

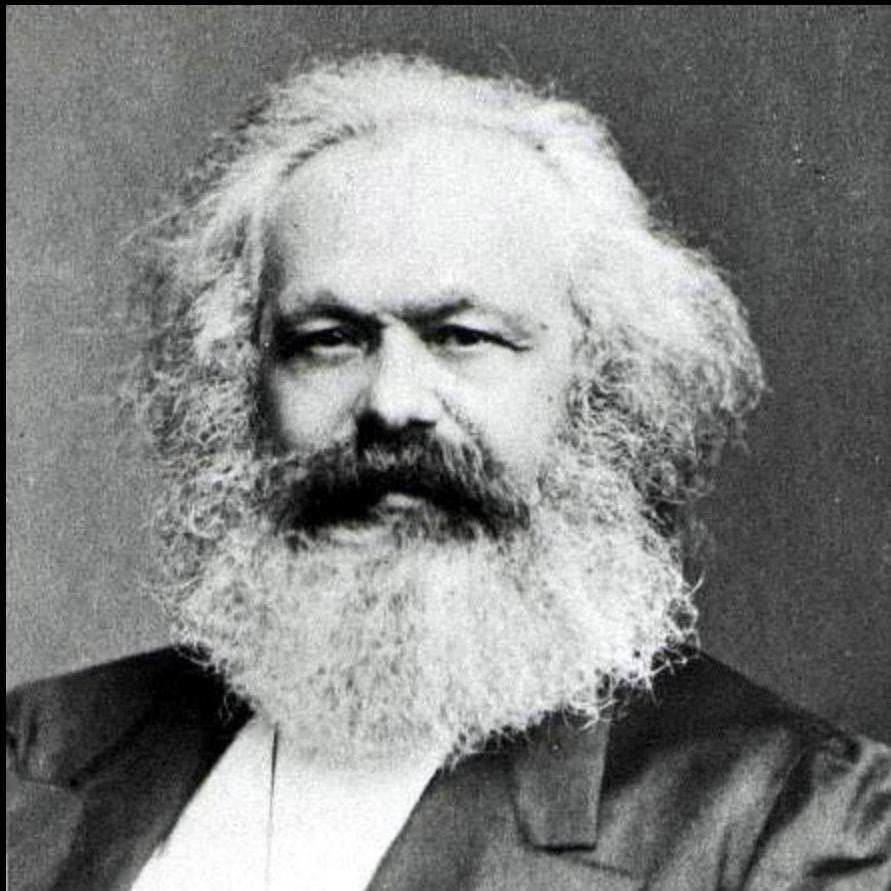
A page of handwritten text in a cursive script, likely German, on aged paper. The text is mostly illegible due to the handwriting and some fading. A central black box with a thin blue border contains white and red text. The background text includes words like 'Indien', 'Produktion', and 'Handel'.

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels
The Communist Manifesto (1848)

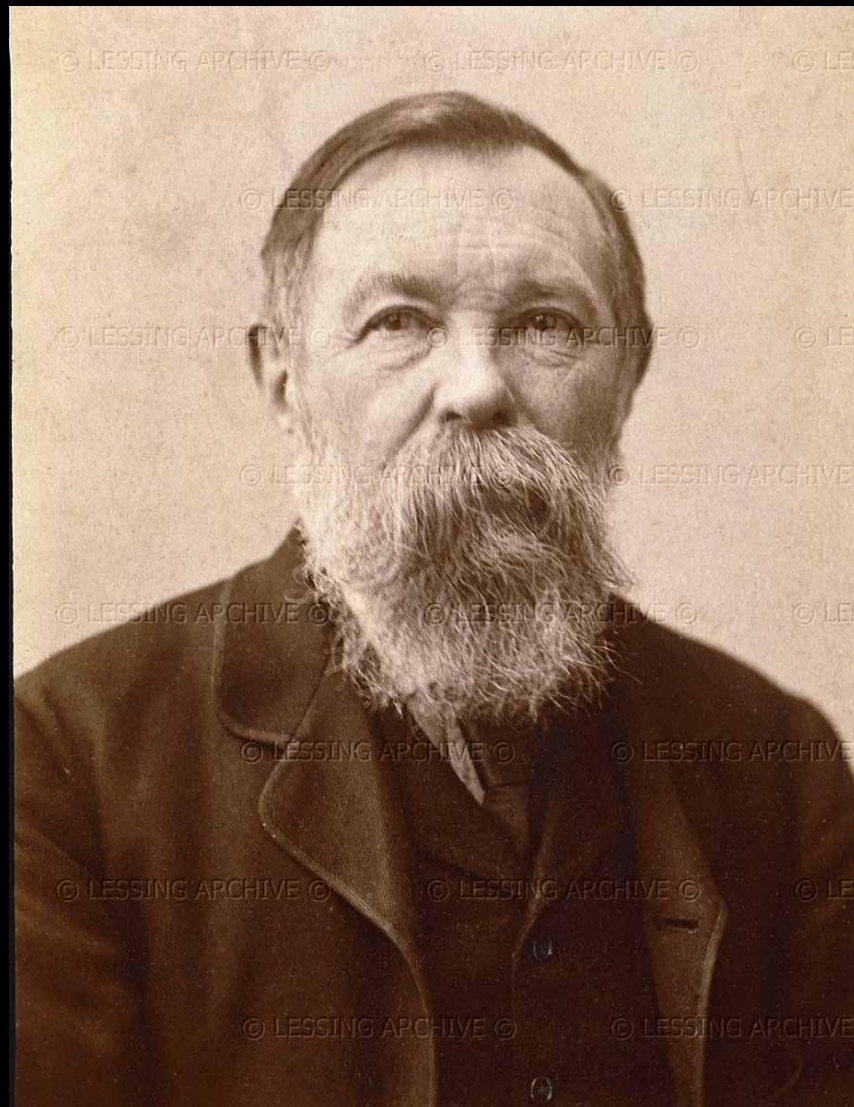
Marx on India (1853)

The history of hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles

- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

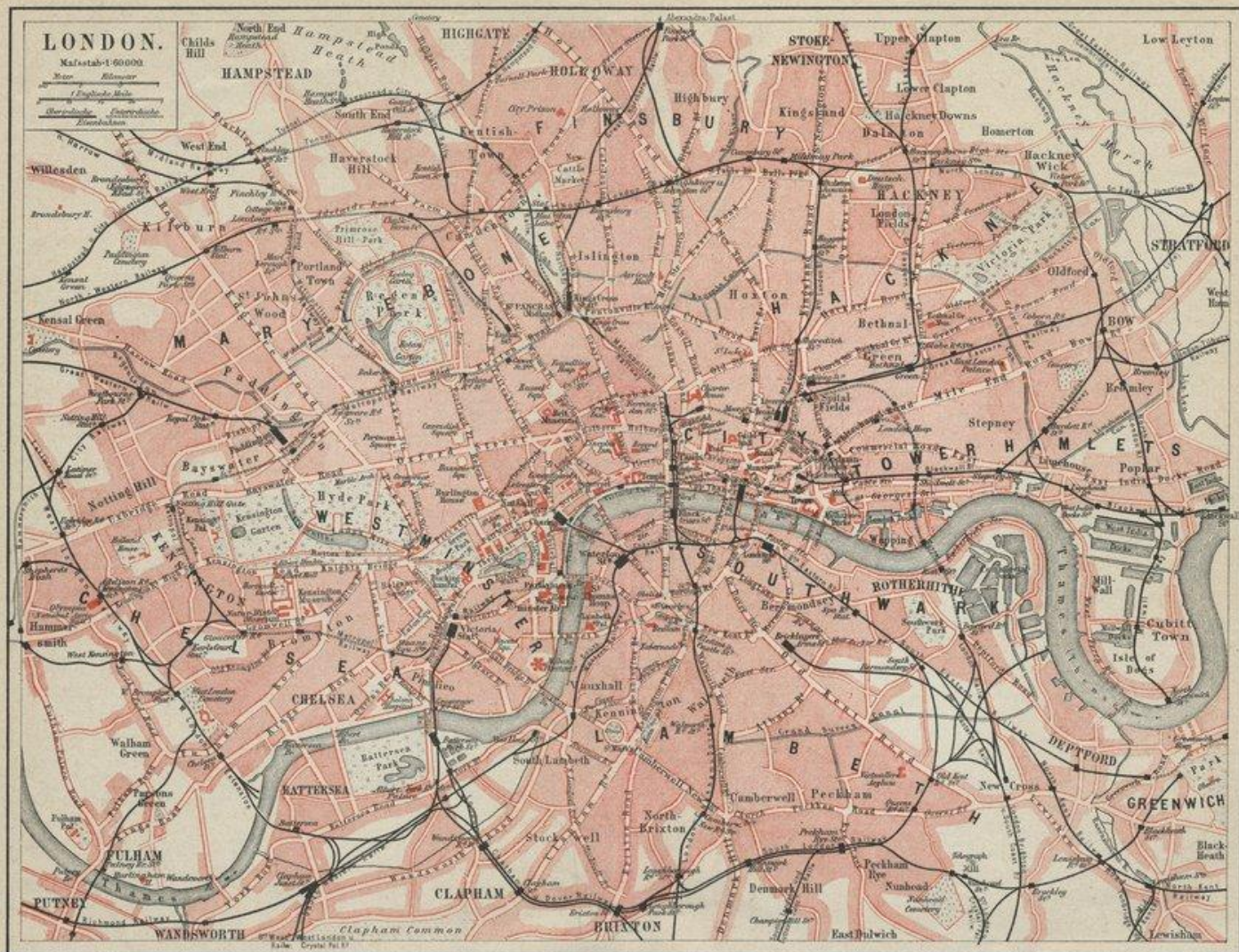


Karl Marx (1818-1883)



Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)





Zum Artikel London

'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it'

- Marx 'Theses on Feuerbach'

New-York Daily Tribune.

VOL. XXIV. No. 7,408.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1864.

PRICE FOUR CENTS.

The Action Between the Monarchs and
Alabama—Capt. Winthrop's Report.

Explanation of the Students' Factions.

FROM WASHINGTON, TWO DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The Union Journal is published
every day, except on Sundays and
public holidays. It is published by
the Tribune Company, No. 15
Nassau Street, New York.

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From Washington, Two Days Later From Europe.

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From Washington, Two Days Later From Europe.

'Marx's life exemplified his ideal of internationalism, for by the end he was neither German nor British, but a European or even a global intellectual'

- Kevin Anderson, *Marx at the Margins*, 4.



I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champagne of the middle classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to intercourse with plain working men...

Such are the various working-people's quarters of Manchester as I had occasion to observe them personally during twenty months. If we briefly formulate the result of our wanderings, we must admit that 350,000 working-people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor. In a word, we must confess that in the working-men's dwellings of Manchester, no cleanliness, no convenience, and consequently no comfortable family life is possible; that in such dwellings only a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically to bestiality, could feel comfortable and at home.

- Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*

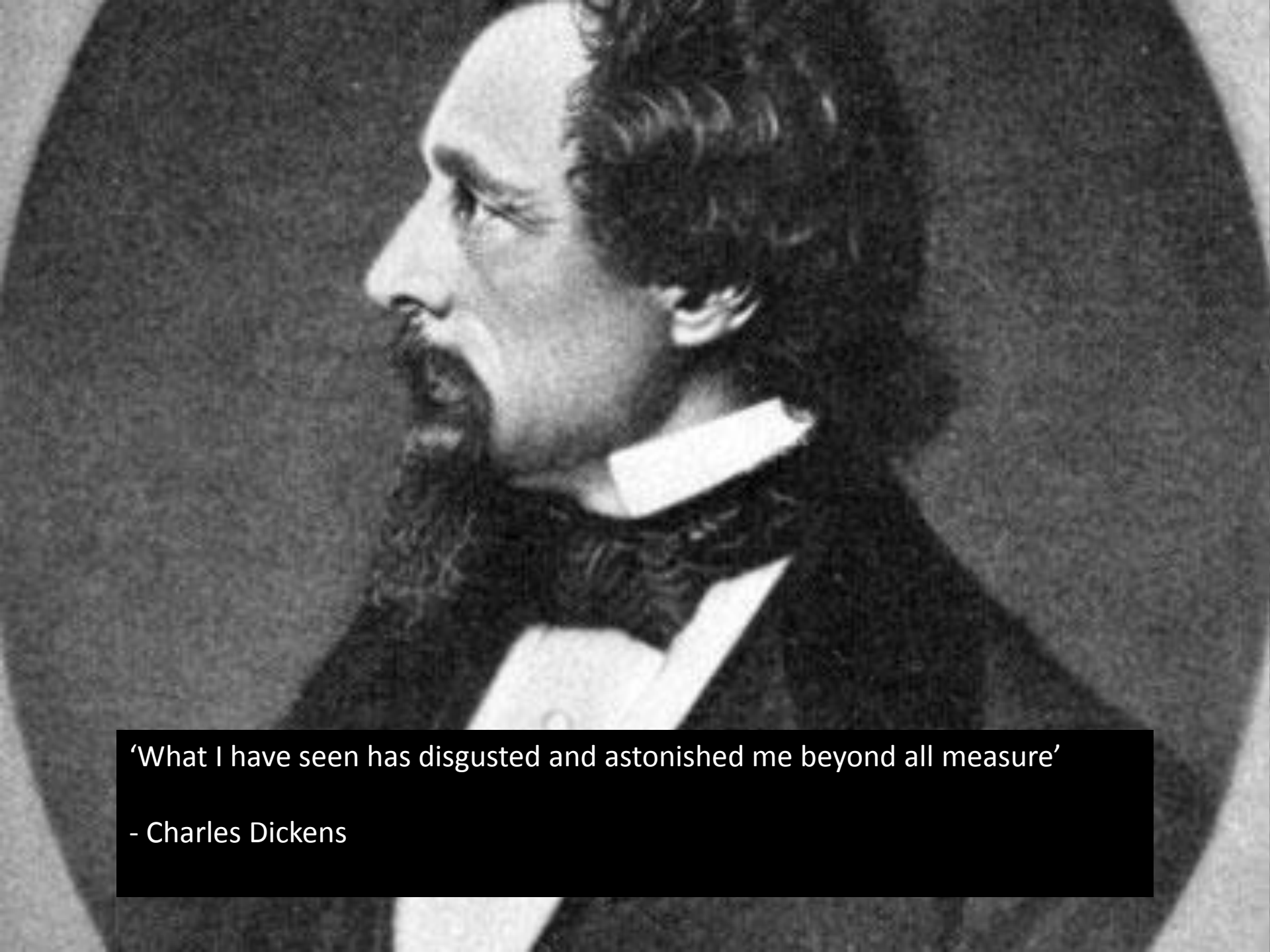


ENGLAND IN 1819

An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king,--
Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
Through public scorn, mud from a muddy spring,--
Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know,
But leech-like to their fainting country cling,
Till they drop, blind in blood, without a blow,--
A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field,--
An army which liberticide and prey
Makes as a two-edged sword to all who wield,--
Golden and sanguine laws which tempt and slay;
Religion Christless, Godless, a book sealed,--
A Senate—Time's worst statute unrepealed,--
Are graves from which a glorious Phantom may
Burst to illumine our tempestuous day.

- Percy Shelly





‘What I have seen has disgusted and astonished me beyond all measure’

- Charles Dickens

The history of the proletariat in England begins with the second half of the last century, with the invention of the steam-engine and of machinery for working cotton. These inventions gave rise, as is well known, to an industrial revolution, a revolution which altered the whole civil society; one, the historical importance of which is only now beginning to be recognised. England is the classic soil of this transformation, which was all the mightier, the more silently it proceeded; and England is, therefore, the classic land of its chief product also, the proletariat. Only in England can the proletariat be studied in all its relations and from all sides.

- Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*



IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—MAP OF THE WORLD SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1886.
 STATISTICAL INFORMATION FURNISHED BY CAPTAIN J. C. B. COLBURN, R.F.M.S. BRITISH TERRITORIES COLOURED RED.

British Empire in 1886

Steam has brought India into regular and rapid communication with Europe, has connected its chief ports with those of the whole south-eastern ocean and has revindicated it from the isolated position which was the prime law of its stagnation. The day is no far distant, when by a combination of railways and steam vessels, the distance between England and India, measured by time, will be shortened to eight days, and when that once fabulous country will thus be actually annexed to the Western world.

- Marx 'British Rule in India'



CAPITAL (1867-1894)

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1867 | First German edition |
| 1873 | Second German edition – with significant revisions |
| 1872-1875 | French edition
translated on the basis of German edition (1873) and heavily edited by Marx |
| 1883 | Third German edition
prepared for publication by Engels after Marx's death based on second German edition with some revisions from French edition |
| 1886 | First English edition – translated from Third German edition |

'Yesterday I read the chapter on factory legislation in the French translation. With all due respect for the skill with which this chapter has been rendered into elegant French, I still felt regret at what had been lost from the beautiful chapter. Its vigor and vitality and life have gone to the devil. The chance for an ordinary writer to express himself with certain elegance has been purchased by castrating the language. It is becoming increasingly impossible to think originally in the straightjacket of modern French.....I would think it a great mistake to take the French version as a model for the English translation. In English the power of expression in the original does not need to be toned down; whatever has inevitably to be sacrificed in the genuinely dialectical passages can be made up in others by the greater energy and brevity of the English language.'

- From Engels to Marx - *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 44, 540-541

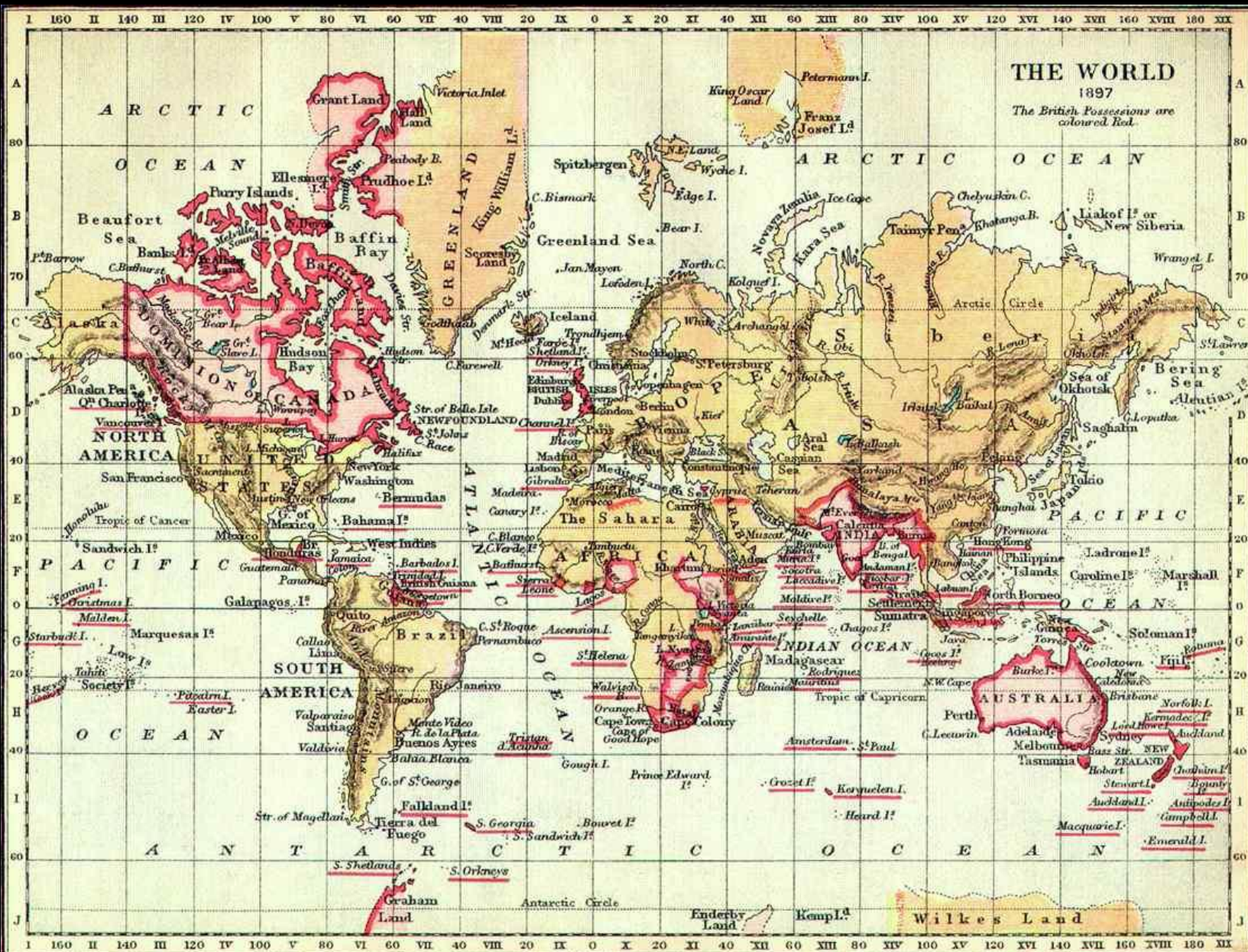
'Now that you are taking a look at the French translation of Capital, I would be grateful if you could persevere with it. I think you will find that some passages are superior to the German'

- From Marx to Engels - *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 44, 541.



IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—MAP OF THE WORLD SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1886.
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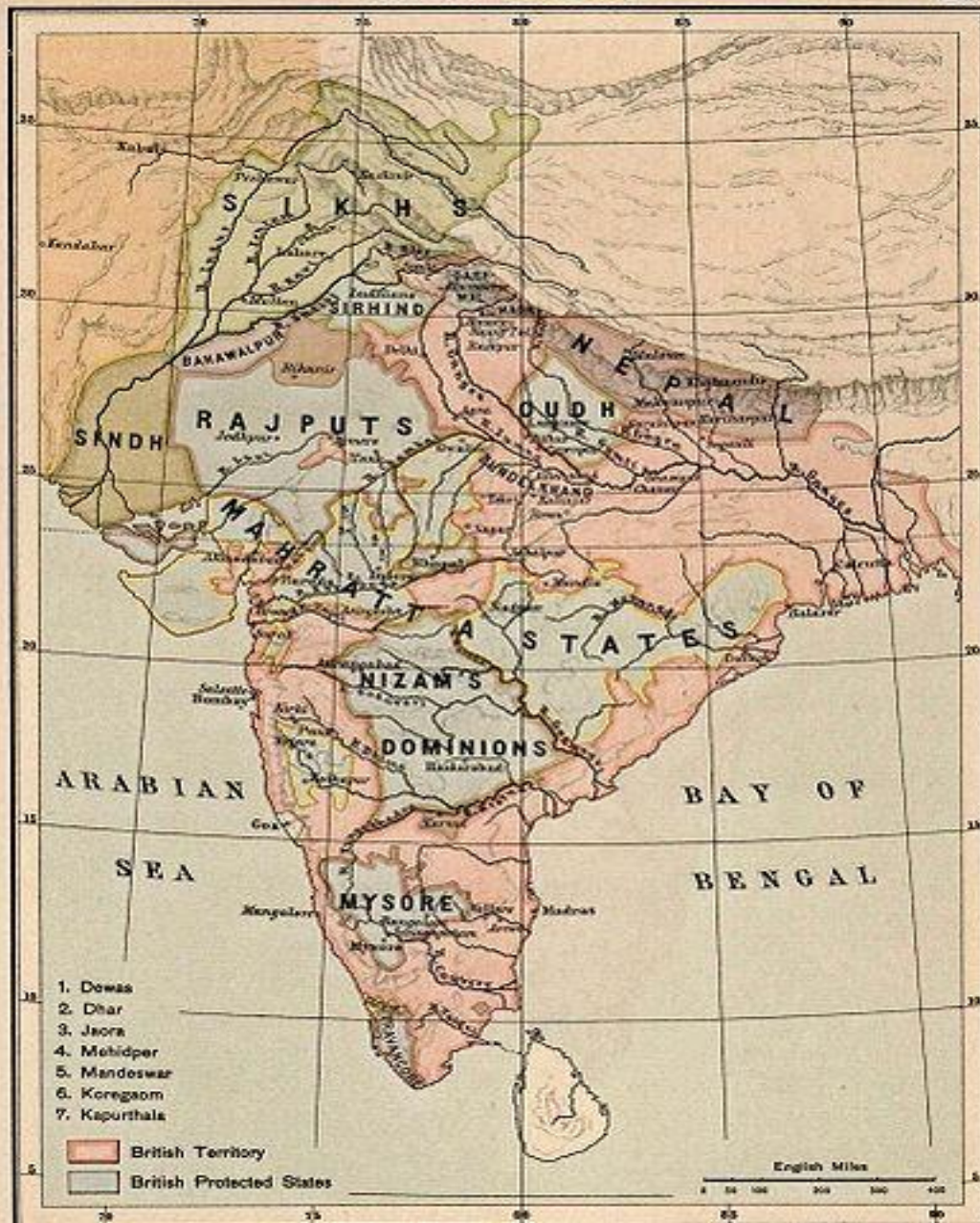
British Empire in 1886

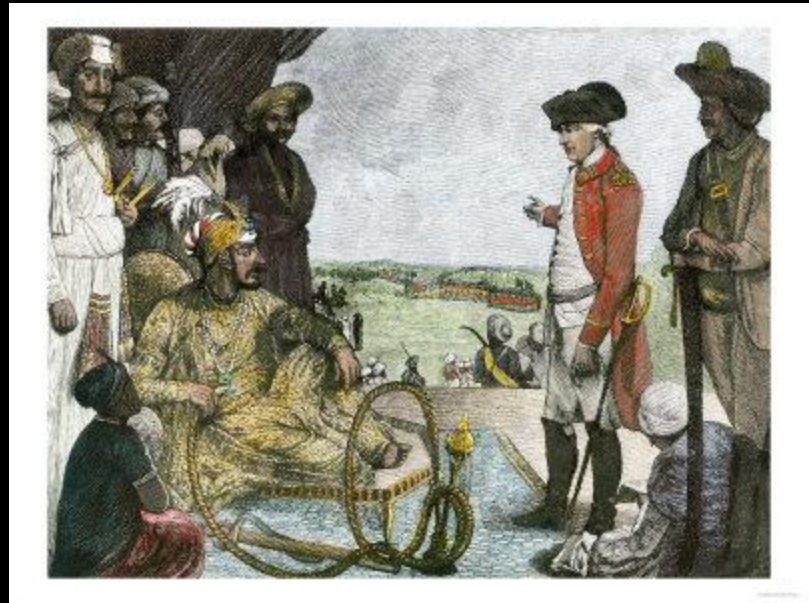


British Empire in 1897

The Colonial markets developed at an increasing rate their capacity for absorbing English manufactured goods. In India millions of hand-weavers were finally crushed out by the Lancashire power-loom. China was more and more being opened up. Above all, the United States—then, commercially speaking, a mere colonial market, but by far the biggest of them all—underwent an economic development astounding even for that rapidly progressive country. And, finally, the new means of communication introduced at the close of the preceding period—railways and ocean steamers—were now worked out on an international scale; they realised actually, what had hitherto existed only potentially, a world-market. This world-market, at first, was composed of a number of chiefly or entirely agricultural countries grouped around one manufacturing centre—England—which consumed the greater part of their surplus raw produce, and supplied them in return with the greater part of their requirements in manufactured articles.

Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* – Preface (1892)



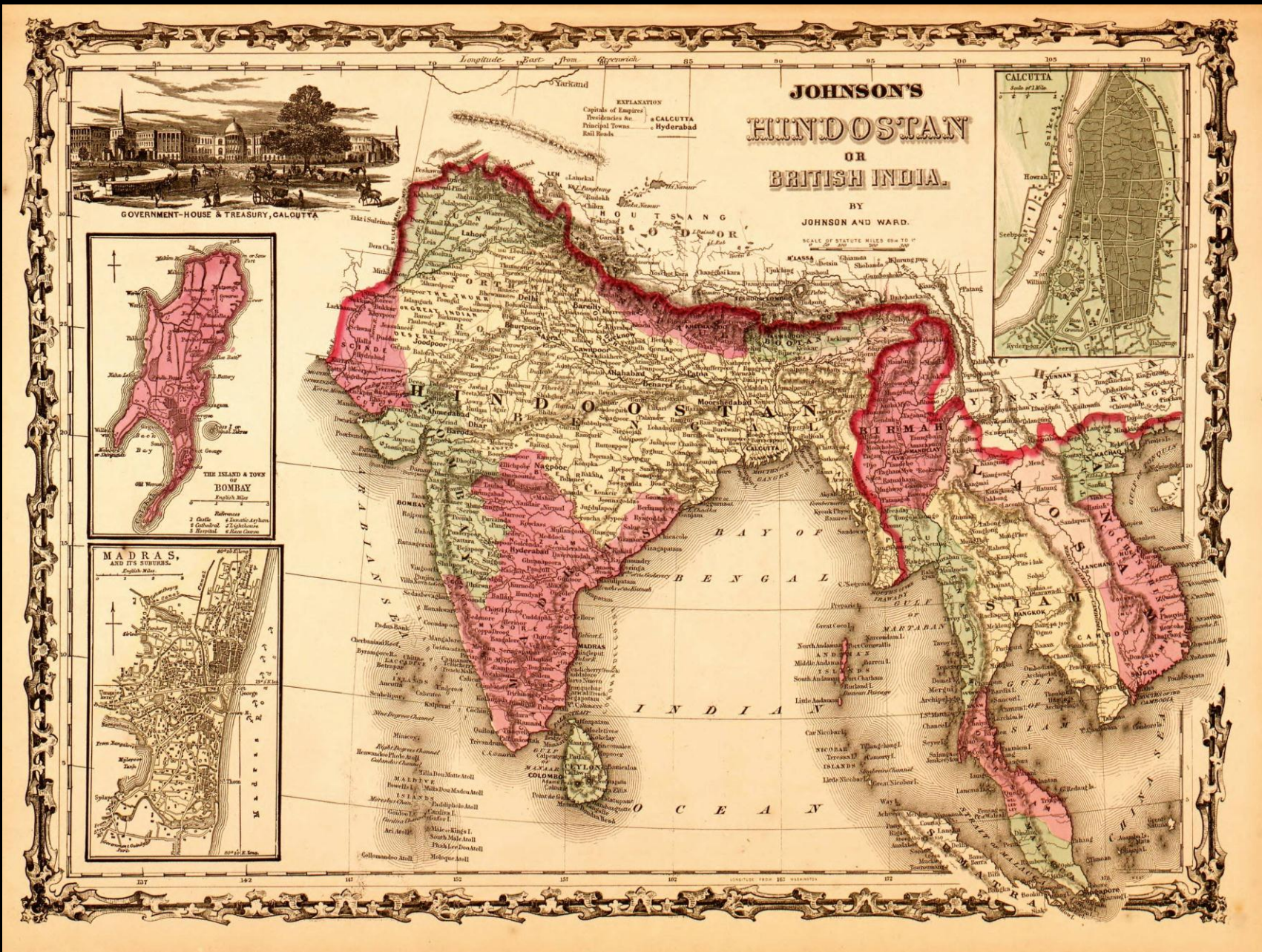


Robert Clive – credited with securing EIC rule in Bengal



Warren Hastings

Englishmen as 'Unscrupulous Nabobs'



India under British Rule - 1863



'League of Just' becomes 'Communist League'





'...Marx's thorough knowledge of French history was needed. France is the land where, more than anywhere else, the historical class struggles were each time fought out to a decision, and where, consequently, the changing political forms within which they move and in which their results are summarised have been stamped in the sharpest outlines. The centre of feudalism in the Middle Ages, the model country of unified monarchy, resting on estates, since the Renaissance, France demolished feudalism in the Great Revolution and established the unalloyed rule of the bourgeoisie in a classical purity unequalled by any other European land. And the struggle of the upward-striving proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie appeared here in an acute form unknown elsewhere. This was the reason why Marx not only studied the past history of France with particular predilection, but also followed her current history in every detail, stored up the material for future use and, consequently, events never took him by surprise.'

Engels 'Preface'

Third German Edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1885)



The *first* French Revolution, with its task of breaking all separate local, territorial, urban, and provincial powers in order to create the civil unity of the nation, was bound to develop what the monarchy had begun, centralization, but at the same time the limits, the attributes, and the agents of the governmental power. Napoleon completed this state machinery. The Legitimate Monarchy and the July Monarchy added nothing to it but a greater division of labor, increasing at the same rate as the division of labor inside the bourgeois society created new groups of interests, and therefore new material for the state administration. Every common interest was immediately severed from the society, countered by a higher, general interest, snatched from the activities of society's members themselves and made an object of government activity – from a bridge, a schoolhouse, and the communal property of a village community, to the railroads, the national wealth, and the national University of France. Finally the parliamentary republic, in its struggle against the revolution, found itself compelled to strengthen the means and the centralization of governmental power with repressive measures. **All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it.** The parties, which alternately contended for domination, regarded the possession of this huge state structure as the chief spoils of the victor.

– Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*



‘The French Revolution....abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property’

- Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto p. 235.

REVOLUTIONARY

THE PARIS COMMUNE

In 1871, the men and women of Paris took over their city and created an autonomous government committed to equality for all. The Paris Commune shows that a new society, created from the bottom up, is possible, but that the ruling order never willingly cedes power.

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

The old world must come to an end!
We want to be free!
And France has not risen up alone. The civilized nations of the world have their eyes on Paris. They are waiting for our victory to free themselves in their turn.

A GROUP OF PARISIAN WOMEN,
APRIL 11, 1871





The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centers of France. The Communal regime once established in Paris and the second centers, the old centralized government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers.

If the commune was the true representative of all the healthy elements of French Society, and therefore the truly national government, it was, at the same time, as a working men's government, as the gold champion of the emancipation of labor, emphatically international. Within site of that Prussian Army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world.

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class.

- Marx, 'The Civil War in France' (1871)

The Communist League, and international association of workers, which could of course be only a secret one under the conditions obtaining at the time, commissioned the undersigned, at the Congress held in London in November, 1847, to draw up for publication a detailed theoretical and practical programme of the Party

— Preface to the 1872 Edition

all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development; that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time for ever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles

- Engels, Preface to the German Edition (1873)

Manifest

der

Kommunistischen Partei.

Berossentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch.

London.

Gebrudt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter“
von L. E. Burghart
46, LIVERPOOL STREET, DIAMONDSIDE

‘A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism.’

-Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, 218

Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a Power. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet their nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself (218).

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 relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profane, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, the real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind (223).

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces 'the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image (224).

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 (226).

History.....?

Historical materialist

Human consciousness does not
determine human existence - Human
existence determines human
consciousness

So, I've drawn this picture of me holding Hegel by his legs to literally stand him on his head and....

It's not going in the book, Karl

It would make a brilliant cover! It illustrates historical materialism! Are you jelly of my doodling skills?

Goddamnit, Karl...



Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-directed circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like an Alp on the brains of the living...

- Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

ANCIENT



FEUDAL



CAPITALIST



SOCIALIST

Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society. The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian, to India conquered by the Briton.

England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia

- Marx, BRI, 659.

Hegel's Influence

The caste system is 'the most degrading spiritual serfdom'

India is a society that 'has remained stationary and fixed'

It is 'the necessary fate of Asiatic empires to be subjected to Europeans.'

we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind with the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies (Marx, BRI. 658).

Edward Said, *Orientalism*

'romantic Orientalist
vision'

'in destroying Asia, Britain
was making possible there
a real social revolution'

Indian Revolt, 1857



Marx to Engels 'India is now our best ally'

There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument must be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself. The first blow dealt the French monarch proceeded from the nobility, not from the peasants. The Indian revolt does not commence with the Ryots, tortured, dishonored and stripped naked by the British, but with the Sepoys, clad, fed, petted, fatted, and pampered by them

- *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 15, 353.

IN NUMBERS
TOO BIG
TO IGNORE

99%
STRONG

block by block • city by city

OCCUPY TOGETHER

#OccupyTogether OccupyTogether.org OccupyWallSt.org



**INDIGENOUS RIGHTS
REVOLUTION**



**INDIGENOUS RIGHTS
REVOLUTION**

