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Two Speeches by Karl Marx

Address to the Communist
League, 1850

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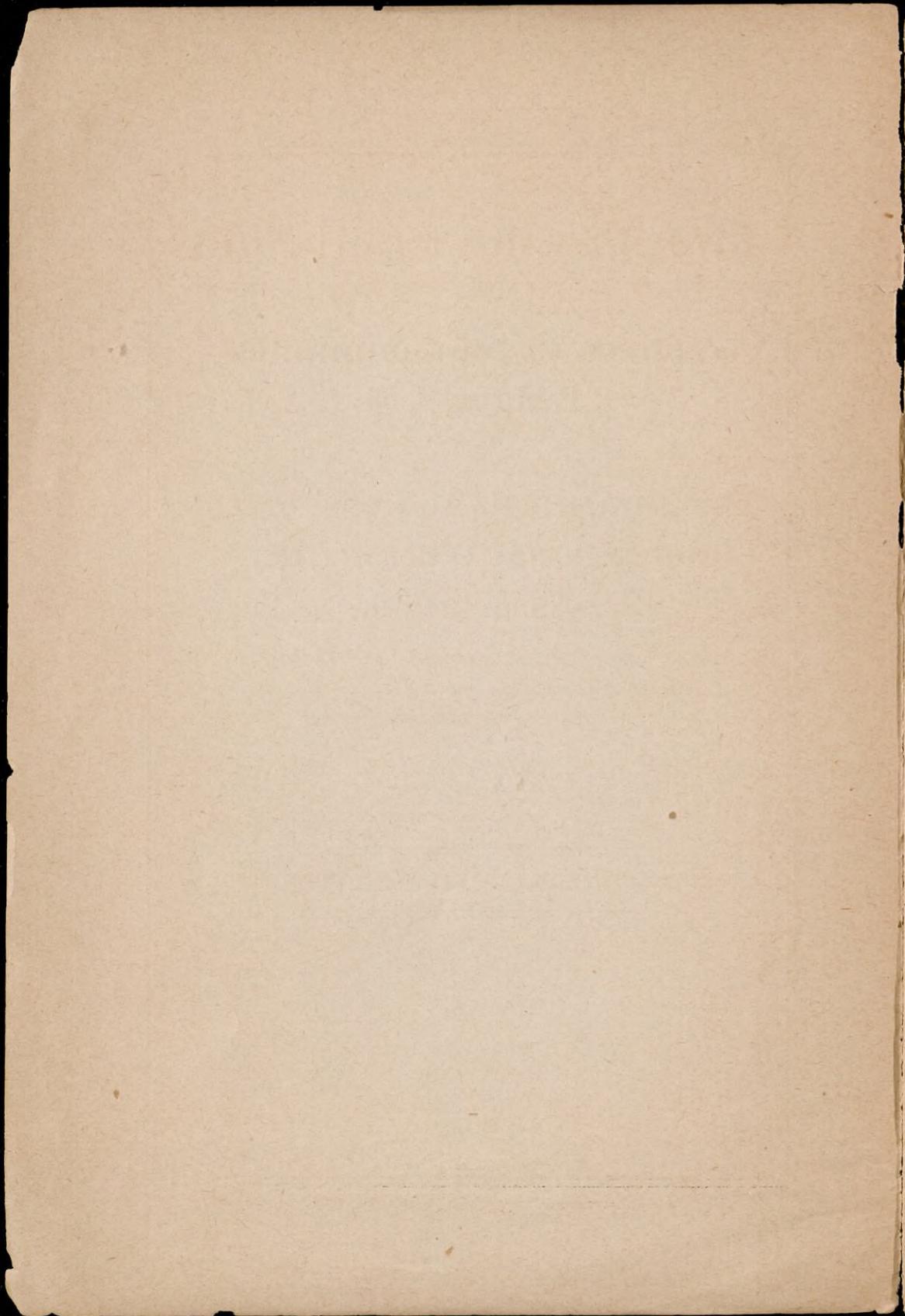
The Inaugural Address of the
International Workingmen's
Association

Delivered to the Public Meeting in St. Martin's Hall,
Long Acre, London, on the 28th September, 1864,
at which the Association was founded

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Address to the Communist League, 1850

(BY KARL MARX)

FOREWORD

In introducing these two speeches of Marx, hitherto not accessible in English, to the notice of the Canadian workers, the publishers have no apologies to offer.

1850 was but two short years removed from the epoch of '48, when the revolutionary ferment working in European political life, showed us for the first time in history, the fangs of the proletariat at the throat of the bourgeoisie. For such a man as Marx, these years of struggle were pregnant with lessons for the solution of the problems of the working class in their advance toward political domination.

The Communist League was a secret organization, originally German, but which developed later an international character, and it was for this body that Marx and Engels wrote the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." Herein were set forth, for the first time, the teachings of Communism, and the hazy dreams of Utopia replaced by political concepts of scientific exactness.

The "Address to the Communist League," taken in conjunction with the (Communist) "Manifesto," constitutes a key to Marx's outlook on the fundamental questions of working-class policy. Apart from its value as a historic document, its worth to the labor movement in the year 1923, lies mostly in the fact that every line of it, every word, in fact, is an unmistakable and unqualified endorsement of the policies and tactics of the Third (Communist) International. It is Marx's reply to Kautsky and his lesser known disciples, a few of whom are still to be found in this country.

These tactics are further endorsed in the Inaugural Address to the First International when he says "One element of success is possessed by the workers—their great numbers. But the mass can only bring their pressure to bear when an organization has gathered them together and given them an intelligent lead."—W. B.

ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

BRETHREN,—During the last two years of revolution (1848-49) the League doubly justified its existence. First, by the vigorous activity of our members; in all places and movements where they happened to be at that time they were foremost in the Press, on the barricades, and on the battlefields of the proletariat, the only revolutionary class in society; Secondly, through the League's conception of the whole upheaval, as enunciated in the circular letter of the Congresses and the Central Executive in 1847,* and particularly in the Communist Manifesto. This conception has been verified by the actual happenings of the last two years. Moreover, the views of the present-day social conditions which we in former years used to propagate in secret meetings and writings, are now public property and are preached in the market-places and in the street corners.

* These circular letters are lost.

On the other hand, the former rigid organization of the League has considerably loosened, a great number of members who directly participated in the revolution have come to the conclusion that the time for secret organization was passed, and that public propaganda alone would be sufficient. Various districts and communities lost contact with the Central Authority and have not resumed it. While the Democratic Party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, enlarged and strengthened their organization, the working-class Party lost its cohesion, or formed local organizations for local purposes, and therefore was dragged into the democratic movement and so came under the sway of the petty bourgeoisie. This state of things must be put an end to; the independence of the working class must be restored. The Central Authority, as far back as the winter of 1848-49, saw the necessity for reorganization and sent the missionary, Joseph Moll,* but this mission has no lasting result. After the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany and France in June, 1849, nearly all the members of the Central Authority reunited in London, supplemented by new revolutionary forces, and took the work of the reorganization seriously in hand.

This reorganization can only be accomplished by a special missionary, and the Central Authority thinks it most important that the missionary should start on his journey at this moment when a new upheaval is imminent; when therefore the working-class Party should be thoroughly organized and act unanimously and independently, if it does not wish again to be exploited and taken in tow by the bourgeoisie, as in 1848.

* * * * *

We have told you, brethren, as far back as in 1848, that German Liberalism would soon come to power and would at once use it against the working class. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. It was the bourgeoisie who after the victorious movement of March, 1848, took the reins of government, and the first use they made of their power was to force back the working man, their allies in the fight against absolutism, to their former oppressed condition. They could not achieve their purpose without the assistance of the defeated aristocracy, to whom they even transferred governmental power, securing however for themselves the ultimate control of the Government through the budget. . . .

The part which the Liberals played in 1848, this treacherous role will at the next revolution be played by the democratic petty bourgeoisie, who, among the parties opposing the Government, are now occupying the same position which the Liberals occupied prior to the March revolution. This democratic party, which is more dangerous to the working men than the Liberal Party was, consists of the following three elements:—

- (i) The more progressive members of the upper bourgeoisie, whose object it is to sweep away all remnants of feudalism and absolutism;
- (ii) The democratic-constitutional petty bourgeoisie, whose main object it is to establish a democratic federation of the Germanic States;
- (iii) The republican petty bourgeoisie, whose ideal it is to turn Germany into a sort of Swiss republic. These republicans are calling themselves "reds" and "social democrats" because they have the pious wish to remove the pressure of large capital upon the smaller one, and of the big bourgeoisie upon the petty bourgeoisie.

* Joseph Moll, a German watchmaker, had been in London since 1840. As a Communist he also took part in the Chartist movement, in the Physical Force Wing, and had some heated discussions with Thomas Cooper, after the latter had turned a Moral Force man. Moll joined the German revolution in 1848-49 and fell in battle on July 19, 1849, at Baden.

All these parties, after the defeat they have suffered, are calling themselves republicans or reds, just as in France the republican petty bourgeoisie are calling themselves socialists. Where, however, they have the opportunity of pursuing their aims by constitutional methods they are using their old phraseology and are showing by deeds that they have not changed at all. It is a matter of course that the changed name of that party does not alter their attitude towards the working class; it merely proves that in their struggle against the united forces of absolutism and large capitalists they require the support of the proletariat.

The petty bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very powerful. It embraces not only the great majority of the town population, the small traders and craftsmen, but also the peasantry and the agricultural laborers, in so far as the latter have not yet come into contact with the proletariat of the towns. The revolutionary working class acts in agreement with that party as long as it is a question of fighting and overthrowing the Aristocratic-Liberal coalition; in all other things the revolutionary working class must act independently. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, far from desiring to revolutionize the whole society, are aiming only at such changes of the social conditions as would make life in existing society more comfortable and profitable. They desire above all a reduction of national expenditure through a decrease of bureaucracy, and the imposition of the main burden of taxation on the landowners and capitalists. They demand, likewise, the establishment of State banks and laws against usury, so as to ease the pressure of the big capitalist upon the small traders and to get from the State cheap credit. They demand also the full mobilization of the land, so as to do away with all remnants of manorial rights. For these purposes they need a democratic constitution which would give them the majority in Parliament, municipality, and parish.

With a view to checking the power and the growth of big capital the democratic party demand a reform of the laws of inheritance and legacies, likewise the transfer of the public services and as many industrial undertakings as possible to the State and municipal authorities. As to the working man—well, they should remain wage workers: for whom, however, the democratic party would procure higher wages, better labor conditions, and a secure existence. The democrats hope to achieve that partly through State and municipal management and through welfare institutions. In short, they hope to bribe the working class into quiescence, and thus to weaken their revolutionary spirit by momentary concessions and comforts.

The democratic demands can never satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeoisie would like to bring the revolution to a close as soon as their demands are more or less complied with, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, to keep it going until all the ruling and possessing classes are deprived of power, the governmental machinery occupied by the proletariat, and the organization of the working classes of all lands in so far advanced that all rivalry and competition among themselves has ceased; until the more important forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. With us it is not a matter of reforming private property, but of abolishing it; not of hushing up the class antagonism, but of abolishing the classes; not of ameliorating the existing society, but of establishing a new one. There is no doubt that, with the further development of the revolution, the petty bourgeois democracy may for a time become the most influential party in Germany. The question is, therefore, what should be the attitude of the proletariat, and particularly of the League, towards it:—

- (i) During the continuation of the present conditions in which the petty bourgeois democracy is also oppressed?

- (ii) In the ensuing revolutionary struggles which would give them momentary ascendancy?
- (iii) After those struggles, during the time of their ascendancy over the defeated classes and the proletariat?

(i) At the present moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they lecture the proletariat, exhorting it to effect a unification and conciliation; they would like to join hands and form one great opposition party, embracing within its folds all shades of democracy. That is, they would like to entangle the proletariat in a party organization in which the general social democratic phrases predominate, behind which their particular interests are concealed, and in which the particular proletarian demands should not, for the sake of peace and concord, be brought forward. Such a unification would be to the exclusive benefit of the petty bourgeois democracy and to the injury of the proletariat. The organized working class would lose its hard-won independence and would become again a mere appendage of the official bourgeois democracy. Such a unification must be resolutely opposed.

Instead of allowing themselves to form the chorus of the bourgeois democracy, the working men, and particularly the League, must strive to establish next to the official democracy an independent, a secret as well as a legal organization of the working-class party, and to make each community the centre and nucleus of working-class societies in which the attitude and the interests of the proletariat should be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How little the bourgeois democrats care for an alliance in which the proletarians should be regarded as co-partners with equal rights and equal standing is shown by the attitude of the Breslau democrats, who in their organ, the *Oder-Zeitung*, are attacking those working men who are independently organized, and whom they nick-name socialists, subjecting them to severe persecutions. The gist of the matter is this: In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working-class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry it on by a temporary understanding. This was so in the past, and will be so in the future. It is a matter of course that in the future sanguinary conflicts, as in all previous ones, the working men by their courage, resolution, and self-sacrifice will form the main force in the attainment of victory. As hitherto, so in the coming struggle, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole will maintain an attitude of delay, irresolution, and inactivity as long as possible, in order that, as soon as victory is assured, they may arrogate it to themselves and call upon the workers to remain quiet, return to work, avoid so-called excesses, and thus shut off the workers from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty bourgeois democrats from doing that; but it is within their power to render their ascendancy over the armed proletariat difficult, and to dictate to them such terms as shall make the rule of the bourgeois democracy carry within itself from the beginning the germ of dissolution, and its ultimate substitution by the rule of the proletariat considerably facilitated.

The workers, above all, during the conflict and immediately afterwards, must try as much as ever possible to counteract all bourgeois attempts at appeasement, and compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must act in such a manner that the revolutionary excitement does not subside immediately after the victory. On the contrary they must endeavor to maintain it as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses and making examples of hated individuals or public buildings to which hateful memories are attached by sacrificing them to popular revenge, such deeds must not only be tolerated, but their direction must be taken in hand. During the fight and afterwards the workers must seize every opportunity to present their own demands beside

those of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democrats propose to take over the reins of government. If necessary, these guarantees must be exacted and generally we must see to it that the new rulers should bind themselves to every possible concession and promise, which is the surest way to compromise them. The workers must not be swept off their feet by the general elation and enthusiasm for the new order of things which usually follow upon street battles; they must quench all ardor by a cool and dispassionate conception of the new conditions, and must manifest open distrust of the new Government. Besides the official Government they must set up a revolutionary workers' Government, either in the form of local executives and communal councils, or workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois democratic Governments not only immediately lose all backing among the workers, but from the commencement find themselves under the supervision and threats of authorities, behind whom stands the entire mass of the working class. In short, from the first moment of victory we must no longer direct our distrust against the beaten reactionary enemy, but against our former allies, against the party who are now about to exploit the common victory for their own ends only.

(ii) In order that this party, whose betrayal of the workers will begin with the first hour of victory, should be frustrated in its nefarious work, it is necessary to organize and arm the proletariat. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, guns, and ammunition must be carried out at once; we must prevent the revival of the old bourgeois militia, which has always been directed against the workers. Where the latter measure cannot be carried out, the workers must try to organize themselves into an independent guard, with their own chiefs and general staff, to put themselves under the order, not of the Government, but of the revolutionary authorities set up by the workers. Where workers are employed in State service they must arm and organize in special corps, with chiefs chosen by themselves, or form part of the proletarian guard. Under no pretext must they give up their arms and equipment, and any attempt at disarmament must be forcibly resisted. Destruction of the influence of bourgeois democracy over the workers, immediate independent and armed organization of the workers, and the exaction of the most irksome and compromising terms from the bourgeois democracy, whose triumph is for the moment unavoidable—these are the main points which the proletariat, and therefore also the League, has to keep in sight during and after the coming upheaval.

(iii) As soon as the new Government is established they will commence to fight the workers. In order to be able effectively to oppose the petty bourgeois democracy, it is in the first place necessary that the workers should be independently organized in clubs, which should soon be centralized. The central authority, after the overthrow of the existing Governments, will at their earliest opportunity transfer its headquarters to Germany, immediately call together a congress, and make the necessary proposals for the centralisation of the workers' clubs under an Executive Committee, who will have their headquarters in the centre of the movement. The rapid organization, or at least the establishment of a provincial union of the workers' clubs, is one of the most important points in our considerations for invigorating and developing the Workers' Party. The next result of the overthrow of the existing Government will be the election of a national representation. The proletariat must see to it first that no worker shall be deprived of his suffrage by the trickery of the local authorities or Government commissioners; secondly, that beside the bourgeois democratic candidates there shall be put up everywhere working-class candidates, who, as far as possible, shall be members of the League, and for whose success all must work with every possible means. Even in constituencies where there is no prospect of our candidate being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain

their independence, to steel their forces, and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats means assisting the reactionary parties. All such talk is but calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the Proletarian Party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national representation. The victorious democrats could, if they liked, even prevent the reactionary party having any successes at all, if they only used their newly won power with sufficient energy.

The first point which will bring the democrats into conflict with the proletaariat is the abolition of all feudal rights. The petty bourgeois democrats, following the example of the first French Revolution, will hand over the lands as private property to the peasants; that is, they will leave the agricultural laborers as they are, and will but create a petty bourgeois peasantry, who will pass through the same cycle of material and spiritual misery in which the French peasant now finds himself.

The workers, in the interest of the agricultural proletariat as well as in their own, must oppose all such plans. They must demand that the confiscated feudal lands shall be nationalized and converted into settlements for the associated groups of the landed proletariat; all the advantages of large-scale agriculture shall be put at their disposal; these agricultural colonies, worked on the co-operative principle, shall be put in the midst of the crumbling bourgeois property institutions. Just as the democrats have combined with the small peasantry, so we must fight shoulder to shoulder with the agricultural proletariat. Further, the democrat will either work directly for a federal republic, or at least, if they cannot avoid the republic one and indivisible, will seek to paralyze the centralization of government by granting the greatest possible independence to the municipalities and provinces. The workers must set their face against this plan, not only to secure the one and indivisible German republic, but to concentrate as much power as possible in the hands of the Central Government. They need not be misled by democratic platitudes about freedom of the communes, self-determination, etc. In a country like Germany, where there are so many mediaeval remnants to be swept away and so much local and provincial obstinacy to be overcome, under no circumstances must parishes, towns, and provinces be allowed to be made into obstacles in the way of the revolutionary activity which must emanate from the centre. That the Germans should have to fight and bleed, as they have done hitherto, for every advance over and over again in every town and in every province separately cannot be tolerated. As in France in 1793, so it is today the task of the revolutionary party in Germany to centralize the nation.

We have seen that the democrats will come to power in the next phase of the movement, and that they will be obliged to propose measures of a more or less socialistic nature. It will be asked what contrary measures should be proposed by the workers. Of course they cannot in the beginning propose actual communist measures, but they can (i) compel the democrats to attack the old social order from as many sides as possible, disturb their regular procedure and compromise themselves, and concentrate in the hands of the State as much as possible of the productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc. (ii) The measures of the democrats, which in any case are not revolutionary but merely reformist, must be pressed to the point of turning them into direct attacks on private property; thus, for instance, if the petty bourgeois propose to purchase the railways and factories, the workers must demand that such railways and factories, being the property of the reactionaries, shall simply be confiscated by the State without compensation. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves declare for a moderate progressive tax, the workers must insist on a tax

so steeply graduated as to cause the collapse of large capital; if the democrats propose the regulation of the National Debt, the workers must demand State bankruptcy. The demands of the workers will depend on the proposals and measures of the democrats.

If the German workers will only come to power and to the enforcement of their class interests after a prolonged revolutionary development, they will at least gain the certainty that the first act of this revolutionary drama will coincide with the victory of their class in France, and this will surely accelerate the movement of their own emancipation. But they themselves must accomplish the greater part of the work; they must be conscious of their class interests and take up the position of an independent party. They must not be diverted from their course of proletarian independence by the hypocrisy of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. Their battle-cry must be: "The revolution in permanence."

London, March, 1850.

The Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association

(BY KARL MARX)

Delivered to the Public Meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, on 28th September, 1864, at Which the Association Was Founded

Workers, Comrades!

It is an extremely momentous fact that the misery of the working class in the years 1848-1864 has not lessened, in spite of the unexampled development of industry and growth of trade during this period.

In the year 1850 one of the conservative organs of the British bourgeoisie, one of the best informed papers, predicted that when England's imports and exports rose by 50 per cent, pauperism would fall to the vanishing point.

Very well! On 7th April, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone, charmed his parliamentary hearers with the information that the total import and export trade of Great Britain in 1863 had grown to the sum of 443,955,000 pounds sterling: "An astonishing sum which amounts to nearly three times the total trade of the not distant epoch of 1843." Then he proceeds to enlarge somewhat upon "poverty." "Think on those," he continues, "who stand continually on the verge of pauperism," . . . "on the stationery wages" . . . "on the human life which" . . . "in nine cases out of ten is simply a struggle for existence." He did not speak of the people of Ireland who more and more are replaced, in the North by machines and in the South by sheep, although in that unhappy land even the sheep diminish in numbers though not so rapidly as the men. He did not repeat what the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand in a sudden access of fear had divulged.

When the panic over garroting had reached its height the House of Lords set up a parliamentary commission to enquire into transportation and penal servitude. In the voluminous blue book containing their report issued in 1863 the truth came to light, and with official facts and figures it was proved that the worst criminals, the convicts of England and Scotland, endured less hardship and were much better nourished than the agricultural workers of these two countries. This is not all. When the Civil War in the United States threw the factory workers of Lancashire and Cheshire on the street, the same House of Lords despatched a doctor into the industrial areas with the mission of discovering the smallest quantity of carbon and nitrogen, in the form of the cheapest and simplest foods, which was necessary on the average to "prevent hunger sickness." Dr. Smith, the medical authority employed, stated that 28,000 grains of carbon and 1,330 grains of nitrogen per week were just sufficient, on the average, to maintain a male adult above the level of famine fever and he also discovered that the sparse diet to which the cotton workers, through the pressure of dire need had been brought almost equalled this minimum. Take notice now! This same learned doctor was later on once more directed by the Medical

Officer of the Privy Council to undertake an enquiry into the mode of living of the poorer sections of the working class. The result of his investigation is contained in the the Sixth Report on Public Health, which was published by the command of parliament in the course of this year. What did the doctor discover? That the silk-weavers, the dressmakers, the hand shoemakers, the stocking-knitters, and other workers did not enjoy, on the average, even the famine ration of the cotton workers, did not obtain even the minimum of carbon and nitrogen, "just sufficient to prevent famine fever." "In addition," we quote from the official report, "it was found among the families of agricultural laborers in which enquiries were carried out, that their diet was deficient by over a fifth part of the necessary carbon and by over a third of the necessary nitrogen, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Somersetshire) the average fare of whole parishes did not contain the required quantities." "It must be borne in mind," continues the report, "that want of food is only borne with great reluctance and that people only come down to a famine diet after they have sacrificed many other necessities . . . even cleanliness under such circumstances is costly and wearisome and where an endeavor is made out of self-respect to retain it, there the result will be an intenser agony of hunger. These are painful considerations especially when it is remembered that the poverty of which we are speaking here is not the well deserved penalty of idleness, but in every case is the poverty of working sections of the population. It must be said that the labor which is recompensed with insufficient rations has actually to a boundless extent expanded." The report contains the peculiar and unexpected fact "that of the four parts of the United Kingdom," England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, "the agricultural population of England, the most fertile portion, is by far the worst nourished" nevertheless that even the agricultural workers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Somersetshire are better fed than the great mass of skilled home workers in the East End of London.

These are official data, published by command of Parliament in the year 1864, during the thousand year reign of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer communicated to the House of Commons the fact that "the condition of the average British worker had improved to such an extraordinary degree as had never been witnessed in the history of all times and all countries.

With these official congratulations the dry remarks of the official Public Health Report do not harmonize: "The public health of a country means the health of the mass of its population, and this mass can hardly be healthy until its lowest sections have reached the required degree of well-being."

Dazzled by the "progress of the national wealth," by the statistical figures which dance before his eyes, in the excess of his transports the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims:

"From 1842 till 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by six per cent; in the eight years from 1853 till 1861, it has expanded by twenty per cent if we compare the income of the latter, with that of the former year. The facts are so astonishing that they appear to be almost incredible" . . . "This intoxicating increase of wealth and power," further adds Mr. Gladstone, "is exclusively limited to the circle of the propertied classes."

You well know under what conditions of shattered health, damaged morals and spiritual ruin "this intoxicating increase of wealth and power exclusively for the propertied classes" was produced by the working class; this is amply demonstrated in the latest "Report on Public Health," where it deals with the workrooms of tailors, printers and female confection workers. Compare also the "Report of the Commission on Child Labor" of 1863, where the following statements are made:

"The calling of a pottery worker, and this applies both to men and women, has had effects of a physical and of a psychical nature upon the people and leads to degeneration" . . . "unhealthy children will in time be unhealthy adults," . . . "a progressive degeneration of the race is inevitable" and "were it not for a continuous recruiting of the industrial population from the adjoining country districts and marriages between factory workers and members of healthier sections of the population, the deterioration of the population of Staffordshire would be far greater than it is."

Furthermore consider what is revealed in Mr. Tremenheere's blue book on "The Grievances of the Journeymen Bakers."

And who has failed to shudder at the apparently contradictory report of the Factory Inspectors, or the still more illuminating information afforded by the Mortality Lists, that the health of the workers of Lancashire at a time when their means of existence were reduced to the barest famine ration, actually improved because they were through the failure of the cotton supply at the same time kept out of the cotton factories; and that the mortality of the children diminished because the mothers at length had the time to feed them on the breast, instead of with Godfrey's opium mixture .

Now for the reverse of the medal! The Income and Property Tax Lists which were laid before the House of Commons on 20th July, 1864, inform us, that the persons having a yearly income of 50,000 pounds or over, in the period from 5th April, 1862, till 5th April, 1863, had increased by 13, so that their number rose in one year from 67 to 80.

The same Lists expose the fact that some 3,000 persons share a yearly income of some 25 million pounds sterling, very nearly as much as the whole income of the entire body of agricultural laborers in England and Wales. Take the statistics of 1861 and it will be found that the number of male landlords in England and Wales has fallen from 16,934 in 1851 to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of the ownership of land in ten years has advanced by 11 per cent. Let the concentration of the ownership of the soil in a few hands continue to go forward at the same pace as hitherto, and soon the land question will be simplified in the same remarkable way that it was in the time of the Roman Empire, when Nero with scornful laughter made the discovery that half of the province of Africa was the property of six lords.

We have dwelt so long upon these facts "that are so astonishing that they appear incredible" because England stands at the head of commercial and industrial Europe. It will be fresh in your minds, that only a few months ago one of the exiled sons of Louis Philippe congratulated the English agricultural laborers upon being in a position so much better than that of their less favorably placed comrades on the other side of the Channel. And in fact with somewhat altered local dress, and in a more diminutive setting, the English phenomena are repeated in all the industrial and progressive lands of the Continent. In all of them is to be found since 1848 an unheard of development of industry and a never previously equalled increase of exports and imports. In all of them was "the increase of wealth and power exclusively in the circles of the possessing classes truly intoxicating." With them all we find as in England in the case of a minority of the working class a trifling rise of the real wages, that is to say, the quantity of means of existence that can be purchased for the money wage; in the most of cases however the rise of the money wage means as little any real increase in well-being as, i.e., in the case of the inmates of the poorhouses or orphan asylums of London, when the cost of meeting their barest physical needs amounts in 1861 to nine pounds fifteen shillings and eight pence as against seven pounds seven shillings and four pence in 1852.

Throughout the great mass of the working class sink down into still greater misery, at least in relation to the rise of the upper classes in the

social scale. And so in every country it has now become a truth, demonstrated to be so for every unprejudiced person, denied only by those who have an interest in misleading others by raising false expectations, that no perfecting of machinery, no application of science to industry, no improvement of the means of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening out of new markets, no free trade and not all these things put together can do away with the misery of the toiling masses, but rather on the contrary that upon the present false basis every new development of the productive power of labor must lead to the widening of the gulf between the classes and to the heightening of social antagonisms. During this intoxicating epoch of economic progress death from starvation raised itself almost to the rank of a social institution in the capital of the British Empire. In the annals of world history this epoch will be characterized by the more impetuous course, the more expanded range and the deadlier effects of the social plague known as the commercial and industrial crisis.

After the miscarriage of the revolution of 1848 all organizations and papers of the Workers' Parties on the Continent were suppressed by the unsparring use of force. The progressive sons of labor fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic and the short-lived dream of freedom vanished in an epoch of industrial fever, moral stagnation and political reaction. The defeat of the working class of the continent, in some part aided by the diplomacy of the English government, which then as today acted in fraternal solidarity with the St. Petersburg Cabinet, soon communicated its contagious effect to this side of the Channel. While the defeat of their brothers on the continent discouraged the English workers and weakened their faith in their own power, it restored once more the somewhat shaken self-confidence of the landlords and money lords. With shameless effrontery these withdrew concessions, that had already been publicly announced. The discovery of new goldfields led to a tremendous emigration, which left behind in the ranks of the British proletariat a gap that could not be filled. Others of their former most energetic members allowed themselves to be corrupted by the bait of temporary better employment and higher wages and "took existing conditions into account" in their activities. All attempts to restore or to reorganize the Chartist movement, completely failed; the organs of the working class in the press one after another went under for want of support from the masses and the English working class appeared in fact as never before to be completely content with the position of political nullity into which they had fallen. If there had been before no community of action between the workers of Great Britain and those of the European mainland, there was now, at any rate, a community of defeat.

And still the period since the revolution of 1848 is not without its bright side. Here we will reflect upon two great events. After a thirty years' struggle, conducted with the most admirable persistency, the English working class were able by taking advantage of a momentary split between the landlords and the money lords to get the Ten Hours Bill passed into law. The great physical, moral and spiritual benefits that the factory workers have received from this measure of which one can find proof by consulting the half-yearly reports of the Factory Inspectors, are now recognized on all hands. The most of the Continental governments find themselves compelled to introduce the English Factory Acts in a more or less modified form and the English Parliament itself is forced every year to expand their sphere of influence. However, putting aside the practical importance of these measures for the regulation of labor, their remarkable success has another still higher meaning. The bourgeoisie through the medium of Dr. Ure, Professor Senior and other wise men had advanced the statement in their best known scientific organs, and had proved it to their own complete satisfaction, that every legal limitation of the working time of English industry would sound its death-knell, and that it could only exist vampire-like by sucking human blood and especially the blood of children. In olden times child murder was a secret rite of the religion of Moloch, which was

only practiced perhaps once a year on the occasion of great festivals, and above all Moloch had no express preference for the children of the poor.

This struggle over the legal limitation of the working day raged all the more violently, the more it, apart from checking the greed of the individual employer, actually intervened in the great antagonism between the blind rule of the law of supply and demand, the political economy of the bourgeoisie, and the principle of the social regulation of production, the political economy of the working class. And for that reason the Ten Hours Act was not merely a great political advance, it was at the same time the victory of a principle. For the first time in the clear light of day the political economy of the bourgeoisie suffered defeat at the hands of the political economy of the working class.

Yet a still greater victory of the political economy of labor over the political economy of capital stands before our eyes. We speak of the co-operative movement especially of the co-operative factories which some audacious "hands" without any other assistance have established. The value of these great social experiments can hardly be estimated highly enough. Through deeds and not by arguments these workers have proved that production on a large scale and in harmony with the progress of modern science can be carried on without the existence of a ruling class, who employ a class of "hands"; that to realize the fruits of industry, it is not necessary that the means of labor should be monopolized as a means of dominating the workers and exploiting them; that, just like Slavery and Serfdom so also Wage-Labor is only a transitory, subordinate social form which is destined to vanish before associated labor, which will accomplish its work with willing hands, vigorous mind and cheerful heart. In England the seeds of the co-operative principles were sown by Robert Owen; the worker-experiments on the Continent were in fact the practical outcome of the theory, which if not discovered in 1848, was at any rate then loudly proclaimed.

At the same time the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 proves undoubtedly (what the most intelligent leaders of the working class in the years 1851 and 1852 had already thought of the co-operative movement in England) that however correct in principle and useful in practice co-operative labor is; still, while it is limited to the occasional experiments of narrow circles of isolated workers, it can never acquire the strength necessary to hold the geometrically progressive increase of monopoly in check, nor to free the masses, aye not even enough to lighten considerably the weight of their misery. Perhaps this is just the reason why some kinds of aristocrats, philanthropic fine talkers of the bourgeoisie and even some of the cunning tradesmen of political economy have suddenly turned round and are now in a disgusting fashion coquetting with this same co-operative system, which they formerly though vainly sought to kill in the germ by scoffing at it as a mere utopia of dreamers or by damning it as a Socialist heresy. In order to free the workers, the co-operative system requires to develop on a national scale and following from that must be furthered by national means. For their part the lords of the land and the lords of capital will continue steadily to use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their monopoly. Instead of furthering the emancipation of the workers, they will act so as to bring every possible obstacle in the way. It was spoken from the bottom of his heart when Lord Palmerston, the defender of the rights of the Irish farmers in the last session of parliament, exclaimed with emphasis: "The House of Commons is a house of landlords."

Therefore to capture political power is now the great duty of the working class. This appears to have been understood for simultaneously in England, France, Germany and Italy indications of a revival are to be seen and in all these countries attempts at the political reorganization of the workers party are now being made.

One element of success is possessed by the workers — their great numbers. But the mass can only bring their pressure to bear when an organization has gathered them together and given them an intelligent lead. Former experience has shown how neglect of the bonds of brotherhood, which can unify and encourage the workers of the various lands in all their struggles for freedom to steadfastly stand by one another, leads to the punishment of the workers through the frustration of their unconnected attempts. Urged by the knowledge of this need workers of various countries have on 28th September, 1864, at a public meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, founded the International Association.

Still another principle inspires the assembly. If the freeing of the working-class of the various nations demands their brotherly working together, how shall this great aim be reached while a foreign policy is carried on which is directed to the furthering of infamous purposes, arouses national prejudices and in robber ways squanders the goods and blood of the people? Not the wisdom of the ruling class, but the heroic opposition of the English working class saved Western Europe from the disgrace of sending a military expedition for the perpetuation and extension of slavery on the other side of the ocean.

The shameless applause, the sham sympathy, or the idiotic indifference with which the higher classes of Europe received the annexation of the Caucasian Mountain regions by Russia and the assassination of heroic Poland, the monstrous, unresisted encroachments of this barbarous power, whose capital is St. Petersburg and whose influence exists in every cabinet of Europe, has taught the working class that their duty lies in mastering the secrets of international politics, in keeping a watch upon the activities of their governments and, when necessary, with all the power at their command, counteracting such activities. And when these designs of the ruling class have been brought to nought, the workers must come forward in a united fashion with the simultaneous demand that the simple laws of morality and justice, which are considered right in the relations of private persons, shall be recognized as the supreme law governing the intercourse of nations. The struggle for such a foreign policy is embraced in the universal struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

"Proletarians of All Lands! Unite!"

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