



International Memory of the World Register

***Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, draft manuscript page,
and
Das Kapital. Erster Band, Karl Marx's personal annotated copy
(The Netherlands and Germany)**

2012-21

1.0 Summary (max 200 words)

The *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (Communist Manifesto, 1848) and *Das Kapital. Erster Band* (Capital. Volume 1, 1867) are two of the most important publications of the 19th century, hugely influential to the present day. Both were written by Karl Marx, in cooperation with Friedrich Engels. Both were translated in practically every language, and published world-wide. These writings had a tremendous impact on the development of socialist, communist and other revolutionary movements throughout the 19th and 20st century. In recent years, Marx is recognized for his deep insights into the mechanisms of economic crises.

The *Manifest* and the first volume of *Das Kapital* are textbook examples of the vulnerability of documentary heritage. The original manuscripts for both publications were lost. One remaining page of a draft version of the *Manifest* and Marx's personal annotated copy of *Das Kapital* are the nearest equivalents. Marx's and Engels' remaining papers made a difficult and dangerous journey before arriving in safe storage with good conditions for access. They are being studied intensively to the present day in order to discover how these extraordinarily important publications developed, and to establish the exact words behind the many interpretations.

2.1 Name of nominator (person or organization)

- a) Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History, IISH), Amsterdam
- b) The German Commission for UNESCO

2.2 Relationship to the nominated documentary heritage

- a) Custodian of the nominated items
- b) Initiator of this nomination idea

2.3 Contact person(s) (to provide information on nomination)

- a) Prof. dr. Erik-Jan Zürcher, General Director IISH
- b) Christine M. Merkel, Head, Division of Culture, Secretary to the German Memory of the World Committee, German Commission for UNESCO

2.4 Contact details

a)

Name	Address
IISH	Cruquiusweg 31, Amsterdam (visiting address)
att. E.-J. Zürcher	PO Box 2169, 1000 CD Amsterdam, Netherlands

<i>Telephone</i>	<i>Facsimile</i>	<i>Email</i>
+31(0)20-6685866	+31(0)20-6654181	ezu@iisg.nl

b)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>
The German Commission for UNESCO att. Christine M. Merkel	Colmantstr. 15, 53115 Bonn, Germany

<i>Telephone</i>	<i>Facsimile</i>	<i>Email</i>
+49 228 60497 18	+49 228 60497 30	merkel@unesco.de

3.0 Identity and description of the documentary heritage

3.1 Name and identification details of the items being nominated

If inscribed, the exact title and institution(s) to appear on the certificate should be given

The one remaining manuscript page by Karl Marx for the *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (draft version, December 1847-January 1848), and Marx's personal, annotated copy of the first edition of *Das Kapital, Erster Band* (published Hamburg 1867) within the collection of manuscripts of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

3.2 Catalogue or registration details

Manuscript page *Manifest*: IISH, K. Marx and F. Engels Papers, inv. no. A 22
Annotated copy *Das Kapital*: IISH Library, callnr. D 1182/1 K

3.4 History/provenance

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was born in Trier, Germany. He studied law and philosophy, and was deeply influenced by Hegel and Feuerbach. After graduation he worked as journalist and editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. His radical writings attracted the authorities' attention. The paper was closed, and Marx moved to Paris to become co-editor for a journal of exiled Germans. Here, in 1844, he met Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), the son of a rich textile manufacturer. Working at a textile mill in Manchester, co-owned by his family, Engels studied the condition of the industrial working class, which led to his ground-breaking publication *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (Leipzig, 1845). Marx and Engels became friends and close collaborators. At the request of German authorities, Marx was evicted from Paris and went to Brussels in 1845, where he was joined by Engels.

Their radical publications made Marx and Engels two of the most important young theoreticians in the socialist movement. The Bund der Kommunisten (Communist League), a revolutionary socialist society based in London, invited them to write its program, a draft statement of its principles. Together, Marx and Engels drew up the concept. The final version was written by Marx, in the first weeks of 1848. The result was the *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, a pamphlet of only 23 pages, but of extraordinary scope. It is not a party program, but a polemic essay on how to bring about the downfall of the existing bourgeois-capitalist society, and the transfer of political power to the proletariat.

The *Manifest* starts with a section of historic and economic analysis, containing much of what Marx

would further investigate for the rest of his life, and of what would later become 'Marxism': the concept of class struggle; the antagonism between bourgeois and proletarian; relations of economic production defining relations in the political and cultural structure of society in a dialectical process; an analysis of the capitalist method of production in which the capitalist creates surplus value by owning the means of production and by the system of wage labour; the internal contradictions of capitalism growing and leading to a collapse, after which a communist society will arise.

The second section treats with the relation between proletarians and communists, and sketches elements of the future communist society, such as state-owned means of production, planned economy, free education and the abolishment of child labour. Marx states here that the communists should not form a separate political party; they are to work within the existing workers' movement, representing the whole proletariat and serving its interests. Also, the international character of the communist movement is elaborated upon; its goals are universal, not confined to any nation-state. In the third section, the existing 'schools' of socialism are criticized. Here Marx unleashes his full polemic power, and categorically dismisses each of his precursors and possible competitors as being insufficient, vague or even counter-revolutionary.

The fourth and last section defines strategic choices. As the communists will not form their own political party, they have to work together with existing oppositional parties – socialist or even bourgeois. These alliances are temporary, only serving to take a step towards the end goal: the destruction of the existing social order and the establishment of the communist society.

When Marx had finished writing, he sent the manuscript to London, where it was hurriedly printed at the Bildungsgesellschaft für Arbeiter, an organization closely tied to the Bund der Kommunisten. By the end of February, perhaps very early in March, the first edition appeared: a modest brochure with a green cover, without the name of the author or authors. In 1850, Marx and Engels were named as authors for the first time. They must have agreed to share the authorship given Engels' great contribution, even though the final version was Marx's. The number of copies printed in several print runs with small variations is not known, but may have been in the order of 10.000.

The *Manifest* fell on fertile ground. In the last week of February, revolution had broken out in France, leading to the abdication of the King and the creation of a republican government. In March the revolution spread to Germany and other European countries. The *Manifest* was reprinted, and a second edition was published in May/June, now 30 pages, with many corrections. Copies were sent or carried to various cities in Europe, sometimes to be confiscated by the authorities, but more often read, discussed and passed on. During 1848, the text of the *Manifest* was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, and in Danish, Polish and Swedish translations.

In these turbulent times, it may not come as a surprise that the manuscript for the *Manifest* was lost. It was not usual to send a manuscript back to the author after printing, and the subsequent editions were made with corrected copies of a previous edition. There is no evidence that Marx ever tried to get the manuscript back, or cared very much about it. It is not even certain that the manuscript was by Marx himself. He may have dictated the final text to his wife, Jenny Marx-Von Westphalen, as he did on some occasions. All that remains is one manuscript page of a draft version from December 1847 or January 1848, the first item of this nomination. The text deals with private property, treated in chapter two of the final version. The two lines on top are in Jenny Marx's handwriting. The page stayed in Marx's possession, and was inherited by Engels, along with much of Marx's papers. In June 1883, Engels gave the page as a keepsake to Eduard Bernstein, one of his closest friends in the German social democratic movement. Bernstein later added it to the SPD party archive (Sozialdemokratisches Parteiarchiv), where most of the Marx/Engels papers went to some years after Engels' death in 1895. The last line on the page, identifying the document, is in Bernstein's handwriting.

Around 1851 the *Manifest* was distributed on a large scale again, both in German and English. It had

already become the most important pamphlet within the socialist/communist movement, read and studied across the European continent. The movement itself, however, suffered a setback as pre-revolutionary order was restored.

By this time, Marx had been evicted from Brussels. He found refuge in 1849 in London, where he would live for the rest of his life. He concentrated on economic studies, stimulated by Engels, who had earlier recognized the importance of the subject. As a regular visitor of the famous Reading Room of the British Library, he read the publications of important economists such as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, and countless other books, magazines and newspapers from all over the world. His ambition was grand: he wanted to know and understand every aspect of the economic system in order to write a book, or a series of books, in which *everything* would be explained and analyzed, so that the complete system could be abolished once and for all. This project, which would eventually lead to *Das Kapital*, should lay the scientific basis for what was written in a condensed and popularized form in the *Manifest*.

Marx of course realized that he had set himself a huge task. He understood that the economic system was international, even global, and that it was not static, but constantly adapting itself. In 1857 Marx felt confident enough to assemble his notes and to draw up a plan for a six-volume publication. But then a severe financial crisis started with the collapse of a bank in New York, quickly spreading over the industrialized world. Marx was excited. He hoped that this would be the final crisis of capitalism, and it was also a unique opportunity to study how the system behaved under such circumstances. He even took studies in algebra to analyze the data he collected from stock exchange bulletins.

Not all problems Marx faced were of an intellectual nature. He did not have a stable income, lived under poor circumstances during his first London years, he and his wife were often seriously ill, four of their children died in their infancy. Friedrich Engels was always ready to provide money, or to help Marx to paid jobs. Time and again Marx embarked upon side projects, or on personal feuds, sometimes leading to voluminous publications on subjects of less importance. In the early 1860s, Marx became active in organizational work again, and was elected to the General Council of the Internationale Arbeiterassoziation (International Workingmen's Association, later known as the First International). Marx's economic studies progressed very slowly. Friedrich Engels constantly spurred his friend on, urging him to finish the book the world was waiting for. In 1859, Marx published a brief foretaste: *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. It met with little enthusiasm. At best, and not unjustly, it was seen as fragmentary and unfinished. Marx kept on revising the concept of his multi-volume *magnum opus*, and kept on studying and rewriting parts written earlier using newly found information. Well before he had anything close to a finished manuscript even of a part of the work, Marx entered into talks with publishers, brought on by prominent German socialists, who had high expectations of what he would write. Only in early 1866, Marx had finished a draft manuscript of 1.200 pages for the first volume of what he now planned as a three-volume publication, entitled *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. It took him just over one year to rewrite the manuscript to a copy that could be given to a printer. In April 1867 Marx took a ship to Hamburg to bring the manuscript to the publisher, Otto Meissner. In September 1867 printing was finished: 1.000 copies, close to 800 pages each.

Das Kapital is difficult to summarize. It draws on a multitude of sources from different ages, regions and fields of science, and employs many different styles, from mathematical explanations via almost journalistic descriptions of events to passionate indictments and accusations. At the core is the description and analysis of how the capitalist economic system works, how it exploits the working classes, and how it eventually will collapse under its own laws.

Das Kapital starts with extensive chapters on commodities and on money: what are they exactly, and how are they related? How does the process of exchange of commodities for money work? The

following chapters describe how money transforms into capital, how in this process surplus-value is created, and how the system of wages contributes to the creation of surplus-value. Put very basically, Marx holds that workers produce commodities, and in the process create more value than they are given in the form of wages. The surplus-value goes to the capitalist, who will try to increase the amount of surplus-value created by extending the working day, or by increasing productivity through machinery and subdividing the production process, further alienating the worker from the product. The last chapters describe the accumulation of capital. According to Marx, the capitalist system cannot function without increasing the production of surplus-value, which is accumulated into the capital required for the further increase of the production of surplus-value. This cyclical process leads to periodical crises, and in these crises lie the opportunities for revolutionary change. These are the moments when the workers should grab power and change the conditions that are fundamental to the capitalist system, above all the private propriety of the land and the means of production.

Initial reactions to *Das Kapital* were mixed. Within the socialist movement, there was respect, even awe. But what should one do now? Outside the socialist movement, *Das Kapital* found little recognition. Even the parts where Marx convincingly argued that authoritative economists like John Stuart Mill had made mistakes did not get the serious attention they deserved. Sales were low: it took four years before the first edition was sold out.

As with the *Manifest*, the original manuscript was lost. After printing the first edition, it stayed with the publisher, Meissner, in Hamburg. This was a normal procedure, related to the publisher's rights. There is documentary evidence that it still was there in the early 1920s, and no evidence that it was moved from there afterwards. Hamburg suffered heavily during the Second World War. In July 1943, heavy bombing and a following firestorm practically destroyed the city - including Meissner's offices, book stocks and archives. The draft finished in early 1866 was probably thrown away by Marx after finishing the manuscript for the publisher. The document that brings us closest to Marx writing and revising his masterpiece is his personal copy of the first edition, in which he added notes, remarks, corrections and additions for a later edition. This is the second item of this nomination.

The muted reactions to *Das Kapital* did not have a negative impact on Marx's status within the socialist movement. The Paris Commune of 1870-1871 and similar revolutionary events in Europe caused a renewed interest in the *Manifest*, which was reprinted and translated into six languages. Marx became the de facto leader of the Internationale Arbeiterassoziation, and started to transform the originally heterogeneous association to an organization that shared his views on central leadership and participation in parliamentary politics. And slowly but surely, *Das Kapital* gained influence by the publication of summaries and popularizations in several languages. In 1872 a second edition was published, as well as a Russian translation and a publication in installments in French, each with many corrections, revisions and additions. In these years, Marx and Engels worked together closer than ever. Engels had moved to London, devoting himself to his own studies and to helping Marx. In 1877-1878, Engels published his *Anti-Dühring*, summarizing and popularizing Marx's thoughts. This publication, and a reworked version of parts, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft in 1880*, became hugely influential, and in a way canonized Marx. 'Scientific socialism' and 'historical materialism' became key concepts in the socialist movement.

In the meantime, Marx's own work on the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* did not lead to publishable results. For Marx it was almost impossible to write anything before he understood everything; and in order to understand everything, there was always more research to do first. He also spent much time on the 'Internationale', and on his many international contacts. Then there were family and health problems. There may have been moments that Marx realized he would never finish his masterpiece. But if so, he kept this secret. Even to Engels he maintained that he had an almost finished manuscript for the second volume, and just a little bit more work to do on the third. In 1881,

Marx's wife Jenny died, leaving Marx feeling alone and depressed. He fell ill himself, and died at home, in his study, on 14 March 1883.

Marx left most of his papers to Friedrich Engels. Engels was given the task to supervise new editions and translations of Marx's publications, and to publish the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*. Engels readily promised to do this; as far as he knew, the work was nearly finished. But he was shocked to find out that there were no almost-finished manuscripts, and that it was very difficult for him to find the way in his friend's papers. Still he managed to publish volume two, subtitled *Der Zirkulationsprozess des Kapitals*, in 1885. Volume three, *Der Gesamtprozess der kapitalistischen Produktion*, was published only in 1894, a year before Engels' death. To this day, researchers are debating Engels' interpretations and trying to discover where he diverged from Marx's intentions by studying the manuscripts. Some years after Engels' death, the Marx and Engels papers became part of the SPD Party Archive, which had to be evacuated from Germany after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. The papers were smuggled over the border to Denmark, at one stage in canoes to cross a river, and secretly stored in a safe in Copenhagen. A new, secure home had to be found. Talks with two institutions followed: the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, and the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. The former promised to be scientifically neutral, but was newly founded and not very wealthy. The latter was subject to Soviet ideology, but experienced and rich. Russian scholars had been working with the SPD Party Archive for many years, and lead the first edition of the Marx and Engels Collected Works, of which twelve excellently prepared volumes were published between 1927 and 1935. Under the personal orders of Stalin, the Russians were willing to pay a lot of money for the SPD's Marx and Engels papers. A contract seemed about to be signed when the negotiators were suddenly called back to Moscow, not to be heard from again. Bucharin, the leader of the Russian delegation, would be purged from the Party and executed; the same would happen to Rjazanov, the founder of the Marx-Engels Institute. Talks with Amsterdam re-opened, and in 1938 a contract was signed. The SPD Party Archive was bought by the Dutch 'Central Workers' Life Insurance and Deposit Bank' on behalf of the IISH, which received the papers on a long-standing loan to be classified and made available for scientific research and publication. Due to the threatening war, not much came of this. The papers were transported to the IISH branch office in London - the city where they had been until 1901. Only in 1946 the papers arrived in Amsterdam. Thanks to a very generous grant from the American Ford Foundation, they were thoroughly inventorized at last in the 1950s and 1960s.

4.0 Legal information

4.1 Owner of the documentary heritage (name and contact details)

Name	Address	
REAAL Levens- verzekeringen NV	c/o REAAL NV, dhr W.H. Steenpoorte, Postbus 915, 3500 AX Utrecht, Nederland	
Telephone	Facsimile	Email
+31(0)30 2915521		marjolijn.vanleijden@snsreaal.nl (secretary, Raad van Bestuur)

4.2 Custodian of the documentary heritage (name and contact details if different from the owner)

Name	Address
IISH	PO Box 2169, 1000 CD Amsterdam, Netherlands

Telephone	Facsimile	Email
+31 (0)20-6685866	+31(0)20-6654181	info@iisg.nl

4.3 Legal status

The nominated items are owned by REAAL Verzekeringen NV, legal successor of the Central Workers' Life Insurance and Deposit Bank, that bought the Marx-Engels papers in 1938 on behalf of the IISH. In the 1938 purchase contract, the 'Central' agreed never to sell the papers or parts of the papers. A loan agreement between the 'Central' and the IISH was first signed in 1947, and last revised in 2009. It covers all collections bought between 1934 and 1940 by the 'Central' on behalf of the IISH, including the Marx-Engels papers. According to this contract, the IISH has received the papers on a long-standing loan, and is responsible for the preservation and the accessibility for research purposes.

4.4 Accessibility

The nominated items are accessible at the IISH in copied forms only: microfilm and photocopies. Furthermore, they have been transcribed and published, a.o. in the Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (Berlin, 1972 ff). A digital version of the draft manuscript page of the Manifest is on the IISH website, at www.iisg.nl/collections/manifest/manifest.php. A high-quality digital copy is available for researchers in Amsterdam. The Marx-Engels papers have been photocopied and microfilmed (both available to researchers in Amsterdam; a copy of the microfilm is available at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn).

The nominated items, and the Marx-Engels papers as a whole, are part of a digitization project that will be carried out by the IISH in 2012-2015. High-quality digital masterfiles will be kept in a digital repository. Derivative files will be made accessible, in combination with the available metadata, through the IISH website (socialhistory.org), the Europeana Digital Library (www.europeana.eu) and other platforms. Access will be open and free.

The IISH is presently investigating possibilities to unite the digitized scans of the Marx-Engels Papers with the transcriptions made in the MEGA project, and with scans of the manuscripts held in Moscow. Cooperation is sought with a large scientific institution in Beijing, China, to create a copy of the digitized collection with metadata and annotations in Chinese, to make them better accessible for Chinese scholars and students.

No access restrictions apply to the nominated items.

4.5 Copyright status

Both nominated items are within the public domain; author's and publisher's copyrights have expired.

5.0 Assessment against the selection criteria

5.1 Authenticity.

The identity of the nominated items is undisputed. Their provenance is known in great detail, supported by documentary evidence, and confirmed in scholarly publications (eg. the various editions of the Marx and Engels Collected Works).

5.2 World significance

The influence of the *Manifest* and *Das Kapital. Erster Band* has been immense, both directly and indirectly, forming the core of what would become 'Marxism'.

By the end of the 19th century, Marx's thoughts were dominant within the socialist movement, especially within the German social-democratic party SPD, the largest, most powerful and most influential in Europe. Both the *Manifest* and *Das Kapital* were constantly reprinted, and translated into ever more languages. In Russia, the more radical and revolutionary elements of Marx were stressed by Lenin and his Bolsheviks. In the 1920s Lenin's successors started to develop Marxism-Leninism, which became the official state ideology of the Soviet Union. China, Japan and other countries in Asia saw the rise of strongly Marxist-influenced oppositional groups and parties - most famously the Communist Party of China, founded in 1921.

In the first decades after World War II, the largest part of the Eurasian continent was ruled by regimes that called themselves Marxist: the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Central/Eastern Europe, and China, where Mao Zedong's communists had taken power in 1949. In each of these countries, statues of Marx and Engels were erected, copies of their manuscripts and publications displayed in museums, scientific institutes established bearing their names. Marx and Engels had become patron saints, their thoughts forced into rigid interpretations, and used to justify repression and the absolute control of the state over the individual. In many African, Asian and Latin American countries, Marxism was a main source of inspiration for liberation movements of all hues and shades.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a revival of interest in Marxism among new generations of scholars and students. New interpretations were developed, loosely labeled as Neo-Marxism, which became very influential in many fields of science. In 1972, in a unique cooperation in the midst of the Cold War, scholars from East and West (West and East Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan in particular) started a new edition of the Collected Works, with no less than 142 planned volumes originally, publishing every line ever written by Marx and Engels, extensively annotated and analyzed. The manuscript collection in Amsterdam was and is intensively used for this purpose.

By now, the *Manifest* has been translated and published in practically every existing language. It has been said that it is the second most published manuscript in world history, coming after the Bible. *Das Kapital* is lower on this list - but not much lower. Both books have been published in countless other forms and formats as well: in expensive deluxe editions, as clandestine books with false covers, or in miniature, to be read with a magnifying glass; illustrated, as comic strip, on posters, in braille; set to music, read on gramophone records, CDs or DVDs; on the internet as digital texts, e-books and YouTube-videos; and so on.

Around 1990, many experts argued that Marx's and Engels' writings had become obsolete. Not capitalism had collapsed, as Marx and Engels had predicted with so much certainty, but the communist system in Central/Eastern Europe and Russia. But again Marx's and Engels' theories became relevant under new circumstances: the global economic crisis of recent years. It is now widely accepted that few researchers have looked deeper into the workings of the capitalist system in times of crisis than Marx. To the surprise of many, Marx even came out first in a large online poll, organized by the BBC in 1999, to decide who was "the greatest thinker of the millennium". Einstein came second, Newton third, Darwin fourth. The significance of such an outcome can of course be debated, but there is no debate that even today Marx, and Engels in his wake, continue to be seen as extremely important thinkers. There is also no reason to assume that this will be the last revival of their popularity. For instance, interest in Marx's writings and manuscripts is growing rapidly in China. Here too, scholars are moving from ideologically driven interpretations to academic research, taking the original manuscripts and publications as starting point.

And this is the crucial element of this nomination. Much has been said and done on the basis of

interpretations of the *Manifest* and *Das Kapital*. But each and every time, one has to go back to the originals, and each and every time one will find out that Marx himself was constantly rethinking what he had thought before, and constantly rewriting the things he had written before. The two items in this nomination, related to these two seminal publications, convey this better than anything else.

5.3 Comparative criteria:

1 Time

The *Manifest* and *Das Kapital. Erster Band* are highly evocative of their time. They represent an era when the rise of industrial capitalism led to increasing social inequality, and when widespread discontent led to revolutions throughout Europe, especially in 1848 and 1870-1871, overthrowing monarchies and governments that were felt not to represent the interests of the people, especially those of the poorer classes.

3 People

The *Manifest* and *Das Kapital. Erster Band* are the two most important and influential documents of the socialist/communist movement, that took shape in the 19th century and would become hugely influential all over the world in many forms and shapes. Both publications generated very different reactions within this movement, from complete agreement to absolute disagreement, but their role in the debates was central and crucial. 'Marxism', based on interpretations of Marx's original writings, above all the *Manifest* and *Das Kapital*, gained influence over time, and became the dominant trend. The twentieth century saw a growing variation of interpretations of Marx's thoughts, with the social-democrats and the communists as the two main 'schools'. Both claimed to be Marx's true heir, both stressed certain elements from his work, while neglecting others.

4 Subject and theme

The most central theme in the *Manifest* and *Das Kapital. Erster Band* is the organization of society: how is it organized, what are the reasons behind this, how can this organization be changed, and in which direction?

Marx's answers to these questions were very clear. The existing society was based on the economic exploitation of the working classes. It had to be overthrown and replaced by a global communist society, a social order without nation-states, without differences between classes and without privately owned means of production.

This dream (for some) or nightmare (for others) has had a tremendous impact on the course of history, and has effectively influenced the organization of societies and even the formation of states. In many countries, Marxist-influenced parties participated in parliamentary systems, and were able to achieve important social and economic reforms. In other countries, one-party systems were established in which the Communists had absolute control, often at the expense of personal liberties, or leading to totalitarian, repressive states.

5 Form and style

Marx's original writings are very much alive, open ended, and seem to be capable of acquiring new significance under new circumstances ever again.

The form of the *Manifest* was new. It did not follow the question-and-answer formula used until then for the programmatic documents of the socialist or communist societies that were distributed among members only, but openly proclaimed the mission of the movement to the whole world. Never before had these thoughts been stated with so much self-confidence, or been presented as the inevitable

outcome of historical processes. As a piece of propagandistic writing, the *Manifest* is of outstanding class, whatever one may think of its political message. It contains many passages and sentences that are famous even today, such as the opening and closing lines: “Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa – das Gespenst des Kommunismus” (A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism), “Die Proletarier haben nichts in ihr zu verlieren als ihre Ketten. Proletarier aller länder, vereinigt euch!” (The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. Proletarians of all countries, unite!).

Das Kapital. Erster Band is a much more complex book, an assemblage of many different elements and styles. It contains sections that are easy to read, comic and ironic interludes, and strong passages that have been cited thousands of times. On the other hand, there are long passages that are difficult to understand, and countless paradoxes. This of course reflects the complex nature of capitalism and follows from Marx's dialectical method of analysis, but does not make for an easy read. With *Das Kapital*, Marx aimed to explain *everything*, and at the same time to create an 'artistic whole', every sentence contributing to the complete composition. Of course he could succeed only partly. But his thoroughly modern, dynamic approach has kept *Das Kapital* printed and read to the present day.

6.0 Contextual information

6.1 Rarity

The nominated items are unique.

6.2 Integrity

The manuscript page of the *Manifest* is just one page of a larger, lost, draft version, but it is the only remaining manuscript page existing of this publication. The annotated copy of *Das Kapital* is integral as such, except for a few pages partly clipped by Marx himself. The two items are kept within the larger collection of Marx-Engels Papers at the IISH, providing archival context.
