

The Communist Manifesto

IN

PICTURES

With an introduction by

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN



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The Communist Manifesto **IN PICTURES**

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ORGANIZE
THE
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UNITE
TO STOP
FASCISM

ABOLISH
SLAVERY



BYRON

JOSEPH WEDEMAYER
1860

GENE DEBS
1920

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
1948

Introduction . . .

The occasion for this pamphlet, and the series of pictures which are reproduced in it, is the celebration of the Centennial of Marxism.

One hundred years ago, in November, 1847, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, leaders of the first Communist organization, the Communist League, were delegated by that organization to draft a "complete theoretical and practical party programme." Written in January, 1848, the program was printed in February of that year, and was entitled *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

In view of the witch hunts which reactionary forces are conducting against Communists and other progressives in the United States today, it is of more than historical interest to note that similar attacks were made on the working class and democratic movements of that period. In the preface to the *Manifesto*, Engels describes the reactionary offensive of a hundred years ago:

"Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League then located in Cologne . . . (The) celebrated 'Cologne Communist Trial' lasted from October 4th (1852) till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years."

But such attacks could not destroy the working class movement. The members of the comparatively small Communist League of the middle 1800's, became the political forebears of eighteen million Communists throughout the world in 1947. And the program of that first Communist association has become the great historic statement of the basic principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism.

Of course, as Engels pointed out, "The practical application of the principles will depend, as the *Manifesto* itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing."

Bearing this in mind, the editors of the present pamphlet have selected those passages in the *Manifesto* which are of key importance and which have the most direct bearing on the situation which exists today. The group of San Francisco Bay Area artists who were commissioned to illustrate these selections, have similarly drawn on contemporary, and especially American experience, for the content of the pictures. This approach is doubly valid in that it emphasizes the validity of Marxism for our own time and its roots in our own country.

In this connection, we should note that the ideas embodied in the *Manifesto* were first brought to the United States by Joseph Weydemeyer, friend of Marx and Engels, whom Lincoln commissioned a Colonel in the Union Army during the Civil War. Weydemeyer also helped introduce the theory of Marxism to American trade unionists. Its enduring influence in the labor movement is reflected in the views of William Sylvis, organizer of the first National Labor Union during the 1860's, as well as in the role of Eugene Victor Debs, leader of American labor, and head of the early Socialist Party.

Today's descendants of Weydemeyer are found in the many American Communists who died as heroes in the war against fascism, men like Captain Herman Bottcher from California. They are found in leaders like William Z. Foster, the present National Chairman of the Communist Party and long time labor leader in the United States. They are found in the thousands of American Communists who are battling with all their strength to protect our country and its democratic heritage from the assaults of monopoly capital—the seed bed of reaction and fascism.

The lords of capitalism are attempting to raise the "spectre of Communism" in our day as they did one hundred years ago, in order to divide and defeat labor and the people. The Centennial of Marxism can well serve to expose the true meaning of this "anti-Communist drive", and to counterpose to it the actual program of the Communist movement. To this objective, the publication of "The Communist Manifesto in Pictures" is a significant contribution.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN,

State Chairman,

Communist Party of California.

"Roots in our own country

. . . Weydemeyer . . . Debs . . . Foster"



Excerpts from the **MANIFESTO of the COMMUNIST PARTY**

By KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

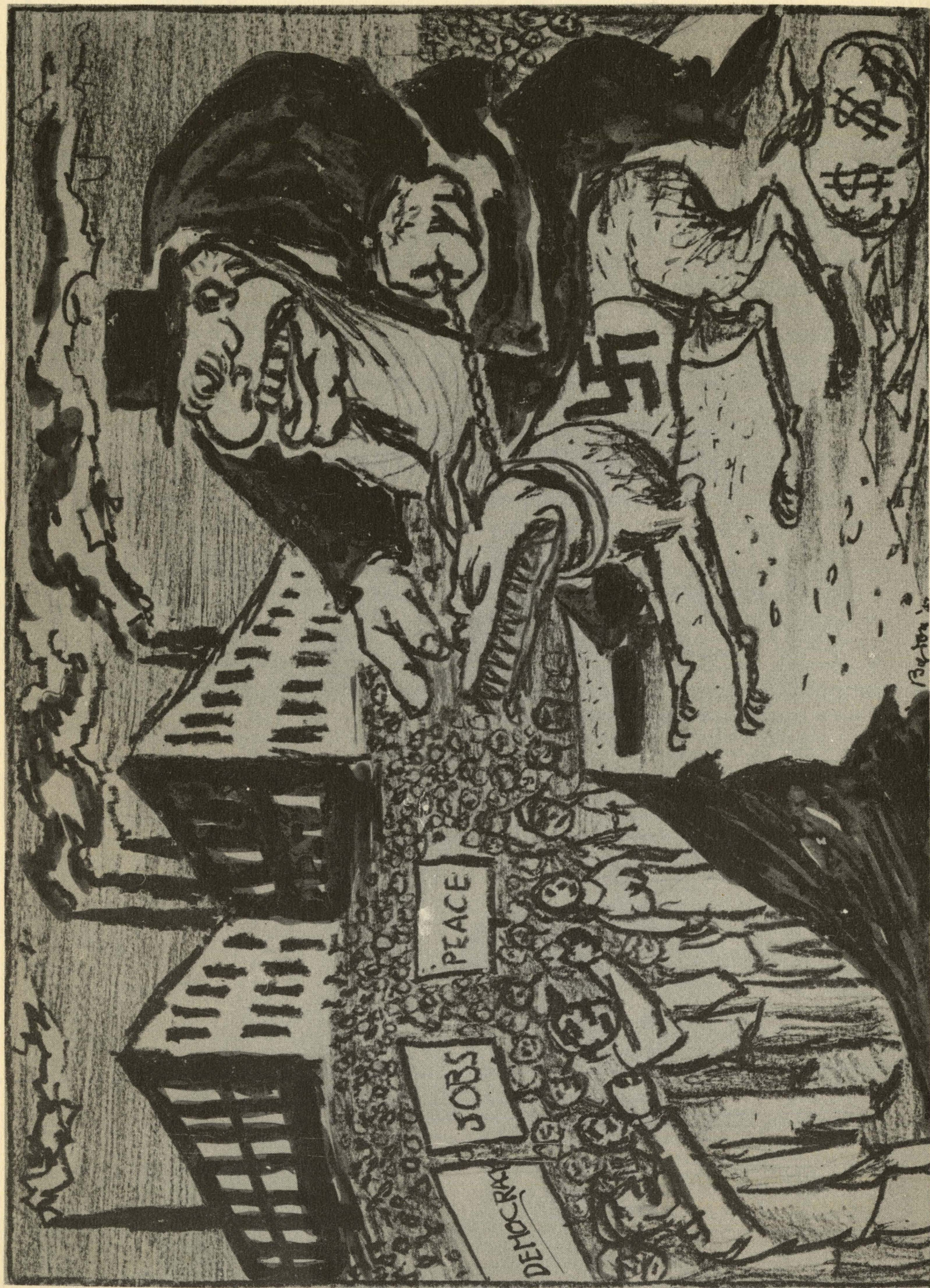
Two things result from this fact:

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

"A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism . . . Communists . . . meet this nursery tale . . . with a manifesto of the party itself."



The history of all hitherto existing society* is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat. . . .

* That is, all *written* history. In 1837, the pre-history of society, the social organization existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then Haxthausen (August von, 1792-1866) discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer (Georg Ludwig von) proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and, by and by, village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organization of this primitive communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's (Lewis H., 1818-1881) crowning discovery of the true nature of the *gens* and its relation to the *tribe*. With the dissolution of these primæval communities, society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

"Society . . . is more and more splitting into . . . two great classes . . . bourgeoisie and proletariat."



. . . the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, it became an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune; here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general—the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. . . .

"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."



The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role in history.

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

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

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals. . . .

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. . . .

. . . Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. . . .

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere. . . .

"The bourgeoisie . . . has resolved personal worth into exchange value."

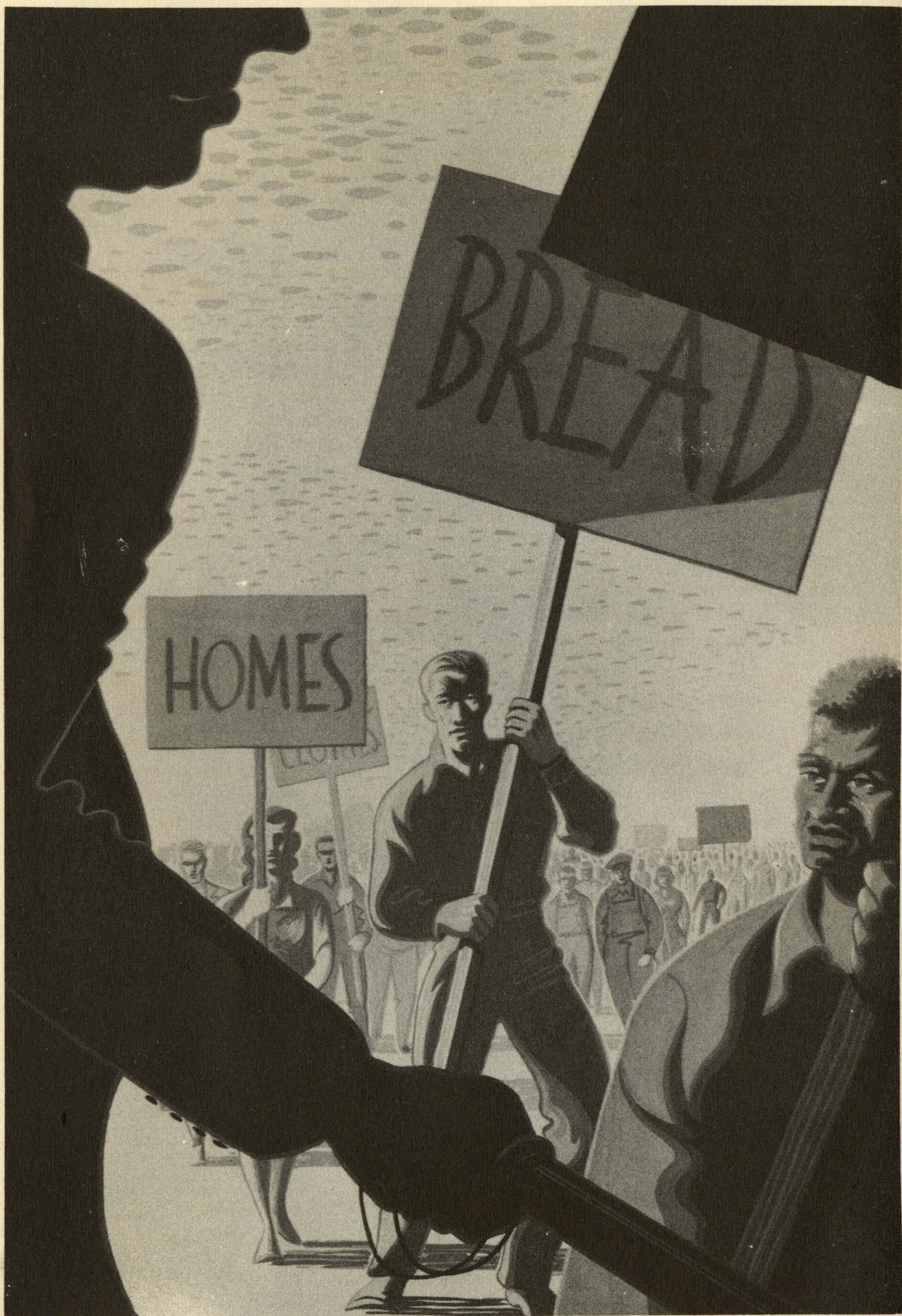
LET 'EM BUY A LITTLE MORE OF THAT
STUFF THEY MAKE - KEEPS 'EM
FROM BECOMING COMMUNISTS!



. . . Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and no sooner do they overcome these fetters than they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself. . . .

"The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them."



But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. . . .

. . . The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. . . . But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. . . .

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

. . . What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

“ . . . every class struggle is a political struggle.”



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

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

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

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

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. . . .

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, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. . . .

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

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

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries. . . .

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims . . . of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."



SWP

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, by the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. . . .

In the bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer. . . .

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths . . .

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

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

. . . the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy 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. . . .

. . . The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy 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 . . . "

THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST

PARTY' by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels was published in 1848. The excerpts in this pamphlet are from the authorized English translation of 1888, as edited by Engels, and republished by International Publishers, New York, 1932.

Single copies of the *Manifesto* may be ordered from the stores listed on following page at 10c each, postage prepaid.

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