

Ideological Connotation of Early Communism in the *Communism Principle* and the *Communist Manifesto**

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Abstract—To establish the scientism of Marxism, stay true to the mission and adhere to the guidance of Marxism comes from truly understanding Marxism. Close relevancy and development exist between the *Communism Principle* and the *Communist Manifesto*. Understanding the Engels' perspective of treating bourgeoisie and communism in the *Communism Principle* contributes to accurately digesting the major problems to be solved by communism in the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels and to better sticking to the Marxism standpoint, viewpoint and method. The *Communist Manifesto* is to explain questions including what it is, what to do and distinguish what, which are the main problems that would be solved by communism of Marx and Engels.

Keywords—the *Communism Principle*; the *Communist Manifesto*; communism; problem

I. INTRODUCTION

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of Marx's birthday and the 170th anniversary of the announcement of the *Communist Manifesto* and stay true to the mission, the scientism of Marxism must be established. The scientism derives from true understanding, true believing and true using, with the foundation of true understanding. In order to truly understand Marxism, it is necessary to make clear the true connotation of the original idea manifested in the classical texts of the founder of Marxism.

In the introduction of the *Communist Manifesto* (the *Manifesto* for short), Marx and Engels put forward, "Communism has been generally accepted as a kind of power by all the powers in Europe". It is jointly encircled and suppressed by all the old powers of Europe and is attacked by the opposition party and people from the opposition party. By virtue of the word "Ghost", Marx and Engels not only strongly denounce the attacks but also let the possibility of communism represented by labor movement transcend the present capitalist society via truly understanding the inner crisis of the capitalist society, which has the significance of achieving the next stage of history. It indicates the communism should break through the suppression of "Ghost Rock", frankly and forthrightly advocate and practice its proposition. Therefore, they declare "It is time for the communist to openly explain their own opinions, purposes, intentions and use the manifesto of the

party to contradict the myth of communism ghost." [1] Close relevancy and succession exist between the *Communism Principle* (the *Principle* for short) and the *Manifesto*. Analyzing how Engels treats bourgeoisie and communism in the *Principle* and comparing the major problems to be solved by communism in the *Manifesto* can more accurately understand Marxism's standpoint, viewpoint and method and give full play to the guiding function of Marxism.

II. THE PRINCIPLE ELUCIDATES THE VIEWPOINT OF CORRECTLY TREATING BOURGEOISIE

The bourgeoisie produced along with the industrial revolution turns capital cost into the decisive force, and the periodic commercial crisis causes great danger for the capitalist system.

In the *Principle*, Engels elucidates how his opinion of how to treat bourgeoisie in the interrogation reply system that can be most easily understood by workers.

Bourgeoisie produced because of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution that happened successively in civilized countries around the world was in reality caused by steam and mechanized equipment. The machines that could only be afforded by the big capitalists changed the whole previous mode of production. The society gradually produced two new classes that merged all the other classes: One is the bourgeois class or bourgeoisie, "They in all the civilized countries have nearly occupied all the means of livelihood and the raw materials and tools (machines and factories) that are indispensable to produce these means of livelihood." [2] The other is the proletarian class or the proletariat. Without any property, they have to sell their labor to the bourgeois in order to obtain the means of livelihood that is necessary for survival.

The bourgeoisie makes capital become a decisive force. In the Industrial Revolution, because machine labor continuously lowers the price of industrial products, the old system about handicraft in factories or the industrial system that bases on manual labor are completely devastated. The bourgeoisie replaces the privilege of guild and craftsman with free competition, making capital become the decisive force. Then, the bourgeoisie politically declares itself as the first class through implementing the representative system that bases on the equality before the law in bourgeoisie and on the idea that free competition is acknowledged by the law. The increase of proletariat is synchronized with the increase of capital. With

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the continuous invention and application of new machines, the richer the bourgeois, the more the proletarian will be. The proletariat would have an increasingly hard time. Because both bourgeois and proletarian concentrate on metropolises that are most beneficial to the industrial development, the proletariats are aware of their power. "In this way, the Industrial Revolution breeds the social revolution conducted by the proletariat not only because the increase of the proletariat's discontent sentiment but also because of the growth of their power." [3]

The periodic commercial crisis makes bourgeois go bankruptcy, which perils the capitalist system. Any change in social system and every revolution in ownership relation produce the inevitable result that the new productive forces do not adapt to the old ownership relation. The large-scale industry has created the means like steam engine, which makes products very easy. "Large amounts of capitalists devote to industry, and the production exceeds the consumption quickly. As a result, the commodities produced cannot be sold, the so-called commercial crisis comes. Factories have to close, factory owners go bankruptcy and workers suffer from starvation." [4] This kind of crisis happens almost regularly. The crisis not only makes proletarian poor, but also lets tremendous bourgeois go bankruptcy. That is to say, the relationship between free competition and individual operation has become the shackle of industrial development. "The powerful productivity that easily grows has developed into the degree that cannot be controlled by private ownership and bourgeois, so that it often causes the extremely violent shock of social system. Only then abolishing private ownership is not only possible but also completely necessary." [5]

III. THE PRINCIPLE LAYS FOUNDATION FOR THE COMMUNISM VIEWPOINT OF THE MANIFESTO

The correct analysis lies on three aspects: the social system of communism, the communist organization and the communist.

In the Principle, Engels respectively discusses the influence of the social system of communism on families, how the communist organizations treat nationality and religion, the difference between communists and socialists and how communists treat other political parties. Communists emphasize the abolition of private ownership is the major requirement, "the new social system first deprives the right of management of individuals that compete with each other in the industry and all the production departments. Instead, all the production departments are operated by the whole society. That is to say, it is operated for the common interest, according to the common plan and under the participation of all social members." "The new social system would eliminate competition that is replaced by union." "Therefore, the private ownership must be abolished and replaced by the sharing of all the implements of production and the allocation of all the products according to the common agreement, namely the public ownership of property. The abolition of private ownership is even the most clear and concise summary of transforming the whole social system inevitably caused by the industrial development." The final result produced by the abolition of private ownership is "that the common association

formed by all the social members jointly and designedly makes use of the productivity; to develop production into the scale that can meet all people's demand; to end the situation of sacrificing some people's interests to meet other people's requirements; to thoroughly eliminate opposition between classes; to make all the people jointly enjoy the benefits created by people through eradicating the old division of labor, through industrial education and transforming type of work, and to make the talents of all social members get integrated development via the integration of urban and rural areas."

IV. THE MANIFESTO IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNISM VIEWPOINT IN THE PRINCIPLE

It mainly solves the problems including what is communism, what communism does, and what communism distinguishes.

The above arguments of Engels in the Principle lay foundation for the communism viewpoint in the Manifesto. The title of the new German edition of the Manifesto published in 1872 and the German editions published in 1883 and 1890 are was the Communism Manifesto instead of the Communist Manifesto. The major problems solved by the Manifesto also include the main problems to be solved by the communism. The Manifesto elucidates what it is, what to do and distinguish what, which become the main problems to be solved by the communism.

A. The Communism Should Solve the Problem of What It Is

What is bourgeois? Urban residents of early cities produced from the serfs in the medieval. The initial bourgeois elements developed from this level of citizens. Politically, the bourgeoisie "is the class oppressed under the feudal regime, is the armed and autonomous teams in communes, is the independent city republic formed in some places, is the third class that pays taxes in the monarchical states formed in other places; afterwards, during the period of handicraft workshops, it is the power in hierarchical monarchy or dictatorial monarchy to contend against the aristocracy, and is the main basis of large monarchical states; last, since the establishment of large-scale industry and world market, it has captured the exclusive political rule from modern countries with the representative system. Modern state power is nothing but the council that administrates the common affairs of the bourgeoisie." Economically, the essential condition for the survival and rule of bourgeoisie is the accumulation fortune controlled by private persons, and is the formation and appreciation of capital. It is the outcome of revolution of production mode and exchange mode. The discovery of America and the voyage bypassing the Africa opened open the door to success for the burgeoning bourgeoisie. The world market makes the bourgeoisie develop and increase their own capital, surpassing all the classes left in the medieval. The English annotation of Engels in the Manifesto in 1888 said, "The bourgeoisie refers to the modern capitalist class that occupies the society's means of production and uses hired labor." Later, in the process that the ruling class collapses, some aristocracy may turn into bourgeoisie.

What is proletarian? According to scattered contents, the proletarian namely modern workers include the small industrialists, small merchants and small rent-seekers, handicraftsmen and peasants that descend into the team of proletariat, as well as wage laborers recruited by the bourgeoisie, such as doctors, lawyers, priests, poets and scholars. Modern workers can only survive when they find jobs, and they can only find jobs when their labor gains capital. Workers, like other goods, are commodities. They become simple accessories of machines, slaves of bourgeoisie and bourgeois states, instruments of labor, enslaved by machines and supervisors and bourgeois who operate the factor all the time. The proletariat is the class of true revolution and the product of large-scale industry. Engels added English annotation in 1888, "The proletariat refers to the modern class of salary earners who do not have their means of livelihood and have to make a living through selling labors." When class struggle is close to decisive battle, some bourgeois thinkers may become proletariats.

What is communist? Communists do not have the interests that are different from the interest of the whole proletariat. Communist is not a special political party that opposes to other workers' party. In practice, communist is the most resolute part that plays the role of promotion all the time in the workers' party of all countries; in theory, communist understands the condition, process and general result of the proletarian movement. Communist emphasizes and sticks to the common interest of the whole proletariat regardless of nationality; communists represent the interests of the movement and the future of movement in the development phases experienced by the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

B. The Communist Should Solve the Problem of What to Do

What bourgeoisie do? The bourgeoisie is in constant struggle. First it opposes aristocracy, and later it opposes the bourgeoisie that has conflict of interest with industrial progress and frequently opposes the bourgeoisie in foreign countries. Through struggle, the bourgeoisie destroys the feudal system, including the feudal, patriarchal and idyllic relationship, and cuts off varied feudal fetters. It makes rural areas succumb to the ruling of cities, makes uncivilized and semi-civilized countries subject to civilized countries, makes the nationality of peasants subject to the nationality of bourgeoisie, and makes the east subject to the west. It is the first to prove what kind of achievement can be made by people's capacity for action. "It creates miracles that are completely different from Egyptian pyramids, Roman Aqueducts and gothic church; it completes the expedition that is completely different from the Great Trek and crusade." [6] It not only inherits the productivity created by previous society but also greatly promotes the development of social productivity on the basis of inheritance, creating the new productivity. "The productivity created by bourgeoisie in less than a century class rule is more and bigger than all the productivity created by all the previous generations." [7] In order to continuously meet the demand of expanding the market of products, the bourgeois created a world according to its appearance. It travels around the world, settles and develops everywhere and establishes relationship, which not only expands the world market and makes the production and

consumption of all countries become worldwide, but also turns intellectual products of all nationalities into public property, let all areas integrate into the united nationality with the united government, united law, united national class interests and united tariff. However, the weapon used by bourgeoisie to overturn feudal system is aiming at bourgeoisie itself. It causes dense population, makes means of production concentrate and makes properties in the possession of the few. It erases the holy aura of all the respected and august occupations and turns doctors, lawyers, priests, poets and scholars into wage labors that are hired by it. It tears down the tender veil covering on family relations and turns the relation into pure cash nexus. It increasingly wipes out the dispersed state of means of production, property and population. In face of overproduction, when the bourgeoisie have to overcome the obstacle via a variety of means, the whole bourgeois society would fall into disorder and the existence of bourgeois ownership would be threatened. In addition, the increasingly fierce competition between bourgeois also makes the extinction of bourgeois inevitable.

What proletariats do? The proletariats are at the bottom of today's society and would never chin up and chest out if they fail to destroy the upper class that forms the official society. Only by abolishing its own present ways of occupancy and then all the present ways of occupancy can proletariats obtain social productivity. Proletariats have nothing of themselves to protect, and they must destroy everything that protects and guarantees private properties. Therefore, the struggle of proletariats against bourgeoisie begins with its existence. Initially, workers battle against single bourgeois that directly exploits them. They attack relations of production and means of production, destroy foreign commodities that compete and machines. When bourgeoisie must and momentarily can initiate all the proletariats in order to achieve its political purpose, proletarians struggle with their enemies' enemies, such as remnants of tyrants, landlords, and non-industrial bourgeois and petty bourgeoisie. With the industrial development, workers begin to establish the alliance that opposes bourgeois and struggles against bourgeoisie even revolts. The increasingly developed vehicles created by large-scale industry connect workers around the world, merge local struggles into national struggles, class struggles even civil wars, until the war breaks out and becomes open revolution. Proletariats violently turn over bourgeoisie and establish rules. Finally, proletarians around the world stand together, only to lose shackles but to obtain the whole world. "All movements in the past are possessed by a few people or seek interests for the few. The movement of proletariats belongs to the vast majority of people and is the independent movement that seeks interests for the vast majority." [8] Therefore, the victory of proletariats is also inevitable.

What communists do? Communism does not abolish the general ownership but abolish the ownership of modern bourgeoisie with the last and the most complete manifestation of product production and occupancy that establishes on the exploitation of some people on other people. In this sense, communists can summarize their theory as the elimination of private ownership. The closest purpose of communists is to let proletariats form class that overturns the rule of bourgeoisie

and wrests political power. Instead of eliminating properties earned by individuals through labor, eliminating individuality and freedom, eliminating personal occupancy of products of labor for the direct life reproduction, communists are to eliminate individuality, independence and freedom of bourgeois, to let individuals at work have independence individuality, to eliminate the poor property of the occupancy, to change the labor of the living is a means that adds the value of cumulative labor and to make the cumulative labor only a means of expanding, enriching and improving the life of workers. Then, they turn capital into shared properties that belong to all members of society, which changes the social nature of property.

C. Communism Has to Solve the Problem of What Should Be Distinguished

1) *To distinguish the reactionary socialism:* It includes feudal socialism, socialism of petty bourgeoisie, German or “true” socialism and so forth. To arouse sympathy, aristocracies have to pose and make a complaint against the feudal socialism formed in the process of bourgeoisie for the interests of the exploited working class. It completely cannot understand the course of modern history but has the old feudalism on its body. It makes no secret of reactionary nature of its criticism and participates in all the violent measures adopted for the working class and reproaches that the revolutionary proletariats produced under the rule of bourgeoisie. Monastic socialism walks hand in hand with feudal socialism, and the Christian socialism is just the holy water sanctified by monks and priests. The socialism of petty bourgeoisie on the standpoint of itself speaks for workers. It thoroughly analyzes contradictions in the modern relations of production. However, in reality, it either attempts to recover the old means of production and means of exchange or attempts to squeeze modern means of production and exchange into the frame of old ownership relation. The root of German socialism no longer manifests as the struggle between two classes since literatures of French socialism and communism have been castrated. The “true” root of socialism lies in representing the interest of German urban petty bourgeois, making the requirement of socialism oppose political movements and become weapon of the government to struggle against German bourgeoisie.

2) *To distinguish the conservative or bourgeois socialism:* The various do-gooders stick to this kind of socialism. Changing the condition of material life understood by them is not to abolish the productive relations of bourgeoisie but to not change capital and the improvement of wage labor relations. They think bourgeois is for the interest of the working class.

3) *To distinguish the critical fancied socialism and communism:* It appears in the initial period when the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie does not develop. This kind of socialism sees class antagonism and the role of collapsing factors that occupy a dominant position in the society, but it cannot see the historical initiative of proletariats,

the political movements especially possessed by proletariats, and the material conditions emancipated by proletariats. It refuses all political movements, especially all revolutionary actions and attempts to achieve its goal via peace and to break a path for new social gospel through small experiment. Although these works contain criticism, its proposition has the nature of pure fantasy.

4) *To distinguish communists’ attitudes towards opposition parties:* Communists struggle for the closest purpose and interest of the working class, but they also represent the future of movements. Except for paying attention to Germany in the eve of bourgeois revolution, communists must analyze the UK, North America, France, Switzerland and Poland according to specific circumstance and adopt different strategies and methods respectively. For example, in France, communists must join up the democratic party of socialism to oppose the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, but reserve the right of criticizing its empty talk and fantasy. In Poland, communists have to support the political party that launched the Krakow uprising in 1846 but now takes Agrarian Revolution as the condition of national liberation.

V. CONCLUSION

The viewpoint of communism closely related in the Principle and the Manifesto has clearly expounded the irreconcilable system deficiency in the bourgeois era, revealing the tendency of the social development of human and giving people inspiration and strength.

Through analyzing problems to be solved by communism, Marx and Engels have elucidated the historic period opened by bourgeoisie. Class antagonism is not eliminated but simplified. “It replaces the old class, the old oppression condition and the old struggle with the new”, because “all social relations are unstable ceaselessly” and the unreasonable system that the few exploit the vast majority exists, people show extreme anxiety and restlessness. The turbulence and unrest in the whole society makes capitalists in a constant state of anxiety in the increasingly fierce competition, let alone the wage labors who feel uneasy because of being fired.

Marx and Engels also unveil the tendency of the social development of human being. The contradiction between productivity and productive relation is the basic contradiction of human society. The basic contradiction of capitalist society manifests as the contradiction between the socialization of production and the private occupancy of means of production. The basic contradiction will inevitably cause the periodic outbreak of commercial crisis, which greatly threatens the survival of the existing capitalist social system. It shows “the relation of bourgeoisie has been too narrow and cannot hold the fortune created by it”. The basic way of solving the basic contradiction is to eliminate private ownership, to replace bourgeoisie with socialism and to make the social development of human move towards communism.

Marx and Engels provide people with inspiration and strength. “The theoretical principle of communists does not base on the ideas and principles invented or found by

reformers of this or that world. These principles are nothing but the general statement of the existing class struggle and the real relationship of historical movements in front of us.”[9] In the 1930s and 1940s, the labor movements broken out in three major capitalist countries of Western Europe finally failed because of lacking the guidance of scientific theory and the leadership of Marxism political party. In the practice of unifying, organizing and coordinating the dispersed labor movements around the world and criticizing the wrong trend of thought, Marx and Engels put forward people can create new history of their own and find new paths under the guidance of scientific theory and the leadership of Marxism political party.

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