



PORTRAIT OF KARL MARX

A reproduction of a little-known Marx portrait gone in 608

Karl Marx

STRBI-3

KARL MARX

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE

BY

Franz Mehring

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS,
NOTES BY THE AUTHOR, AN APPENDIX PREPARED
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF EDUARD FUCHS ON THE
BASIS OF THE RESEARCHES OF THE
MARX-ENGELS INSTITUTE, A
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND AN
INDEX

TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD FITZGERALD

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THIS BOOK IS THE AUTHORISED ENGLISH TRANSLATION
OF THE GERMAN VOLUME : ' KARL MARX :
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FRANZ MEHRING

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TO CLARA ZETKIN

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE author of this biography was born in 1846 in Pomerania of a well-to-do middle-class family. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig, taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the latter. From the beginning his leanings were democratic and liberal, and when the time came for him to submit himself to the stupidities of the Prussian drill sergeant he left Prussia and went to live in Leipzig, which in those days was "foreign territory". This deliberate revolt caused the breaking off of relations between him and his family. Whilst still a young man he began to take an active part in public life and in the political struggles of the day. At the age of 25 he was a member of the small band of democrats led by Guido Weiss and Johann Jacoby which had sufficient courage to protest openly against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Bismarck after the Franco-Prussian War.

Mehring's chief activities were journalistic and literary, and for many years he was a contributor to prominent liberal and democratic newspapers, and later on an editor. All his life he had a keen sense of justice, and the feeling that injustice was being done was always sufficient to bring him on the scene. He defended Platen against Heine, Lassalle and Bakunin against Marx and Engels, Schweitzer against Bebel, and Bernstein against Liebknecht, and together with Rosa Luxemburg he fought a brilliant polemic against Kautsky and Riazanov. That he was not always on the side of the angels the reader of this book will discover for himself, but wherever he was to be found it was not because he had first considered the consequences to himself, but because his own sense of justice had compelled him with imperative logic.

At about the age of 30 he became a socialist of the Lassallean school, appearing in the arena with a pamphlet against the historian Treitschke. It is to this period of socialism strongly tinged with nationalism that his attacks on Social Democracy and on Marx belong. Like many another well-meaning and liberal-minded man from the ranks of the possessing classes, he approached the working-class movement equipped with democratic and liberal principles and a desire to assist the workers, and he suffered the failure and disappointment which such an approach inevitably brings with it. However, unlike many others, he did not then withdraw to nurse his wounded dignity and bemoan the proletarian lack of gratitude, but, spurred on by his initial failure, he came to grips with the problem and emerged as a Marxist.

It was in 1890 that the final breach with his own class took place. He was then the chief editor of the democratic *Berliner Volkszeitung* and in its columns he resolutely opposed Bismarck's policy and defended the social democrats, who were still being persecuted under the Anti-Socialist Law. His attacks on Bismarck were extremely effective, and the latter answered with a threat of suppression unless the shareholders dismissed the uncomfortable critic. True to those traditions of pusillanimity which caused both Marx and Engels to despair of the German bourgeoisie the shareholders swallowed their democratic principles to defend their economic interests, and Franz Mehring was sacrificed. At the age of 44 he now took the final and logical step and joined the Social Democratic Party.

The period of his greatest literary activity then opened up. The *Neue Zeit*, at that time under the editorship of Karl Kautsky, published many brilliant articles from his pen, including the famous series which appeared in book form in 1893 as *The Lessing Legend*, the classic Prussian history of the Frederician age, and caused Friedrich Engels to write to Kautsky from London declaring that the articles made him look forward with impatience to every new number of the publication. Throughout the years which followed up to the time of his death Mehring's pen produced innumerable articles on philosophic, historical, military, literary and political subjects, and won him a foremost position in the international socialist movement. The chief scene of his activities was the writing-desk, but for all that he was no arm-chair strategist, but a fighter all the time with the sharpest weapons at his disposal, and he used them with all his energy against a powerful enemy.

From the closing years of the last century onwards when the revisionist efforts of Bernstein and his friends undermined revolutionary Marxism in the social-democratic organization and provided the yearnings of its leaders for respectability with a theoretical cloak, Mehring was in the front ranks of those who fought strenuously against a policy which led logically to the collapse of the German working-class movement in 1914. Throughout the war years he remained true to the principles of socialist internationalism and despite his advanced years he spent many months in prison. Together with Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, "the only real men in the social-democratic movement" as he was fond of calling them, he raised aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism in the heroic Spartakist League. He lived to see the first post-war class struggles and the defeat of the revolutionary workers, and he died in January 1919 shortly before his seventy-third birthday, his death undoubtedly being hastened by the terrible tidings which reached him a day or

two before that his two friends Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht had been slaughtered by white mercenaries. With his death German literature lost a brilliant author and trenchant critic, and the German working class lost a great historian and socialist theoretician and the greatest literary man the socialist movement has yet produced.

Artistic or other talent may not in itself be a suitable subject for historical research, but historical conditions render it fit matter for such investigation, and, apart from his historical writings, Mehring's greatest service to the working-class movement was his practical application of the Marxist historical materialist method to cultural and literary problems. In this respect he was a pioneer, for both Marx and Engels very rarely ventured into this field, their time being almost wholly taken up with the more direct economic, philosophical and political phases of the revolutionary movement. How long and how often will socialists continue to regret that Marx finally never did carry out his intention of writing a monograph on Balzac and his *Comédie Humaine*? The significance of Franz Mehring on this field is nowhere better described than in a letter of congratulation written to him on his seventieth birthday by Rosa Luxemburg:

“ . . . For decades now you have occupied a special post in our movement, and no one else could have filled it. You are the representative of real culture in all its brilliance. If the German proletariat is the historic heir of classic German philosophy, as Marx and Engels declared, then you are the executor of that testament. You have saved everything of value which still remained of the once splendid culture of the bourgeoisie and brought it to us, into the camp of the socially disinherited. Thanks to your books and articles the German proletariat has been brought into close touch not only with classic German philosophy, but also with classic German literature, not only with Kant and Hegel, but with Lessing, Schiller and Goethe. Every line from your brilliant pen has taught our workers that socialism is not a bread-and-butter problem, but a cultural movement, a great and proud world-ideology. When the spirit of socialism once again enters the ranks of the German proletariat the latter's first act will be to reach for your books, to enjoy the fruits of your life's work. . . . To-day when intellectuals of bourgeois origin are betraying us in droves to return to the flesh-pots of the ruling classes we can laugh contemptuously and let them go: we have won the best and last the bourgeoisie still possessed of spirit, talent and character—Franz Mehring.”

The biography of Karl Marx which is now presented to the English-speaking reader was the culmination of Mehring's work.

It was first published in Germany in 1918, after long and irritating delays owing to the military censorship, which wished to prevent its publication altogether or permit it only in a mutilated form. Despite the troublous times its success was immediate, and half a dozen editions and many thousands of copies were sold. In 1933, on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Marx, a new edition was published, and it is a translation of this edition which is now before the reader. Franz Mehring dedicated the first edition to: "Clara Zetkin—heiress to the Marxist Spirit" and this first English edition therefore respects his wishes, although since then she too has joined her old friends Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg in the ranks of those who will be "enshrined for ever in the great heart of the working class".

After Mehring's death a new era in Marxist research was opened up with its centre in the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, and many facts unknown to him were brought to light. The fiftieth anniversary edition was therefore brought up to date by means of an appendix prepared under the direction of Eduard Fuchs, an old friend of Mehring and his literary executor. This appendix, which the reader will find at the end of this volume, deals with all points of importance brought to light concerning Marx and Marxism, and in particular concerning the Lassalle-Bakunin polemics, since Mehring's death.

The footnotes to the present edition were added by me in order to assist the English-speaking reader to a better understanding of references which might otherwise have been obscure, but I have kept them as few as possible. The bibliography at the end of this volume makes no claim to completeness, but it is hoped that it will prove of service to those who would like to study Marxism more thoroughly. Some of Marx's works are still untranslated, but these are becoming fewer and fewer, and before long nothing of any importance will be beyond the reach of the English-speaking reader.

The honour of introducing Mehring to the English-speaking public has fallen to me, and I hope that I may be found to have done it not unworthily. However, I feel that a word of apology is necessary for my rendering of the various items of poetry quoted, but here I can claim to be in company with Marx and Engels, for the Muses omitted to place the gift of verse in my cradle too. In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to Elisabeth Kühnen, Eduard Fuchs, Dr. Hans Glaubauß and Frank Budgen for friendly assistance in various ways.

EDWARD FITZGERALD.

AMSTERDAM,

July 4th, 1935.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS book has a little history of its own. When a proposal was made to publish the correspondence which had passed between Marx and Engels, Marx's daughter, Madame Laura Lafargue, made it a condition of her agreement that I should take part in the editorial work as her representative. In a letter from Draveil dated the 10th of November 1910 she authorized me to make what notes, explanations or deletions I might consider necessary.

As a matter of fact I made no practical use of this authorization because no important differences of opinion arose between the editors, or rather the editor, Bernstein—Bebel did no more than give his name to the work—and myself, and I had no occasion, no right and naturally no inclination to interfere with his work in the interests of Madame Lafargue without cogent and urgent reasons.

However, during the long work I did in connection with the publication of the correspondence the knowledge which I had gained of Karl Marx during many years of study was rounded off, and involuntarily I felt the wish to give it a biographical frame, particularly as I knew that Madame Lafargue would be delighted at the idea. I won her friendship and her confidence not because she thought me the most learned or the most sagacious amongst the followers of her father, but because she felt that I had obtained the deepest insight into his character and would be able to portray it most clearly. Both in conversation and in her letters she often assured me that many half-forgotten memories of her home life had become fresh and vivid again from the descriptions in my history of the German Social Democracy and in particular in the posthumous edition which I issued,¹ and that many names often heard from her parents developed from a shadowy existence into a tangible reality thanks to my writings.

Unfortunately this noble woman died long before the correspondence between her father and Engels could be published. A few hours before she voluntarily took leave of life she sent me a last, warm message of friendship. She inherited the great qualities of her father, and I thank her beyond the grave for having entrusted me with the publication of many treasures from his literary remains without having made even the slightest attempt to influence my critical judgment in any way. For instance, she gave me the letters of Lassalle to her father, although she knew from my history of the German Social Democracy how energetically and how often I had defended Lassalle against him.

When I finally began to carry out my intention of writing a

¹ The famous *Nachlassensgabe*. See Bibliography.—Tr.

biography of Marx, two of the stalwart defenders of Zion in the Marxist ranks failed to show even a trace of the generosity of this great-hearted woman. They sounded the horn of moral indignation with all their might because I had made one or two observations in *Die Neue Zeit*¹ concerning the relations of Marx to Lassalle and to Bakunin without first having made the traditional kow-tow to the official party legend.

First of all, Karl Kautsky accused me of "anti-Marxism" in general, and of "a breach of confidence" towards Madame Lafargue in particular, and when I nevertheless insisted on carrying out my intention of writing a biography of Marx he even sacrificed sixty odd pages of *Die Neue Zeit*, whose space was notoriously precious, to an attack on me by D. Riazanov, in which the latter did his best to prove me guilty of the basest betrayal of Marx, and accompanied his efforts with a flood of accusations whose lack of conscience was equalled only by their lack of sense. I have permitted these people to have the last word out of a feeling which for politeness' sake I will not call by its real name, but I owe it to myself to point out to my readers that I have not given way one hair's-breadth to their intellectual terrorism and that in the following pages I have dealt with the relations of Marx to Lassalle and to Bakunin strictly in accordance with the exigencies of historical truth whilst completely ignoring the official party legend. Naturally, in doing so I have again avoided any sort of polemic.

My admiration and my criticism—and both these things must have an equal place in any good biography—have been centred on a great man who never said anything about himself more often or with greater pleasure than "nothing human is foreign to me". The task which I set myself when I undertook this work was to present him in all his powerful and rugged greatness.

My end determined the means which I took to attain it. All historical writing is at the same time both art and science, and this applies in particular to biographical writing. I cannot remember at the moment what droll fellow first gave vent to the extraordinary idea that aesthetic considerations have no place in the halls of historical science, and I must frankly confess, perhaps to my own shame, that I do not loathe bourgeois society quite so thoroughly as I loathe those stern thinkers who, in order to have a smack at the worthy Voltaire, declare that a boring and tiresome style is the only permissible one. In this connection Marx himself is more than suspect with me. With the old Greeks he

¹ *Die Neue Zeit* (*The New Age*), Stuttgart, 1883 to 1923. Under Kautsky's editorship until 1917. Official theoretical organ of the German Social Democratic Party.—Tr.

loved so well he counted Clio one of the nine Muses. The truth is that only those scorn the Muses who have been scorned by them.

If I may assume the agreement of the reader with the form I have chosen for my work I must nevertheless ask him for some forbearance with its content. From the beginning I was faced with one inexorable necessity, that of preventing the book growing too large and at the same time keeping it within the reach and comprehension of at least the more advanced workers. In any case, it has already grown to half as long again as the length I originally planned. How often have I been compelled to content myself with a word when I would rather have written a line, with a line when I would rather have written a page, with a page when I would rather have written a chapter! My analysis of the scientific writings of Marx has suffered in particular from this outward compulsion, and in order to forestall any doubt about the matter I have refrained from giving my book the second part of the traditional sub-title of any biography of a great writer: "The Story of His Life and Works."

There is no doubt that the incomparable stature of Marx is due not a little to the fact that in him the man of ideas was indissolubly bound up with the man of action, and that the two mutually complemented and supported each other. But there is also no doubt that the fighter in him always took precedence over the thinker. The great pioneers of socialism were all in agreement in this respect; as Lassalle once put it, how gladly would he leave unwritten all he knew if only the time for action would come! And in our own days we have observed with horror how right they were. Lifelong followers of Marx, men who had brooded for three and even four decades over every comma in his writings, failed utterly at an historical moment when for once they might and should have acted like Marx and when instead they swung this way and that like quivering weather vanes in a blustering wind.

Nevertheless, I have no wish to pretend that I feel myself called before all others to mark down the boundaries of that tremendous field of knowledge which was Marx's domain. For instance, in order to give the reader a clear and adequate picture of the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital* I appealed to my friend Rosa Luxemburg for assistance, and he will thank her as I do for readily agreeing to assist me. Chapter XII No. 3 "The Second and Third Volumes" was written by her.

I am happy to be able to embody a treasure from her pen in my book, and I am no less happy that our joint friend Clara Zetkin has given me permission to launch my little ship and

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send it out on to the high seas under her flag. The friendship of these two women has been an incalculable consolation to me at a time when boisterous storms have swept away so many "manly and steadfast pioneers of socialism" like dry leaves in the autumn winds.

FRANZ MEHRING.

BERLIN-STEGLITZ,
March 1918.

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A reproduction of a little-known Marx portrait done in oils, probably by a Russian painter, discovered by D. Riazanov. It shows Marx towards the end of his life.
- PROMETHEUS BOUND *facing page 50*
A contemporary cartoon on the suppression of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. It shows Marx chained to the printing press whilst the Royal Prussian eagle gnaws at his vitals. The reactionary Minister of Culture Eichhorn is seen as a squirrel (German : Eichhorn) squatting on a throne in the clouds holding a still-smoking gun, which he has apparently just fired at a flight of birds, presumably symbolizing the unfettered word. At Marx's feet lie female figures symbolizing the Rhenish towns Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Crefeld, Elberfeld, Trier (Trêve) and Coblenz, whose Mayors petitioned Friedrich Wilhelm IV, in February 1843, for the withdrawal of the order suppressing the *Rheinische Zeitung*. The original lithograph appeared in 1843 without any accompanying text, as the prevailing censorship prohibited printed comment on political cartoons.

IN THE TEXT

- CREDENTIALS OF CITIZEN JOSEPH MOLL *page 137*
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- LETTER FROM THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE DEMANDING DELIVERY OF *THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO* *page 141*
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- LETTER FROM THE COLOGNE COMMITTEE TO KARL MARX *page 205*
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- LETTER DRAFTED BY KARL MARX *page 283*
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- MANUSCRIPT PAGE FROM MEHRING'S *KARL MARX* *page 456*
First MS., Chap. XIV, No. 4.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1818 5th May Karl Marx born in Trier (Trèves).
 1835 College Finals in Trier (Trèves).
 1835-6 Student of Jurisprudence at Bonn University. Engagement to Jenny von Westphalen.
 1836-41 Student of Jurisprudence, History and Philosophy at Berlin University. Beginning of his Hegelian studies. Joins Young Hegelian circle: Bruno Bauer, Rutenberg, Ed. Meyen and Köppen. First literary attempts (Poems, etc.).
 1838 Death of Marx's Father.
 1841 Graduation at Jena University.
 1842-3 Contributor to and later editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. Collaboration with Arnold Ruge.
 1843 Marriage to Jenny von Westphalen.
 1843-5 Stay in Paris.
 1844 Issues *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* together with Ruge. Contributor to the Paris *Vorwärts* (H. Börnstein and Bernays). Studies French socialism and communism. Association with Heinrich Heine, Proudhon and others. First meeting with Friedrich Engels. Economic and philosophical studies.
 1845 Expulsion from Paris by Guizot at the instance of the Prussian government.
 1845-8 Stay in Brussels. Collaboration with Engels: *The Holy Family* and the *German Ideology* (Polemic with the Hegelians, Feuerbach, Stirner and the "True Socialists"). Contributions to the *Gesellschafts-spiegel*, the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* and the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*.
 1847 Meeting and Discussion with Weitling. Polemic with Proudhon: *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Joins the Communist League. Lectures on Protection, Free Trade, Wage-Labour and Capital. Visits London for conference of the Communist League. Instructed with Engels to draft communist manifesto.
 1848 Publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. Expulsion from Brussels. Reorganization of the Communist League (Engels, Schapper, Wolff, Stephan Born and others).
 1848-9 In Cologne as the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Meeting with Lassalle and Freiligrath. Visits Vienna: Lectures to the Vienna Workers Association.
 1849 Marx acquitted by a jury in Cologne charged with

- press offences and incitement to armed insurrection. Expulsion from Cologne and suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Visits Paris as representative of German democracy before Paris National Assembly. Expulsion from Paris.
- 1849-83 Exile in London.
- 1850 Engels goes to London and then to Manchester. Issue of the *Neue Rheinische Revue*. Lectures to Workers Educational League in London. Death of youngest son.
- 1852 Death of youngest daughter. Becomes correspondent to *The New York Tribune* (up to 1861). Contributions to Chartist papers. Dissolution of the Communist League. Disputes with German emigrants. The Communist Trial in Cologne. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.
- 1855 Death of Marx's son Edgar.
- 1857-8 Work on *The New American Cyclopaedia*. Correspondence with Lassalle.
- 1859 Publication of the *Critique of Political Economy*. Contributions to *Das Volk*, London.
- 1860 Polemic with Karl Vogt.
- 1861-2 Contributions to *Die Presse*, Vienna.
- 1861 Visit to Germany. Meeting with Lassalle in Berlin.
- 1863 Lassalle founds the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein.
- 1864 Death of Lassalle. Founding of the International Working-men's Association at a meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London. Marx draws up *The Inaugural Address*. Death of Wilhelm Wolff.
- 1865 Breach with the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein after short period of collaboration with Schweitzer's *Sozialdemokrat*. *Value, Price and Profit* lectures. Conference of the International in London.
- 1866 First congress of the International in Geneva. *Der Vorbote* as the organ of the International.
- 1867 First volume of *Capital* published. Second congress of the International in Lausanne.
- 1868 Third congress of the International in Brussels. Bakunin founds the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.
- 1868-9 Growing strike movement in Western and Central Europe.
- 1869 Congress of the German Social Democratic Workers Party in Eisenach. Fourth congress of the International in Basle. "The Confidential Communication" concerning Bakunin.
- 1870 Address of the General Council of the International

- on the Franco-Prussian War. Engels domiciled permanently in London.
- 1871 The Paris Commune. Address of the General Council of the International: *The Civil War in France*. Second conference of the International in London. Co-operation with *Der Volksstaat*, Leipzig.
- 1872 The Hague congress of the International. Expulsion of Bakunin. General Council of the International moved to New York. Speech of Marx in Amsterdam.
- 1873 Pamphlet against Bakunin: *l'Alliance de la démocratie socialiste et l'Association internationale des travailleurs*. Serious illness of Marx.
- 1875 Amalgamation of the German workers parties in Gotha. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.
- 1876 Death of Bakunin.
- 1877 Collaboration with Engels in *Anti-Dühring*.
- 1878 Proclamation of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany.
- 1879-83 Marx seriously ill.
- 1881 Death of Frau Jenny Marx.
- 1882 Journey to Algiers and France. Death of Marx's daughter Jenny.
- 1883 14th March Death of Karl Marx.
- 1885 Second volume of *Capital* published.
- 1894 Third volume of *Capital* published.
- 1895 Death of Friedrich Engels.

APPENDIX

THE preface to the first edition of Mehring's biography of Marx is dated March 1918. The work is therefore based on the material which had become available up to the beginning of 1918. Mehring's preparatory work, if one takes this expression in its wider sense, occupied, one may say, the whole of his life as a Marxist writer, or practically three decades since the beginning of the 'nineties. His *History of the German Social Democracy*, his editing and publishing of the Posthumous Edition, his collaboration in the publication of the Marx-Engels Correspondence, and a wealth of minor writings on Marxist and related matters all belong to this period of preparatory work. One has only to consider what was known about the life and works of Marx and Engels before Mehring in order to realize that Mehring laid the basis and sketched the general outlines.

Mehring's biography of Marx comprises and concludes a whole epoch of Marxist research—if we adopt such a concise term for the tremendous theme represented by the lives and writings and the political and organizational activities of Marx and Engels in relation to the economic, political, literary and philosophic development of their day—an epoch in which Mehring was certainly not the only figure, but equally certainly the greatest one. In addition this comprehensive work was given a classic literary form.

The main part of the biography of Marx was written during the war years, whilst its author was active as one of the founders and pioneers of the Spartakist League, the predecessor of the Communist Party of Germany. This fact is important as an indication of the political standpoint adopted by Mehring in his work, and it can be seen in particular in his description of the attitude of Marx and Engels towards war and towards the practical forms in which they were faced with it, above all in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1. In the form of history Mehring had much to say concerning the Marxist attitude towards war and towards its various historical forms which could no longer have been said legally in a direct and critical fashion, and even within the limits of historical representation the military censorship compelled him to adopt many detours and circumlocutions in order to arrive at his aim.

Franz Mehring died in January 1919, and since then a new stage in Marxist research has begun whose centre is undoubtedly the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow founded by D. Riazanov and directed by him for many years under the auspices of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. With the assistance of a large staff of collaborators great masses of new material have been collected, classified and edited. After 1918 many governmental, police and other archives were opened up, archives which had previously been completely closed to all investigations or which were open only to such investigators whose anti-Marxist attitude was beyond all doubt. The collected works of Marx and Engels being published by the Marx-Engels Institute are already far progressed and include a complete

and authentic edition of the correspondence between Marx and Engels. In addition there are the textual publications and investigations of the Marx-Engels Archives, the publication of the literary remains of Lassalle and the correspondence between Lassalle and Bismarck by Gustav Mayer, the latter's work on the early writings of Engels, the publication of the "Confession" of Bakunin and other important material on Bakunin taken from the Russian archives, and the painstaking search through archives and libraries in the Rhineland, in London and in Paris, etc.

However, not only has the material itself tremendously increased, but the historical horizon of Marxist research has been tremendously widened as a result of the revolutionary upheavals whose starting-point was the Russian Revolution in November 1917, as a result of the first historical appearance of a State based on the proletarian dictatorship and destined to be more than the historical episode represented by the Paris Commune, and finally as a result of the fact that the basis of bourgeois society has been shaken and in part shattered. In the light of these tremendous historic events Marxist questions have often taken on quite a different significance and form than they had in the period when the capitalist system of society enjoyed comparative stabilization. "Theory" became practice, the "word" became "flesh".

The present stage of Marxist research is still a long way from its end. The study of details will continue for many years still and any comprehensive work on the whole of the present stage of research will remain impossible for a very long time to come. Its basis will naturally be the complete publication of the collected works and correspondence of Marx and Engels. In the meantime, the work which concludes and sums up the period of Marxist research from 1890 to 1918—the Mehring biography of Marx—is indispensable.

The aim of this appendix is to make the reader acquainted as far as its brevity permits with the most important points which have been raised since by the texts of Marx and Engels, the new documents which have been published and the results of later research.

It would go far beyond the limits of this popular biography to quote all details and even then it would at the present stage be no more than patchwork and could not satisfy the stern demands of scientific accuracy and comprehensiveness, whilst at the same time it would disturb the classic unity of form which Mehring gave to his work.

Here and there Mehring's standpoint must be altered in important respects and in accordance with the general aim of his book this will be done objectively and not polemically and critically.

1. THE PREPARATORY WORK FOR MARX'S DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

The collected works of Marx and Engels being published by the Marx-Engels Institute (hereinafter briefly referred to as CW) make Marx's preparatory work for his doctoral dissertation on "The Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Natural Philosophy" available to the public for the first time. The preparatory work was begun in Berlin in the winter of 1839, and it shows still more

clearly Marx's independence of Hegel even at that time. The work confirms what Engels declared in later years in answer to the question of A. Woden, a young follower of Plechanov, "Whether at any time Marx was a Hegelian in the actual sense of the word?" Engels answered, "that precisely the dissertation on the difference between Democritus and Epicurus makes it possible to assert that right at the beginning of his literary activity Marx, completely mastering the Hegelian dialectical method and not yet compelled by the progress of his own work to transform that method into the materialist dialectical method, nevertheless showed complete independence of Hegel precisely on that field where Hegel was undoubtedly at his strongest, namely, on the field of the history of thought. Hegel gives no reconstruction of the immanent dialectic of the Epicurean system, but a number of careless extracts from this system, whilst Marx gave a reconstruction of the immanent dialectic of Epicureanism, but without in the least idealizing it, and exposing its sparse content as compared with the Aristotelian system. Engels then explained in detail the great difference between the attitude of Marx to Hegel and the attitude of Lassalle to Hegel, pointing out, that Lassalle 'never emancipated himself from his relation as a pupil to Hegel'. . . . Engels also recalled that Marx had intended to occupy himself still further with the history of Greek philosophy, and that even shortly before the end Marx had spoken to him on the subject, whereby he did not conceal his preference for the materialist systems, and based himself chiefly on the dialectic of Plato and Aristotle, and—from the newer philosophy—Leibniz and Kant." (A. Woden, *On the Threshold of Legal Marxism, The Annals of Marxism.*)

Particularly interesting in this preparatory work is the severe criticism of the idea of individual immortality as represented by the antique "Philistine" Plutarch, the praise of the "really Roman epic poet", materialist and enemy of the Gods, Lucretius, and further the proclamation of the coming attack by philosophy on the existing world:

"Just as there are junctions in philosophy which raise it to concreteness in themselves, which embrace abstract principles in a totality, and thus interrupt the straight line of progress, so there are also moments in which philosophy, no longer comprehending, but like a practical person spinning intrigues with the world, leaves the pellucid orbit of Amenthes and throws itself on the bosom of the mundane siren. . . . but like Prometheus who stole fire from heaven and began to build houses and settle down on the earth, philosophy which has extended itself to the world turns against the world of phenomena. This is what the Hegelian philosophy is now doing" (CW, I, i, p. 172).

The suggestion is already present that philosophy which turns against the world of phenomena and takes up the struggle against it must change its own form. And Marx quickly comes to the conclusion that in order to fulfil itself philosophy must liquidate itself.

And finally, a fruitful seed for future materialist development is contained in the observations of Marx concerning the "philosophic historical writings". In every philosophic system one must differ-

entiate "the definitions themselves, the constant real crystallizations, from the proofs, the justification in conversations, and the representation of the philosophers, as far as they know themselves" (CE, I, i, p. 143).

Later on, as an historical materialist, Marx proceeds still further to the differentiation between what a certain historical epoch thinks about itself, its "ideology", and what it really, materially is.

2. THE CRITIQUE OF THE HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY OF LAW

This has been published for the first time in CE, I, pp. 403-63. Its editors assume that it was written from March to August 1843, that is to say, after the resignation of Marx from the editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. In their introduction to the earlier works of Marx and Engels (Karl Marx, *Historical Materialism, etc.*, Alfred Kröner, Leipzig, 1932.) S. Landshut and I. P. Mayer seek to prove that the work must be given an earlier date and that it was practically finished in March 1842 when Marx offered it to Ruge for publication in his *Anekdotia Philosophica*.

The great significance of this work, which was primarily intended by Marx as an attempt to get straight with himself on the issue, consists in three things. First of all in the discovery of the inverted "mystical" process of Hegelian idealistic dialectic, secondly in the discovery that not the State, as Hegel contends, but "bourgeois society" is the source of historical development, and thirdly in the contention that the bourgeois republic is itself an unsolved contradiction which not only fails to realize the real community of humanity but intensifies its opposite to the extreme, and that the basis of the bourgeois State in all its forms is private property.

First of all concerning the "logical pantheistic mysticism" of Hegel:

"Reality (with Hegel) becomes a phenomenon, but the idea has no other content apart from this phenomenon. It has also no other purpose but the logical one 'of being the eternal real spirit in itself'. This paragraph contains the whole mystery of the Hegelian philosophy of law and of the Hegelian philosophy in general" (p. 408).

"It is important that everywhere Hegel makes the idea the subject, and the actual real subject, for instance, "political opinions", the predicate. Development, however, proceeds always on the side of the predicate" (p. 416).

"The only aim (of Hegel) is to find 'the idea' in itself, the 'logical idea' in each element, whether it is the State, or nature, whilst real subjects, in this case the 'political constitution', become merely their names, so that only the appearance of a real recognition is present. They are and remain unconceived because they are not conditions conceived in their specific essence" (p. 412).

"He (Hegel) does not develop his thought from the thing, but the thing according to a completed thought at one with itself in the abstract sphere of logic. The aim is not to develop the definite idea of the political constitution, but to arrange it as a link in its own history (as an idea), an obvious mystification" (p. 415).

“Just because Hegel proceeds from the predicates of the general definition instead of from the real Ens (*ὄντως-μενον*, subject) and nevertheless a basis for these definitions must exist, the mystic idea becomes this basis. This is Hegel’s dualism; he does not regard the general as the real essence of the real-finite, i.e. the existing, definite, or the real Ens (being) as the real subject of infinity” (pp. 426-7).

Thus Marx critically dissolves the mysticism of the Hegelian idealist dialectic, lays bare its process in all its details, and demands a dialectic based on reality, that is to say, a materialist dialectic. This represents a tremendous and fundamental advance not only on Hegelian idealism, but on all idealism, whilst still retaining the “rational”, that is to say, material nucleus of the Hegelian dialectic. Thus an advance beyond Feuerbach also.

The State and bourgeois society: “What is therefore the power of the proletarian State over private property? The special power of private property itself, its essence brought into existence. What remains to the political State in contradiction to this essence? The illusion that it determines where it is itself determined” (p. 519).

“Private property is the general category, the general State bond” (p. 530).

The contradiction of the representative constitution, of formal democracy: “The representative constitution (compared with the corporative) represents a certain progress because it is the frank, unfalsified and logical expression of modern State conditions. It is the unhidden contradiction” (p. 492).

The contradiction as it is expressed in the deputy: “They are formerly deputized, but immediately, they are really so they are no longer deputies. They are supposed to be deputies, but they are not” (p. 542).

In the beginning Marx was able to give the solution of the contradiction only in general outlines: “The political republic is democracy within the abstract State form. The abstract State form of democracy is therefore the republic. However, here it ceases to be the merely political constitution (p. 436).

“Hegel proceeds generally from the separation of the State and ‘bourgeois society’, from the ‘particular interests’ and from ‘being in itself’, and the bureaucracy is certainly based on this separation” (p. 454).

“The liquidation of the bureaucracy can only be that the general interest really becomes the particular interest and not merely, as with Hegel, in the idea, in the abstraction, and this is possible only if the particular interest becomes the general interest” (pp. 457-8).

“Governmental power is the most difficult to develop. It belongs to the whole people to a far greater degree than the legislative power” (p. 464).

It is really astonishing how far Marx has already obtained clarity on the essence of the bourgeois State in its most highly developed form, the democratic republic, through his thoroughgoing criticism of the reality of the bourgeois State and of the most highly developed philosophy of law of his own day, the Hegelian, and how he already begins

to draw the general outlines of another and further form of State, a State which for the moment, however, he refers to as the "true" State. In this definition we can still sense the restraining influence of Feuerbach, but Marx was soon to throw it off.

The most important conclusion offered by these early writings of Marx is that he was never a democrat in the sense of bourgeois and formal democracy.

3. FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Since the publication of Mehring's biography of Marx a great amount of new material has been published on the development and activity of Engels. In 1920 the first volume of a biography by Gustav Mayer appeared together with a supplementary volume, *Schriften der Frühzeit (Earlier Writings)*. In 1930 the second volume of the CW appeared containing the works of Engels up to the beginning of 1844, together with letters and comments, a volume amounting to almost 700 pages. The volumes of the CW up to 1848 also contain new and important Engels material. Engels' *Dialectics in Nature* has been published in full in Volume II of the Marx-Engels Archive. A number of other hitherto unpublished minor works of Engels are contained in the *Annals of Marxism*. In this way the information concerning his career and activity has been greatly enriched, and the more information we obtain about him the more he emerges from the comparative obscurity in which his own great modesty placed him.

4. THE FIRST ECONOMIC STUDIES AND WORKS OF KARL MARX

Marx began his economic studies in Paris in 1843 on the basis of the works of the great English and French writers. His starting-point was Engels' "Outline of a Critique of Political Economy" which appeared in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. The still extant note-books abstract from Adam Smith, Ricardo, James S. Mill, McCulloch, I. B. Say, Friedrich List and others. Boisguillebert was the first of the old French economists he read. Marx intended to issue the results of his economic studies in a special brochure to be followed by a number of further independent brochures on the critique of law, morality, politics, etc., then a special work on the connection of the whole and the relations of the individual parts, and finally a critique of the speculative study of the material. These economic-philosophic manuscripts have now been published in Vol. III of the CW, pp. 29 to 172, together with a review of the most important of the note-books, *ibid.*, pp. 437-83.

The terminology of these works is still strongly under the influence of Ludwig Feuerbach. In the sketch for his introduction to the drafts for a critique of political economy Marx points out that the only preliminary works were W. Weitling, M. Hess in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and F. Engels' "Outline of a Critique of Political Economy". "Positive criticism in general, including therefore also the German positive criticism of political economy" must thank "the discoveries of Feuerbach" in his *Philosophy of the Future* and his *Theses for a Reform of Philosophy* for its "real basis". "Positive humanist

and naturalist criticism" dated first from Feuerbach. The following points will indicate the stage of Marx's economic criticism at the time :

The law of wages put forward by Adam Smith is accepted as correct. "According to Smith the usual wage is the lowest compatible with simple *humanité*, namely, an animal existence" (p. 39). Overproduction is the result of a state of social affairs which is the most favourable for the worker, namely, increasing and extending riches (p. 43). The situation of the working class is characterized as follows : "Therefore in a declining situation of society we find progressive misery for the workers, in a progressive situation complicated misery for the workers, and in the completed situation stationary misery." Errors of the "Reformers *en détail*, who want to raise wages, or who, like Proudhon, want to establish 'equality of wages'" (p. 46). From the German economist Schultz Marx borrows the conception of the "relative impoverishment of the worker" in view of the increasing wealth of society and the stationary income of the worker. Capital is defined on one occasion as "stored-up labour" (according to Adam Smith) and then as "the governing power over labour and its products". There is no analysis of capital profits. Under the rule of private property the accumulation of capital results in its concentration in the hands of a few as the natural destiny of capital encouraged by competition (p. 57). The categories of fixed and circulating capital are borrowed from Adam Smith. Constant and variable capitals have not yet made their appearance. He also takes over the ground-rent theory of Adam Smith, but observes critically : "Thus clearly proving the inversion of conceptions in political economy which turns the fruitfulness of the earth into an attribute of the landowner" (p. 62). Ground-rent is established in a struggle between tenant and landowner. "Everywhere in political economy we find the hostile play of interests, a struggle, war, recognized as the basis of social organization." The small-scale working landowner stands in the same relation to the large-scale landowner as does the artisan who owns his own tools to the "factory owner" (p. 74). And finally society falls into two classes, the property owners and the propertyless workers (p. 81). (Bourgeois) political economy proceeds from the factor of private property ; it sums up the material process of private property in general abstract forms, in laws, but it does not understand these laws, i.e. it does not show how they proceed from the essence of private property. With this Marx arrives at his historical critical, i.e. his revolutionary standpoint towards the question. An explanation must be found not from any "invented original state", but from "the existing political and economic factors". In what does this consist? "Labour produces not only commodities, it produces itself and the worker as a commodity, and in the same relation in which it produces commodities in general" (pp. 82-3). The object which labour produces presents itself as "an alien entity", as a power independent of the producer. Alienation and externalization of labour. "All these consequences lie in the condition that the worker adopts an attitude to the product of his

labour as an alien entity. For according to this condition it is clear : the more the worker expends his labour the more powerful becomes the alien objective world which he creates outside himself, and the poorer he and his inner-world become and the less he can call his own. It is just the same in religion, the more man places in God the less he retains in himself . . ." (p. 83).

The "alienation of labour" expresses itself in the following fundamental phenomena :

(a) Labour is "external" to the worker, that is to say, it does not belong to his being ; he feels unhappy in it, he develops no free physical and intellectual energy, but "mortifies" his flesh and ruins his spirit. The worker therefore "feels his individuality only outside labour and in labour outside himself" ;

(b) His labour belongs not to him, but to another ; and

(c) Because externalized labour alienates the human being, (1) from nature, and (2) from himself, from his own active functions, from his active life, it also alienates him from the species.

Alienated labour produces "the dominance of those who do not produce over production and its product" (p. 91). Private property, apparently the reason and basis for alienated labour, is in reality one of its consequences (pp. 91-2). All political economic categories can be developed from the conception of alienated labour and private property.

The conception of "alienation", "externalization", comes directly from Feuerbach and further back from Hegel, but it would be wrong not to observe, as most bourgeois critics of the early economic works of Marx fail to do, that here Marx grasps one of the fundamental facts of the bourgeois economic order from a revolutionary standpoint : the separation of the worker from the tools of production. Although the terminology is still that of Hegel and Feuerbach, the analysis is revolutionary and materialist, and grasps the basic relation of capital from the standpoint of the working-class and socialism, thus going far beyond both Hegel and Feuerbach. The essential factor of Marxist analysis at this stage is not the formal shell of Feuerbachianism, but the material content which is seen to be already far in advance of Feuerbach.

Marx still distinguishes between "primitive communism", that is to say a general levelling, the abstract negation of the world of civilization and culture (with this expression he means primitive artisan communism with its idea of asceticism, the overthrow of the previous cultural world, etc.), and the higher stage which is communism, "the positive liquidation of private property, as human self-alienation, and thus the real appropriation of the attributes of humanity by and for humanity ; thus as a completely conscious return, on the basis of the whole wealth of previous development, of the human being as a social, that is to say, as a real human being" (p. 114). Communism on the basis of the technical and cultural achievements of capitalism ! At this stage Marx still calls this sort of communism "completed naturalism" and "humanism".

"Communism", he declares further, "is the position of the nega-

tion of the negation and therefore the real factor necessary for the next stage of historical development of human emancipation and self-recovery. Communism is the necessary form and the energizing principle of the immediate future, but communism is not as such the aim of human development—the form of human society” (p. 126).

The further and definitive development of this idea is to be found in Marx's marginal notes to the Gotha Programme sketching the various stages of the development of socialism and communism. Later on Marx abandoned the idea of “the aim of human development” altogether, whilst in his *Anti-Dühring* Engels (in agreement with Marx) develops the idea that a rising branch of human development necessarily supposed a declining branch and finally the historical end of humanity.

Here we can also find the nucleus of the fundamental idea of historical materialism that the social consciousness of man is determined by his social being: “In his generic consciousness man confirms his real social life and merely repeats his real existence in thought” (p. 117). The term “generic consciousness” is still Feuerbach, but the content is fundamentally in advance of Feuerbach.

Following on his analysis of “alienated labour” Marx again gives a criticism of Hegelian idealist dialectics on the basis of Hegel's *Phenomenology* (1807). The genius of Hegel: (1) that he grasps the self-creation of humanity as a process, and (2) analyses human labour. However, Hegel takes only “abstract intellectual labour” as labour. He sees only the positive side of labour and not its negative side. The human being is regarded as an immaterial spiritual entity. The world of the spirit is recognized and liquidated as the self-alienation of the human being, but at the same time presented as the real existence of the latter. “Here is the root of the false positivism of Hegel, or his merely apparent criticism” (p. 163).

5. MARX AS THE ORGANIZER OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The organizational activities of Marx and Engels which culminated in the entry of their organizations into the Communist League and the adoption of scientific communism by the league were first revealed by D. Riazanov, who was assisted by the analogy between the Russian circles in the 'eighties and 'nineties which finally led to the formation of the Social Democratic Party of Russia as a centralized party, and the corresponding stage in the communist movement in the 'forties. Marx and Engels organized the “Workers' Educational League” in Brussels. From Brussels they established connections with communist circles in Germany, London, Paris and Switzerland. “Correspondence Committees” were formed and directed by them and their supporters in Brussels, Paris and London. Marx wrote to Proudhon to secure his assistance for the “Correspondence Committee” in Paris. In 1846 the Central Correspondence Bureau in Brussels was led by Marx, a bureau in Paris by Engels, and another one in London by Bauer, Schapper and Moll. On the 20th of January 1847 Moll came to Brussels as the delegate of the London Correspondence Committee in order to report on the situation in the London society.

This visit led to a decision to hold an international congress in London. The Communist League was founded at this congress. Wilhelm Wolff was present as the representative of the Brussels organization. Draft statutes were adopted to be discussed by the individual branches until the next congress. The organizational unit was the "commune" or branch. The "communes" were organized in districts. The "central district" elected the Central Committee. The first communist journal was issued as the official organ of the league. (Only one number appeared.) The second congress took place in November 1847. This time Marx was present. Detailed discussions on the programme took place and Marx was instructed to draw up the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The Manifesto was published in the second half of February 1848. It is worth noting that in its first two editions *The Communist Manifesto* was entitled *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

From these details it is clear that Marx and Engels did not act as isolated authors drawing up a manifesto and making it the programme of the first international communist party, but as leaders of an international communist movement organized by them. Although this movement was numerically very weak, nevertheless it represented the concentration of all the most progressive elements in the working-class movement of the day, and it was the real starting-point of the socialist and communist working-class movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The organization took account of the need for illegality, but it was no longer a "conspiratorial organization" in the old sense, but an internationally organized revolutionary party whose main aim for the moment was the dissemination of consistent communist propaganda on the basis of scientific communism or socialism as developed by Marx and Engels.

6. THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY

The *German Ideology, a Criticism of the Latest German Philosophy and its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer, and Stirner and of German Socialism and its Various Prophets* has now been published in full in Vol. V. of the CW.

The first section *Feuerbach* contains a description of the main factors of historical materialism as developed by Marx and Engels, and a summary criticism of Feuerbach. The development of humanity begins with the production of the means of life by humanity. A certain "mode of life" is characterized by what is produced and how it is produced. The stages of the "division of labour" determine the various historical forms of property, i.e. the prevailing stage of the division of labour determines also the relations of the individuals to each other with regard to the material, the instruments and the product of labour (p. 11). Main stages of property: (1) "Tribal property" (i.e. primitive communism), the beginnings of slavery; (2) "Ancient communal and State property (Slavery still existing). Later on personal and then real property developed; (3) "Feudal or corporative property"; (4) Bourgeois property. "Consciousness can never be anything but conscious being, and the being of humanity

is its real living process" (p. 15). With the representation of reality "independent philosophy" loses the medium of its existence. At the utmost its place can be taken by a summary of the most general results which can be abstracted from the contemplation of the historical development of humanity (p. 16). "The production of life, both one's own in labour and new life in procreation, thus appears as a double relation, on the one hand as a natural relation, and on the other hand as a social relation—social in the sense that thereby the co-operation of several individuals is understood irrespective of the conditions, the fashion and the aim of such co-operation" (p. 19). This passage is very important because it shows irrefutably that the formula later used by Engels summing up the production and reproduction of human life as the basic factors of social development, was not a fortuitous improvisation of his own, as some critics of Marxism contend, but one already used by Marx and Engels together as early as 1845–86. Language is as old as consciousness; it is a social product. The first division of labour is in the sexual act, and later as the result of the diversity of physical characteristics, etc. The State develops from the contradiction between particular and general interests. All the struggles within the State are the illusory forms in which the real struggles between the classes are conducted (p. 23). Every class aiming at domination must first conquer political power. "Bourgeois society" is the real basis and stage of all history. The later expression "ideological superstructure" is here represented by the expression "idealist superstructure", which raises itself on the economic basis of society (p. 26). Feuerbach wishes to turn the term communist as referring to the supporters of a particular political party into a mere category (p. 31). Feuerbach goes as far as a theoretician can go at all without ceasing to be a theoretician and philosopher. Feuerbach limits himself to the mere contemplation of the physical world. He remains stationary at the abstraction "the human being". He appreciates the human being as a physical object, but not as a "physical activity". He gives no criticism of the existing conditions of life. He falls back into idealism "where the communist materialist sees the necessity and at the same time the conditions for a transformation both of industry and the social organism. As far as Feuerbach is a materialist history has no say with him, and in so far as he examines history he is no materialist" (p. 34). Within the ruling class a division of labour takes place between its "active conceptive ideologists" and the remaining mass, which represents in reality the "active members of this class". The "State" is "nothing more than the form of organization which the bourgeoisie necessarily adopts to guarantee its property and its interests both from within and without. The State is independent to-day only in countries where the estates have not yet completely developed into classes, in countries where the estates, which have been abolished in the more progressive countries, still play a rôle, countries therefore in which no section of society has yet succeeded in gaining the upper hand. This is the case particularly in Germany" (p. 52).

A stage is reached in the development of the productive forces

when means of production and means of transport are produced which under the given circumstances can cause only damage, "forces of destruction". The class which bears all the burdens of society, which is forced into an antagonism to all other classes, which represents the majority of all the members of society and in whose ranks the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness, arises, is the active factor of the necessary revolution. It carries on a revolutionary struggle against the previous ruling classes. The communist revolution "liquidates the dominance of all classes and the classes themselves". The revolution is necessary not only because the ruling class can be overthrown only in this way, but also because only in this way can the rising class "rid itself entirely of all the accumulated evils of the past and become capable of founding a new society" (p. 59).

"In our opinion therefore all previous collisions in history have their origin in the contradiction between the productive forces and the mode of society. . . . It is, by the way, not at all necessary that in order to lead to collisions in a particular country this contradiction must necessarily be intensified to breaking point in that particular country. Competition with more highly industrialized countries brought about by an extension of international relations is quite enough to produce a similar contradiction in countries whose industries are less developed (for instance, the latent proletariat in Germany brought to light by the competition of English industry)" (p. 63). This passage indicates that even at that time Marx and Engels were well aware of the possibility that the communist revolution might not necessarily break out first in the most highly industrialized countries.

The criticism of Max Stirner takes up the greater part of the *German Ideology* (pp. 97-428). Mehring observes: "It is a still more discursive super-polemic than even *The Holy Family* in its most arid chapters, and the oases in the desert are still more rare, although they are by no means entirely absent" (see this volume, Chapter V, No. 1, the *German Ideology*).

It is certainly difficult for the workers of our day to follow the detailed polemic of Marx and Engels against Max Stirner, but nevertheless it is absolutely necessary to point out that it is not a question of any philosophical chimeras of no importance to the reader of to-day, but a fundamental discussion between communism and anarchism. Stirner is one of the chief sources of anarchism. It would be a very valuable work to extract everything from this discussion which is of fundamental importance for the relation of socialism and communism to anarchism. The discussion contains in fact all the essential factors for such a critique. The work proves in detail that Stirner's "association of free men" is nothing but "an idealist reflection of present-day society" (p. 188). The petty-bourgeoisie, its needs and its ideals, are revealed as the basis of Stirner's criticism. Stirner propagates "the revolt" as against the communist revolution.

"The whole philosophy of revolt", observe Marx and Engels, "which has just been presented to us in poor antitheses and faded flowers of eloquence is in the last resort nothing but bombastic apologia

for parvenuism. Every upstart has something particular in mind when he undertakes his 'egoist action', something above which he wishes to raise himself irrespective of the general conditions. He seeks to overcome the existing something only in so far as it is a hindrance, and for the rest he seeks to appropriate it. The weaver who has 'risen' to become a factory owner has got rid of his weaving loom, has left it. Otherwise the world continues its daily round as usual, and our 'flourishing' upstart now turns to the others with the hypocritical moral demand that they should also become parvenus like him. Thus the whole belligerent rodomontade of Stirner resolves itself into nothing but moral conclusions from Gellert's fables and speculative interpretations of bourgeois misery" (pp. 360-1).

The following is an important passage from the criticism of "True Socialism":

"True socialism is the completest social literary movement; it developed without any real party interests, and after the formation of the Communist Party it wished to continue its existence despite the latter. It is clear that since the development of a real Communist Party in Germany the True Socialists will be limited more and more to the petty-bourgeoisie as their public and to impotent degenerate scribblers as representatives of this public."

It was necessary to dissociate the Communist Party, as the organized movement of the proletarian advance-guard, from the amorphous movement of the petty-bourgeoisie and of those writers whose ideology was petty-bourgeois.

7. MARX AND THE COLOGNE "WORKERS ASSOCIATION", 1848-9

Marx and Engels entered the revolutionary movement in 1848-9, forming the left wing of the democratic movement, which they strove to force forward as far as they possibly could. The chief democratic mass in 1848-9 consisted of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie, the artisans and shop-keepers in the towns, and the small-scale and middle-scale peasants in the country. This petty-bourgeoisie represented the main contingent of the revolutionary movement in Germany. The working-class movement, numerically still very weak, operated up to a certain point as the ally, as the left wing of this petty-bourgeois movement. The tactical line adopted by Marx and Engels was an alliance between the working-class movement and the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie so long as the latter was still progressive and did not hamper the working-class movement, the general aim being to urge forward the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie up to that point where it would seize power, to persuade it to take energetic revolutionary measures against the Junkers and the bourgeoisie, and then to organize the working class as an independent revolutionary power against the petty-bourgeoisie with a view to taking power from the hands of the latter at a suitable moment. The example before their eyes was the Great French Revolution with its Jacobin dictatorship, the dictatorship of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the workers and the peasants.

However, revolutionary development in Germany took a different course. The bourgeoisie concluded a compromise with the Junkers

and the Crown, whilst the petty-bourgeoisie, after short onsets which did not give it power on any wide scale, retreated, for the most part miserably.

The activity of Marx and Engels at the head of the democratic movement in the Rhineland is well known and has been described often enough. However, it was Mehring who first made known the rôle which Marx and Engels played in the working-class movement in Cologne and in the Rhineland.

On the 13th of April 1848 a doctor named Gottschalk founded the Cologne Workers Association, and it grew rapidly. On the 8th of May Gottschalk gave its membership as 5,000. The association was represented in the "District Committee of Rhenish Democratic Associations", and from the beginning Marx exercised influence on it through Moll and Schapper. In the beginning, however, the "Marx tendency" was in the minority. The majority under the leadership of Gottschalk wanted to hear nothing of an alliance with the petty-bourgeois democrats, and it decided to boycott the elections to the Prussian and German National Assembly. On the 3rd of July Gottschalk and his assistant Anneke were arrested. The Marx group then obtained a majority in the association, and Joseph Moll was elected President on the 6th of July and worked hand in hand with Marx and Engels. The struggles intensified, and on the 25th of September Karl Schapper (also a communist) and the young lawyer Becker were also arrested. An attempt was also made to arrest Moll, who had to go into hiding. Nothjung and Röser, who were the successors of Moll, felt themselves too weak for the job and therefore Marx himself took it over on the 16th of October, and on the 22nd of October he was confirmed in his position by a general meeting of the association in Gürzenich. He succeeded in persuading it to take part in the elections after all, and new statutes were introduced and confirmed on the 25th of February. On the 28th of February 1849 Schapper again took over the leadership. On the 15th of April 1849 Marx, W. Wolff, Schapper and Anneke resigned from the District Committee of Rhenish Democratic Associations and at the same time the Workers Association withdrew also. Marx had decided that the time was ripe for the independent organization of the workers. On the 6th of May a congress of workers associations in the Rhineland and Westphalia took place. Its agenda was: (1) Organization of the Rhenish-Westphalian workers associations; (2) Election of delegates for the congress of all workers associations (June, in Leipzig); and (3) Resolutions for this congress. On the 16th of May 1849 Marx received the order expelling him from Cologne.

8. THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

D. Riazanov has collected much new material on the history of the foundation of the First International (Marx-Engels Archive, Vol. I). We shall confine ourselves here to enumerating the most important events which led up to it.

February 21st, 1862.—Appeal of a committee to the workers of Paris to send delegates to visit the London World Exhibition. 200,000

workers take part in the elections and 200 delegates are elected. The first group leaves on the 19th of July and the last on the 15th of October 1862.

At the suggestion of the editor of *The Working Man* a reception committee for the French workers is formed in London in July. On the 5th of August a meeting takes place in the Freemasons' Hall, but as it is of a bourgeois character the London trades council does not take part in it. A number of French delegates, including the building worker Tolain, establish connections with the London trade unions.

The French commission splits; the non-Bonapartist elements (Tolain, etc.) withdraw from the commission and act independently.

Lively agitation on behalf of the Polish insurrection in France and England. French workers invited to come to London.

July 2nd, 1863.—Meeting in St. James's Hall. Representatives of the London trade unions and of the French workers (Tolain, etc.) present. Discussions after the meeting between English and French participants and delegates.

July 23rd.—Meeting in the "Bell Inn", Old Bailey, called by the London trades council with the French delegates. Decision to elect committee (5 members) to issue appeal to the French workers. Address read at second meeting in "Bell Inn" on the 10th November and adopted. Address printed in *The Beehive* on the 5th of December 1863. Eight months pass before the answer of the French workers arrives. Answer read and discussed in a public meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London, on the 28th of September 1864. Marx present on the platform, but takes no active part in the meeting. Eccarius proposed by him as speaker. A provisional committee elected, including Eccarius and Marx for the Germans, to deal with the addresses. Decision taken to form an "International Association" on the basis of the English and French Addresses, in the sense of an international organization for information and discussion. Sub-committee appointed, including Marx, to work out the "Rules and Regulations" of the new association. The rest is already known.

An examination of the Austrian police archives which became possible after November 1918 reveals the fact that Georg Eccarius, who was for many years a member of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association and with whom Marx quarrelled later on, supplied the Austrian secret service with reports concerning the proceedings of the General Council (Brügel, in *Der Kampf*, Vol. XVIII, Vienna).

9. MARX-ENGELS AND LASSALLE-SCHWEITZER

Mehring's attitude towards Lassalle-Schweitzer and their policy is no longer tenable to-day. Important facts which became known only after the death of Mehring, and new questions raised by the subsequent development of the working-class movement, compel the abandonment of Mehring's attitude towards the Lassallean movement. The whole question has been dealt with in detail in L. Pollnau's introduction to Vol. V. of the Collected Works of Franz Mehring,

Zur Deutschen Geschichte. We shall confine ourselves here to enumerating briefly the new facts and the new fundamental considerations which make it necessary to revise Mehring's opinion of the Lassallean movement.

The first fact is the correspondence between Bismarck and Lassalle which was accidentally discovered in 1928 in the Cabinet of the Prussian Prime Minister Otto Braun amongst an assortment of nondescript and forgotten papers. The letters were given by Otto Braun to G. Mayer for publication: G. Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle, ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche (Bismarck and Lassalle, their Correspondence and Discussions)*, Berlin, 1928. This correspondence begins as early as the 11th of May 1863 with a short letter from Bismarck to Lassalle inviting the latter to meet him for a discussion "on the labour question", i.e. before the founding of Lassalle's Workers Association. The following passage taken from a letter written by Lassalle on the 8th of June 1863 shows his attitude towards Bismarck and the Prussian Crown:

"However, you will realize clearly from this miniature (the statutes of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*) how true it is that the labouring classes incline instinctively to a dictatorship once they can be convinced with justification that the dictatorship is being exercised in their interests, and how much they would be inclined, as I suggested to you recently, despite their republican leanings—or rather just because of them—to accept the Crown as the natural instrument of a social dictatorship rather than the egoism of the bourgeois class, if the Crown on its part could make up its mind to take the—truly very improbable—step of adopting a really revolutionary and national policy, and turn itself from a monarchy of the privileged classes into a social and revolutionary people's monarchy."

The second fact is a document found amongst the literary remains of Hermann Wagener, also published by G. Mayer: a receipt for a loan of 2,500 thaler from Bismarck signed by von Hofstetten, a close friend and confidant of B. Schweitzer and one of the editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. See G. Mayer, *Der Deutsche Allgemeine Arbeiterverein und die Krisis 1866 (The Deutsche Allgemeine Arbeiterverein and the Crisis of 1866)*, published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik (Archive for Social Science and Social Policy, Vol. 57 (1927), p. 167 and the following pages.*

These documents prove that Lassalle and Schweitzer pursued a policy which made them dependent on the feudal-absolutist reaction of Bismarck and the Prussian Crown to an impossible and intolerable extent for the working class. The policy which Marx and Engels pursued was: (1) the complete independence of the working-class movement; (2) co-operation with the revolutionary elements amongst the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry against the main enemy, the feudal reaction; and (3) to urge on the bourgeoisie whenever it came into conflict with the Junkers and the Crown. This policy was the only one in accordance with the interests and the principles of a revolutionary working-class party. Marx and Engels immediately rejected the hypothesis of the Lassallean movement as an opportunist relapse

into "Realpolitik" from the principles and clarity already reached by the communist movement in 1848-9. In the conflict Marx-Engels *v.* Lassalle-Schweitzer, the former were completely right.

10. MARX AND BAKUNIN

Mehring's attitude to the conflict between Marx and Bakunin in the First International is also untenable to-day, and in this case also it is the revelation of new facts and the development of new questions of working-class policy which make it necessary to revise his attitude. The following circumstances will serve to explain his errors in this question. First of all the fact that the social-democratic attacks on Bakunin and on the anarchist ideas he propagated were often (but not always and above all not as far as Marx and Engels were concerned) dictated by opportunist considerations coupled with considerations of Philistine morality. Secondly, the fact that from 1890 to 1914 anarchism in Germany never represented any serious danger to the social-democratic movement. Thus Mehring overlooked the fact that the situation was fundamentally different in the days of the First International, and further that during certain periods of the revolutionary struggle anarchism raises its head almost unavoidably, and that when it appears it necessarily plays under certain circumstances a counter-revolutionary rôle. (For instance the rôle of Machnow in *Ukrainia*.)¹

The new facts concerning Bakunin were obtained from the Russian Imperial Archives when they were opened after the November Revolution. The most important document concerning Bakunin which has come to light is the so-called "Confession" which Bakunin wrote to the Tsar at the suggestion of Count Orlov after he had been delivered into the hands of the Tsarist police by the Austrian government. This document was completed by Bakunin on the 15th of September 1851 and soon afterwards handed to the Tsar, who gave it to the heir to the throne to read, after which it was filed in the archives of "Department III", the notorious Ochrana. The document was discovered in 1919 in the Central Archives in Leningrad and published soon afterwards. A letter written by Bakunin to the Tsar on the 14th of February 1857 was also discovered and published.

The aim of both documents was to obtain a mitigation of punishment. In the "Confession" Bakunin gives a description of his revolutionary career from the standpoint of "a penitent sinner", which is the literal expression he uses when signing it. The letter of the 14th of February 1857 is even worse than the "Confession" and contains passages like the following: "With what name shall I call my past life? Beginning with chimerical and fruitless endeavours, it ended with crimes. . . . I curse my errors and my aberrations and my crimes. . . ." Politically considered the "Confession" and the letter of the 14th of February represent a speculation on the pan-Slav reactionary inclinations of Tsarism. Bakunin also did not hesitate to speculate on the reactionary antipathies of Tsarism to the democratic and revolutionary movement in Western Europe.

¹ And during the recent revolutionary struggles in Spain.

On the basis of the material which is now available concerning Bakunin the only objection which one can make to the attitude of Marx and Engels towards him is that they did not subject his rôle to a critical examination still earlier.

Any discussion of "the moral qualities" of the methods used in the fractional struggles between Marx and Bakunin and their followers can be of only very subordinate interest to-day. Marx and Engels were not "innocent lambs", but Bakunin and his friends were also not, and they waged the fractional struggle by no means in strict accordance with the categorical imperative. In any case, all this is of very subsidiary importance. In the struggle between Bakunin and his followers on the one hand and Marx and Engels and their followers on the other, fundamental principles and history were on the side of Marx and Marxism and therefore, we may assume, "moral" justification also.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS bibliography is in five parts :

- I. The Collected Works ;
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II. COLLECTIONS AND ANTHOLOGIES

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3. *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle.* Collected by Franz Mehring and published in 4 vols. by Dietz, Stuttgart, 1902.

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