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Karl Marx in New York Daily Tribune

Articles on China, 1853-1860

Revolution in China and In Europe

June 14, 1853

A most profound yet fantastic speculator on the principles which govern the movements of Humanity was wont to extol as one of the ruling secrets of nature what he called the law of the contact of extremes. The homely proverb that “extremes meet” was, in his view, a grand and potent truth in every sphere of life; an axiom with which the philosopher could as little dispense as the astronomer with the laws of Kepler or the great discovery of Newton.

Whether the “contact of extremes” be such a universal principle or not, a striking illustration of it may be seen in the effect the Chinese revolution seems likely to exercise upon the civilized world. It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of Government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire — the very opposite of Europe — than on any other political cause that now exists — more even than on the menaces of Russia and the consequent likelihood of a general European war. But yet it is no paradox, as all may understand by attentively considering the circumstances of the case.

Whatever be the social causes, and whatever religious, dynastic, or national shape they may assume, that have brought about the chronic rebellions subsisting in China for about ten years past, and now gathered together in one formidable revolution the occasion of this outbreak has unquestionably been afforded by the English cannon

forcing upon China that soporific drug called opium. Before the British arms the authority of the Manchu dynasty fell to pieces; the superstitious faith in the eternity of the Celestial Empire broke down; the barbarous and hermetic isolation from the civilized world was infringed; and an opening was made for that intercourse which has since proceeded so rapidly under the golden attractions of California and Australia. At the same time the silver coin of the Empire, its lifeblood, began to be drained away to the British East Indies.

Up to 1830, the balance of trade being continually in favour of the Chinese, there existed an uninterrupted importation of silver from India, Britain and the United States into China. Since 1833, and especially since 1840, the export of silver from China to India has become almost exhausting for the Celestial Empire. Hence the strong decrees of the Emperor against the opium trade, responded to by still stronger resistance to his measures. Besides this immediate economical consequence, the bribery connected with opium smuggling has entirely demoralized the Chinese State officers in the Southern provinces. Just as the Emperor was wont to be considered the father of all China, so his officers were looked upon as sustaining the paternal relation to their respective districts. But this patriarchal authority, the only moral link embracing the vast machinery of the State, has gradually been corroded by the corruption of those officers, who have made great gains by conniving at opium smuggling. This has occurred principally in the same Southern provinces where the rebellion commenced. It is almost needless to observe that, in the same measure in which opium has obtained the sovereignty over the Chinese, the Emperor and his staff of pedantic mandarins have become dispossessed of their own sovereignty. It would seem as though history had first to make this whole people drunk before it could rouse them out of their hereditary stupidity.

Though scarcely existing in former times, the import of English cottons, and to a small extent of English woollens, has rapidly risen since 1833, the epoch when the monopoly of trade with China was transferred from the East India Company to Private commerce, and on a much greater scale since 1840, the epoch when other nations, and especially our own, also obtained a share in the Chinese trade. This

introduction of foreign manufactures has had a similar effect on the native industry to that which it formerly had on Asia Minor, Persia and India. In China the spinners and weavers have suffered greatly under this foreign competition, and the community has become unsettled in proportion.

The tribute to be paid to England after the unfortunate war of 1840, the great unproductive consumption of opium, the drain of the precious metals by this trade, the destructive influence of foreign competition on native manufactures, the demoralized condition of the public administration, produced two things: the old taxation became more burdensome and harassing, and new taxation was added to the old. Thus in a decree of the Emperor, dated Peking, Jan 5 1853, we find orders given to the viceroys and governors of the southern provinces of Wuchang and Hanyang to remit and defer the payment of taxes, and especially not in any case to exact more than the regular amount; for otherwise, says the decree, "how will the poor people be able to bear it?" And "Thus, perhaps," continues the Emperor, "will my people, in a period of general hardship and distress, be exempted from the evils of being pursued and worried by the tax-gatherer." Such language as this, and such concessions we remember to have heard from Austria, the China of Germany, in 1848.

All these dissolving agencies acting together on the finances, the morals, the industry, and political structure of China, received their full development under the English cannon in 1840, which broke down the authority of the Emperor, and forced the Celestial Empire into contact with the terrestrial world. Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the open air. Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution.

The attention of our readers has often been called to the unparalleled growth of British manufactures since 1850. Amid the most surprising prosperity, it has not been difficult to point out the clear symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis. Notwithstanding California and Australia, notwithstanding the immense and unprecedented emigration, there must ever, without any particular accident, in due time arrive a moment when the extension of the markets is unable to keep pace with the extension of British manufactures, and this disproportion must bring about a new crisis with the same certainty as it has done in the past. But, if one of the great markets suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England. The necessity for opening new markets, or for extending the old ones, was one of the principle causes of the reduction of the British tea-duties, as, with an increased importation of tea, an increased exportation of manufactures to China was expected to take place. Now, the value of the annual exports from the United Kingdom to China amounted, before the repeal in 1834 of the trading monopoly possessed by the East India Company, to only £600,000; in 1836, it reached the sum of £1,326,388; in 1845, it had risen to £2,394,827; in 1852 it amounted to about £3,000,000. The quantity of tea imported from China did not exceed, in 1793, 16,167,331 lbs.; but in 1845, it amounted to 50,714,657 lbs.; in 1846, to 57,584,561 lbs.; it is now above 60,000,000 lbs. The tea crop of the last season will not prove short, as shown already by the export lists from Shanghai, of 2,000,000 lbs. above the preceding year. This excess is to be accounted for by two circumstances. On one hand, the state of the market at the close of 1851 was much depressed, and the large surplus stock left has been thrown into the export of 1852. On the other hand, the recent accounts of the altered British legislation with regard to imports of tea, reaching China, have brought forward all the available teas to a ready market, at greatly enhanced prices. But with respect to the coming crop, the case stands very differently. This is shown by the following extracts from the correspondence of a large tea-firm in London:

“In Shanghai the terror is described as extreme. Gold had advanced in value upwards of 25 per cent., being eagerly sought for hoarding; silver had so far disappeared that none could be obtained to pay the Chinese dues on the British vessels requiring port

clearance; and in consequence of which Mr. Consul Alcock has consented to become responsible to the Chinese authorities for the payment of these dues, on receipt of East India Company's bills, or other approved securities. The scarcity of the precious metals is one of the most unfavourable features, when viewed in reference to the immediate future of commerce, as this abstraction occurs precisely at that period when their use is most needed, to enable the tea and silk buyers to go into their interior and effect their purchases, for which a large portion of bullion is paid in advance, to enable the producers to carry on their operations.”

At this period of the year it is usual to begin making arrangements for the new teas, whereas at present nothing is talked of but the means of protecting person and property, all transactions being at a stand.

“...if the means are not applied to secure the leaves in April and May, the early crop, which includes all the finer descriptions, both of black and green teas, will be as much lost as unreaped wheat at Christmas.”

Now the means for securing the tea leaves will certainly not be given by the English, American or French squadrons stationed in the Chinese seas, but these may easily, by their interference, produce such complications as to cut off all transactions between the tea-producing interior and the tea exporting sea ports. Thus, for the present crop, a rise in the prices must be expected – speculation has already commenced in London – and for the crop to come a large deficit is as good as certain. Nor is this all. The Chinese, ready though they may be, as are all people in periods of revolutionary convulsion, to sell off to the foreigner all the bulky commodities they have on hand, will, as the Orientals are used to do in the apprehension of great changes, set to hoarding, not taking much in return for their tea and silk, except hard money. England has accordingly to expect a rise in the price of one of her chief articles of consumption, a drain of bullion, and a great contraction of an important market for her cotton and woollen goods. Even the Economist, that optimist conjurer of all things menacing the tranquil minds of the mercantile community, is compelled to use language like this:

“We must not flatter ourselves with finding as extensive a market as formerly for our exports to China ... It is more probable, therefore, that our export trade to China should suffer, and that there should be a diminished demand for the produce of Manchester and Glasgow.”

It must not be forgotten that the rise in the price of so indispensable an article as tea, and the contraction of so important a market as China, will coincide with a deficient harvest in Western Europe, and, therefore, with rising prices of meat, corn, and all other agricultural produce. Hence contracted markets for manufacturers, because every rise in the prices of the first necessities of life is counterbalanced, at home and abroad, by a corresponding reduction in the demand for manufactures. From every part of Great Britain complaints have been received on the backward state of most of the crops. The Economist says on this subject:

In the South of England “not only will there be left much land unsown, until too late for a crop of any sort, but much of the sown land will prove to be foul, or otherwise in a bad state for corn-growing.” On the wet or poor soils destined for wheat, signs that mischief is going on are apparent. “The time for planting mangel-wurzel may now be said to have passed away, and very little has been planted, while the time for preparing land for turnips is rapidly going by, without any adequate preparation for this important crop having been accomplished ... oat-sowing has been much interfered with by the snow and rain. Few oats were sown early, and late-sown oats seldom produce a large crop.”

In many districts losses among the breeding flocks have been considerable. The price of other farm-produce than corn is from 20 to 30, and even 50 per cent. higher than last year. On the Continent, corn has risen comparatively more than in England. Rye has risen in Belgium and Holland a full 100 per cent. Wheat and other grains are following suit.

Under these circumstances, as the greater part of the regular commercial circle has already been run through by British trade, it may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent. It would be a curious spectacle, that of China sending disorder into the Western World while the Western Powers, by English, French and American war-steamers, are conveying "order" to Shanghai, Nanking and the mouths of the Great Canal. Do these order-mongering Powers, which would attempt to support the wavering Manchu dynasty, forget that the hatred against foreigners and their exclusion from the Empire, once the mere result of China's geographical and ethnographical situation, have become a political system only since the conquest of the country by the race of the Manchu Tatars? There can be no doubt that the turbulent dissensions among the European nations who, at the later end of the 17th century, rivalled each other in the trade with China, lent a mighty aid to the exclusive policy adopted by the Manchus. But more than this was done by the fear of the new dynasty, lest the foreigners might favour the discontent existing among a large proportion of the Chinese during the first half-century or thereabouts of their subjection to the Tatars. From these considerations, foreigners were then prohibited from all communication with the Chinese, except through Canton, a town at a great distance from Peking and the tea-districts, and their commerce restricted to intercourse with the Hong merchants, licensed by the Government expressly for the foreign trade, in order to keep the rest of its subjects from all connection with the odious strangers. In any case an interference on the part of the Western Governments at this time can only serve to render the revolution more violent, and protract the stagnation of trade.

At the same time it is to be observed with regard to India that the British Government of that country depends for full one seventh of its revenue on the sale of opium to the Chinese while a considerable proportion of the Indian demand for British manufactures depends on the production of that opium in India. The Chinese, it is true, are no more likely to renounce the use of opium than are the Germans to forswear tobacco. But as the new Emperor is understood to be favourable to the culture of the poppy and the preparation of opium in China itself, it is evident that a death-blow is

very likely to be struck at once at the business of opium-raising in India, the Indian revenue, and the commercial resources of Hindostan. Though this blow would not immediately be felt by the interests concerned, it would operate effectually in due time, and would come in to intensify and prolong the universal financial crisis whose horoscope we have cast above.

Since the commencement of the eighteenth century there has been no serious revolution in Europe which had not been preceded by a commercial and financial crisis. This applies no less to the revolution of 1789 than to that of 1848. It only that we every day behold more threatening s conflict between the ruling powers and their subjects the State and society, between the various classes; conflict of the existing powers among each other reaching that height where the sword must be drawn, and the ultima ratio of princes be recurred to. In the European capitals, every day brings despatches big with universal war, vanishing under the despatches of the following day, bearing the assurance of peace for a week or so. We may be sure, nevertheless, that to whatever height the conflict between the European powers may rise, however threatening the aspect of the diplomatic horizon may appear, whatever movements may be attempted by some enthusiastic fraction in this or that country, the rage of princes and the, fury of the people are alike enervated by the breath of prosperity. Neither wars nor revolutions are likely to put Europe by the ears, unless in consequence of a general commercial and industrial crisis, the signal of which has, as usual, to be given by England, the representative of European industry in the market of the world.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the political consequences such a crisis must produce in these times, with the unprecedented extension of factories in England, with the utter dissolution of her official parties, with the whole State machinery of France transformed into one immense swindling and stockjobbing concern, with Austria on the eve of bankruptcy, with wrongs everywhere accumulated to be revenged by the people, with the conflicting interests of the reactionary powers themselves, and with the Russian dream of conquest once more revealed to the world.

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中国革命和欧洲革命

卡 马克思

有一个爱好虚构的思辨体系，但思想极其深刻的研究人类发展基本原则的学者 [注：黑格尔。——编者注] 一向认为，自然界的基本奥秘之一，就是他所说的对立统一 [contact of extremes] 规律。在他看来，“两极相逢”这个习俗用语是伟大而不可移易的适用于生活一切方面的真理，是哲学家不能漠视的定理，就像天文学家不能漠视刻卜勒的定律或牛顿的伟大发现一样。

“对立统一”是否就是这样一个万应的原则，这一点可以从中国革命^[92]对文明世界很可能发生的影响中得到明显的例证。欧洲各国人民下一次起义，他们下一阶段争取共和自由和争取比较廉洁的政体的斗争，在更大的程度上恐怕要取决于天朝帝国（欧洲的直接的对立面）目前所发生的事件，而不是取决于现时的其他任何政治原因，甚至不是取决于俄国的威胁及其后果——可能发生的全欧洲战争。这种说法看起来非常奇怪和荒诞，然而，这绝不是怪论，凡是仔细考察了当前情况的人，都会相信这一点。

中国的连绵不断的起义已延续了 10 年之久，现在已经汇合成一个强大的革命，不管引起这些起义的社会原因是什么，也不管这些原因是通过宗教的、王朝的还是民族的形式表现出来，推动了这次大爆炸的毫无疑问是英国的大炮，英国用大炮强迫中国输入名叫鸦片的麻醉剂。满清王朝的声威一遇到不列颠的枪炮就扫地以尽，天朝帝国万世长存的迷信受到了致命的打击，野蛮的、闭关自守的、与文明世界隔绝的状态被

打破了，开始建立起联系，这些联系从那时起就在加利福尼亚和澳大利亚黄金的吸引之下迅速地发展了起来。同时，中国的银币——它的血液——也开始流向英属东印度。

在 1830 年以前，当中国人在对外贸易上经常是出超的时候，白银是不断地从印度、不列颠和美国向中国输出的。可是从 1833 年起，特别是 1840 年以来，由中国向印度输出的白银是这样多，以致天朝帝国的银源有枯竭的危险。因此皇帝下诏严禁鸦片贸易，结果引起了比他的诏书更有力的反抗。除了这些直接的经济后果之外，和私贩鸦片有关的贪污也从精神方面使中国南方各省的国家官吏完全腐化。就像皇帝通常被尊为全国的君父一样，皇帝的每一个官吏也都在他所管辖的地区内被看作是这种父权的代表。可是，那些纵容鸦片走私、聚敛私财的官吏的贪污行为，却逐渐腐蚀着这个家长制的权力，腐蚀着这个广大的国家机器的各部分间的唯一的精神联系。存在这种情况的地方，主要正是首先起义的南方各省。所以很明显，随着鸦片日益成为中国人的统治者，皇帝及其周围墨守成规的大官们也就日益丧失自己的权力。历史的发展，好像是首先要麻醉这个国家的人民，然后才有可能把他们从历来的麻木状态中唤醒似的。

中国过去输入的英国棉织品数量很小，英国毛织品的输入也微不足道，但自 1833 年起，当对华贸易垄断权由东印度公司手中转到私人商业手中之后，这项输入便迅速地增加了。从 1840 年起这项输入增加得更多，其他国家特别是美国也开始参加和中国的通商。这种外国工业品的输入，对中国工业也发生了过去对小亚细亚、波斯和印度的工业所发生的那种影响。中国的纺织业在外国的这种竞争之下受到很大的痛苦，结果就使社会生活受到了相当的破坏。

中国在 1840 年战争^[93]失败后被迫付给英国的赔款，大量的非生产性的鸦片消费，鸦片贸易所引起的金银外流，外国竞争对本国生产的破

坏，国家行政机关的腐化，这一切就造成了两个后果：旧税捐更重更难负担，此外又加上了新税捐。例如，1853年1月5日皇帝[注：咸丰。——编者注]在北京颁发的一道上谕中，就责成南方各省、武昌、汉阳的总督和巡抚减轻税捐，允许缓交，首先是绝对不要额外再征；否则，这道上谕中说，“小民其何以堪？”又说：

“……庶几吾民于颠沛困苦之时，不致再受追呼迫切之累。”[注：见北京图书馆藏“大清文宗显皇帝圣训”原刻本卷一，第十一页。——译者注]

记得在1848年，在奥地利这个日耳曼式的中国，我们也听到过同样的话，看到过同样的让步。

所有这些破坏性因素，都同时影响着中国的财政、社会风尚、工业和政治结构，而到1840年就在英国大炮的轰击之下得到了充分的发展；英国的大炮破坏了中国皇帝的威权，迫使天朝帝国与地上的世界接触。与外界完全隔绝曾是保存旧中国的首要条件，而当这种隔绝状态在英国的努力之下被暴力所打破的时候，接踵而来的必然是解体的过程，正如小心保存在密闭棺木里的木乃伊一接触新鲜空气便必然要解体一样。可是现在，当英国引起了中国革命的时候，便发生一个问题，即这个革命将来会对英国并且通过英国对欧洲发生什么影响？这个问题是不难回答的。

我们时常提起读者注意不列颠的工业自1850年以来空前发展的情况。当时在最惊人的繁荣当中，就已不难看出日益迫近的工业危机的明显征兆。尽管有加利福尼亚和澳大利亚的发现^[94]，尽管人口大量地、史无前例地外流，但是，如果不发生什么意外事情的话，那末到一定的时候，市场的扩大仍然会赶不上不列颠工业的增长，而这种不相适应的情况也将像过去一样，必不可免地要引起新的危机。这时，如果有一个大市场突然缩小，那末危机的来临必然加速，而目前中国的起义对英国正是会起这种影响。英国需要开辟新市场或扩大旧市场，这是英国降低茶

叶税的主要原因之一，因为英国预期，随着茶叶进口量的增加，向中国输出的工业品也一定增加。在 1833 年取消东印度公司的贸易垄断权以前，联合王国对中国的年输出总值只是 60 万英镑，而 1836 年达到了 1326388 英镑，1845 年增加到 2394827 英镑，到 1852 年便超过了 300 万英镑。从中国输入的茶叶数量在 1793 年还不超过 16167331 磅，然而在 1845 年便达到了 50714657 磅，1846 年是 57584561 磅，现在已超过 6000 万磅。

目前这一季茶叶的收集量看来也不少。从上海的出口统计表上可以看出，它比去年增加 200 万磅。新增加的这一部分应归因于两种情况：一方面，1851 年底市场极不景气，剩下的大量存货加到了 1852 年的出口量上；另一方面，在中国，人们一听到不列颠修改茶叶进口的法律的消息，便把现存的茶叶按提高很多的价格全部投入市场。可是讲到以后的茶叶收集，情况就完全不同了。这一点可以从伦敦一家大茶叶公司的下面一段通信中看出：

“上海恐慌达到了极点。黄金价格上涨 25%，而且人们还加紧收进，贮藏起来。白银奇缺，甚至不列颠轮船向中国缴纳关税用的白银都根本弄不到。因此，阿耳科克先生同意向中国当局作担保，说一俟接到东印度公司的期票或其他有保证的有价证券，便缴纳这笔关税。从商业急需的角度来看，金银的缺乏是最不利的条件之一，因为金银恐慌恰恰是发生在急需它们的时候。茶丝收购商没有金银便不能到中国内地去采购，因为要采购就要预付大量现洋，以便使生产者能够完成自己的生产……每年在这个时候都已开始签订新茶收购合同，可是现在人家不讲别的问题，只是讲如何保护生命财产，因而一切事务都陷于停顿……要是不采取措施在四五月间把茶叶收集起来，那末，包括红茶绿茶的精品在内的早茶必然要像到圣诞节还未收割的小麦一样毁掉。”

当然，停泊在中国领水上的英、美、法各国的舰队，哪一支都不能保证收集茶叶所需的资金，但它们的干涉却能够很轻易地引起乱子，打断产茶的内地和出口茶叶的海港之间的一切事务联系。由此看来，要完成目前这一季的茶叶收集势必要提高价格，——在伦敦投机生意已经开

始了，——而要完成下一季的茶叶收集，可以有把握地预言，一定会产生巨额赤字。但问题还不止于此。中国人虽然也同革命震荡时期的一切人一样，愿意将他们现有的全部货物卖给外国人，可是，正像东方各国的居民在担心发生大变动的时候所做的那样，他们也会把他们的丝和茶贮存起来，非现洋不卖。因此，英国就不免要面临这样的问题：它的主要消费品之一涨价，金银外流，它的棉毛织品的最主要市场之一大大缩小。甚至“经济学家”这个一向以乐观面目出现，用咒语驱走一切足以使重商社会人心不定的东西的杂志，也不得不说出以下的话：

“我们不应当自欺，以为我们可以在中国为自己的出口货找到以前那样大的市场……更可能的是：我们对中国的出口贸易要倒霉，对曼彻斯特和格拉斯哥的产品需要量要减少。”

不应当忘记，茶叶这样一种必需品涨价和中国这样一个市场缩小的时候，正是西欧发生歉收，从而使肉类、粮食及其他一切农产品涨价的时候。这将引起工业品市场的缩小，因为生活必需品每涨一次价，国内和国外对工业品的需求量就要相应地减少。现在大不列颠到处都在抱怨大部分庄稼不好。“经济学家”杂志说：

“在英国南部，不仅有许多田地的庄稼种不上去，以致最后想种什么都来不及，而且有许多已经播种的田地看来也将是满地杂草，或者是根本不适于庄稼生长。麦田的土壤阴湿贫瘠，显然预示着歉收。现在，播种饲用甜菜的时节可以说已经错过了，种上的很少；翻耕土地种植饲用芜菁的季节也快要过去，然而没有完成任何一项必要的准备工作来栽植这个主要的作物……雪和雨严重地阻碍了燕麦的播种。早播的燕麦种的不够，晚播的燕麦又很难有好收成……许多地方种畜大量死亡。”

谷物以外的农产品的价格比去年上涨 20%、30%、甚至 50%。大陆的谷物价格比英国涨得更高。在比利时和荷兰，黑麦价格整整涨了 100%，小麦和其他谷物作物也跟着涨价。

既然有这样的情况，而且不列颠的工商业又已经经历了通常的一个经济周期的大部分，所以可以大胆预言，中国革命将把火星抛到现代工

业体系的即将爆炸的地雷上，使酝酿已久的普遍危机爆发，这个普遍危机一旦扩展到国外，直接随之而来的将是欧洲大陆的政治革命。将来会有这样一个奇怪的场面：中国在西方世界中引起动乱，但西方列强则借助于英法美等国的军舰在上海、南京和运河口建立“秩序”。这些往外输出“秩序”，企图扶持摇摇欲坠的满清王朝的列强恐怕是忘记了：仇视外国人，把他们逐出国境，这在过去仅仅是出于中国地理上、人种上的原因，只是在满洲鞑靼人征服了这个国家^[95]以后才形成一种政治制度。欧洲各国从十七世纪末为了与中国通商而互相竞争，它们之间的剧烈纠纷曾经有力地推动了满洲人实行这样的排外政策，这是毫无疑问的。可是，推动这个新的王朝实行这种政策的更主要的原因，是它害怕外国人会支持很多的中国人在十七世纪的大约前半个世纪里即在中国被鞑靼人征服以后所怀抱的不满情绪。由于这种原因，外国人才被禁止同中国人有任何来往，要来往只有通过离北京和产茶区很远的一个城市广州。外国人要做生意，也只限和香港商人进行交易；政府特许这些商人有做洋货生意的特权，用这种方法阻止其余的臣民同它所仇视的外国人发生任何接触。无论如何，在这个时候，西方各国政府的任何干涉只能使革命更带有暴力的性质，并且延长商业的停滞时期。

同时，从印度这方面来看还必须指出，在印度的不列颠当局收入当中，整整有七分之一是来自向中国人出售鸦片，而印度对不列颠工业品的需求在很大程度上又是取决于印度的鸦片生产。不错，中国人不愿戒吸鸦片大概同德国人不愿戒吸烟草一样。可是大家都知道，中国的新皇帝颇有意在本国种植罂粟和炼制鸦片，显然，这将使印度的鸦片生产、印度的收入以及印度斯坦的商业资源立刻受到致命的打击。虽然有关的各方或许不会马上感觉到这种打击，但终有一天，这种打击的影响会充分地显示出来，并且使普遍的财政危机尖锐化和长期化，这种危机我们在前面已经预测过了。

欧洲从十八世纪初没有一次严重的革命事先没有商业危机和财政危机。1789年的革命是这样，1848年的革命也是这样。不错，我们每天都看到，不仅各国统治者和他们的臣民之间、国家和社会之间、阶级和阶级之间发生冲突的迹象日趋严重，而且现时的列强相互之间也发生冲突，这种冲突正在一步步紧张，以致非动武不可，非诉诸国君的 *ultima ratio*（最后论据）不可。在欧洲各国首都，现在每天传来的消息全是关于大战爆发的传闻，过一天又换一套，说和平可以保障一星期之久，或大约一星期。尽管如此，我们仍然可以相信，无论欧洲列强间的冲突怎样尖锐，无论外交界上空的乌云怎样浓重，无论某个国家的某个狂热家集团企图采取什么行动，一旦空气中散发出经济繁荣的气息，国君的狂怒和人民的愤恨同样都会缓和下来。战争或革命，如果不是工商业普遍危机的结果，都不能深刻地震撼欧洲，这种危机的到来总是由英国先发信号，因为它是欧洲工业在世界市场上的代表。

现在，英国工厂的数目空前增加，而它的官方的政党都正在完全腐烂下去，法国的全部国家机构已经变成一个巨大的进行投机活动的交易所康采恩，奥地利则处于破产前夕，积聚得到处皆是的不公平现象行将引起人民的报复，反动的列强本身利益互相冲突，俄国再一次向全世界显示出它的侵略野心，——在这样的时候，上述危机所造成的政治后果将会怎样，我们就不用多说了。

卡·马克思写于 1853 年 5 月 20 日

作为社论载于 1853 年 6 月 14 日“纽约每日论坛报”第 3794 号

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注释：

^[92] 1851 年在中国爆发了一个强大的农民战争性质的反封建的解放运动。这个运动从南方的广西省开始，后来扩展到华中各省，几乎席卷了整个长江中下游地区。起义者在战争过程中建立了以南京为中心的太平天国，于是整个运动就叫做太平天国运动。太平军杀死统治中国的满族封建主，取消捐税，消灭大封建主所有制。这个起义也带有农民运动特别是东方的农民运动所常有的宗教色彩，打击支持满清王朝的佛教僧侣和寺院。太平天国革命给中国人民反对封建制度和外国侵略者的广泛斗争开了一个头，但它并没有消灭中国封建的生产方式。太平天国内部形成了一个封建上层，他们与统治阶级妥协，这就成了运动衰落的原因之一。革命遭到的主要打击是英美法三国的公开干涉（最初这几个强国是打着“中立”的幌子援助满清王朝），它们的武装力量协同中国封建主们的军队，于 1846 年把太平军起义镇压下去了。——第 109 页。

^[93] 指第一次鸦片战争（1839—1842 年）。这是一次英国侵略中国的战争，从这次战争开始，中国就变成了一个半殖民地国家。战争的导火线是中国当局在广州焚毁了外国商人的鸦片。英国殖民主义者利用封建落后的中国战败的机会，强迫中国签订掠夺性的南京条约（1842 年 8 月 29 日），条约规定中国向英国开放五个海港（广州、厦门、福州、宁波和上海），把香港岛割给英国作“永久的属地”，给英国巨额赔款。1843 年又补充规定，外国人在中国享有治外法权。——第 111 页。

^[94] 指的是 1848 年在加利福尼亚和 1851 年在澳大利亚发现了丰富的金矿，这一发现对欧美各国的经济发展起了很大影响。——第 112 页。

^[95] 十七世纪初中国开始受到联合起来的满族各部落的威胁（它们同突厥—蒙古部族一起又叫鞑靼人，这个名称来自成吉思汗帝国形成时期居住在蒙古和满洲东北部的一个部落）。满族入侵的结果是在中国建立了满清王朝（1644—1912 年）。由于明朝末年封建的国家发生危机，以及一部分中国封建主害怕农民起义而投到侵略者方面去，就使满族人得到有利的条件征服了中国。但是中国人民进行了顽强的抵抗，这种抵抗在 1683 年以前一直是公开的武装斗争性质的。——第 115 页。

Source: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/china/index.htm>

Karl Marx in *New York Daily Tribune*

Articles on China

1853 - 1860

Written: 1853-1860, and published in English. This selection was published in 1951 in *Marx on China, 1853-1860*. Articles from the *New York Daily Tribune* with an Introduction and Notes by Dona Toor, by Lawrence & Wishart, London;

Scanned: Harold Newson, July 1999;

HTML: [Andy Blunden](#);

The majority of the following were written during the second European-Chinese War. Marx and Engels both contributed to a series of articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* spanning several years — though the byline was always Marx's. These articles were part of that journalistic flow.

China was, at this time, in upheaval. It was the most populous region in the world (400 million people in 1834). The "Celestial Empire" had long operated with trade surpluses, but by the 1840s, serious trade deficits plagued China. The first European-Chinese conflict (The Opium War) began in 1839 and ended with the 1842 Treaty of Nanking. During this period, famines wracked the land. It is estimated maybe 14 million people died in 1849, and another 20 million between 1854 and 1860.

At the same time, the Taiping rebellion broke out in 1850 and attacked the status quo Confucianist Manchu Dynasty -- which had ruled since 1644. The rebellion was based in social revolutionary ideas of equality and was popular among the masses. It

abolished private property, established sexual equality, and banned drugs (from alcohol to opium). By 1853, it dominated much of SE China. It would not be until 1864 that the Taiping capital of Nanking was captured by the imperial Manchu government.

The "Lorcha War" (also sometimes called the Second Opium War) ran from 1856-58. It began over the "mistreatment" of a British flag on a Chinese junk, or a "lorcha." It officially ended with the 1858 Treaty of Tientsin.

In 1860, Beijing was sacked by the Europeans. However, the Europeans generally supported the Manchu Dynasty against the Taiping rebels, preferring to keep the government installed for fear of what chaos the rebels might bring to trade relations. The Manchu dynasty would not fall until 1911 revolution, when the entire dynastic system collapsed with the provisional government of Sun Yat Sen.

1853, Jun 14: [Revolution in China and in Europe](#)

1857, Jan 23: [The Case of the Lorcha Arrow](#)

1857, Mar 16: [Parliamentary Debates on the Chinese Hostilities](#)

1857, Mar 25: [Defeat of the Palmerston Ministry](#)

1857, Apr 07: [Russia and China](#)

1857, Apr 10: [Whose Atrocities?](#)

1857, Jun 02: [Some Official Correspondence](#)

1857, Jun 05: [Persia-China](#)

1858, Sep 20: [Trade or Opium?](#)

1858, Sep 25: [Free Trade and Monopoly](#)

1858, Oct 05: [Trade and the Treaty](#)

1858, Oct 15: [The British and Chinese Treaty](#)

1859, Oct 01: [The New Chinese War](#)

1859, October: [Another Civilisation War](#)

1859, Oct 18: [The New Chinese War](#)

1859, Dec 03: [Trade with China](#)

1860, Feb 14: [English Politics](#)