

MANIFESTO
of the
COMMUNIST
PARTY

KARL MARX

& FRED. ENGELS

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MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By

KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

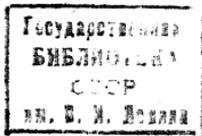


Edited and Annotated by Frederick Engels

Authorised English Translation



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FOREWORD

This is our second edition of **The Communist Manifesto** in the version revised and authorised by one of its authors, Frederick Engels, as issued in London in 1888. The preface by Engels to that edition is given before the text of the **Manifesto**; all other prefaces by the authors to a number of the editions of the **Manifesto** in various languages are printed after the text. The translations of the latter prefaces have again been compared with the original manuscripts and revised for this edition.

We add here, for the first time, a translation of the joint preface by Marx and Engels to the Russian edition of 1882, which Engels thought had been lost and which he translated anew for his preface to the German edition of 1890. The manuscript has since been discovered among P. L. Lavrov's posthumous papers. Although the differences between the two versions are slight, we are appending the original preface as a historical document written by the two authors of the **Manifesto**.

In addition to the footnotes by Engels, we add a number of notes by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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CONTENTS

Publishers' Foreword	1
Preface by F. Engels to the 1888 English Edition	3
Manifesto of the Communist Party	7
I. Bourgeois and Proletarians	8
II. Proletarians and Communists	20
III. Socialist and Communist Literature	29
1. Reactionary Socialism	29
a. Feudal Socialism	29
b. Petty-Bourgeois Socialism	31
c. German or "True" Socialism	32
2. Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism	34
3. Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism	36
IV. Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties	39

APPENDIX

1. Preface by K. Marx and F. Engels to the German Edition of 1872	41
2. Preface by F. Engels to the German Edition of 1833	42
3. Preface by F. Engels to the German Edition of 1890	43
4. Preface by K. Marx and F. Engels to the Russian Edition of 1882	48
5. Preface by F. Engels to the second Polish Edition of 1892	49
6. Preface by F. Engels to the first Italian Edition of 1893	51

PREFACE

The **Manifesto** was published as the platform of the Communist League, a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party programme. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's **Red Republican**, London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848—the first great battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thenceforth, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist Trial" lasted from October 4 till November 12; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately after the sentence, the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the **Manifesto**, it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Workingmen's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the **Manifesto**. The International was bound to have a programme broad enough to be acceptable to the English trades' unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium,

Italy, and Spain, and to the Lassalleans* in Germany. Marx, who drew up this programme to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleanism in Germany were dying out, and even the conservative English trades' unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact, the principles of the **Manifesto** had made considerable headway among the workmen of all countries.

The **Manifesto** itself thus came to the front again. Since 1850 the German text had been reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in **Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly**. From this English version, a French one was made in **Le Socialiste** of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakunin, was published at Herzen's **Kolokol** office in Geneva, about 1863; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulich, also in Geneva, in 1882. A new Danish edition is to be found in **Social-demokratisk Bibliothek**, Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in **Le Socialiste**, Paris, 1886. From this latter, a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, in 1886. The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it

* Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Marx, and, as such, stood on the ground of the **Manifesto**. But in his public agitation, 1862-64, he did not go beyond demanding co-operative workshops supported by State credit. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]