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## Lenin on Engels: On the 40th anniversary of Engel's death

Vladimir Ilich Lenin

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*On the 40th Anniversary of Engels' Death*

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LENIN

ON

ENGELS

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

FREDERICK ENGELS, the life-long collaborator of Karl Marx and co-founder with him of scientific socialism, died on August 5, 1895. This pamphlet is issued in commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the death of Engels.

While the present pamphlet by no means exhausts everything written by Lenin on Engels, it offers a brief evaluation and appreciation of Engels by the direct continuer of his and Marx's work. Included are Lenin's speech at the unveiling of a monument to Marx and Engels on the first anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia; an article on Engels written shortly after his death; and an evaluation of Engels as one of the founders of Communism.

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## SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT TO MARX AND ENGELS ON NOVEMBER 7, 1918

WE ARE unveiling a monument to the leaders of the world workers' revolution, to Marx and Engels.

Humanity suffered and languished for ages under the oppression of a tiny handful of exploiters who tortured millions of toilers. But while the exploiters of the previous epoch, the landlords, robbed and pressed down the peasants, the serfs, who were disunited, scattered and ignorant, the exploiters of the new period saw before them, among the down-trodden masses, the vanguard of these masses: the industrial factory workers of the towns. The factory united them, town life enlightened them, the common struggle in strikes as well as revolutionary action hardened them.

The great world-wide historical service of Marx and Engels lies in the fact that they proved by scientific analysis the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and its transition to communism under which there will be no more exploitation of man by man.

The great world-wide historical service of Marx and Engels lies in this, that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their calling: to be the first to rise in the revolutionary fight against capital and unite around themselves in this struggle *all* the toilers and the exploited.

We are living in a happy time, when the forecast of the great socialists is beginning to come true. We all see the dawn of the international socialist revolution in a whole

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number of countries. The unspeakable horrors of the imperialist butchery of the peoples are evoking the heroic upsurge of the oppressed masses, and are increasing their forces tenfold in the struggle for emancipation.

May the monument to Marx and Engels remind the millions of workers and peasants that we do not stand alone in the struggle. The workers of the more advanced countries are rising side by side with us. Hard battles are still in store for them and ourselves. The yoke of capital will be broken in the common struggle and socialism will finally triumph!

## FREDERICK ENGELS \*

*Oh, what a lamp of reason ceased to burn,  
What a heart had ceased to throb! \*\**

IN LONDON, on August 5, 1895, Frederick Engels breathed his last. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the most remarkable scientist and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilized world. Ever since fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the lifework of both friends became their common cause. To understand, therefore, what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must clearly master the significance of the work and teaching of Marx in the development of the contemporary labor movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class with its demands was the necessary outcome of the modern economic order, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They have shown that it is not the well-meaning attempts of some noble-minded individuals that will deliver humanity from the ills which now oppress it, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat. Marx and Engels, in their scientific works, were the first to explain that socialism is not the fancy of dreamers but the final aim and the inevitable result of the development of the productive forces of modern society. All recorded history up till now was the history of

\* Written in 1895, soon after the death of Engels.—*Ed.*

\*\* From a well-known verse by Nekrassov written on the death of the famous revolutionary publicist of the 'fifties and 'sixties, Dobrolubov.

class struggle, the change of domination and the victory of one social class over another. And this will continue until the bases of the class struggle and class rule—private property and anarchic social production—have ceased to exist. The interests of the proletariat demand the overthrow of these bases, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been made their own by the whole proletariat fighting for its emancipation, but when the two friends in the 'forties took part in the socialist literature and social movements of their time, such opinions were something quite new. At that time there were many people—talented and mediocre, honest and dishonest—who, carried away by the struggle for political freedom and the struggle against the autocracy of kings, police and priests, did not see the antagonism of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These people did not even admit the idea of the workers coming forward as an independent social force. There were, on the other hand, many dreamers, some of them men of genius, who thought that it was but necessary to convince the rulers and governing classes of the injustice of the modern social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace on earth and general well-being. They dreamt of a socialism without struggle. Finally, almost all the socialists of that day and the friends of the working class generally considered the proletariat only an *ulcer* and observed with horror how, with the growth of industry, this ulcer was growing too. All of them, therefore, contemplated how to stop the development of industry, together with the proletariat, how to stop the

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“wheel of history.” Contrary to the general fear of the growth of the proletariat, Marx and Engels placed all their hopes on its continuous growth. The greater the number of proletarians, the greater will be their power as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible the coming of socialism. In a few words, the services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed thus: they taught the working class to know itself and become class-conscious and they substituted science for dreaming.

This is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. This is why we must give in this volume (the aim of which is, as in all our publications, to awaken class consciousness in the Russian workers) an outline of the life and activity of Frederick Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine province of the Prussian kingdom. His father was a manufacturer. In 1823, Engels was forced by family circumstances to enter one of the Bremen commercial houses as a salesman, before completing his course at the *gymnasium*. His commercial occupation did not prevent Engels from working on his scientific and political education. While still at the *gymnasium* he came to hate autocracy and the arbitrariness of officials. His studies of philosophy led him further. The teaching of Hegel dominated German philosophy at that time, and Engels became his disciple. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, in whose service he was occupying the post of professor in the Berlin University, the *teaching* of Hegel was revolutionary. The faith of Hegel in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental proposition of the Hegelian philosophy that a



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constant process of change and development is going on in the universe, had led those of the students of the Berlin philosopher, who did not desire to reconcile themselves with the actual state of things, to the idea that the struggle with the actual state of things, the struggle with the existing wrong and ruling evil, is equally rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if one set of institutions is replaced by others, then why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or the Russian tsar—or the enrichment of an insignificant minority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people—continue forever?

The philosophy of Hegel spoke of the development of the mind and ideas; it was *idealistic*. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, man, human and social relations. Marx and Engels, while maintaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development,\* rejected the preconceived idealistic outlook. Turning to life, they saw that it is not the development of mind that explains the development of nature, but on the contrary, mind must be explained from nature, from matter. . . . Contrary to Hegel and other Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Casting a materialistic glance at the universe and humanity, they perceived that just as material causes lay at the basis of all phenomena of nature, so also the development of human society was conditioned by the development of material productive forces. The relations in which men stand to each other in the production of things necessary for the satisfaction of their human needs depend

\* Marx and Engels pointed out, many a time, that they, in their intellectual development, are very much indebted to the great German philosophers, particularly Hegel. "Without German philosophy," says Engels, "there would have been no scientific socialism."

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upon the development of the productive forces. And it is in these relations that the explanation is to be found of all the phenomena of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws.

The development of productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that the same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It destroys property, the basis of the modern social order; this development itself tends towards the very aim which the socialists put before themselves. The socialists need but understand which of the social forces is, by its position in modern society, interested in the realization of socialism and imbue this force with a consciousness of its interests and historical tasks. The proletariat is that force. Engels made his acquaintance with the proletariat in England, in the center of British industry, in Manchester, whither he moved in 1842, entering into the service of a commercial house of which his father was a shareholder. Here, Engels did not merely sit in the factory office but walked about the slums in which the workers were cooped up and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been discovered before him concerning the position of the British working class and made a careful study of all the official documents that were accessible to him. The fruit of his studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.

We have already mentioned above the chief service of Engels as the author of *The Condition of the Working Class*

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*in England.* There were many, even before Engels, who described the sufferings of the proletariat and showed the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat was *not merely* a suffering class, but that it was the shameful economic position in which the proletariat finds itself which inexorably drives it forward and forces it to fight for its final emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself by its own efforts.* The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to the consciousness that there is no way out for them except socialism. On the other hand, socialism will be a power only when it becomes the aim of the *political* struggle of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, ideas, now owned by the entire thinking and fighting proletariat, but which at that time were quite new. These ideas were enunciated in a book, attractively written and full of the most authentic and terrible pictures of the distress of the British proletariat. That book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The impression created by it was very great. Engels' book began to be referred to everywhere as the best picture of the conditions of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before nor since 1845 did there appear so striking and truthful a picture of the distress of the working class.

It was only in England that Engels became a socialist. In Manchester he entered into relations with the workers of the British labor movement and began to write for the English socialist publications. In 1844, on returning to Germany via Paris, he became acquainted in that city with Marx, with whom he had already previously entered into

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correspondence. In Paris, under the influence of the French Socialists and French life, Marx also became a socialist. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or a Criticism of Critical Criticism*. In this book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and of which the greater part was written by Marx, are laid the foundations of that revolutionary materialistic socialism, the chief ideas of which we expounded above. *The Holy Family* is a humorous nickname for the Bauer brothers, philosophers, and their disciples. These gentlemen preached criticism, which stands above any reality, above parties and politics, rejecting all practical activity, and only "critically" contemplates the surrounding world and the events which take place in it. The Messrs. Bauer judged the proletariat disdainfully as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels decidedly attacked this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of the worker—a real human personality, downtrodden by the ruling classes and the government—they called not for contemplation but for a struggle for a better order of society. They considered, of course, the proletariat as the power that is capable of waging such a struggle and that is interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels published in the *German-French Annals* of Marx and Ruge, the *Critical Essay of Political Economy* in which he considered, from the point of view of socialism, the main phenomena of the modern economic order as the necessary consequence of the rule of private property. The intercourse with Engels undoubtedly contributed to the decision of Marx to make a study of political economy, the science in which his works produced a whole revolution.

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Engels lived in Brussels and Paris from 1845 to 1847, combining scientific pursuits with practical work among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels came into contact with the secret German "Communist League," which commissioned them to expound the main principles of socialism elaborated by them. This is how the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, printed in 1848, originated. This little booklet is worth a whole number of volumes: its spirit gives life to the movement of the entire organized and fighting proletariat of the civilized world.

The revolution of 1848, which first of all broke out in France and then spread to other countries in Western Europe, brought Marx and Engels back to their native land. Here, in Rhenish Prussia, they found themselves at the head of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which was published in Cologne. The two friends were the soul of all the revolutionary democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They defended to the utmost the interests of the people and of freedom, against the reactionary forces. The latter, as is known, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his emigrant life lost his rights as a Prussian subject, was banished, while Engels took part in the people's armed uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels escaped to London via Switzerland.

Marx also settled down in that city. Engels soon after became once more a clerk and afterwards a shareholder of the commercial house in Manchester in which he had worked in the 'forties. Up to 1870 he lived in Manchester while Marx lived in London, which did not, however, pre-

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vent them from maintaining a most lively intellectual intercourse: they corresponded almost daily. The two friends exchanged their views and knowledge in this correspondence and continued, in collaboration, to elaborate scientific socialism. In 1870, Engels moved to London and their common spiritual life, full of strenuous labor, was continued till 1883, the year when Marx died. Its fruit was, on the part of Marx, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on the part of Engels—a whole number of large and small works. Marx worked on an analysis of the complicated phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in works written in a very easy and frequently polemic style, elucidated the more general scientific questions and various events of the past and present, in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and the economic theories of Marx. Of these works of Engels, we will mention: a polemical work against Dühring (here are analyzed the most important questions in the domain of philosophy, natural science and social science),\* *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St. Petersburg, 1895), *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation with notes by Plekhanov, Geneva 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian government (translated into Russian in the *Geneva Social-Democrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), some remarkable articles on the housing question, and finally, two small but very valuable articles on the economic development of Russia (*Frederick Engels on Russia*, translated into

\* This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book. Unfortunately only a small portion of it is translated into Russian, containing an historical outline of the development of socialism—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. [The complete *Anti-Dühring* is now available in English: *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, International Publishers.—Ed.]

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Russian by Vera Zasulich, Geneva, 1894). Marx died before completing his great work, *Capital*. However, there was a rough draft, and Engels, after the death of his friend, undertook the heavy labor of working up and publishing the second and third volumes of *Capital*. In 1885 he published Volume II and in 1894 Volume III. (He did not succeed in working up Volume IV.) A great deal of work was required on these two volumes. The Austrian Social-Democrat Adler rightly remarked that by the publication of Volume II and III of *Capital* Engels erected in memory of the genius that had been his friend, a majestic monument on which he without intending it indelibly carved his own name. These two volumes of *Capital* are, indeed, the work of both Marx and Engels. Ancient legends tell of various touching examples of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relations surpass all the most touching tales of the ancients concerning human friendship. Engels always—and, on the whole, justly so—placed himself behind Marx. "With Marx," he wrote to an old friend, "I always played second fiddle." His love for Marx when the latter was alive, and his reverence for Marx's memory after the latter's death, were infinite. This stern fighter and strict thinker possessed a deeply loving soul.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels, in exile, were not occupied with science alone. Marx in 1864 formed the International Workingmen's Association and led it during the course of a whole decade. Engels too took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, according to the idea of Marx, united the proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance for the de-

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velopment of the labor movement. The unifying role of Marx and Engels continued even after the International Association came to an end in the 'seventies. Moreover, it may be said that their importance as spiritual leaders of the labor movement was constantly increasing in so far as the movement itself was growing incessantly. After the death of Marx, Engels alone continued to remain the counselor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought both by the German socialists (who, despite government persecution, rapidly and uninterruptedly increased in numbers) and the representatives of backward countries, such as Spaniards, Roumanians and Russians, who had to think out and weigh their first steps. All of them drew upon the rich treasures of knowledge and experience of old Engels.

Marx and Engels, both of whom knew the Russian language and read Russian books, took a lively interest in Russia, followed with sympathy the Russian revolutionary movement and maintained connections with Russian revolutionaries. Both of them were *democrats* before they became socialists, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* towards political despotism was strongly developed in them. This direct political feeling together with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, as well as their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive, particularly in regard to *politics*. Therefore, the heroic struggle of a small handful of Russian revolutionaries with the mighty tsarist government found the most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. The inclination, on the contrary, of turning, for the sake of



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supposed economic advantages, from the immediate and important task of Russian socialists—the winning of political freedom—naturally appeared in their eyes as suspicious and was even considered by them a betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. “The emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself”—this is what Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order that it may fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win for itself certain *political* rights. Besides this, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous importance also for the labor movement in Western Europe. Autocratic Russia was always a bulwark of the entire European reaction. The uncommonly favorable international position in which Russia was placed by the war of 1870, which for a long time put Germany and France at loggerheads, only increased, of course, the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia that requires the oppression of neither the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians nor that of other small peoples, and does not need the constant incitement of France against Germany—only a free Russia will enable modern Europe to breathe a sigh of relief from the military burdens, will weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and increase the power of the European working class. This is why Engels, for the sake also of the success of the labor movement in the West, ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia. By his death, the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

Eternal memory to Frederick Engels, the great champion and teacher of the proletariat!

## ENGELS AS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF COMMUNISM \*

THE CORRESPONDENCE opens with the letters of the twenty-four year old Engels to Marx in 1844. The situation in Germany at that time is brought into striking relief. The first letter is dated the end of September 1844 and was sent from Barmen, where the family of Engels lived and where he himself was born. Then Engels was not quite twenty-four years old. He is weary of the family surroundings and is endeavoring to tear himself free. His father—a despotic and religious manufacturer—is indignant with his son for running about to political meetings and for his communist convictions.

“Were it not for mother, whom I dearly love,” Engels writes, “I would not have stood it even the few days which still remain before my departure. You cannot imagine,” he complains to Marx, “what petty reasons, what superstitious fears are put forward here, in the family, against my departure.”

While Engels was in Barmen, where he was delayed a little longer by a love affair, he gave in to his father and for two weeks he went to work in the office of his father’s factory.

“Commerce is abominable,” he writes to Marx. “Barmen is an abominable city, abominable is the way they while their time away here, and it is particularly abominable to

\* From a review of the Marx-Engels correspondence, published in four volumes in Stuttgart in 1913; cf. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895: A Selection*, International Publishers.—Ed.

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remain not only a bourgeois but even a manufacturer, *i. e.*, a bourgeois who comes out actively against the proletariat.

"I console myself," continues Engels, "by working on my book on the condition of the working class." (This book appeared, as is known, in 1845 and is one of the best in the socialist literature of the world.) "Well, for outward appearances a communist may remain a bourgeois and the beast of burden of huckstery, as long as he does not engage in literary pursuits; but to carry on, at one and the same time, wide communist propaganda and engage in huckstery, in industrial business—this is impossible. Enough, I will go away. On the top of it the sleepy life in the family—Christian and Prussian through and through—I cannot stand it any longer. I might in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into communism."

Thus wrote young Engels. After the Revolution of 1848 life forced him to return to his father's office and to remain there for many long years "the beast of burden of huckstery," but, nevertheless, he stuck to his guns and created for himself not a Christian and Prussian but quite another comradesly atmosphere, and he succeeded in becoming for his whole life a relentless enemy of the "introduction of philistinism into communism."

Public life in a German province in 1844 resembled that in Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century before the 1905 Revolution. All were rushing to politics, everywhere there was seething indignation and opposition against the government. The priests attacked the youth for their atheism and the children in bourgeois families quarreled with their parents for their "aristocratic treatment of the servants or workers."

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The general spirit of opposition found its expression in everybody declaring himself a communist.

"The Police Commissary in Barmen is a communist," writes Engels to Marx. "I was in Cologne, in Dusseldorf, in Elberfeld—everywhere, on every step, you come across communists!"

"One ardent communist, an artist, a caricaturist named Seel, is going to Paris in two months. I am giving him an introduction to you. You will all like him. He is an enthusiast, loves music and will be useful as a cartoonist."

"Miracles are happening here in Elberfeld. Yesterday [this was written on February 22, 1845], in the biggest hall, in the best restaurant of the city, we held our third communist meeting. The first meeting was attended by 40 persons, the second by 130 and the third by 200 at least. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the moneyed aristocracy to the petty shopkeepers, was represented, with the exception only of the proletariat."

These are Engels' exact words. In Germany, they were all communists then, except the proletariat. Communism was then a form of expression of the opposition moods of all, and most of all—of the bourgeoisie.

"The most stupid, the most lazy and most philistine people, whom nothing in the world interested, is simply becoming enraptured with communism."

The chief preachers of communism were then people like our *Narodniki*, "Socialist-Revolutionaries," "Narodnik Socialists," etc., in reality well-meaning bourgeois more or less furious with the government.

And in such a situation, among countless numbers of would-be socialist tendencies and fractions, Engels was able

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to force his way towards *proletarian* socialism, without fearing to break with a mass of good people and ardent revolutionaries but bad communists.

1846. Engels is in Paris. Paris is bubbling over with politics and discussion of various socialist theories. Engels ravenously studies socialism and makes the personal acquaintance of Cabet, Louis Blanc and other outstanding socialists; he runs about visiting newspaper editors and attending various circles.

His main attention is directed to the most serious and most widespread socialist teaching of that time—Proudhonism. Even before the publication of Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty* (October 1846; Marx's reply—the famous *Poverty of Philosophy* appeared in 1847), Engels criticized with relentless sarcasm and remarkable depth the main ideas of Proudhon which were then particularly taken up by the German socialist Grün. His excellent knowledge of the English language (which Marx mastered much later) and English literature enabled Engels at once (letter of September 18, 1846) to cite examples of the bankruptcy in England of the notorious Proudhonist "labor bazaars." Proudhon disgraces socialism, Engels exclaims indignantly. According to Proudhon the workers must *buy out* capital.

Engels at twenty-six simply destroys "true socialism." We find this expression in his letter of October 23, 1846 (long before the *Communist Manifesto*), where Grün is named as its chief representative. "Anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois and philistine" teaching, "empty phrases," all sorts of "general humanitarian" aspirations, "superstitious fear of 'crude' communism" (*Löffel-Kommunismus*, literally: "spoon communism"), "peaceful plans of making hu-

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manity happy"—such are the epithets applied by Engels to *all* species of pre-Marxian socialism.

"The Proudhon Association's scheme," writes Engels, "was discussed for three evenings. At first I had nearly the whole clique against me, but at the end only Eisermann and the other three followers of Grün. The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force" (October 23, 1846). . . .

"In the end I got furious . . . and made a direct attack" on my opponents which "enabled me to lure" them "into an *open attack* on communism. . . . I announced that before I took part in further discussion we must vote whether we were to meet here as communists or not. . . . This greatly horrified the Grünites" and they began to assure us that "they met together 'for the good of mankind'. . . . Moreover *they must first know* what communism really was. . . . I gave them an extremely simple definition" so as to admit of no subterfuges on the gist of the question. . . . "I therefore defined," writes Engels, "the objects of the communists in this way: (1) to achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; (2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; (3) to recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force." (Written one and a half years before the 1848 Revolution.)

The discussion concluded by the meeting adopting Engels' definition by thirteen votes against two Grünites. These meetings were attended by nearly twenty journeymen carpenters. Thus in Paris, sixty-seven years ago, the foundations were laid for the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

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A year afterwards, in his letter of November 24, 1847, Engels informs Marx that he has prepared a draft of the *Communist Manifesto*, declaring himself, by the way, against putting it in the form of a catechism as previously proposed.

"I begin," writes Engels: "What is communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former workers, development of the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, results. . . . In conclusion the party policy of the communists. . . ."

This historical letter of Engels on the first draft of the work which traversed the whole world, and which, up to the present, is true in all its fundamentals, and is as full of life and as modern as if it were written yesterday, clearly proves that the names of Marx and Engels are justly placed side by side, as names of the founders of modern Socialism.

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