaries of the problem which occasioned it, contained a number of principles which are of enduring significance for the struggle of the working class against the armaments race. Engels showed in his article that the struggle for disarmament has a general democratic character, that while the working class must seize the initiative and take over the leadership in this movement, it is better suited than most other movements to call forth a response on the part of the broadest masses. In Engels' day it was possible and necessary because, as Engels wrote, the popular masses "almost exclusively provide the preponderance of soldiers and have to pay most of the taxes";[43] today it is possible and necessary because–as a result of the qualitative changes in military technique–the problem of disarmament has become one of life and death for mankind.

Engels proceeded from the thesis that to mobilize the masses, it was necessary in the first place to emphasize the common interests of all working people, all peace-loving people in

disarmament. But at the same time he taught that, in addition, the special, specific interest in disarmament of the various states, nations, classes and strata also had to be made clear in order to isolate the aggressive circles, to thwart war preparations, and to force the warmongers into an agreement on disarmament. In his warning appeal to the peoples of Europe, he took great pains to investigate and to make clear the fact that disarmament would bring advantages to every European state and all peoples.

Of great significance in our own day is also the face that Engels proposed a step-by-step disarmament scheme. In contrast both to pacifist illusions and sectarian views which crudely presented the question of disarmament as a matter of "all or nothing", Engels based himself on a completely realistic analysis of the political and military relation of forces and insisted that in the struggle for disarmament the next realizable goals had to be presented step by step–naturally, without losing sight of the final goal. No matter how much general and complete disarmament had to remain the undeviating aim, the setting and achievement of attainable partial goals was equally important so that on the basis of the successes achieved ever more people might be drawn into the struggle against the danger of war and derive strength, courage and self-confidence from it.

Although Engels looked upon the struggle against the piling up of armaments and the danger of war as an international task, he emphasized in his article that the German people and the German workers' movement had a special, an additional responsibility in it. After a detailed investigation of the economic, moral and political advantages which would result from a German initiative in the question of disarmament, he wrote warningly of Germany's duty "to lead the way in the work of disarmament, a duty which quite properly devolves upon the land which gave the signal for arming".[44]

After two devastating wars launched by German imperialism, and in view of the menace to European peace posed by German imperialism, these words of Engels have lost none of their timeliness. But at the same time the revolutionary German

workers' movement, which in the German Democratic Republic, led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in alliance with all the other working people, has set up the first peace state in German history, which dedicates its whole foreign policy to the promotion of peace and will not permit the launching of war again from German territory–this revolutionary German workers' movement has demonstrated that Engels' legacy is in good hands among the Marxist-Leninists.

Engels held that it was indispensable for any coordinated action of the international workers' movement, as well as for an effective intervention by the working class in the foreign policy of the ruling classes in general, to constantly strengthen proletarian internationalism and translate it into practice. He proceeded from the thesis–which history has confirmed–that it is necessary for each national section of the international workers' movement to fit its struggle *consciously* into the revolutionary struggle of the workers of all countries. "The liberation of the proletariat," he wrote, "can only be an international action."[42] Now that independent workers' Parties had arisen in most European countries or were in process of formation, now that a new form of rallying the international workers' movement had been found in the Second International, the proletariat of all countries had to be enabled really to march together "as *one* army, under *one* flag"[43]. That made it necessary for such methods of cooperation to be developed which would respect national characteristics and specific conditions of struggle of the individual Parties and would at the same time be firmly based on the overall class interests and class aims of the international proletariat.

Both in his articles in the international workers' press and in his letters, Engels kept repeating that this problem grew in importance as the individual Socialist Parties strengthened their position. The greater the mass influence of the Marxist forces became, the more powerfully Marxism penetrated the international workers' movement, the more quickly the means of communication developed, and the more violently the ruling classes set forth their struggle against the Socialist workers' movement, especially by kindling nationalism and chauvinism–

all the more would "the successes won in *one* land powerfully influence all the others"[97], all the more urgent would the mutual political harmonizing of the proletarian Parties be, as well as the coordination of their solidarity, protest and fighting actions.

The "upsurge of the proletarian movement in all countries"[98], as well as the increasing convulsions within the exploiting classes and their system of rule, strengthened Engels in the conviction that a period of revolutionary struggles was moving closer. With revolutionary optimism he declared at the end of 1892: "The times are becoming disturbed and the waves are beginning to rise high."[99]

A Triumphant Advance

At that time Engels was already working on a plan to examine at first hand the progress of the revolutionary workers' movement on the Continent. After 1890 he was repeatedly invited by Bebel, Victor Adler and others to visit Germany and Austria. His interest in such a journey was great, but it was necessary to consider how the German and Austrian police officials would act towards the dean of the international workers' movement. During a two weeks' stay in London in late May of 1892, Bebel obviously succeeded in dispelling his doubts on the subject. During the rest of the year the idea of a round trip began to take on shape. But Engels had to postpone the trip to the following year because of a sudden illness.

In order to recover his health and to be able to withstand the rigors involved in journeying about for a number of weeks,

he holidayed from 21 to 28 July 1893 at the English seaside resort of Eastbourne. He was now 73 years old, had worked intensively for many months on the third volume of *Capital* after his recovery, and from the spring of 1893 on he collaborated on the preparation of the next Congress of the Second International, which was to take place in August at Zurich.

The founding of the Second International in 1889 had favourably influenced the development of the revolutionary labour movement. Many new trade union organizations had come into being, mostly in the process of violent class conflicts. New workers' Parties had been founded, for example in Hungary and Australia in 1890, in Bulgaria in 1891, in Italy in 1892, in England and Rumania in 1893. In some other countries, for example in Russia, circles or groups had been set up which studied and propagated scientific Communism and worked for the creation of a proletarian Party.

Since the Second International at first had no organizing centre, the leading representatives of the Parties and organizations already in existence or coming into existence turned to Engels for advice, as did the individual Socialists in many cases also, along with intellectuals sympathizing with the working-class movement. The resulting correspondence took up much time and energy, but Engels saw in it–under the conditions of the day–one of the best methods of guaranteeing concerted action by the Marxist forces in the international workers' movement both in the theoretical work and in strategy and tactics.

That was also the issue in the preparation of the Zurich Congress. On the one hand, it was necessary to combat the opportunist attempts to place immediate goals above the final goal of the Socialist movement. On the other hand, there were still grave dangers emanating from anarchism. Engels noted with concern that the anarchist in various countries, for example in Russia, Holland, Italy and Spain, had succeeded in influencing sections of the proletariat, precisely those workers who, still inexperienced in the class struggle and justly opposed to reformist tendencies, saw in *action directe* (direct action) a seductive method in the struggle for their social and political emanci-

pation. The theory of "self-help" by means of individual terror, the idea of a "world-wide strike" and other anarchist teachings, fitted in with the revolutionary impatience of some workers. Engels criticized these anarchist views uncompromisingly and orientated the leading representatives of the most influential Socialist Parties on the necessity of driving anarchism from the revolutionary workers' movement. He foresaw that vigorous differences of opinion would also develop with the anarchists at the Zurich Congress.

On 1 August 1893, Engels set out on his trip. Louise Kautsky and her fiancée, Dr. Ludwig Freyberger, an Austrian doctor and Socialist who lived in London and attended Engels medically, accompanied him. They travelled via Hook of Holland to Cologne, where Julie and August Bebel were waiting to join them, as had been agreed. Only now did Engels come to know Julie Bebel personally, after having long had a warm correspondence with her. She was a true child of the Leipzig working class, a thoroughly genuine woman and a convinced Socialist. The trip had been planned in such a manner as to make it possible for Bebel to be in Zurich in time for the opening of the Congress of the International. Engels had decided that he personally would not take part in the Congress, but he wanted to take advantage of the presence of numerous leading Socialist representatives in order to have talks with them. Thus he had in July of 1893 informed the Italian publicist and Socialist leader, Filippo Turati, of his planned trip and had expressed the hope that they could meet in Zurich.

Seeing Cologne and the Rhineland again moved Engels deeply. He recalled his youth and especially the years of his joint revolutionary work with Karl Marx. But his thoughts did not by any means linger only in the past. With keen interest he noted the really revolutionizing changes in the industrial field which he encountered at every turn. In letters to Laura Lafargue and Friedrich Adolf Sorge he gave his impressions and in an address to comrades in Berlin he summed up: "Along the whole Rhine, from the Dutch to the Swiss border, I found not a single area where one could look around without seeing smoking chimneys."[56] He kept reverting continuously to the question of the consequences of this speeded-up industrialization for the development of the proletariat and of Social Democracy.

At Strasbourg, he found that the development of the relationship between the people of Alsace-Lorraine and the German *Reich*, as already prophesied in the Second Address of the General Council on the German-French War, had been completely confirmed. A young Socialist told him that the Prussian rule in the so-called *Reich* provinces had brought about a situation in which not only more French was spoken than formerly, but sympathy for the French Republic had also grown significantly.[57]

After a short stay in Zurich, Engels travelled on the 4 or 5 August to Thusis in Graubünden for a week. His brother Hermann and the latter's family were on a visit there. As shown by numerous letters, he had always had a good contact with Hermann, while the latter, despite a different social position and a different outlook, respected his Socialist convictions and activity.

On 12 August, Engels returned to Zurich. There, the International Socialist Workers' Congress, the third in the history of the Second International, had opened on 6 August. Under discussion was the political tactics of Social Democracy, the fight for the 8-hour working day, trade union work, the international organization of Social Democracy, and the agrarian question.

As Engels had expected, the Congress was dominated by the controversy with the anarchists. The thorough preparations for the Congress, effectively supported by Engels, resulted in the defeat of the resolutions tabled by the anarchists on all questions. That was especially important with regard to the resolution on political tactics, in which the workers' organizations were orientated on the necessity of fighting for political rights and of utilizing these for the struggle to conquer political power.

Engels noted with satisfaction that the Marxists won the day against the anarchists on the question of the attitude adopted by the workers' movement towards war. While the anarchists fought for the completely Utopian idea of a "world-wide strike against war" and advocated national nihilism, the Marxists were guided by the ideas developed by Engels on an anti-war

policy in his writings, *Socialism in Germany* and *Can Europe Disarm?* The Congress majority voted for a resolution which, basing itself on the close connection between capitalism and war, condemned the war policy of the Governments and bound Socialist deputies to reject military credits, to work for the abolition of standing armies and for disarmament.

Before the Congress, at Bebel's urgent request, Engels had had to promise at least to appear at the concluding session. When the chairman of the session, the Russian Anna Mikhailovna Kulishova, informed the delegates that Frederick Engels had just arrived and that he was to be made an honorary member of the presidium and to deliver the closing speech, stormy applause broke out in the hall lasting for some minutes. "The enthusiastic cheers kept rising anew, the cheers with which the delegates and the public in the galleries welcomed the loyal and courageous comrade."[52]

Engels, moved by the extraordinarily warm reception, opened with the declaration that he was not accepting the ovations for his person but "as a co-worker of the great man whose photo hangs there (Marx)".[53] He reminded his listeners of the historical contribution of the First International, which was being continued on a new level by the Second International. Criticizing anarchism in scathing terms, he explained to the delegates that the anarchists, by renouncing a scientifically based strategy and tactics and any planned organization of the proletariat, and above all, by rejecting the leading role of the Party, were leading the working class into confusion and delivering it to the bourgeoisie. At the same time he also aimed his fire at the opportunists who believed that they could achieve Socialism with the ballot alone.

With the greatest urgency he appealed in the closing section of his address to the leaders and representatives of the international working class to maintain revolutionary unity in the struggle against capitalism under all circumstances. He declared amid enthusiastic applause: "We must permit discussion in order not to become a sect, but the common standpoint must be maintained."[54] This principle, fought for by Marx and Engels and later by Lenin, has since been a guiding thesis of the world

Communist movement. The history of both the German and the international workers' movement has at all times confirmed, and still proves daily, that every deviation from Marxism-Leninism harms the workers' movement and its allies, and brings it defeats and setbacks, that common actions in the struggle against imperialism, on the other hand, make the Communist and workers' movement unconquerable.

Engels made use of the last day of the Congress and the days that followed in Zurich for numerous meetings with delegations of the Parties of various countries. He made the acquaintance of Filippo Turati and Antonio Labriola, met with the Russian Social-Democrat, Pavel Borissovitch Axelrod, with Vera Ivanovna Sassulitch and other representatives of the Russian workers' movement, with Anna Mikhailovna Kulishova, Turati's wife, and with Clara Zetkin, who was then already internationally known and recognized as a leader of the Socialist women's movement. He greatly regretted the fact that he had missed the Spanish Socialist, Pablo Iglesias.

The get-togethers not only made possible serious discussions; they were also utilized for recreation and relaxation, notably for a cruise across Lake Zurich, in which Julie Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, Clara Zetkin and others participated.

In Zurich, Engels lived at the home of his cousin, Anna Beust, whom he described as "one of the most beautiful old women".[55] In order to relax from the eventful and at the same time fatiguing days in Zurich, and to gather strength for the further journey, Engels travelled for 6 days with Bebel and the publicist and co-founder of the Polish Socialist Party, Stanislaw Mendelson, to the Berne Oberland. Then, accompanied by Bebel, he set out again on 4 September for Vienna, via Munich and Salzburg.

With the public appearance of Engels at the Congress of the International, "the tone was set for his whole journey", and his intention "of travelling purely as a private individual was completely upset".[56] In Vienna, he had to take part immediately in two large meetings. On 11 September there was a banquet in his honour. Since only 600 comrades could take part, the Viennese hosts decided on a popular assembly on 14 September. Thousands of Socialist workers of Vienna made the meeting into an

impressive demonstration for Socialism and for proletarian internationalism. Engels, accompanied by Bebel, Victor Adler and Louise Kautsky, was greeted by a jubilant storm of welcome when he entered the hall. The fact that the police officer authorized to be present forbade Engels' election to the honorary presidium could not diminish the enthusiasm. Roaring approval greeted the chairman's declaration that Frederick Engels should in that case "assume the place of honour in the meeting".[87]

Engels took the floor after Adler, Bebel and Louise Kautsky had reported on the Zurich Congress and the editor of the Viennese *Arbeiter-Zeitung* had addressed the meeting. As in Zurich, and later in Berlin, he began with the statement that it was his fate to harvest the fame due his friend and comrade, Karl Marx, and he accepted the ovations in that sense. In view of the successes of the Socialist movement in Austria, Germany and other countries, he declared with complete optimism and the certainty of victory: "Everything that is going on in the whole world takes us into account. We are a Great Power which has to be feared, upon which more depends than on any other Great Power. I am proud of that! We have not lived in vain and can look back on our work with pride and satisfaction."[88] This meeting with Engels and with the leader of German Social Democracy, August Bebel, greatly encouraged the workers of Vienna in their struggle for democratic voting rights, a struggle which was reaching a high point precisely in those September days.

A small and seemingly insignificant episode during Engels' stay in Vienna showed his deep humanity, his sympathy and his efforts to help particularly the young people in the movement and the women, who had to overcome additional prejudices in the struggle for emancipation of the working class. Engels knew from Adelheid Dworak, a Viennese factory worker and a delegate of Austrian Social Democracy whom he had already met in Zurich and had taken into his heart, that she was constantly abused and treated in a hostile manner by her mother because of her political activity. Together with Bebel, he visited Adelheid's mother. He wanted to try to change her mind, to awaken understanding in her for the conduct of her daughter and thereby to lighten the latter's life. He did not succeed, but in her reminiscences the Austrian Socialist recalled these efforts of Engels with gratitude.[89]

On 15 September of 1893, Engels continued on to Berlin via Prague. He arrived in Berlin on 16 September and was heartily welcomed at the station by Ignaz Auer, Richard Fischer, Wilhelm Liebknecht and the latter's sons.

On 17 September, the *Vorwärts* published an address of welcome which declared, among other things: "When Frederick Engels, with his 73 years, today looks out on the capital city of the *Reich*, it may give him a joyful and elevating feeling that out of the calcified and pedantic royal residence of the king of Prussia of the year 1842 has developed the powerful proletarian native city which today greets him as–*Social Democratic Berlin.*"[90]

On 20 September the *Vorwärts* issued invitations to a great function "to honour the pioneer and fellow-fighter of Social Democracy, Frederick Engels, who is present in Berlin for a short period".[91] The gathering was to take place at the Concordia, a festival hall in Andreasstrasse. Twenty-four hours later all the 3,000 invitation cards were gone. At the festival on 22 September, 4,000 functionaries and members of the Social-Democratic movement took part, including the Party executive and–according to the police archives–Franz Mehring, Bruno Schoenlank, Arthur Stadthagen and other well-known personalities of the labour movement.

Wilhelm Liebknecht's address was the main event of the festive gathering. To the applause of those present, he declared in reply to the talk of the bourgeois and conservative newspapers about a "personal cult" in Social Democracy: "There is no personal cult involved ... Anyone who has performed his duty wholly and completely, who has contributed so much for the cause of the proletariat, deserves recognition and thanks. And we would be ungrateful and mean wretches if we failed to offer thanks for loyal and fruitful fulfilment of duty. We thank our Engels."[92] Liebknecht recalled Engels' 50 years of tireless theoretical and practical work for the revolutionary workers' movement. Wherever the struggle unfolded, whether in Italy, France, England, America or Germany, his influence could be

found. Liebknecht assured his listeners that the German, as well as the international, workers' movement had the will and the strength to execute Marx's political testament "to a T".[65]

The extremely warm reception moved Engels so much that he too spoke briefly, although it was not scheduled in the programme. He referred to the complete transformation of Berlin into an industrial city and recalled that although 50 years previously nobody in Berlin had yet known what Social Democracy was, it had now received almost 160,000 votes in the last elections and had won 5 out of 6 *Reichstag* seats. He referred also to his impressions of his trip along the Rhine and directed the attention of his listeners to the close connection between capitalist development and the growth of Social Democracy. He wound up his address with the optimistic declaration "that German Social Democracy is the most united, the most closely knit, the strongest in the whole world and is advancing from victory to victory, thanks to the calm, the discipline and the good humour with which it is carrying on its struggle." He added: "Comrades, I am convinced that you will continue to do your duty, and so I close with the call: *Hurrah for international Social Democracy!*"[66] The Berlin Social-Democrats joined enthusiastically in the cheers. Then many comrades took advantage of the opportunity to exchange a few words with Engels.

Engels utilized his Berlin stay at the same time to get to know what was for him a new Berlin and to visit friends and comrades-in-arms. He developed warm relations with Natalie Liebknecht and especially with Julie Bebel, who supervised his needs as his hostess. Clara Zetkin also accompanied him on his walks and drives across Berlin.

On 28 September 1893, Engels left Berlin for Hanover, where he met Ludwig Kugelmann during a short stay, and arrived in London again on 29 September in the company of Louise Kautsky.

His trip had become a triumph, a triumph for scientific Communism. It was his last major journey, and it left him with an unforgettable impression of the strength and maturity of the proletarian movement. For him, for those accompanying him and for all those he had met, it represented moving days and weeks.

In direct contact with the revolutionary workers of Austria and Germany he had been able to establish with satisfaction to what extent the teachings of scientific Communism had already become the general property of the revolutionary section of the working class. The Socialist workers, in turn, who had been fortunate enough to see and hear him, admired the revolutionary passion, the faithfulness to principles of the almost 73-year-old workers' leader, and at the same time his human warmth and his modesty. More than ever, Engels was convinced, after his trip, that with such workers as he had come to know in Zurich, Vienna and Berlin, led by strong Marxist Parties, there was no goal that was unattainable.

The Working Class Needs Allies

The growing strength of the revolutionary workers' movement on the one hand and the declining stability and growing aggressiveness of the exploiting system on the other hand, increased the power of attraction of the workers' Party on other social forces. The concentration of the industrial proletariat in the newly arisen modern industrial centres of Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Belgium and other countries broadened the social basis for implementing Marxism, but the speeded-up process of the proletarianization of petty-bourgeois elements at the same time also enlarged the social basis for the streaming of petty-bourgeois forces into the workers' movement, especially in the countries in which, as in Germany, there was no influential democratic petty-bourgeois party.

Engels assessed the influx of members of the petty-bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the peasantry into the proletarian Party as an expression of the fact that the working class and its Party had actually become the leading social force and was increasingly being recognized and accepted as the bearer and trailblazer of social progress. The opportunist forces, on the contrary, deduced from this social and political development, in marked contradiction to the proletarian character of the workers' Party and the aims it had set itself, that the revolutionary class Party of the proletariat should be transformed into a popular petty-bourgeois Party *(Volkspartei)* and thereby renounce carrying out the historical mission of the working class. Engels, who had fought for half a century for the creation of the revolutionary Socialist workers' Party, for its Marxist foundations, its clear class character and revolutionary unity, warned again and again against those pseudo-Socialists and half-Socialists pushing into Social Democracy for various reasons. He proposed that these "gentlemen should first be more sharply scrutinized in terms of their ability and character".[65]

He had paid close attention to the fact that at the end of the 1880's and the beginning of the 90's some Social Democratic Parties had developed into mass Parties. German Social Democracy, as the strongest section of the international workers' movement, in the mid-nineties had about 150,000 members. Engels was aware of the fact that this would create new problems in Party work. An incomparably greater number of Party members than in the earlier years now had to be educated as class-conscious Socialists in the shortest possible time. Engels was convinced that the mass Parties coming into existence and the Parties growing in numbers could solve this task if they had a Marxist leadership core based on the proletarian forces and a reservoir of workers steeled in class struggle. He relied on the leading Marxist forces and the consciousness and activity of the members coming from the working class and was certain that these would curb the opportunist forces within the Social Democratic Parties, and when necessary, remove them from the Party's ranks. The co-founder of scientific Communism saw the struggle against opportunist elements and concepts—and that remained so until the end of his life—as a vital task of the Party. Again and again

he emphasized that the working class and its Party could fulfil their historical mission only through a consistent class policy. And he vigorously opposed the opportunist efforts to cast doubt on the class character and the revolutionary proletarian unity of the Party when he declared at the end of 1894, as he had already done in a circular letter 15 years earlier: "In our Party there is place for individuals from every class of society, but we have no use whatever for any groups representing capitalist, middle-bourgeois or middle-peasant interests."[96] "Equality of rights" as between opportunists and Marxist concepts in the Party, no matter in what form, was for Engels unimaginable. He saw in the strength and loyalty to principles of the revolutionary workers' Party the most important preconditions for a successful proletarian class struggle, for the preparation of the working class for the Socialist revolution, just as he also saw the attainment of a democratic republic as the most important stage along that road.

The more the strategy and tactics of the struggle for power moved into the foreground, all the greater became the importance of the questions of allies for the working class in the struggle for democracy and Socialism. Engels and Marx had concerned themselves with this question from the 1840's on. In the *Communist Manifesto*, in the *17 Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* and in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* they had shown the conformity between the interests of the workers and peasants and other strata in the fight for a bourgeois-democratic German nation-state and had been uncompromisingly in favour of the expropriation of the big landowners and for the compensation of the small peasants and land workers for the injustices done to them over the centuries. In a study on *The German Peasant War*, Engels had recalled the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the peasantry, and in the succeeding decades had constantly directed the attention of the working class to its natural ally. Now, however, at the end of the century, in view of the existing or developing mass proletarian Parties, the issue was not only that of the democratic, but also of the Socialist perspectives of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

In 1894, Engels wrote: "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."[97] This task confronted the entire international workers' movement. But varied aspects of the agrarian problem came to the fore in each of its national sections.

Needless to say, the Socialist workers' Parties had their main bases in the cities, where the political decisions had to be fought out. But even in the developed capitalist countries such as Germany, half the population still lived on the land in 1895. Historical experiences and strategic considerations made clear what Engels forcefully kept telling his comrades-in-arms in the various countries: for the success of the proletarian class struggle it was necessarily of decisive significance what position the population in the countryside took up. If the exploiting class succeeded in maintaining the agrarian districts as a bulwark of reaction against the Socialist labour movement, then decisive social forces for the democratic struggle against the Prussian-German military state would remain inactive; then also the fight of the working class for a Socialist society would be made a great deal more difficult. If, on the contrary, the Socialist Parties succeeded in mobilizing the land proletariat for the class struggle and in drawing the peasant population away from the influence of feudal reaction, and winning it as an ally of the working class, then the democratic struggle could be carried on with much greater intensity, then the conquest of political power and the Socialist transformation of society could be achieved much more easily and with fewer sacrifices.

Engels noted that the Socialist movement was gaining entry even into countries still economically backward. The Social-Democratic Parties of Denmark, Rumania, Hungary and Italy were especially confronted with the agrarian problem on a large scale and therefore sought discussions on this complex of questions with the other Socialist Parties. For Russia the peasant question was of even greater significance.

In his last years, Engels therefore pushed the question of alliances as a theoretical problem and a practical task more

and more into the foreground of the controversy within the workers' movement. This was further accentuated by the fact that in the 1890's, especially in France and Germany, the increasing concentration of capital in agriculture also led to an aggravation of dissatisfaction among the peasants. The peasant, until then "a factor of political power . . . largely only by his apathy, which has its roots in the isolation of rustic life",[68] began to move politically. The small and middle peasant looked for a way out of the menace to his existence which the capitalist development brought him. The real opportunity thereby arose for the Socialist Parties to draw the population in the countryside into the struggle against the large landowners and the big bourgeoisie, as well as against their exploiting state.

The Marxist *Parti ouvrier* in France, the "classical land of small peasant economy"[69], was the first Socialist Party to develop a special agricultural programme. Engels called the agricultural programme adopted by the Marseilles Party Congress in 1892, which demanded reforms for land workers, small peasants and tenants, a practical basis for a policy of alliance with the peasants. Two years later, however, in September of 1894, the Congress of the *Parti ouvrier* at Nantes adopted an agricultural programme which did indeed describe small-holding ownership as "irretrievably doomed", but in contrast to that declaration bound the Socialists not only "to maintain the peasants themselves tilling their patches of land in possession of same as against the fisk, the usurer and the encroachments of the newly arisen big landowners", but also "to extend this protection to the producers who as tenants or share-croppers . . . cultivate the land owned by others and . . . exploit day labourers"[70]. Engels spoke out against this because here basic ideas of Marxism were given up. When the Socialist Party, he wrote, declares itself to be even for the protection of the property of those share-croppers who employ day labourers, then that is more "than most people outside of France will be able to swallow".[71]

In Germany, the agrarian question was also on the agenda of the Party Congress, which met in late October of 1894 in Frankfurt-on-Main. Engels assumed that the Party Congress of German Social Democracy would work out a Marxist viewpoint,

since Bebel had assured him in August: "I agree with your concept with regard to our position towards the peasants."[72] In the same letter, Bebel had proposed that the Party demand the joining together of the peasants in cooperatives, as well as the expropriation of the large landowners and the church estates.

Nevertheless, Engels' expectations were not fulfilled. Georg von Vollmar was able to persuade the Party delegates at Frankfurt to adopt a resolution in which not the Marxist but an opportunist concept of the agrarian question was dominant. Von Vollmar referred to the agrarian programme of Nantes, and in addition, to Engels, who, he pretended, had supported that programme. He exaggerated the special features of agricultural development as against that in industry, argued that the future belonged, not to the big but to the small agricultural holdings, and that as a result the private small peasant holding would be the basis of the future Socialist agriculture. He therefore demanded of the Social-Democratic Party that together with the reactionary state, it should provide unlimited protection to the small peasant holding as "the line of development towards Socialism."[73] By contending that the socialization of the means of production could not be carried out in agriculture, he showed that he attributed only a partial significance to the theory of the class struggle and of Socialism, namely, for industry. The opportunists thereby attempted to launch attacks on the principles of Marxism via the agriculture question in order to lend the aura of validity to opportunism in the Party. For that reason Engels considered it to be his duty to enter the controversy personally, particularly since Bebel urged him to do so. Bebel, who did not have the opportunity to speak again at the Frankfurt Party Congress by a resolution terminating the proceedings, informed Engels that Vollmar "endeavoured to cover his opportunist policy with your authority".[74]

In a short press declaration, Engels then established the contradiction between his and Vollmar's views. "If one wants to maintain the small peasant permanently, then in my opinion one seeks to achieve the impossible, sacrifices principle, becomes a reactionary",[75] he wrote in the *Vorwärts*. At the same time he announced an article in which he would set forth his view. Even

before his declaration appeared in the *Vorwärts*, Bebel sharply challenged the opportunist forces and views inside the Party. He did that in an address at a Berlin workers' meeting. "It was high time, too,"[78] Engels commented.

Engels' declaration and Bebel's public stand brought about a most bitter controversy between Marxists and opportunists in German Social Democracy. When Liebknecht sought to hush up the antagonisms, Engels placed himself squarely behind Bebel, who he said, was "absolutely right". Vollmar's "peasant policy" goes "even beyond the petty-bourgeois to the *right*".[79] And Engels added: "You say, V(ollmar) is not a traitor. Perhaps . . . But what do you call a person who proposes that a proletarian Party should make permanent the present condition of the Upper Bavarian large and middle farmers, owners of 10–30 hectares, which has as its basis the exploitation of servants and day labourers. A proletarian Party created expressly for the perpetuating of wage-slavery! The man may be an anti-Semite, a bourgeois democrat, a Bavarian separatist, I don't know what; but a Social Democrat?"[80]

When Engels at first wanted to react in a reserved manner to the agricultural programme of Nantes, he was aware that after the misuse of this programme in Germany it was no longer possible to pass over the question in silence. He wrote to Lafargue: "In Nantes, what you were up to was the sacrificing of the future of the Party to the success of a single day."[81] He underscored Bebel's public stand and the latter's viewpoint that the Party was becoming bourgeoisified. "That is the misfortune of all extreme Parties as soon as the hour comes when they are 'possible'. But ours cannot in this respect go beyond certain limits without betraying itself, and it seems to me that in France and in Germany we have reached that limit. Fortunately, there is still time to call a halt."[82]

Engels tackled the question at once. In late November of 1894 his polemical work, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*, appeared in the *Neue Zeit*. It led the agricultural discussion back again to the basic problem, from which the opportunists sought to detach the question of alliances, that is to say, back to the struggle for political power by the working class. At the same

time, directing his fire against pseudo-radical views which rejected alliance with the peasants in general, Engels emphasized the necessity for the working class of winning the peasants, who all over Europe, with the exception of Great Britain and the East Elbe region, were "a very essential factor of the population, production and political power".[84] He added: "No lasting revolutionary transformation is possible *against* the small peasant."[85]

In previous works, especially in his treatment of the German Peasant War, Engels had above all emphasized the revolutionary-*democratic* traditions of the peasantry. But now that the opportunists were attacking the principles of scientific Communism, he was forced to work out the Socialist perspectives in agriculture, in the first place. All the single steps in the policy of alliance with the peasants had to be evolved from these perspectives.

Engels concentrated in his first article on the position and the future of the small peasants. In the small peasants, that is to say, the owners or tenants "of a patch of land no bigger, as a rule, than he and his family can till, and no smaller than can sustain his family", Engels saw a "toiler who differs from the modern proletarian in that he still possesses his instruments of labour"[86]. In contradiction to the false opportunist analyses and illusions, Engels pointed to the economic and social laws which operated in agriculture also. Large-scale capitalist production, he emphasized, had cut off the main artery of the small peasant holding and would roll over it "as a train rolls over a pushcart".[87] To demand the maintenance of small holdings, he held, was simply stupidity which could only "directly block the way of the peasants to their emancipation".[88] He emphasized that there was only "one salvation", namely, for the peasants "to introduce large-scale production themselves, not for the account of the capitalists but for their own, common account".[89] The task of the workers' Party with regard to the small peasants, in Engels' view, was to lead them to cooperative production, "not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose".[90] That, however, presupposed that "we are in possession of state power".[91] With regard to sectarian views, Engels declared emphatically: "We of course are decidedly on the side of the

small peasants . . . because we consider the small peasant living by his own labour as virtually belonging to us . . . The greater the number of peasants whom we can save from actually being 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. It will serve us nought to wait with this transformation until capitalist production has developed everywhere to its utmost consequences." The material sacrifice required for that "is . . . an excellent investment because it will effect a perhaps tenfold saving in the cost of the social reorganization in general".[89]

In contrast to the opportunists, Engels analyzed the relations of the working class to the various sections of the population on the land and its perspectives in a very differentiated manner. He wrote: "Of course a workers' Party has to fight in the first place on behalf of the wage-workers, that is, for the male and female servantry and the day labourers. It is unquestionably forbidden to make any promises to the peasants which include the continuance of the wage slavery of the workers."[90] Engels showed that Socialism, however, also offered big peasants with a perspective, namely, through "the pooling of farms to form 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 enjoying equal rights and duties can be instituted."[91]

Only in the case of large landed property was the situation perfectly simple, Engels declared. "As soon as our Party is in possession of political power, it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors just like the manufacturers in industry. . . The big estates thus restored to the community are to be turned over by us to the rural workers who are already cultivating them and are to be organized into cooperatives . . . And the example of these agricultural cooperatives would convince also the last of the still resistant small-holding peasants, and surely also many big peasants, of the advantages of cooperative, large-scale production.

"Thus we can open up prospects here before the rural proletarians as splendid as those facing the industrial workers."[92]

Engels considered the winning of the farm labourers east of the Elbe for the Socialist movement to be a crucial task of Social Democracy. "But once we have the East-Elbe rural workers, a different wind will blow at once all over Germany . . . The 'picked regiments' of the Prussian army will become Social-Democratic, which will result in a shift in power that is pregnant with an entire upheaval."[93]

By giving priority in his polemic to the Socialist perspectives of agriculture, Engels contributed equally to the rebuff given the opportunist attacks on the theoretical basis of the Party and to opening the road for the Marxist solution of the question of alliance with the peasantry. Although German Social Democracy did not understand how to fully make use of Engels' advice, it was nevertheless of fundamental importance for the international revolutionary workers' movement that Engels, one year before his death, once again proved that the working class, including the working class of the developed capitalist states, needs allies for its struggle for power, and in the first place, the working peasants. Engels' arguments refute the allegations of certain imperialist ideologists that the peasant question was "tacked" on to Marxism by Lenin. The truth is that Lenin, when dealing with the peasant question, was rather able to take up directly the views and principles of the founders of scientific Communism when, in accordance with the new conditions of the struggle, he further developed Marxism.

In his work, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*, Engels summarized the knowledge Marx and he himself had gained in five decades of theoretical and practical work, related it to the new phenomena already appearing in the countryside during the transition to imperialism, and developed those principles of Socialist agricultural policy which the victorious working class successfully put into practice in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution and later in the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist countries.

When Engels orientated the Socialist Parties especially on winning the peasants as allies in the struggle for democracy and Socialism, he occupied himself frequently with the question as to what attitude the revolutionary workers' movement

should have towards the intelligentsia. Naturally, he was aware that under capitalism, due to the bourgeois monopoly on education, the well-educated people came almost completely from non-proletarian strata and, owing allegiance to bourgeois ideology, were loaded down with prejudices. But long years of experience had taught him that in the bourgeois intelligentsia there were humanist and democratic traditions, and he worked to waken these democratic traditions, to maintain them and to transform them into social activity.

In his last years, Engels occupied himself especially with the relationship of the working class to the intelligentsia in connection with the approaching Socialist future of society. In this question he based himself on the preconditions confirmed by history: "Once we have a sufficient number of supporters among the masses, the big industries and the large-scale latifundia farming can be rapidly socialized provided we hold the political power. The rest will follow shortly, sooner or later. And we shall have it all our own way in large-scale production."[94] Naturally, this social transformation and its leadership was in the first place the task of the working class and its revolutionary Party. But Engels on a number of occasions pointed out to Bebel that the consolidated proletarian class Party, in which Marxism had won the day, can and must pursue an active policy of alliance towards the intelligentsia. He wrote to Bebel: "In order to take possession of and set in motion the means of production, we need people with technical training, and masses of them ... and I foresee that in the next 8 or 10 years we shall recruit enough young technicians, doctors, lawyers and schoolmasters to enable us to have the factories and big estates administered on behalf of the nation by Party comrades."[95] The revolutionary workers' Party, therefore, in Engels' view, had to prepare itself both for the struggle to win political power and for the exercising of power and the management of Socialist production. In his address to an international congress of Socialist students, he wrote in December of 1893:

"May you succeed in your efforts to awaken among the students the awareness that out of their ranks the intellectual proletariat will emerge which is called upon to play a significant role in the coming revolution at the side of and in the midst of his brothers, the manual workers.

"The bourgeois revolutions of the past demanded of the universities only lawyers as the best raw material for politicians; the liberation of the working class requires in addition doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other specialists; for what is involved is the taking over of the management, not only of the political machinery, but equally of the entire social production, and what is needed here, instead of high-powered phrases, is solid knowledge."[96]

Auguries of a New Age

Engels was a much sought after adviser in the international working-class movement in a double sense: firstly, he incorporated in his person a half century of the revolutionary struggle of the workers' movement and for that reason alone he had an enormous treasury of experiences. Lenin wrote: "His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German Socialists, whose strength, despite Government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by the 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."[97]

Secondly, information ran together in house number 122 in Regent's Park Road from the various national sections of the international working-class movement. For the individual Parties it was a strong backing when he judged their road of development and their practical struggle from the international viewpoint and measured them on the basis of the subjective standards of social laws. What that meant in his daily routine was described in a letter to Laura Lafargue in 1894: "I must follow the movement in five large and a number of smaller countries of Europe and in the USA. For that purpose I receive 3 German *daily newspapers*, 2 English, 1 Italian and as of 1 January the Vienna daily newspaper, making 7 altogether. I receive 2 *weekly newspapers* from Germany, 7 from Austria, 1 from France, 3 from America (2 in English, 1 in German), 2 Italian and 1 each in Polish, Bulgarian, Spanish and Czech; of these, three are in languages which I am only now slowly learning. In addition, there are visits by various people . . . and an ever greater number of correspondents—more than at the time of the International!—Many of them expect long declarations, and all of them consume time."[98]

Engels at all times considered the international working-class movement as an integrated social force which had to operate on the basis of Marxism, and in which the young workers' organizations which were still weak in numbers, as well as politically and ideologically, also bore a responsibility for the future of the overall proletarian movement. He assured Paul Lafargue: "Of course I will do my best to further guarantee the close alliance between the German Party and your Party in France."[99] He meant that equally to cover every contact which he negotiated between the existing Socialist Parties. He thanked Pablo Iglesias by letter "for the regular sending of *El Socialista*, which I read with pleasure every Saturday evening and from which I see that your organization is gradually spreading across all of Spain."[100] He informed Sorge that "he also received the Rumanian (Munca) and Bulgarian (formerly Rabotnik, now Socialist) papers" and was working "his way gradually into the languages".[101] As late as 13 April 1895, he regretted that, because of overwork, it was impossible for him to write "a few words for the Bulgarian comrades" on the occasion of May Day. He "would have gladly written something *special*,

under other circumstances, for the Bulgarians as the latest supporters of Socialism".[92] In an article written at the request of Filippo Turati he presented his views on the theme, *The Future Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party*. And when the Socialists of Sicily founded their own newspaper, he wrote a message of greetings at the request of the editor, Francesco Colnago.

In Engels' letters and writings in these years he repeatedly said how much he wished that Marx was still at his side. Not that he shied away from the enormous burden of work. He was accustomed to it. Above all he missed the consultations with Marx on the very varied, extremely complicated problems which had to be weighed thoroughly and on which an opinion had to be worked out. Nobody saw the scope of his tasks more clearly, or the possibilities of satisfying all the wishes and demands served on him more critically, than Engels himself. All the more does what he was able to accomplish at his age command our admiration–as theoretician, writer, propagandist and also as adviser to the Socialist workers' movement which now spanned the continents.

In his last years, Engels still occupied himself constantly with problems of political economy, of philosophy and of the lessons of the class struggle and of the proletarian revolution. His economic studies were concentrated on the completing of *Capital*, but were not restricted to that. On 4 October 1894 he was able to finish his preface to the third volume. He had devoted nine years to the completion of the volume which deals with the overall process of capitalist production and its contradictoriness, sifting the sections left behind by Marx in most cases only in the form of raw outlines, arranging everything anew, working it over for publication and making indispensable additions.

Engels combined the creative presentation of Marxist political economy with its vigorous defence against bourgeois attacks and attempts at falsification. Especially in the preface to the third volume, in letters and in polemical articles–for example, in the one to Lujo Brentano–he refuted the enemies of Marx. Engels not only viewed Marxist political economy as

the foundation of Marxist theory, but considered it to be the decisive means for the practical political struggle of the working class. For that reason he did not limit himself to the publication and defence of Marx's views. At the same time he paid close attention to the changes affecting the capitalist economy. He also established that there was a growing concentration and centralization of capital, in both the production and commercial fields, saw therein the increasing socialization of production, as expressed, for example, in the preponderance of the joint-stock companies, and recognized the development of monopolies as the determining trend of capitalism. He had already outlined the basic elements of that development in his critique of the Erfurt Draft Programme of 1891: "Production by *separate* entrepreneurs . . . is increasingly becoming an exception. Capitalist production by *joint-stock companies* is no longer *private* production but production on behalf of many associated people. And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolize whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness*."[93]

Lenin later referred specifically to these and other statements of Engels in his work, *The State and Revolution*, and declared with great respect: "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."[94] Engels could not as yet recognize monopoly capitalism as an overall system or analyze its significance for the proletarian class struggle. That was left to Lenin. The latter's praise of the theoretical contribution of Engels, and above all his creative elaboration of Engels' ideas–in contrast to all the bourgeois attempts to oppose Marx and Engels to Lenin–nevertheless show the continuity of the views held by the founders of scientific Communism and by their brilliant pupil, Lenin.

Shortly before his death, Engels planned, in two articles to be written for the *Neue Zeit*, "to make some important additions to the text (of Capital) written in 1865 to fit the state of affairs in 1895".[95] Engels was still able to complete one

of these articles, entitled, *Additions and Supplements to Volume III of Capital*, in which, in a polemic against the bourgeois attacks, he described the relationship between the law of value and the rate of profit. The other article, which was to deal with the changed role of the Stock Exchange, he could only sketch out in a synopsis. In this article he wanted to concern himself more closely with the new development tendencies of capitalism, for example, the gradual transformation of industry into joint-stock enterprises. He wrote: "One branch after another suffers this fate. First iron, where giant plants are now necessary (before that, mines) . . . Then the chemical industry, likewise. Machinery plants . . . The textile industry . . . Then the trusts, which create gigantic enterprises under common management (such as United Alkali). The ordinary individual firm is more and more only a preliminary stage . . .

"Likewise in trade . . .

"Likewise banks and other credit institutions . . .

"The same in the field of agriculture . . .

"Now all foreign investments in the form of shares . . .

"Then colonization. Today this is purely a subsidiary of the stock exchange, in whose interests the European Powers divided Africa a few years ago . . ."[186]

Thus Engels, who unflaggingly continued his work on problems of political economy–as his supplements show–was able to discover important new phenomena in the development of monopoly capitalism, although in the 1890's these had not yet fully emerged.

This work on political economy was for Marx and Engels–in accordance with the character of scientific Communism–always closely bound up with problems of dialectical and historical materialism, which *Capital* demonstrates most convincingly. In the last few years of his life, Engels also intensively investigated questions posed by the materialist view of history, especially the application of the interaction of economics, politics and ideology to social life. He regretted that he could not find time to write about this complex of problems "in the exactly worked out manner for the public which I should have done".[187] But he laid down his line of thought in concentrated form in the so-called philosophical letters of his old age, a distinct group of letters which he wrote between 1890 and 1895 to Joseph Bloch, Walter Borgius, Paul Ernst, Franz Mehring, Conrad Schmidt and Werner Sombart. These letters, in which Engels basically enriched the Marxist philosophy, were closely associated with the struggle against idealism and opportunism, the representatives of which in those years worked more vigorously than ever against scientific Communism. They developed anti-Marxist conceptions both in the political and the social and ideological fields and attempted to falsify Marxism. Here it became routine for them to misrepresent the materialist view of history of Marx and Engels as economic and automatic determinism and thereby to attribute to Marxism a fatalistic negation of the active role of human beings and their ideas.

Engels sharply refuted this method of falsifying Marxism, still popular today, and in a detailed manner explained the dialectical materialist view of historical development. Above all, he showed how human beings themselves shape history as a process subject to certain laws, and demonstrated how, on the basis of production as society's economic foundation, the other elements of social life–philosophy and further areas of ideology–actively operate. He declared: "According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life."[188] But that did not signify that "the economic situation produces its effects automatically."[189] He added: "It is not that the economic situation, the *cause*, is *alone active*, while everything else has only a passive effect. Rather is it a reciprocal action on the basis of the economic necessity which *in the final instance* always wins out."[190] Only thus, Engels emphasized, can history be understood. Its investigation and exposition demands the bringing together and development of all the elements involved in the interacting process, not isolated from the economic conditions and laws which ultimately determine them, but on the basis of these economic conditions and laws. Engels constantly reiterated: "Men make their history themselves, but . . . on the basis of the actual existing condi-

tions, under which the economic factors, no matter how much they may be influenced by the other political and ideological factors, are nevertheless in the final instance decisive and represent the red thread running through them that alone leads to understanding them."[111]

Proceeding from these principles, Engels combated all representatives of bourgeois ideology who wanted to attribute a vulgar automatic economism to Marxism and pretended that scientific Communism held that the economy and the economic situation *alone* were the active elements in historical development. "What these gentlemen all lack," Engels said sarcastically, "is dialectics. They always see only here cause, there effect. That this is a hollow abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, while the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction—though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, most primordial, most decisive—that here everything is relative and nothing absolute—this they never begin to see. As far as they are concerned, Hegel never existed."[112]

In connection with the exposition of the dialectical interaction of basis and superstructure, Engels developed further the teaching on the active role of the superstructure. He showed in what way and to what extent the basis influences the superstructure, but also showed that, on the other hand, the various elements of the superstructure actively influence the course of historical processes. He thereby explained, at the same time, how the superstructure reacts back upon the basis. In 1892, in his introduction to the English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels for the first time used the concept of "historical materialism to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another."[113]

In the philosophical letters of his last years, Engels directed attention to the growing role of subjective factors in the further

development of the proletarian class struggle, in which it was not only a question of organizing the proletariat and its leadership by the revolutionary Party, not only a question of its strategic and tactical activity, but also of the ideological education of the working class. Precisely because of the stepped-up attacks of the opportunist forces on Marxism, and because of the increasingly mass character of the labour movement, which was approaching the decisive class battles, it became more necessary to conduct the class struggle consciously in an all-sided manner, that is to say, on all levels. The role of ideology was thereby enormously increased.

Engels attributed decisive significance in this struggle to the spreading of the works of Karl Marx. He considered this task by no means exclusively as a moral duty towards his dead friend but as an urgent necessity for the political and ideological development of the international workers' movement, since the works of Marx made clear the principles on which the Socialist workers' movement was based and on which it had to develop further.

Engels endeavoured at all times to tie this up with the current problems of a given national workers' movement. Thus in 1892, in a preface to the second Polish edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, he dealt with the role of Poland and of the Polish working class, and in the introduction to the English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* he analyzed the development of materialism and the situation of the English workers' movement. In 1894, in his preface to the brochure, *Internationales aus dem 'Volksstaat' (1871–1875)*, he declared "that the approaching disintegration of capitalist society in the West will also bring Russia into a situation which will substantially shorten its inevitable capitalist phase."[114] And in his epilogue to *On Social Relations in Russia* he showed the inevitability of the revolution in Russia, which "will also give a fresh impulse to the labour movement in the West, creating for it new and better conditions for struggle and thereby advancing the victory of the modern industrial proletariat".[115]

Early in 1895, on the proposal of the *Vorwärts* publishing house, Engels began to prepare Marx's *Class Struggles in*

France, 1848 to 1850, for republication. It had appeared originally in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. The plan fitted in with his ideas of preparing a biography of his dead friend, step by step, by way of various individual studies. For that reason he was also convinced that Marx's article of 1850 could appear again only with an introduction in which he wished to say "why we were then justified in reckoning with an approaching and final victory of the proletariat, why it did not turn out that way and to what extent events have contributed to the fact that we see things differently today than we did at that time".[116]

He wrote this introduction from mid-February until the beginning of March. In the first part, he described the theoretical significance of the work, especially for the application of historical materialism and for the theory of revolution of the working class, and sketched the role which Marx's studies had played in the controversies about the lessons to be drawn from the revolution in 1848–1849. Engels then declared that history had clearly demonstrated "how impossible it was in 1848 to win social transformation by a simple surprise attack"[117], because "the state of economic development on the continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production".[118]

In the second part of his introduction, Engels investigated the question as to which strategy and tactics the revolutionary workers' movement in general and German Social Democracy in particular had to follow in the new situation at the end of the 19th century in order to prepare the working class for victory in the Socialist revolution. First he declared that the industrial revolution in Germany in the previous five decades "has created a genuine bourgeoisie and a genuine large-scale industrial proletariat and has pushed them into the foreground of social development,"[119] and the class struggle had thereby attained an intensity inconceivable in the middle of the 19th century. From modest beginnings, the revolutionary workers' movement had developed into "one great international army of Socialists, marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organization, discipline, insight and certainty of

victory", massed behind the "*one* generally recognized, crystal-clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the ultimate aims of the struggle".[120]

From these changed conditions, Engels drew concrete conclusions for the struggle of the working class for political power. He came out against the workers' leaders who flirted with anarchism and did not understand that the Party had to exploit all the possibilities of bourgeois legality, without at any time ruling out the illegal struggle. Both methods of the proletarian class struggle, equally justified and equally necessary, had to be observed in order to win new masses of people for the struggle for democracy and Socialism. "Where it is a question of the complete transformation of the social organization, 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." They must "understand what is to be done."[121]

For these reasons, Engels declared, the activity of the Party in explaining and organizing, in schooling and teaching the masses of workers takes on great significance. In the parliamentary tactics of the revolutionary proletariat he also saw a new and effective form of struggle in which the working class utilizes "the state institutions in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is organized,"[122] precisely in order to combat this bourgeois state. At the same time, Engels warned the German Party that the constantly growing electoral successes of the Socialists create such a great danger for the ruling classes that they would one day set aside the bourgeois legal system they had themselves created and resort to violent actions and bloody provocations against the working class.

While the Socialists, Engels declared, had to utilize bourgeois democracy in every way to strengthen the Socialist movement, he nevertheless held uncompromisingly to the principle: "Of course, our foreign comrades do not thereby in the least renounce their right to revolution."[123] On the contrary, the best method of preparing for the "decisive day"[124], including offensive street battles, was to utilize all the possibilities of the legal struggle and to brace oneself for the illegal struggle, which

might possibly soon be necessary. Engels wrote: "The irony of world history turns everything upside down ... The Social-Democratic overthrow, which just now is doing so well by keeping the law," can only be overcome by the ruling classes and their so-called Parties of Order "by an overthrow which cannot live without breaking the law".[125]

Engels declared with great emphasis that these tactics, expedient for the moment, as a result of the policy of the exploiting classes, might possibly have to be changed overnight. Commenting on the standpoint he had elaborated in the introduction, he wrote unequivocally to Lafargue: "These tactics, however, I preach only for the *Germany of today*, and then *only with substantial qualifications*. For France, Belgium, Italy, Austria these tactics are not suitable in their totality, and in Germany they can tomorrow already become inapplicable."[126]

In his introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Engels showed himself again to be an outstanding strategist and tactician of the proletarian class struggle. He once again substantiated why the working class must cleverly combine the struggle for democracy with the struggle for the Socialist revolution, but must also always subordinate the former to the latter. He demonstrated in a convincing manner why the selection of the tactical methods and forms of struggle always depends on the concrete historical situation and why the peaceful forms of revolutionary activity, which the working class prefers, must immediately be replaced or supplemented by non-peaceful methods of struggle the moment the exploiting classes resort to violence and civil war.

Engels had hardly sent off his Introduction to Berlin for publication when he was forced to defend his point of view. The ruling classes in Germany in the spring of 1895 attempted to rush through a bill against the Social-Democratic Party, which then became notorious under the name of *Umsturzvorlage*, or Subversion Bill. In the face of this situation, Engels with great reluctance agreed to tone down some of the formulations in his text so that it would provide the justice officials with no pretext for action against the Socialist movement. But he wrote warningly:

"I cannot assume, however, that you plan to bind yourselves to absolute legality, legality under all circumstances, legality also towards the laws broken by their sponsors, in short, the policy of turning the left cheek to anyone who slaps your right cheek ...

"I am of the opinion that you will win nothing by preaching the absolute renunciation of striking out. No one believes it, and *no* Party in any country goes so far as to renounce the right to resist illegality with weapons in hand."[127]

In the *Vorwärts*, however, a leading article appeared with excerpts from Engels' still unpublished Introduction, "*without my prior knowledge* and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price".[128] Engels was outraged and approved Kautsky's proposal that the text of the introduction be immediately published in the *Neue Zeit*, to wipe out "this disgraceful impression"[128]. The brochure that then appeared also carried the text as Engels had approved it–a document which even in the revised form unreservedly breathed the spirit of Marxism.

Engels, of course, could not foresee that his Introduction would soon after this death be shamefully misused by the protagonists of bourgeois views in the German and the international workers' movement whose chief spokesman was Eduard Bernstein. When they launched their crusade against the revolutionary scientific principles of the Party in the name of a "revision of Marxism", they claimed to be basing themselves on Engels and referred to his Introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* as his alleged "political testament". It was especially nefarious, for many reasons, that Bernstein made himself the spokesman for this falsification.

Bernstein, who in 1895 enjoyed open house at Engels' home, knew best of all that Engels, in the writing of his Introduction, did not have the faintest intention of making it into his "political testament". Engels was in the midst of scientific and publicist plans and suspected nothing of the insidious sickness which would soon cut him down. Further, Bernstein knew better than almost anyone else the reasons which had led Engels, against his will, to allow his Introduction to be given such a form

through cuts–but without reducing its revolutionary content in the least–which would not offer even the most raging enemy of the Socialists a pretext for provocations against the Party. More than that: it was Bernstein himself who for decades preserved Engels' original, completely unabridged manuscript of the Introduction, but keeping it a secret from the public. Above all, Bernstein knew, as an eye-witness, that to his last breath, and in his last big scientific work, namely, this Introduction, Engels remained true to everything for which he had worked all his life together with Marx: the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiting order and for the liberation of the working class and all working people through the Socialist revolution. Engels' Introduction to the *Class Struggles* was eloquent testimony of that fact.

Today, imperialist, rightist Social-Democratic and revisionist ideologists still keep following in Bernstein's tracks when they claim that Engels in 1895 had said the revolutionary road for developed industrial countries was outmoded and that he had assigned Social Democracy the task of developing itself into a *Volkspartei*, a people's Party. Such misrepresentations, admittedly, express very exactly the wishful thinking of the monopoly bourgeoisie, but they contradict the basic views of Engels, for whom it was "disgraceful" to be looked upon as a "peaceful worshipper" of the bourgeois state.

Sick Bed and Death

Engels had begun his eighth decade full of the joy of living, brimming with energy and bristling with numerous scientific plans. Even after his seventy-fourth birthday, as he wrote with satisfaction, he was filled with creative power and was "fresh and quick on my feet"[130]. And yet he had to admit: "This is my position: 74 years, 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 . . . then we should soon be all right."[131]

Again and again he spoke in his letters of his plan "to write at least the chief chapters out of Mohr's political life: 1842-1852, and the International. The latter is the most important and urgent. I intend to do it first."[132] At the same time, as he wrote to the German workers' leader, Richard Fischer, he

was occupied with the plan "to bring the smaller things of Marx and myself before the public again in a *collected edition*, and *not* in parts but in whole volumes."[133] That, however, made it necessary to make a thorough search and evaluation of all of Marx's literary remains, and no less of his own papers. He found it very opportune, therefore, when Franz Mehring in the spring of 1895 asked if he "could help out in turning up old works of Marx for republication", and he agreed "very gladly and with thanks".[134]

It testified to his freshness and vigour that in 1894 he had even taken upon himself the ordeal of moving his household. His housekeeper, Louise Kautsky, had married Dr. Ludwig Freyberger in 1894, and since Engels, as he confessed to his brother Hermann, "had no inclination" in his "old age to deliver myself into the hands of strangers",[135] he agreed to the move. A few hundred feet closer to the city they found a larger, three-storey house, in which Engels installed his workroom and bedroom on the first floor up. The Freybergers occupied the second floor. Thus Louise Freyberger was able to continue to look after him and was ready at any moment to help him with his correspondence and scientific work.

The Freybergers were concerned about Engels' health, and with reason, but at times he groaned at what was in their opinion a "house and stomach order suitable for an old gentleman"[136] to which he had to subordinate himself. To Victor Adler, who was himself a medical doctor, he reported good-naturedly: "I follow a diet according to rules, treat my digestive canal like a surly, bureaucratic superior to whose tune one must always dance, and permit myself to be wrapped up, warmed and in general to be mistreated in all directions against coughing, bronchial catarrh and the like, all in the manner suited to a fragile old man."[137] To Sorge he wrote more seriously: "Between us, the 75th isn't starting off as sturdily as its predecessors."[138] Illness and increasing physical fragility could not, however, discourage Engels. He confronted them with his self-discipline and his awareness of his duties. His lively spirit and his revolutionary passion remained unbroken. "But the developments must help us to maintain our



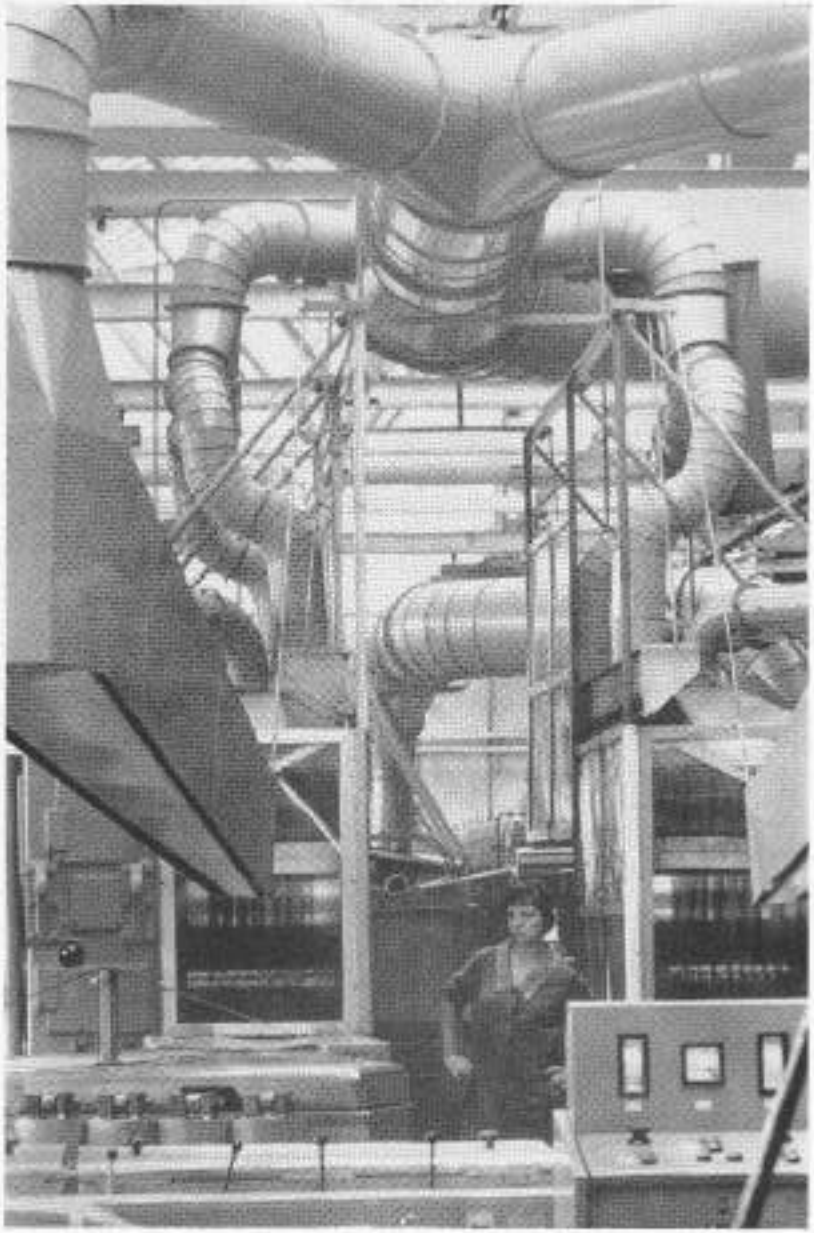
Lenin at the unveiling of a memorial to Marx and Engels in Moscow on 7 November 1918



The Marx-Engels Museum in Moscow



Commemorative stone for Frederick Engels in Wuppertal
with a wreath placed there by participants
in the Engels Forum of the German Communist Party
on 23 May 1970



The "Friedrich Engels" nationally-owned chemical fibres plant at Premnitz (GDR)



A group of combines harvesting grain along industrial lines at the "Friedrich Engels" cooperative farm at Schafstädt, Merseburg district (GDR)



Historical room at the Friedrich Engels barracks
in Berlin, capital of the GDR



A statue of Frederick Engels was unveiled
in the "Friedrich Engels" military academy in Dresden
in October 1969



An international scientific conference was held
in Berlin, capital of the GDR,
on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Frederick Engels' birth.
Jean Burles, member of the Central Committee
of the French Communist Party
and Director of the Central Party College
took the floor as representative of the FCP

vitality; all of Europe is in ferment, everywhere crises are maturing, especially in Russia. There things cannot long continue as they are. All the better."[139] That is how he wrote to Lavrov at the end of 1894. He hoped "still to remain alive long enough for this and that, especially if the gentlemen in Berlin, as it almost seems, want to play with a bit of a constitutional conflict . . . That can only suit us. Up and at them!"[140]

Much as Engels loved life, and believed he had something yet to expect from it, he did not fear death. He wrote to his friend Paul Stumpf at the beginning of 1895 that he had "a great desire just to get a look into the new century", and added: "Around the first of January 1901 I will then, however, be totally used up, and then let it happen".[141]

This wish was unfortunately not destined to be fulfilled. In March of 1895 he again suffered from a "spring" illness, an illness which, as he wrote, "for the last 4–5 years now regularly paralyzes me for weeks at this time of the year".[142] Soon a swelling on the right side of the neck became noticeable. The "disgusting neck gland swelling with much pain and forced sleeplessness", which made Engels "almost totally unfit for work"[143], was cancer of the oesophagus, as his doctor knew, and developed rapidly. Engels, however, realized nothing of the character of his illness.

In the first half of June, hoping to find improvement in the sea air, he travelled to Eastbourne, which he knew so well. He enjoyed the stay at the seashore but the pains grew worse and soon became torture. Nevertheless, he followed political developments with undiminished attention, concerned himself with the personal problems of his friends and fellow-combatants, gave advice, offered help and above all drafted plans for work which he still hoped to complete. Even when he was forced to reduce his correspondence drastically from what it had been in former years, he nevertheless found the strength, despite all the pains and disabilities, to write at least 75 letters in the first half of 1895, letters which, alongside private matters, dealt with problems of the working-class movement in England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Spain and the USA, or with philosophical and economic problems.

Although always involved in living, he had already made all the necessary arrangements in the event of his death. Originally, he had made Marx his sole heir, but had prepared a new testament after the latter's death in which he named as his heirs Marx's daughters, Laura and Eleanor, as well as the children of Jenny, the oldest daughter of the Marxes who was now dead, and Helene Demuth. Two years before his death, Engels drew up his last testament, dated 29 July 1893, to which he added a codicil on 26 July 1895. Under this testament, Marx's daughters, Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, each received ⅝ of his estate, of which ⅓ was in each case to be held for the under-aged children of Marx's oldest daughter, Jenny Longuet. In this manner he guaranteed the future security of the children and grandchildren of his friend. The remaining ¼ of his estate, including his household things, he left to Louise Kautsky-Freyberger. In addition, he left a substantial sum to his wife's niece, Mary Ellen Rosher, née Burns, and stipulated that the German Social-Democratic Party should receive £1,000 (then 20,000 marks). "See to it, then above all, that you get the money," he wrote on 14 November 1894 to Bebel and Paul Singer, "and when you have it, that it does not fall into the hands of the Prussians. And when you have settled this matter, drink a bottle of good wine on it—do it in my memory."[144]

Engels left Marx's correspondence, as well as all letters written to Marx, to Eleanor Marx-Aveling. He named Bebel and Bernstein as his literary executors. He had no idea that Bernstein, shortly after his death, would betray the legacy of Marx and Engels. He turned over his large library to the German Social-Democratic Party.

On 23 July, while still in Eastbourne, Engels wrote hopefully to Laura Lafargue: "There seems to be at last a crisis approaching in my potato field in my neck, so that the swellings may be opened and relief secured. At last! So there is hope of this long lane coming to a turning. And high time it is for with my deficient appetite, etc., I have been pulled down considerably."[145] At the same time he informed Laura about the results of the English elections and told her about the presence

of Victor Adler, who had made use of a holiday from jail to visit his fatally ill teacher and friend once more. At the end of the letter, however, the words slipped out: "I am not in strength to write long letters, so good-bye."[146] It was the last letter that Engels was able to write in his own hand. On 24 July, accompanied by Victor Adler, he returned to London again from Eastbourne. He hoped up to the last moment that he would be able to overcome his illness.

On 3 August, Adler had to leave London. On his trip to Vienna he met Bebel *en route* and reported to him on Engels' condition. Two days later, Bebel wrote to Liebknecht: "When A(dler) arrived there (London), E(ngels) could still speak and did so for half-hour stretches. That is no longer so. He can make himself understood now only through a writing board. He is, nevertheless, still in an optimistic mood, is hopeful and does not realize what is wrong with him, because carcinoma is unthinkable in a man of his age. He still makes bad jokes on his writing board. It is a stroke of luck that this is so. He can only take nourishment in fluid form, and has deteriorated a good deal physically. Until shortly before A(dler)'s departure, he had attended to his bodily needs himself. That too is no longer so. He needs help to dress and undress . . . The situation, therefore, is that his condition can last one more week, but that the catastrophe can just as easily come any day. We must be prepared for it."[147]

On 5 August 1895, Engels had already been prostrated for two days, without consciousness. At about 22.30 his heart ceased to beat. The international working-class movement had lost one of its greatest fighters and thinkers.

At Engels' express wish, only his closest friends, pupils and comrades-in-arms took part in the funeral service, which took place on 10 August 1895 in the waiting room of the Waterloo railway station, Westminster Bridge. Among the approximately 80 guests those present included, in addition to members of the Engels family, Eduard Anseele, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Bebel, Bernstein, the Dutchman van der Goes, Kautsky, Sergei Mikhailovitch Kravchinski (Stepniak), Paul Lafargue, Friedrich Lessner, Liebknecht, Stanislaw Mendelson,

Samuel Moore, the English workers' leader, Harry Quelch, Vera Ivanovna Sassulitch, Paul Singer, the English trade union leader, William James Thorne, deputations from the London Communist Educational Association, the Socialist League and the Berlin workers. At the bier, Samuel Moore and a nephew of Engels spoke, followed by Liebknecht in the name of the German workers, by Bebel, who had been asked by the Austrian workers to be their spokesman, Lafargue on behalf of the French workers, Eduard Anseele as a representative of the Belgian Workers' Party, van der Goes for the Dutch, and Aveling for the English Socialists. In addition, telegrams from Russia, Hungary, Denmark, Italy and other countries were read.

"... We are only a few here," Liebknecht said, "but the few represent millions, represent a world ... which will prepare the end of the world of capitalism ... He was a man who *pointed out the road* to follow, who *led along that road*, a *pioneer fighter* and a *comrade-in-arms;* theory and practice were united in him."[148]

Bebel paid tribute to Engels' role as "the international representative of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries" and voiced the pledge that the battle-cry, "Workers of the world, unite!"–which Marx and Engels had proclaimed half a century earlier, "would increasingly become deed, become the truth," along with the pledge: "not to pause, not to rest until the Bastille of capitalism is destroyed, until the class state is abolished and the association of freemen and equals spans the earth".[149]

Lafargue declared: "The General, as his friends called him, is gone. But the battle in which Marx and he guided us as leaders of the immense army of the proletariat, continues. Inspired by their spirit and the battle-cry, the proletarians of all countries have united. They will continue the work of unifying (the workers) and will triumph in the end."[150]

The coffin, piled high with wreaths and flowers, was transported by a special train to the crematorium in Woking. Engels had desired that the funeral urn be consigned to the sea. On a stormy day, 27 August 1895, Eleanor Marx-Aveling,

Edward Aveling, Bernstein and Friedrich Lessner carried out his last will at Eastbourne, about five sea miles from the coast.

Frederick Engels, however, remains for ever alive in the hearts and in the struggles of the revolutionary workers' movement to which he had dedicated his life. He died with the certainty that the working class, led by its revolutionary Parties, guided by scientific Communism and firmly bound together in proletarian internationalism, would in the near future solve those problems with which history had confronted it: its own emancipation and the liberation of all mankind from exploitation, oppression and war, the construction of a Socialist order and the creation of Communism.

It was the young Russian workers' movement, the development of which Engels had followed with great attention and hope, and which he had in many ways supported, that two decades after his death was the first to begin the solution of this world-historic task under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and the Party of the Bolsheviks and that, with the Great October Socialist Revolution, ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the world-wide transition from capitalism to Socialism.

A few weeks before Engels' death, Lenin met Laura and Paul Lafargue in Paris. He was not to have the opportunity to meet Engels, whom he honoured as one "of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat".[151] But in his obituary on Engels, unique for its depth of thought, he paid tribute to the latter's life and work and emphasized that the knowledge of his life and work was a part of the class-consciousness of the international working class. And when, a quarter of a century later, the first memorial dedicated to Marx and Engels was unveiled in the centre of the world's first Socialist state, in Moscow, it was again Lenin who described the work and legacy of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels with the simple but deeply respectful words: "It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they proved by scientific analysis the inevitability of capitalism's collapse and its transition to Communism, under which there will be no more exploitation of man

by man. It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they indicated to the workers of the world their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* working and exploited people."[52]

Postscript

The most important sources for this biography were the works of Marx and Engels published by Dietz Verlag on behalf of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the first volume of the *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (History of the German Labour Movement). The authors have also endeavoured–to the extent possible in a popular scientific biography–to assess and draw upon the wealth of biographical and historical literature devoted to the life and work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. They have more particularly made use of the reminiscences about Marx and Engels published in Berlin in 1964 under the title, *Mohr und General;* of the Marx biography by Franz Mehring; of the Marx biography edited in 1968 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU; of the popular scientific biography of

Karl Marx brought out in 1967 by Dietz Verlag for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the SED Central Committee; of the Engels biography by E. A. Stepanova, which was published in a German translation in 1958; and of a two-volume Engels biography by Gustav Mayer published in the Hague in 1934. These are publications dealing with the whole life-work of Frederick Engels in detail or in a more concise manner. Volume I of the *Geschichte der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie in Deutschland* (History of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in Germany), which was edited by Matthäus Klein, Erhard Lange and Friedrich Richter in Berlin in 1969, was another valuable source for the present biography.

The authors acknowledge themselves also to be indebted to Auguste Cornu's and Horst Ullrich's detailed studies of the young Engels; to publications devoted to Engels and Marx by Lothar Berthold, Hans Bochinski, Siegfried Bünger, Luise Dornemann, Ernst Engelberg, Herwig Förder, Ursula Herrmann, Hellmut Hesselbarth, Heinz Hümmler, Bruno Kaiser, Hans Koch, Georg Mende, Wolfgang Mönke, Helmut Neef, Karl Obermann, Walter Schmidt, Gustav Seeber, Jutta Seidel, Günter Wisotzki and many others; to the source materials published by Bert Andreas and, particularly, to the results of Soviet research work on Marx and Engels, notably works by I. A. Bach, E. P. Kandel, S. T. Leviova, A. I. Malysh, T. I. Oiserman, O. K. Senekina, B. G. Tartakovski, to name only a few.

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Appendix

Works Cited

In the following list of sources the following abbreviations are used for convenience:

MEW signifies Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Berlin, 1956.

EB 1 signifies *Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil* (Supplementary volume, part I), Berlin, 1968.

EB 2 signifies *Ergänzungsband, Zweiter Teil* (Supplementary volume, part II), Berlin 1967.

MEGA signifies Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Frankfurt/Main (Berlin), 1927.

IMLB, ZPA signifies Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Zentrales Parteiarchiv (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Central Party Archives).

IMLM, CPA signifies Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Central Party Archives.

SW signifies Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in three volumes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1970.

SC signifies Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953.

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Chronicle

1820 28 Nov.	Frederick Engels born at Barmen the son of the cotton manufacturer Frederick Engels sen. and his wife Elisabeth née van Haar
1830 27–29 July	July Revolution in France
1834 Oct.	Engels enters the Elberfeld Gymnasium
1836	In Paris, German proletarian journeymen found the League of the Just, the first political organization of German workers
1837 15 Sept.	Urged by his father, Engels leaves the Gymnasium to work as a clerk
1838 mid-July	Engels goes to Bremen to continue his commercial training
1839 Mar.–Apr.	Engels anonymously publishes his *Briefe aus dem Wuppertal*, his first journalistic work, in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* appearing in Hamburg. This marks the beginning of his col-

	laboration on the *Telegraph* which is to last until late in 1841. Subsequent articles are signed Friedrich Oswald.
May–Dec. 41	Reviews and essays by Engels are published in several literary journals
1840 7 June	Accession to the throne of Frederick William IV in Prussia
1841 late March	Engels returns to Barmen
late Sept.	Engels goes to Berlin for his period of military service. He attends lectures at the local university and establishes contacts with the Berlin circle of the Young Hegelians He publishes an article and two brochures attacking the philosophy of Schelling
1842 12 Apr.–Dec.	Engels contributes to the *Rheinische Zeitung*
early Oct.	Engels returns to Barmen
late Nov.	Engels travels to England to improve his commercial training at the *Ermen & Engels* cotton mill. In Cologne, he calls on the editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on which occasion he meets Marx for the first time
Dec.–Aug. 1844	Engels studies the social and political conditions in England, the writings of the classics of bourgeois political economy, the vulgar economists and Utopian Socialists
1843	Beginning of Engels' free association with Mary Burns, an Irish working-class girl
ca. May–June	Engels gets into touch with the London centre of the League of the Just meeting Heinrich Bauer, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper there
autumn	Engels begins to write articles for the Chartists' paper *The Northern Star* and the Utopian Socialist weekly *The New Moral World*. Beginning of his friendship with the Chartist leader, George Julian Harney, and with Georg Weerth
1844 late Feb.	The first two parts of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which Engels publishes his *Critical Essays in Political Economy* and other articles, appear in Paris
4–6 June	Uprising of Silesian weavers

28 Aug.	Returning home from England, Engels stops over for about ten days in Paris where he calls on Marx Beginning of their friendship and cooperation
ca. 6 Sept.	Engels leaves Paris for Barmen
late Sept.–Mar. 1845	Back in Barmen, Engels works on his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*; he establishes contacts with the Socialists and democrats active in the Rhineland
1845 3 Feb.	Marx, expelled from Paris, makes his home in Brussels
8 and 15 Feb.	Engels addresses two rallies in Elberfeld
late Feb.	*The Holy Family or A Critique of Critical Critique*, Marx's and Engels' first joint work, is published in Frankfort-on-Main
mid-April	Engels moves to Brussels
late May	Engels' work, *The Condition of the Working Class*, is brought out in Leipzig
mid-July	Marx and Engels embark on a six-week fact-finding tour of London and Manchester
1846 Feb.	In Brussels, Marx and Engels found a Communist Correspondence Committee
late Apr.	Marx and Engels meet Wilhelm Wolff
May	Marx and Engels complete the bulk of their work on *German Ideology*. They fail to find a publisher in Germany
15 Aug.	Engels moves to Paris on behalf of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee
autumn	Engels propagates the ideas of scientific Communism at meetings of German workers in Paris and inside the League of the Just
1847 Jan.–Apr.	Engels writes *Die wahren Sozialisten* as a supplement to *German Ideology*
late Jan.	Marx and Engels join the League of the Just
11 Apr.	The Prussian United *Landtag* meets in Berlin
Apr.–May	Crop failures and the resulting famine provoke unrest and revolts in many parts of Germany
early June	Engels takes part in the First Congress of the Communist League in London
early July	Marx's work *The Poverty of Philosophy. An Answer to Proudhon's Philosophy of Poverty* is published in French in Brussels

late July — Engels joins Marx in Brussels

late Aug. — In Brussels, Marx and Engels found the German Working Men's Association

12 Sept.–Feb. 1848 — Engels contributes to the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*

27 Sept. — Engels attends the international banquet of the Democrats at which the Association démocratique is founded

mid-Oct. — Engels leaves Brussels for Paris

late Oct.–Nov. — At the request of the Paris members of the Communist League Engels formulates the *Principles of Communism*

29 Nov.–ca. 8 Dec. — Marx and Engels attend the Second Congress of the Communist League in London. They are charged with working out the League's programme

1848 31 Jan. — Engels, expelled from Paris, arrives in Brussels

22 Feb. — Outbreak of the revolution in France

ca. 24 Feb. — The *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the Communist League's programme, appears in London

4 Mar. — Expelled from Belgium, Marx leaves Brussels for Paris where he arrives with his family on 5 Mar.

11 Mar. — The Central Committee of the Communist League, constituting itself in Paris with Marx in the chair, elects Engels a member in the latter's absence

13 Mar. — Outbreak of the revolution in Vienna

18–19 Mar. — Barricade fighting in Berlin

21 Mar. — Engels arrives in Paris

betw. 21 and 29 Mar. — Marx and Engels work out the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, which are printed as a pamphlet

ca. 6 Apr. — Marx and Engels leave Paris for Cologne where they arrive on 11 April following an intermediate stop in Mainz to make preparations for the founding of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

ca. 15 Apr. — Engels travels to Barmen and to other towns in the Rhineland

18 May — The German National Assembly meets at St. Paul's Church in Frankfort-on-Main

20 May — Engels returns to Cologne from Barmen

22 May — The Prussian Constituent Assembly meets in Berlin

31 May — Publication of the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* dated 1 June. Marx is editor-in-chief of the paper with Engels as his deputy

14 June — Assault on the arsenal in Berlin

23–26 June — Uprising of the Paris proletariat, which is brutally suppressed

after 26 Sept. — Engels, threatened with arrest, has to leave Cologne. He travels to Brussels via Verviers and Liège, then continues his journey across France to Switzerland

6–31 Oct. — Revolutionary uprising of the Vienna population. Victory of the counter-revolution

8 Nov. — Beginning of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia

1849 mid-January — Engels returns to Cologne from Switzerland where he helped organize working men's associations

7 Feb. — Engels is acquitted by the jury of the Cologne Court of Assizes in the trial against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

28 Mar. — The National Assembly, meeting in Frankfort-on-Main, adopts the German *Reich* Constitution

early May — Beginning of armed insurrections in Dresden, the Palatinate, Baden and the Rhineland to defend the *Reich* Constitution against the counter-revolution

10 May–16 May — Engels joins the Elberfeld insurgents after a stop-over at Solingen. He supervises the erection of the defences against the counter-revolutionary troops

18 May — Publication of the last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* dated 19 May

19 May — Marx and Engels travel from Cologne to South West Germany via Frankfort-on-Main

ca. 3 June — Marx goes to Paris on behalf of the Democratic Central Committee

	13 June–12 July	During the insurrection in Baden and the Palatinate Engels fights as aide-de-camp in Willich's volunteer corps
	mid-July–early Oct.	Engels stays in Switzerland
	26 Aug.	Marx, expelled from Paris, arrives in London
	6 Oct.	In Genoa, Engels boards a ship bound for England
	ca. 10 Nov.	Engels arrives in London Admitted as a member to the Central Committee of the Communist League, he takes a leading part in the reorganization of the League and in the preparatory work for publishing a new press organ
1850	6 Mar.–29 Nov.	Six numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* edited by Marx are brought out in Hamburg
	late Mar.	Marx and Engels write the *Address of the Central Committee to the League of March 1850*
	early June	Marx and Engels write the *Address of the Central Committee to the League of June 1850*
	mid-Nov.	Engels makes his home in Manchester to work at the *Ermen & Engels* cotton mill Beginning of his uninterrupted correspondence with Marx
	late Nov.	In Manchester, Engels begins to study military questions in a systematic manner
	late Dec.	Engels begins to learn Russian
1851	May	Arrest of the leading members of the Communist League in Cologne
	aut.–spring 1862	Engels takes over part of Marx's contributions to the *New-York Daily Tribune* beginning with a series of articles on *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*
	Oct.–1852	Continuing his Slavonic studies, Engels immerses himself in the history and literature of the Slavonic peoples. Engels supports the journal *Notes to the People*, which is edited by the Chartist leader, Ernest Jones
	2 Dec.	Coup d'état by Louis-Napoléon
1852	4 Oct.–12 Nov.	Trial against the arrested members of the Communist League in Cologne

	17 Nov.	The London leading circle of the Communist League, complying with a request by Marx, dissolves the League in England and declares that activities on the continent should also cease
1853	May–June	Engels deals with the history of Oriental countries and with the Persian language
	Sept.	Wilhelm Wolff leaves London for Manchester where he makes his home
	4 Oct.–	Russia's war against Turkey (Crimean War)
	30 Mar. 1856	Engels publishes articles about the Crimean War and other international events in the *New-York Daily Tribune* and the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*
	May	Engels tours Ireland along with Mary Burns
	30 July	Georg Weerth dies in Havana
1857		Outbreak of the world economic crisis
	Aug.–Nov. 1860	Collaboration on the *New American Cyclopaedia* which is published in New York
1858		Engels engaged in natural science studies
1859	Apr.	Engels' work *Po und Rhein* is brought out anonymously in Berlin
	19 Apr.–10 Nov.	France and Italy make war on Austria
	May–Aug.	Marx and Engels collaborate on the newspaper *Das Volk* appearing in London
	11 June	The first part of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* is published in Berlin
	6 and 20 Aug.	Engels publishes a review of Marx's book in *Das Volk*
1860	23 Mar.–6 Apr.	Engels stays in Barmen because of his father's death
	Apr.	Engels' *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein* is brought out anonymously in Berlin
	ca. 12–25 May	Engels travels to Barmen to see his ailing mother
	autumn–1861	Engels writes articles on military affairs for the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*, Darmstadt, and *The Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*
1861	Apr.–Apr. 1865	American Civil War Engels contributes articles on the American Civil War to the *New-York Daily Tribune* and *Die Presse*, Vienna

1862 24 Sept. Bismarck is appointed Prime Minister of Prussia

1863 6 Jan. Engels' wife, Mary Burns, dies in Manchester

22 Jan.–Apr. 1864 Uprising in the kingdom of Poland against czarist domination

Marx and Engels begin to work on a brochure devoted to the national liberation struggle of the Polish people, which remains unfinished

23 May Founding of the General Association of German Workers in Leipzig. Ferdinand Lassalle is elected President of the Association

1864 1 Feb.–1 Aug. Prussia and Austria wage war against Denmark

9 May Wilhelm Wolff dies in Manchester

1 July Engels becomes an associate of *Ermen & Engels*

ca. 10 Sept.–mid-Oct. Engels tours Slesvig-Holstein

28 Sept. Constituent meeting of the International Working Men's Association at St. Martin's Hall in London

ca. 24 Nov. The Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association, drawn up by Marx, are published as a booklet in London

late 1864–early 1865 Marx and Engels collaborate on the newspaper *Social-Demokrat*

1865 late Feb. Engels' *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* appears in Hamburg

1866 16 June–26 July War between Prussia and Austria

20 June–6 July Engels publishes a series of articles on the Prussian-Austrian War in the daily *The Manchester Guardian*

3–8 Sept. Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva

1867 5 July Engels travels to Sweden, Denmark and Germany. In Hanover, he calls on Ludwig Kugelmann

2–8 Sept. Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Lausanne

14 Sept. The first volume of Marx's major economic work, *Capital*, is published in Hamburg

Oct.–July 1868 Engels publishes reviews of the first volume of *Capital* in several bourgeois-liberal, bourgeois-democratic and working-class newspapers

1868 Apr. Engels prepares a conspectus of *Capital*

5–7 Sept. Rally of the Association of German Workers' Societies in Nuremberg. On August Bebel's and Wilhelm Liebknecht's initiative, the Association declares its support for the aspirations of the International Working Men's Association

6–13 Sept. Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Brussels

1869 26 Jan. Ernest Jones dies in Manchester

30 June Engels ends his activity as an associate of *Ermen & Engels*

7–9 Aug. Founding congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Eisenach

6–11 Sept. Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Basle

6–23 Sept. Engels tours Ireland with his second wife, Lizzy Burns and Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor

2 Oct. The first number of the *Volksstaat*, the central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, appears in Leipzig. Marx and Engels join the paper's editorial staff

1870 22 Apr. Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) born

May–mid-July Engels works on a lengthy exposition of Irish history, which remains a fragment

19 July Outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War

29 July–18 Febr. 1871 Engels publishes 59 articles on the progress of the Franco-Prussian War in the *Pall Mall Gazette*

1–2 Sept. Battle of Sedan. Defeat of the French troops

ca. 20 Sept. Engels moves to London with his wife

4 Oct. Engels is elected a member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Subsequently, he acts as corresponding secretary for Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Denmark and as a member of the Financial Committee

1871 18 Jan. Proclamation of the German *Kaiser Reich* in Versailles

18 Mar.–28 May The Paris Commune

30 May Marx's address *The Civil War in France* is unanimously approved by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

mid-June–mid-July	Engels translates *The Civil War in France* from English into German for publication by the *Volksstaat*
17–23 Sept.	Conference of the International Working Men's Association in London with Marx and Engels in the chair
1872 late May	The circular letter *Fictitious Splits in the International* drawn up by Marx and Engels is published in Geneva
26 June–22 Feb. 1873	Engels' *The Housing Question* appears as a series of articles in the *Volksstaat* and is also published as a separate print in Leipzig
1–mid-Sept.	Marx and Engels are in The Hague where they attend the Congress of the International Working Men's Association
6 Sept.	The participants in the Hague Congress decide that the seat of the General Council be transferred to New York
1873 late May	Engels works out a concept for his work *Dialectics of Nature*, on which he works intermittently until 1883 without completing it
late Oct.–20 Nov.	Engels stays in Engelskirchen because of his mother's death
1874 June–May 1875	Engels publishes a series of articles entitled *Flüchtlingsliteratur* in the *Volksstaat*
1875 18–28 Mar.	In a letter to August Bebel, Engels explains his own and Marx's stand on the Draft Programme of the German Workers' Party
5 May	Marx sends his *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party* to Wilhelm Bracke who sends them on to Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, August Geib and Wilhelm Liebknecht
22–27 May	Unity Congress in Gotha. Foundation of the German Socialist Workers' Party
1876 May–June 1878	Engels works on his work *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Dühring)*. It is first published as a series of articles in the *Vorwärts* from January to December, 1877, and from May to July, 1878, and then as a book in Leipzig in 1878
1877 24 Apr.–3 Mar. 1878	Russo-Turkish War

1878 12 Sept.	Engels' second wife dies in London
19 Oct.	The German *Reichstag* passes the Anti-Socialist Law
1879 17–18 Sept.	In collaboration with Marx, Engels writes the Circular Letter addressed to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others
28 Sept.	The first number of the *Sozialdemokrat*, the central organ of outlawed German Social-Democracy appears in Zurich. Marx and Engels join the paper's editorial staff
1880 early May	Engels and Marx discuss the programme of the French Workers' Party with Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue in London
summer	Engels' brochure *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique* is published in Paris
20–23 Aug.	Clandestine congress of the German Socialist Workers' Party in Wyden, Switzerland
9–ca. 16 Dec.	Accompanied by August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein pays his first visit to Marx and Engels in London
1881 May–Aug.	Engels publishes several editorials in the trade union paper *The Labor Standard*
2 Dec.	Marx's wife, Jenny, dies in London
1882	Engels begins to put down the results of his long-time historical and linguistic studies in two manuscripts, *Zur Urgeschichte der Deutschen* and *Fränkische Zeit*
1883 14 Mar.	Marx dies in London
17 Mar.	Marx is laid at rest at London's Highgate cemetery. Engels delivers a speech at his graveside
7 Nov.	Engels writes the preface to the third German edition of the first volume of *Capital* after having finished the proof-reading which Marx could not finish
1884 early Oct.	Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* is brought out in Zurich
Oct.	A separate edition of a series of articles by Marx on *Wage Labour and Capital*, prepared and prefaced by Engels, is published in Zurich
1885 Jan.	The first German edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* appears in Stuttgart with a preface provided by Engels

early July	The second volume of *Capital*, prepared for printing and prefaced by Engels, is published in Hamburg
Oct.	Engels' *On the History of the Communist League* appears as an introduction to the third German edition of Marx's pamphlet *Revelations on the Cologne Communist Trial*
1886 Apr.–May	In the *Neue Zeit*, Engels publishes his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* which is published as a revised separate print in Stuttgart in 1888. In an annex, Engels adds Marx's Theses on Feuerbach to this edition
Apr.	Engels' essay *Zur Geschichte der preussischen Bauern* is published in Zurich as an introduction to a separate edition of Wilhelm Wolff's work *Die schlesische Milliarde*
7 Dec.	Johann Philipp Becker dies in Geneva. Engels publishes an obituary notice in the *Sozialdemokrat*
1887 early Jan.	The first volume of *Capital* appears in London in an English translation
May	Engels' work *The Condition of the Working Class in England* is published in New York in an English translation edited and prefaced by the author
1888 Jan.–Mar.	Engels works on the brochure *Die Rolle der Gewalt in der Geschichte* which remains unfinished
June	Engels' introduction to Borkheim's brochure *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten. 1806–1807* appears as a separate print in Zurich
8 Aug.–29 Sept.	Engels travels to the United States and Canada accompanied by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer
1889 Jan.–May	Engels supports the preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Paris
14 July	Opening in Paris of the International Socialist Workers' Congress which marks the founding of the Second International
1890 Feb. and Aug.	Engels' work *Die auswärtige Politik des russischen Zarentums* is published in the Russian journal *The Social-Democrat*. It appears in German in the *Neue Zeit* in April and May
4 May	Engels takes part in the first May Day rally held in London
1–26 July	Engels travels to Norway with Carl Schorlemmer
30 Sept.	Defeat of the Anti-Socialist Law
11–12 Oct.	Congress of the French Workers' Party in Lille
12–18 Oct.	Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Halle
4 Nov.	Helene Demuth, Engels' housekeeper since Marx's death, dies in London
28 Nov.	Engels receives messages of greetings from workers' Parties and organizations in many countries on the occasion of his 70th birthday
1891 Jan.	Furnished with a preface by himself, Engels has Marx's *Marginal Notes* published in the *Neue Zeit*
Mar.	Marx's *The Civil War in France* is published with an introduction by Engels in Berlin to mark the 20th anniversary of the Commune
betw. 18 and 29 June	In preparation for the Erfurt Party Congress Engels sends his *Critique of the Social-Democratic Draft Programme* to the Party executive
16–22 Aug.	Second International Socialist Workers' Congress in Brussels
8–ca. 23 Sept.	Engels travels to Ireland and Scotland along with Louise Kautsky and Mary Ellen Rosher
14–20 Oct.	Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Erfurt
early Dec.	Engels' article *Socialism in Germany* is published by the *Almanac du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. The *Neue Zeit* carries a German version of it in January, 1892
1892	Engels writes a lengthy introduction for the English edition of his brochure *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which is then published in German by the *Neue Zeit* and later translated into other languages
ca. 14 May–1 June	Engels meets Bebel in London to discuss problems of the international working-class movement

	27 June	Carl Schorlemmer dies in Manchester. Engels is present at the funeral
	Nov.	Engels publishes a biographical sketch of Karl Marx in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*
1893	13–14 Jan.	The Independent Labour Party is founded at Bradford, England
	1–10 Mar.	Engels publishes a series of articles entitled *Can Europe Disarm?* in the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Later, it also appears as a separate print
	24 Apr.	Engels attends the funeral in Manchester of his friend, the physician Eduard Gumpert
	1 Aug.–29 Sept.	Engels travels to Germany, Switzerland and Austria
	12 Aug.	Engels takes part in the closing session of the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich delivering the concluding address in English, French and German
	14 Sept.	Engels addresses a large Social-Democratic rally in Vienna
	22 Sept.	Engels addresses a Social-Democratic rally in Berlin
1894	14–16 Sept.	12th Congress of the French Workers' Party
	late Sept.–early Oct.	Engels' essay *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums* appears in the *Neue Zeit*
	21–27 Oct.	Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Frankfurt-on-Main
	late Nov.	Engels' *Die Bauernfrage in Frankreich und Deutschland* is published in the *Neue Zeit*
	early Dec.	The third volume of *Capital*, prepared for printing and prefaced by Engels, is brought out in Hamburg
1895	Jan.	Engels begins to make preparations for the complete editing of Marx's works and his own writings
	14 Feb.–6 Mar.	Engels writes an introduction for a separate edition of Marx's *Class Struggles in France in 1848–50*
	early Apr.	Engels intends to get the fourth volume of *Capital* ready for the press
	mid-June–24 July	Engels pays a last visit to Eastbourne where Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Laura Lafargue, Edward Aveling, Victor Adler and others come to see him
	5 Aug.	Frederick Engels dies in London
	27 Aug.	The funeral urn is consigned to the sea off the Eastbourne coast as was Engels' wish

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