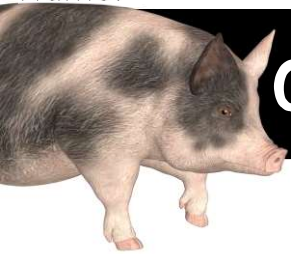


Name:



# OLD MAJOR'S SPEECH

1. "Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it: our lives are miserable, laborious, and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength; and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth."

2. "But is this simply part of the order of nature? Is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it? No, comrades, a thousand times no! The soil of England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to an enormously greater number of animals than now inhabit it. This single farm of ours would support a dozen horses, twenty cows, hundreds of sheep--and all of them living in a comfort and a dignity that are now almost beyond our imagining. Why then do we continue in this miserable condition? Because nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings. There, comrades, is the answer to all our problems. It is summed up in a single word--Man. Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished for ever."

3. "Man is the only creature that consumes without producing. He does not give milk, he does not lay eggs, he is too weak to pull the plough, he cannot run fast enough to catch rabbits. Yet he is lord of all the animals. He sets them to work, he gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself. Our labour tills the soil, our dung fertilises it, and yet there is not one of us that owns more than his bare skin. You cows that I see before me, how many thousands of gallons of milk have you given during this last year? And what has happened to that milk which should have been breeding up sturdy calves? Every drop of it has gone down the throats of our enemies."

1. Why might Orwell use the word choice "comrade" instead of "friends?" What connotation does this word have?

2. How does Orwell summarize the main point of paragraph 1? Highlight the one sentence that can sum up the entire paragraph.

3. The main idea of paragraph 2 can best be summarized as...

- A. The soil of England is fertile.
- B. The enemy is man.
- C. The soil of England is fertile enough to support us all if man is removed.
- D. The land cannot provide enough for us and man together.

4. If you wanted to prove that the farm animals were not living in "comfort and dignity," which form of evidence would provide the strongest support?

- A. "Our lives are miserable, laborious, and short."
- B. "No animal knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old."
- C. "We are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength; and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty."
- D. "This single farm of ours would support a dozen horses, twenty cows, hundreds of sheep--and all of them living in a comfort and a dignity that are now almost beyond our imagining."

5. Highlight all of the evidence in paragraph 3 used to prove "Man is the only creature that consumes without producing."

4. "And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year, and how many of those eggs ever hatched into chickens? The rest have all gone to market to bring in money for Jones and his men. And you, Clover, where are those four foals you bore, who should have been the support and pleasure of your old age? Each was sold at a year old--you will never see one of them again. In return for your four confinements and all your labour in the fields, what have you ever had except your bare rations and a stall?"

5. "Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings? Only get rid of Man, and the produce of our labour would be our own. Almost overnight we could become rich and free. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! I do not know when that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done. Fix your eyes on that, comrades, throughout the short remainder of your lives! And above all, pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, so that future generations shall carry on the struggle until it is victorious."

6. "And remember, comrades, your resolution must never falter. No argument must lead you astray. Never listen when they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest, that the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the others. It is all lies. Man serves the interests of no creature except himself. And among us animals let there be perfect unity, perfect comradeship in the struggle. All men are enemies. All animals are comrades."

7. "I have little more to say. I merely repeat, remember always your duty of enmity towards Man and all his ways. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend. And remember also that in fighting against Man, we must not come to resemble him. Even when you have conquered him, do not adopt his vices. No animal must ever live in a house, or sleep in a bed, or wear clothes, or drink alcohol, or smoke tobacco, or touch money, or engage in trade. All the habits of Man are evil. And, above all, no animal must ever tyrannise over his own kind. Weak or strong, clever or simple, we are all brothers. No animal must ever kill any other animal. All animals are equal."

**6. What is the purpose of the rhetorical questions found throughout this passage?**

**7. In which way(s) does Old Major want the animals to take action? SELECT ALL THAT APPLY**

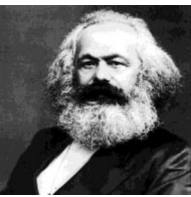
- A. Labour in the fields
- B. Rebel against man
- C. Pass the message on
- D. Struggle on the farm

**8a. How might man make the argument that "prosperity for one is prosperity for others?"**

**9b. How might Old Major give specific evidence for his counterclaim that man's argument "is all lies?"**

**10. Highlight all of the ways animals "must not come to resemble [man]." As an allegory and political message, what is Orwell saying about the nature of humans here?**

Name:



# THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

By: *Karl Marx* 1848

Edited and abridged for ease of reading

**Bourgeois**= middle to upper class and dominated or characterized by materialistic pursuits or concerns.  
**Proletariat** = Working class. This word has been replaced throughout.

1. The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, bourgeois and [working-class], lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have [upper class], knights, [working-class], slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations. The modern [capitalist] society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

2. Our epoch, the epoch of the capitalist, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other – capitalists and laborers. From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered [citizens] of the earliest towns. From these [towns] the first elements of the capitalist were developed. The discovery of America...opened up fresh ground for the rising capitalist. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development. The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolized by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop. Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacturer no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern [capitalist]. Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the [capitalist] developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

**1. How does Marx summarize the counterparts in the underline sentence of paragraph 1? Highlight his summary.**

**2. The main idea of paragraph 1 can best be summarized as...**

- A. Society is in ruin because of oppression.
- B. Throughout history society has been divided by social class and rank.
- C. Society is made up of class systems.
- D. Throughout history new social class systems have improved.

**3. Instead of multiple levels of class and rank, Marx claims capitalism has “simplified class antagonisms.” Highlight the sentence in paragraph 2 that best clarifies his meaning.**

**4. Marx gives a history of how ranks were replaced. Fill in the missing words using evidence from paragraph 2:**

Closed guilds are replaced by

Guild-masters are replaced by:

The manufacturer is replaced by:

The place of manufacture was taken by:

The place of the industrial middle class was replaced with:

**5. Which two things does Marx blame for class systems “splitting up into two great hostile camps?”**

- A. Discovery of America and unskilled workers
- B. Discovery of America and rapid development
- C. Discovery of America and millionaires
- D. Discovery of America and class

3. [Capitalism] has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm...in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom - Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. [Capitalism] has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man.

4. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce.

5. Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence....The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the process of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth....

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6. The immediate aim of the Communists is : formation of the [working-class] into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the [working-class].

7. The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. Private property is...based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

8. From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, *i.e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes. You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

9. When class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the [working-class] is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

10. In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

**6. What is Marx's tone in paragraph 3?**

- A. Objective
- B. Understanding
- C. Critical
- D. Defensive

**Highlight the specific words that tell you his tone in paragraph 3.**

**7. Paraphrase the paradox of the "slavish existence" in paragraph 5 according to Marx.**

**8. The best way to paraphrase the aim of Communists would be:**

- A. To form a working class that overthrows the ruling class and therefore gains political power.
- B. The formation of a working class to overthrow bourgeois supremacy and conquest political power.
- C. To form a class that overtakes working-class citizens in order to gain political power.
- D. The formation of the working class to gain political power.

**9. Highlight what Marx believes that the "abolition of private property" will solve.**

**10. Marx's purpose was to persuade his audience of the pitfalls of capitalism. What counterclaim(s) can you think of for his belief that abolishing class supremacy will promote "development of all?"**