

# Impeaching der große Trumpf: Populism, Forms of Exploitation, and “diese Religion of every day’s life”

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**“Political economy has indeed analysed value and its magnitude, however incompletely, and has uncovered the content concealed within these forms. But it has never once asked the question why this content has assumed that particular form...”**

Neue

# Rheinische Zeitung.

Politisch-ökonomische Revue,

redigirt von

**Karl Marx.**

Zweites Heft. — Februar 1850.

Inhalt:

1848—1849. — II. Der 13. Juni 1849. Von Karl Marx.  
Die deutsche Reichsverfassungs-Campagne. III. Die Pfalz. Von  
Friedrich Engels.  
Literatur. I. Daumer, die Religion des neuen Weltalters. — II. E. Simon  
(von Trier), ein Wort des Rechts für alle Reichsverfassungskämpfer. —  
III. Guizot, Pourquoi la Révolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle réussi?  
Revue.

London,

C. Schramm, Gerant.

Hamburg und New-York.

In Commission bei Schuberth & Co.

1850.

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# Rheinische Zeitung.

Politisch-ökonomische Revue,

redigirt von

**Karl Marx.**

Drittes Heft. — März 1850.

Inhalt:

1848—1849. III. Die Folgen des 13. Juni. Von Karl Marx.  
Für Republik zu sterben. I. Von Friedrich Engels.

London,

C. Schramm, Gerant.

Hamburg und New-York.

In Commission bei Schuberth & Co.

1850.

# Die Revolution,

Eine Zeitschrift in zwanzigsten Heften.

Herausgegeben von

**I. Weydemeyer.**

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Erstes Heft.

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**Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon**

von

**Karl Marx.**

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**New-York.**

Vertrieb: Deutsche Verein-Verhandlung von Schmidt und Helmuth.  
William-Street Nr. 191.

1852.

**“what needs to be explained is how a nation of 36 millions can be taken unawares by three common con-men and marched off unresisting into captivity”**

**“why did the Paris proletariat not rise up after [the coup d'état]?”**

“While each individual deputy [in the National Assembly] represents only this or that party, this or that town, this or that bridgehead...he, the President, is the elect of the nation, and the act of electing him is the great trump [*der große Trumpf*] which which the sovereign people plays every four years. The elected National Assembly stands in a metaphysical relation to the nation, but the elected President stands in a personal relation to it.”

**“On the different forms of property, the social conditions of existence, arises an entire superstructure of different and peculiarly formed sentiments, delusions, modes of thought and outlooks on life. The whole class creates and forms them from the material foundations on up and from the corresponding social relations.”**

“continually engaged in fighting off these attacks and in this way defending the ‘eternal rights of man’, more or less in the same way as every so-called people’s party has done for a century and a half. But this superficial appearance veils the *class struggle* and the peculiar physiognomy of this period, and it vanishes on a closer examination of the situation and the parties.”



**“No party exaggerates its means more than the democratic, none deludes itself more light-mindedly over the situation. Since a section of the army had voted for it, the Montagne was now convinced that the army would revolt for it. And on what occasion? On an occasion which, from the standpoint of the troops, had no other meaning than that the revolutionists took the side of the Roman soldiers against the French soldiers. On the other hand, the recollections of June 1848 were still too fresh to allow of anything but a profound aversion on the part of the proletariat towards the National Guard and a thoroughgoing mistrust of the democratic chiefs on the part of the chiefs of the secret societies. To iron out these differences, it was necessary for great common interests to be at stake.**

“The violation of an abstract paragraph of the Constitution could not provide these interests. Had not the Constitution been repeatedly violated, according to the assurance of the democrats themselves?

Had not the most popular journals branded it as counterrevolutionary botchwork? But the democrat, because he represents the petty bourgeoisie, that is, a *transition class*, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted, imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally.

“The democrats concede that a privileged class confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the *people*. What they represent is the *people's rights*; what interests them is the *people's interests*. Accordingly, when a struggle is impending, they do not need to examine the interests and positions of the different classes. They do not need to weigh their own resources too critically. They have merely to give the signal and the *people*, with all its inexhaustible resources, will fall upon the *oppressors*.

Now, if in practice their interests prove to be uninteresting and their potency impotence, then either the fault lies with pernicious sophists, who split the *indivisible people* into different hostile camps, or the army was too brutalised and blinded to comprehend that the pure aims of democracy are also the best thing for it, or the whole thing has been wrecked by a detail in its execution, or else an unforeseen accident has this time spoilt the game. In any case, the democrat comes out of the most disgraceful defeat just as immaculate as he was innocent when he went into it, with the newly-won conviction that he is bound to win, not that he himself and his party have to give up the old standpoint, but, on the contrary, that conditions have to ripen to suit him.”

Neue  
**Rheinische Zeitung.**

Politisch-ökonomische Revue,

redigirt von

**Karl Marx.**

Viertes Heft. — April 1850.

Inhalt:

**Jambes.** Ecrits après les massacres de Juin 1848. Par Louis  
Ménard.

**Die englische Zehnfundenbill.** — Von Friedrich Engels.

**Literatur.** I. Lottter-Day Pamphlets. Edited by Thomas Carlyle.  
II. Les Conspireurs, par Chenu. — La naissance de  
la République, par Delahodde.  
III. Le socialisme et l'impôt, par E. de Girardin.

**Revue.**

**Vermischtes.** — Louis Napoleon und Fould. — Gottfried Kinkel. —  
Nachträgliches aus dem Reich.

London,

C. Schramm, Verant.

Hamburg und New-York.

In Commission bei Schuberth & Co.

1850.

**“the struggle against capital’s subordinate modes of exploitation, that of the peasant against usury and mortgages or of the petty bourgeois against the wholesale dealer, banker and manufacturer, in a word, against bankruptcy, [which] was still hidden in the general uprising against the finance aristocracy.”**

the peasants' "exploitation differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the *state taxes*."

**“the renting of houses, etc., for individual consumption,” “It is clear that the working class is swindled in this form too, and to an enormous extent; but the workers are equally exploited by the retailer, who supplies them with the means of subsistence.”**



**“What does the free individual use to pay for his purchases at the grocer?” “The worker exchanges his wages, the manufacturer his profit, the capitalist his interest, the landowner his rent—transformed into gold and silver and banknotes—at the grocer, the cobbler, the butcher, the baker, etc. And what does the cobbler, the grocer, and so on, exchange for the money which represents wages, rent, profit and interest? He exchanges his capital for it....Thus to begin with in this seemingly so simple transaction all class relations manifest themselves and are presupposed”.**

**“In this trade between dealers and consumers, the manufacturer, when he buys at the grocer, is just as much a consumer as his worker, and the servant obtains the same commodities for the same amount of money as his master. Thus the specific nature of the income which has been transformed into money disappears in this exchange and the class characteristics of all individuals are blurred and merge in the category of buyer, who in this transaction faces the seller. Hence the illusion of seeing not an individual member of a class in this act of buying and selling, but the purchasing individual as such without class characteristics.”**

“In such a society...everything is available to any person, any kind of material exchange can be carried out by everybody...Whores, science, patronage, decorations, rent of land, lickspittles, all of these are objects of exchange, just as coffee, sugar and herrings are”

“the quantity and the kind of articles bought by the largest class of consumers, the workers, is indicated by the nature of their income,” their “personal freedom has thereby been extended.”

If a worker can, on the one hand, “squander wages on liquor” instead of “buying meat and bread for his children,” she can also, on the other hand, “buy books, *lecturers* and *meetings*”; workers paid in money rather than kind “are in a better position to acquire the universal powers of society, such as the intellectual ones.”

**“every new tax depresses the proletariat one step further”**

**“Tax reform is the hobby-horse of every radical bourgeois... from the earliest medieval philistines to the modern English free-traders, the main struggle has revolved around taxation.”**