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KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
GESAMTAUSGABE
(MEGA)

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FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE · ARTIKEL
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Einleitung

Der vorliegende Band enthält die von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels von März bis November 1871 geschriebenen Werke, Artikel, Entwürfe und Erklärungen. Er umfaßt damit die Zeit vom Beginn der Revolution des Pariser Proletariats bis zur Veröffentlichung der von Marx und Engels verfaßten Dokumente der Londoner Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation.

In den Materialien des Bandes äußert sich die leidenschaftliche Parteinaufnahme, mit der Marx und Engels vom ersten Tag an für die Pariser Kommune eintraten; sie bezeugen ihre vielfältigen Bemühungen um die Entwicklung einer breiten Solidaritätskampagne zur Unterstützung der Kommunarden wie auch ihren Kampf gegen die Verleumdungen der Kommune durch die herrschenden Klassen. In dem Band werden Marx' historisch bedeutsames Werk „Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ und dessen Entwürfe sowie Marx' und Engels' Reden im Generalrat der Internationale zu den revolutionären Ereignissen in Paris veröffentlicht. Eine Reihe von Artikeln und Erklärungen, die Marx und Engels nach der Pariser Kommune schrieben, setzt sich mit der Hetzkampagne der herrschenden Klassen gegen die Internationale auseinander. Der Band enthält ferner die von Marx und Engels zur Vorbereitung der Londoner Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationale und während dieser Konferenz verfaßten Materialien, die Beschlüsse der Konferenz und die Allgemeinen Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der Internationale. Im Anhang werden die Protokolle des Generalrats und die Protokolle der Londoner Konferenz veröffentlicht.

In der Entwicklung der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung und des Marxismus bildet der Zeitraum, den dieser Band umspannt, einen außerordentlich wichtigen Abschnitt. Mit der Pariser Kommune unternahm die Arbeiterklasse erstmals den Versuch, die bürgerliche Staatsmaschinerie

zu zerbrechen und ihre eigene politische Herrschaft zu errichten. Die Revolution der Pariser Arbeiter eröffnete eine neue Epoche der Weltgeschichte. Die gesamte weitere Entwicklung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens wie auch des Kampfes der Arbeiterbewegung vollzog sich unter ihrem Einfluß. Für die Arbeiterbewegung begann mit der Pariser Kommune eine Periode der allmählichen Sammlung der Kräfte des Proletariats und seiner Vorbereitung auf die entscheidenden Klassenschlachten, eine Periode „der Herausbildung, des Wachstums und des Reifens sozialistischer Massenparteien mit klassenmäßiger, proletarischer Zusammensetzung“ (W. I. Lenin: August Bebel. In: Werke. Bd. 19. Berlin 1977. S. 285–286).

Die Pariser Kommune, die von der großen Lebenskraft der revolutionären Theorie kündete, leitete auch einen neuen Abschnitt in der Entwicklung des Marxismus ein. Schon die ersten Schritte der Pariser Revolution auf dem Wege zur Errichtung der politischen Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse ließen Marx und Engels zu der Erkenntnis gelangen, daß die Kommune eine qualitativ neue Phase im Kampf der Arbeiterklasse gegen die Bourgeoisie und deren Staat eröffnet hatte. „Wie die Sache auch unmittelbar verlaufe“, schrieb Marx an Louis Kugelmann am 17. April 1871, „ein neuer Ausgangspunkt von welthistorischer Wichtigkeit ist gewonnen.“ Entscheidendes Gewicht legten Marx und Engels deshalb auf die theoretische Analyse der Kommune und die Auswertung ihrer Erfahrungen für den Kampf der Arbeiterklasse. Die bedeutenden politischen Resultate der Kommune ermöglichten es Marx, seine revolutionäre Theorie weiter zu entwickeln und zu vertiefen.

Die Arbeiten dieses Bandes – besonders Marx' Werk „Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ und die Materialien der Londoner Konferenz – enthalten einen fundamentalen Beitrag zum Marxismus. Mit der Analyse der Pariser Kommune entwickelte Marx die Lehre vom Klassenkampf, dessen Gesetzmäßigkeiten und Perspektiven, sowie vom Staat und der Revolution weiter. Bereichert und vertieft wurden auch die Lehre von der Partei und die gesamte Theorie von der Strategie und Taktik des proletarischen Klassenkampfes. So trafen Marx und Engels wesentliche neue bzw. bisherige Erkenntnisse vertiefende Aussagen über Formen, Mittel und Wege des proletarischen Befreiungskampfes, über den proletarischen Internationalismus, über die Bündnispolitik der Arbeiterklasse und andere wichtige Fragen. Dabei werteten sie die Erfahrungen der Arbeiterbewegung aller Länder aus; zugleich konzipierten sie in ihren Arbeiten die programmatischen und organisatorischen Grundlagen der zu gründenden nationalen proletarischen Parteien. Die Bereicherung der revolutionären Theorie des Proletariats durch Marx und Engels in dieser Periode hatte große Bedeutung für die folgende Entwicklung der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung.

Die wissenschaftliche Einschätzung der Entstehung und des Charakters der Pariser Kommune nahm Marx in seiner Schrift „Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ vor, die das theoretische Hauptwerk des vorliegenden Bandes bildet. In diesem programmatischen Dokument des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus – einer „genialen Analyse des Inhalts und der Bedeutung“ der Kommune (W. I. Lenin: Brief an die Arbeiter Europas und Amerikas. In: Werke. Bd. 28. Berlin 1976. S. 444) – verallgemeinerte er die Erfahrungen und Lehren der Kommune und erschloß sie der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung. Dabei konkretisierte er grundlegende Leitsätze des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus, insbesondere die Lehre vom Staat, von der proletarischen Revolution, seine Feststellungen über die Notwendigkeit, die Aufgaben und den zutiefst demokratischen Charakter der Diktatur des Proletariats, über die ökonomische Politik des zur Machtgelangten Proletariats, über dessen Bündnispolitik und andere grundlegende Fragen, und entwickelte sie weiter. Unmittelbar während der revolutionären Ereignisse in Paris geschrieben, zeugte diese Schrift erneut von der „bewährten Gabe des Verfassers, den Charakter, die Tragweite und die nothwendigen Folgen großer geschichtlicher Ereignisse klar zu erfassen, zur Zeit, wo diese Ereignisse sich noch vor unsern Augen abspielen oder erst eben vollendet sind“ (F. Engels: Einleitung. In: [Karl Marx:] Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich. Berlin 1891. S. 3).

Marx' Werk, als offizielle Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation verfaßt, war ein aufrüttelndes politisches Manifest des internationalen Proletariats, das im Angesicht der politischen Reaktion die Stellung der Arbeiterklasse zur Pariser Kommune klar und unmißverständlich zum Ausdruck brachte. Die Adresse widerspiegeln die tiefgreifenden Veränderungen in der Arbeiterbewegung und insbesondere in der Internationale während der letzten Jahre. Wichtige Leitsätze seiner Theorie legte Marx hier erstmals in einem Dokument der Internationale als politische Plattform der Assoziation dar. „Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ bildete somit einen bedeutsamen Schritt in der ideologischen Entwicklung der Internationale und diente der Vervollkommenung ihres theoretischen Programms.

Der vorliegende Band enthält neben der Druckfassung des Marxschen Werkes auch Marx' ersten und zweiten Entwurf zu dieser Schrift („The Civil War in France. [First Draft]“, „The Civil War in France. [Second Draft]“). Beide Entwürfe gewähren einen tiefen Einblick in den schöpferischen Arbeitsprozeß von Marx. Im wissenschaftlichen Apparat wird ein Überblick über den Gesamtprozeß der Arbeit von Marx am „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ gegeben (siehe S. 789–798). Die Entwürfe zeugen von Marx' immenser Arbeit und wissenschaftlicher Sorgfalt, mit der er die

Tätigkeit der Pariser Kommune untersuchte, um zu verallgemeinernden Aussagen über ihre Erfahrungen und Lehren zu gelangen, und lassen sein Ringen um eine wissenschaftliche Analyse der historischen Geschehnisse erkennen. Während einzelne Abschnitte der Entwürfe fragmentarischen, notizartigen Charakter tragen, hat ein beträchtlicher Teil bereits ausgereifte literarische Form. Beide Entwürfe vermitteln ein detailliertes Bild von Marx' Forschungsmethoden. Sie beweisen anschaulich, daß die Entwicklung des Marxismus stets mit einem genauen Studium des geschichtlichen Materials einherging. Marx verarbeitete in den Entwürfen ein umfangreiches Tatsachenmaterial über die Kommune, das er vom ersten Tage der Pariser Revolution an zu sammeln und auszuwerten begonnen hatte. So stützte er sich bei der Ausarbeitung der Entwürfe wie der Druckfassung auf Exzerpte, die er aus englischen und französischen Zeitungen angefertigt hatte und die in der Vierten Abteilung der MEGA veröffentlicht werden, auf briefliche Informationen und andere Quellen sowie auf mündliche Mitteilungen.

Die Entwürfe zu Marx' Werk sind von hohem theoretischen Wert. Marx untersuchte in ihnen eingehend die Ursachen für das Entstehen der Kommune und legte die Politik des nationalen Verrats der Thiers-Regierung bloß. Er analysierte die Entwicklung des bürgerlichen Staats zum reinen Unterdrückungswerkzeug und konfrontierte den bürgerlichen Klassenstaat mit dem prinzipiell neuen Staatstyp der Pariser Kommune, der die Interessen der großen Mehrheit des Volkes zum Ausdruck brachte. Die Kommune, schrieb Marx im ersten Entwurf, „was not a revolution to transfer it [the state] from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other, but a Revolution to break down this horrid machinery of Classdomination itself“ (S. 55).

Gestützt auf eine umfassende Analyse der politischen und sozialökonomischen Maßnahmen der ersten proletarischen Regierung, arbeitete Marx die historische Bedeutung der Kommune heraus und gab eine realistische Einschätzung ihres Wirkens. Er untersuchte das Wesen und den Klassencharakter des ersten proletarischen Staates und kennzeichnete ihn als „reabsorption of the State power ... by the popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized force of their suppression“ (S. 56), als „political form of the social emancipation, of the liberation of labour from the usurpation of the monopolists of the means of labour“ (S. 58).

Bei der Analyse der Erfahrungen der Kommune ging er auch auf die – wesentlich aus Unerfahrenheit begangenen – Fehler der revolutionären Regierung in Paris ein, um aus ihnen Lehren für den weiteren Kampf der Arbeiterbewegung zu ziehen. So wies er darauf hin, daß die proletarische

Macht organisiert und stark sein, daß sie – falls erforderlich – auch über die entsprechenden Mittel zum Schutz der Errungenschaften der Revolution verfügen muß. Die Arbeiterklasse habe auch nach der Errichtung ihrer politischen Herrschaft mit Anschlägen der reaktionären Kräfte zu rechnen, „which, while for a moment interrupting the work of peaceful progress, would only accelerate the movement, by putting the sword into the hand of the Social Revolution“ (S. 59).

In den beiden Entwürfen – besonders im ersten Entwurf – legte Marx, teilweise zum Zwecke der Selbstverständigung, einige Thesen ausführlicher dar, als es ihm später in der Druckfassung möglich war, in der er das Material komprimierte, um seinem Werk die Form einer Adresse zu geben. Das betrifft besonders die Behandlung der historischen Voraussetzungen für das Entstehen der Pariser Kommune, die Untersuchung der sozialökonomischen Maßnahmen des proletarischen Staates, seiner Politik gegenüber den Mittelschichten, die Analyse der Fehler der Kommune, die Auseinandersetzung mit konkreten Erscheinungsformen der bürgerlichen Ideologie – wie den Positivismus und dessen Verhältnis zur proletarischen Revolution –, einige theoretische Schlußfolgerungen über Rolle und Aufgaben des proletarischen Staates sowie Gedanken zur Frage des Übergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Kommunismus.

Marx' intensiven Schaffensprozeß, sein Ringen um ein tiefes Erfassen und Durchdringen der historischen Ereignisse widerspiegeln auch die zahlreichen, inhaltlich relevanten Varianten im Text beider Entwürfe. Diese Varianten werden erstmals vollständig in umfangreichen Verzeichnissen dargeboten (siehe S. 807–856 und 893–965), die zugleich die komplizierte innerhandschriftliche Entwicklung der Manuskripte in den Entwürfen zu Marx' Werk dokumentieren. Auch die Textwiedergabe beider Entwürfe konnte durch einen Vergleich mit den handschriftlichen Originalen und den Quellen in einer Reihe von Fällen gegenüber bisherigen Editionen präzisiert werden. Auf Grund einer inhaltlichen Analyse wurde die Textanordnung des zweiten Entwurfs zu Marx' Werk verbessert. Die Untersuchungen ergaben, daß es sich bei den letzten Passagen dieses Entwurfs um eine überarbeitete Fassung der Abschnitte 5 und 6 handelt.

Bei der Ausarbeitung der Druckfassung der Generalratsadresse stützte sich Marx auf beide Entwürfe. In diesem Arbeitsprozeß reifte das Werk als Ganzes. Marx vertiefte in der Adresse die Analyse der Kommune und wies nach, daß die Kommune der „ruhmvolle Vorbote einer neuen Gesellschaft“ (S. 223) war.

In seiner Arbeit untersuchte er zunächst die historischen Bedingungen, unter denen die Arbeiterklasse „als die einzige Klasse, die noch einer gesellschaftlichen Initiative fähig war“ (S. 206), den Versuch unternahm,

ihre politische Macht zu errichten und eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung aufzubauen. Der „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ enthüllte den nationalen Verrat und die Korruptheit der „Regierung der nationalen Verteidigung“, die volksfeindliche und konterrevolutionäre Politik der Thiers, Favre, Dufaure und Picard und konfrontierte sie mit dem revolutionären Enthusiasmus der Pariser Arbeiter, die mit der Beseitigung der politischen Herrschaft der Bourgeoisie ihrer nationalen Verantwortung und Klassen-aufgabe in dieser konkreten geschichtlichen Situation entsprachen. Marx' Analyse zeigte gleichzeitig, daß die Ursachen der Pariser Revolution letztlich in den Gesetzmäßigkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung und in der steten Vertiefung des grundlegenden Klassenantagonismus des Kapitalismus im internationalen Maßstab begründet lagen.

Die Zerschlagung der Unterdrückungsmaschinerie des bürgerlichen Staates durch die Pariser Kommune – ein Schritt von historisch großer Tragweite – bewies die Richtigkeit der Schlußfolgerung, die Marx bereits 1852 in seiner Schrift „Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“ gezogen hatte, daß das Proletariat als Vorbedingung für seine Befreiung „die bürokratisch-militärische Maschinerie ... zerbrechen“ muß (Marx an Louis Kugelmann, 12. April 1871). Lenin bezeichnete diese These als „das Hauptsächliche, das Grundlegende in der Lehre des Marxismus vom Staat“ (W.I. Lenin: Staat und Revolution. In: Werke. Bd. 25. Berlin 1977. S. 418). In der Adresse über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich vertiefte und konkretisierte Marx diesen Leitsatz seiner Staats- und Revolutionstheorie an Hand der Erfahrungen der Pariser Kommune.

Anknüpfend an seine früheren Darlegungen zur Geschichte des Klassen-kampfes und des bürgerlichen Staates in Frankreich in seinen Schriften „Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich“ und „Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte“, umriß Marx die geschichtlichen Etappen der Entwicklung der bürgerlichen Staatsmaschinerie. Gestützt auf die historischen Erfah-rungen vor allem in Frankreich, wies er auf den dialektischen Zusammenhang zwischen den sozialökonomischen Veränderungen der Gesellschaft und dem Wandel der historischen Rolle der Bourgeoisie sowie der Ent-wicklung des bürgerlichen Staates hin. Er machte sichtbar, daß die „voll-entwickelte Bourgeoisgesellschaft“ den Staat immer stärker in ein „Werkzeug zur Knechtung der Arbeit durch das Kapital“ (S. 201) umgewandelt hatte. „In dem Maß“, schrieb Marx in der Adresse, „wie der Fortschritt der modernen Industrie den Klassengegensatz zwischen Kapital und Arbeit entwickelte, erweiterte, vertiefte, in demselben Maß erhielt die Staats-macht mehr und mehr den Charakter einer öffentlichen Gewalt zur Unter-drückung der Arbeit, einer Maschine der Klassenherrschaft.“ (S. 199.) Er untersuchte in diesem Zusammenhang die verschiedenen politischen

Formen der bürgerlichen Klassenherrschaft und wies nach, daß die Bourgeoisie aus Furcht vor einer Revolution des Proletariats die zentralisierte Staatsmacht mit ihren Unterdrückungsorganen zum „nationalen Kriegswerkzeug des Kapitals gegen die Arbeit“ (S. 200) entwickelte.

Die Marxsche Analyse der historischen Entwicklung des Klassenkampfes und des Staates machte deutlich, daß die Zerschlagung der bürgerlichen Staatsmaschinerie und die Errichtung der proletarischen Staatsmacht ein historisch gesetzmäßiger Prozeß ist, der sich objektiv aus dem Klassencharakter des bürgerlichen Staates und den politischen Funktionen seines Unterdrückungsapparats ergibt. Marx' Darlegungen führten reformistische Vorstellungen, mit Hilfe des bürgerlichen Staates, ohne grundlegende Veränderung der politischen Machtverhältnisse sozialistische Maßnahmen durchzuführen, ad absurdum. Er unterstrich, daß die Klassenfunktion dieses Staates – sowohl in Gestalt der bonapartistischen Diktatur wie als bürgerliche Republik – darin besteht, Herrschaftsinstrument der Bourgeoisie zu sein. Marx enthüllte in seiner Schrift das Wesen der bürgerlichen Demokratie, die die Herrschaft einer ausbeutenden Minderheit über die unterdrückte Mehrheit des Volkes widerspiegelt und das System der politischen Unterdrückung verschleieren soll.

Im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ zeigte Marx detailliert, wie die Zerbrechung der bürgerlichen Staatsmaschinerie im Verlauf der proletarischen Revolution erfolgt. Er betonte, daß nicht der Staat als solcher, nicht alle Institutionen und Funktionen des bürgerlichen Staates, sondern dessen militärisch-bürokratischer Gewaltapparat beseitigt werden muß. „Während es galt, die bloß unterdrückenden Organe der alten Regierungsmacht abzuschneiden“, schrieb er, „sollten ihre berechtigten Funktionen einer Gewalt, die über der Gesellschaft zu stehen beanspruchte, entrissen und den verantwortlichen Dienern der Gesellschaft zurückgegeben werden.“ (S. 203.) Ausführlich äußerte sich Marx hierzu auch im zweiten Entwurf zu seiner Schrift (siehe S. 105–106).

Marx' entscheidende wissenschaftlich-theoretische Leistung im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ bestand darin, daß er an Hand der Erfahrungen der Pariser Kommune nachwies, wodurch die bürgerliche Staatsmaschinerie in der proletarischen Revolution zu ersetzen und mit welchen revolutionären ökonomischen, sozialen und politischen Maßnahmen der Übergang vom Kapitalismus zum Kommunismus einzuleiten sei. In der politischen Struktur und dem gesamten Wirken der Kommune erkannte er trotz der kurzen Zeit ihrer Existenz die Keime des proletarischen Staates, eines Staates von historisch neuem Typ, den die Arbeiterklasse zur Sicherung ihrer politischen Herrschaft, zur revolutionären Umgestaltung der ganzen Gesellschaft und damit zur Erfüllung ihrer historischen Mission benötigt.

Die Marxsche Analyse der Pariser Kommune zusammenfassend, schrieb Engels später in seinem Vorwort zur deutschen Ausgabe des „Bürgerkriegs in Frankreich“ von 1891: „Seht euch die Pariser Kommune an. Das war die Diktatur des Proletariats.“ (Friedrich Engels: Einleitung. A. a. O. S. 14.)

Bereits bei der Auswertung der Erfahrungen der europäischen Revolution von 1848/49 hatte Marx darauf hingewiesen, daß „der Klassenkampf nothwendig zur *Diktatur des Proletariats* führt“ und „diese Diktatur selbst nur den Übergang zur *Aufhebung aller Klassen* und zu einer *klassenlosen Gesellschaft* bildet“ (Marx an Joseph Weydemeyer, 5. März 1852). Hatte er hier in allgemeinen Umrissen den historischen Platz der Diktatur des Proletariats gekennzeichnet, so vermochte er in der Generalratsadresse über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich auf der Grundlage der geschichtlich-konkreten Resultate der Kommune die bis dahin noch offene Frage zu beantworten, wie die politische Herrschaftsform der Arbeiterklasse beschaffen sein muß, und die Lehre von der Diktatur des Proletariats in entscheidendem Maße auszubauen. Dies betrifft sowohl die Begründung ihrer Notwendigkeit, der Wege und Mittel zu ihrer Errichtung wie ihrer Merkmale, Formen und Funktionen. Damit zeigte er, wie die Arbeiterklasse die im „Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei“ noch abstrakt formulierte Aufgabe – „die Erhebung des Proletariats zur herrschenden Klasse, die Erkämpfung der Demokratie“ ([Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels:] Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. London 1848. S. 15) – verwirklichen, d.h. sich als herrschende Klasse organisieren muß. Marx' theoretisch-methodologisches Herangehen an die Analyse der Kommune charakterisierte Lenin mit den Worten: „Bei Marx findet man auch nicht die Spur von Utopismus in dem Sinne, daß er sich die ‚neue‘ Gesellschaft erdichtet, zusammenphantasiert. Nein, er studiert – wie einen naturgeschichtlichen Prozeß – die *Geburt* der neuen Gesellschaft *aus* der alten, studiert die Übergangsformen von der alten zur neuen. Er hält sich an die tatsächlichen Erfahrungen der proletarischen Massenbewegung und ist bemüht, aus ihr praktische Lehren zu ziehen.“ (W. I. Lenin: Staat und Revolution. A. a. O. S. 438.)

Marx deckte im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ den Klassencharakter der Kommune und das Wesen ihrer Staatsform auf. Die Kommune war, schrieb er, „wesentlich eine *Regierung der Arbeiterklasse*, das Resultat des Kampfes der hervorbringenden gegen die aneignende Klasse, die endlich entdeckte politische Form, unter der die ökonomische Befreiung der Arbeit sich vollziehen konnte“ (S. 204–205). Eingehend untersuchte er die charakteristischen Merkmale und arbeitete die wesentlichen Besonderheiten und Organisationsprinzipien der proletarischen Staatsmacht heraus. Dabei unterstrich er den schöpferischen, konstruktiven Charakter der proleta-

rischen Revolution, der darin zum Ausdruck kam, daß die Pariser Arbeiter die Zerschlagung der bürgerlichen Staatsmaschinerie mit der Errichtung eines Staatswesens von historisch prinzipiell neuem Charakter verbanden. Nur indem die Arbeiterklasse die „Werkzeuge der materiellen Macht“ (S. 202) des Ausbeuterstaates, das alte stehende Heer und die Polizei, vernichtet, ist sie, wie er nachwies, in der Lage, einen qualitativ neuen Staatsapp zu errichten und jene bestimmte Form der Republik zu schaffen, „die nicht nur die monarchische Form der Klassenherrschaft..., sondern die Klassenherrschaft selbst“ (S. 201) beseitigt. Marx hob den zutiefst demokratischen Charakter der proletarischen Revolution hervor, der jener Terror und die Gewaltakte fremd sind, „von denen die Revolutionen, und noch mehr die Kontrarevolutionen der ‚höheren Klassen‘ strotzen“ (S. 194).

Der proletarische Staat ist, wie Marx aus den Erfahrungen der Kommune folgerte, auf prinzipiell neue Weise demokratisch. Die Kommune repräsentierte und verteidigte als erster Staat in der Geschichte die Interessen der werktätigen Massen und verkörperte die unmittelbare Machtausübung durch das Volk. Sie bestand „aus Arbeitern oder anerkannten Vertretern der Arbeiterklasse“ (S. 201) und stützte sich in ihrer gesamten Tätigkeit auf die werktätigen Massen, die zum Subjekt der souveränen Macht wurden. Der proletarische Charakter dieses Staates war, wie Marx hervorhob, die entscheidende klassenmäßige Voraussetzung für seinen konsequenten Demokratismus – die Wählbarkeit, Rechenschaftspflicht und Abberufbarkeit aller Machtorgane und Volksvertreter, die demokratischen Grundsätze für den Aufbau und die Organisation der bewaffneten Kräfte, der Nationalgarde, die Ersetzung der früheren richterlichen Beamten durch gewählte Richter, Beamte der Kommune. Dem System des bürgerlichen Parlamentarismus, dessen kritische Untersuchung Marx in der Generalratsadresse fortsetzte, stellte er die völlig neue demokratische Organisationsform des proletarischen Staates gegenüber, deren Wesen er mit den klassischen Worten umriß: „Die Kommune sollte nicht eine parlamentarische, sondern eine arbeitende Körperschaft sein, vollziehend und gesetzgebend zu gleicher Zeit.“ (S. 201–202.)

Arbeitete Marx auf diese Weise das demokratische Wesen des Staates der Arbeiterklasse heraus, so unterstrich er zugleich die Notwendigkeit, daß das Proletariat einer genügend gefestigten, zentralisierten Staatsmacht als Waffe im Klassenkampf zur Niederhaltung der gestürzten Bourgeoisie, zur Niederschlagung der – wie er im ersten Entwurf schrieb – „slaveholders‘ insurrections“ (S. 59) bedürfe. Im Gegensatz zum bürgerlichen Staat, der die Zentralisierung mit bürokratischen Methoden und Gewaltmaßnahmen durchsetzte, stellte der proletarische Staat, wie Marx in seiner Schrift ausführlich darlegte, die Zentralisation auf demokrati-

schem Wege her. So sah er in der von der Pariser Kommune beabsichtigten Durchsetzung der Kommunalverfassung als politischer Form selbst des kleinsten Dorfes eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Schaffung des zentralisierten proletarischen Staates. Marx hob hervor, daß die Kommune die Einheit von Zentralisation und einer Selbstverwaltung völlig neuen Typs anstrebe, die die proletarische Demokratie, die wirkliche Beteiligung der Volksmassen an der Leitung des Staates sichern sollte. Gleichzeitig machte er deutlich, daß die politische Macht des Proletariats die Einheit der Nation auf prinzipiell neuer Grundlage herstelle. „Die Einheit der Nation“, schrieb er, „sollte nicht gebrochen, sondern im Gegentheil organisirt werden durch die Kommunalverfassung; sie sollte eine Wirklichkeit werden durch die Vernichtung jener Staatsmacht, welche sich für die Verkörperung dieser Einheit ausgab“ (S. 203).

Die Notwendigkeit einer festen, zentralisierten Macht für die siegreiche Arbeiterklasse leitete Marx auch aus den wachsenden Aufgaben des proletarischen Staates bei der Umgestaltung der sozialökonomischen Verhältnisse ab. „Die Kommune sollte ... als Hebel dienen, um die ökonomischen Grundlagen umzustürzen, auf denen der Bestand der Klassen und damit der Klassenherrschaft ruht.“ (S. 205.) Wenn auch die Pariser Kommune nur relativ wenige Erfahrungen darüber vermitteln konnte, wie sich die Umwälzung der sozialen und ökonomischen Grundlagen der Gesellschaft nach der Errichtung der politischen Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse im einzelnen vollzieht, so deuteten die von ihr ergriffenen Maßnahmen – vor allem das Dekret zur Übergabe der Werkstätten und Fabriken der aus Paris geflohenen Unternehmer an Arbeitergenossenschaften – doch die Richtung der ökonomischen Politik des proletarischen Staates zur Verwandlung der Produktionsmittel, des Bodens und des Kapitals in „Werkzeuge der freien und associirten Arbeit“ (S. 205) an. Der Umfang und notwendigerweise planmäßige Charakter der sozialökonomischen Umgestaltungen erforderten, wie Marx nachwies, die zentrale Leitung dieser gesellschaftlichen Umwälzung durch den proletarischen Staat, eine Schlußfolgerung, auf die er und Engels in nachfolgenden Arbeiten wiederholt aufmerksam machten und die sie theoretisch weiter ausbauten.

Die Pariser Kommune bestätigte Marx' wesentlich auch aus seinen ökonomischen Forschungen gewonnene Erkenntnis, daß die revolutionäre Umwälzung der Grundlagen der Gesellschaft ein relativ langwieriger und komplizierter Prozeß ist. Im Gegensatz zur voluntaristischen Betrachtungsweise der Bakunisten und Blanquisten betonte er in der Generalratsadresse über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich, die Arbeiterklasse könne die ökonomischen und sozialen Umgestaltungen nicht einfach dekretieren. Diese umfassen eine ganze historische Periode, in der die Arbeiterklasse „lange

Kämpfe, eine ganze Reihe geschichtlicher Prozesse durchzumachen hat, durch welche die Menschen wie die Umstände gänzlich umgewandelt werden“ (S. 206). Große Bedeutung maß Marx deshalb auch der Kultur- und Bildungspolitik des proletarischen Staates bei, der die Bildung „für Jedermann zugänglich“ (S. 202) macht und den Werktätigen den Zugang zu den Errungenschaften der Wissenschaft und Kultur erschließt.

Marx’ Ausführungen im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ über die sozial-ökonomischen Aufgaben der proletarischen Revolution erfahren eine bedeutsame Ergänzung durch einige theoretische Verallgemeinerungen im ersten Entwurf, in denen er Gedanken zum politischen und sozialökonomischen Inhalt des Übergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Kommunismus, über den Charakter des Klassenkampfes in diesem Stadium und über die ökonomische Politik des Proletariats entwickelte. Der Machtantritt der Arbeiterklasse „does not away with the class struggles“, schrieb er, „through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule..., but it affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way“ (S. 58–59). Diese verschiedenen Phasen seien notwendig, da „the superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labour by the conditions of free and associated labour can only be the progressive work of time“ (S. 59). Marx präzisierte und konkretisierte mit diesen Darlegungen seine bisherigen Aussagen über den historischen Platz der Diktatur des Proletariats. Für den Staat der Arbeiterklasse gelte es in diesem Entwicklungsprozeß, eine neue, im Vergleich zum Kapitalismus höhere „organization of production“ und die „delivery (setting free) of the social forms of production“ von ihrem Klassencharakter durchzusetzen. Kennzeichnend für die von der siegreichen Arbeiterklasse geschaffene qualitativ neue Stufe der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung ist, wie Marx bereits voraussah und nachwies, die „harmonious national and international coordination“ der Produktion (S. 59). Marx betrachtete dies als wesentliche Voraussetzungen zur Überwindung des bisherigen spontanen, anarchistischen Charakters der kapitalistischen Wirtschaft. Er unterstrich, daß durch den proletarischen Staat sofort wesentliche Fortschritte beim Aufbau der neuen Gesellschaft erzielt werden können.

Gestützt auf die Erfahrungen der Pariser Kommune und auf seine aus der Analyse des kapitalistischen Produktionsprozesses gewonnenen Erkenntnisse, erarbeitete Marx damit in der Adresse und besonders in den Entwürfen zu seiner Schrift weitere Grundlagen für die Theorie des Übergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Kommunismus, die er in den folgenden Jahren vertiefte. Ihre reifste Form erhielt Marx’ Lehre von der Übergangsperiode 1875 in den „Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei“,

in denen er die Diktatur des Proletariats als die Staatsmacht der Übergangsperiode von der kapitalistischen zur kommunistischen Gesellschaft herausarbeitete.

In seiner Schrift über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich setzte Marx die Untersuchung des Problems der Verbündeten des Proletariats in der Revolution fort. Das konkret-historische Material der Kommune ermöglichte es ihm, die Lehre vom Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit den städtischen Mittelschichten und der Bauernschaft weiter auszuarbeiten und zu konkretisieren. Die Kommune bestätigte erstmals in der Praxis Marx' und Engels' bei der Auswertung der Revolutionserfahrungen von 1848/49 getroffenen Schlußfolgerungen von der Möglichkeit des Bündnisses der Arbeiterklasse mit den städtischen Kleineigentümern, Handwerkern und der werktätigen Intelligenz. Marx wies nach, daß das Proletariat alle Klassen der Gesellschaft, die nicht von fremder Arbeit leben – auch das Kleinbürgertum – im Kampf für Demokratie und für die wahren Interessen der Nation um sich zu scharen vermag (siehe S. 206–207). Bedeutsame Feststellungen traf er hierzu auch im ersten Entwurf: "For the first time in history the petty and *moyenne* middleclass has openly rallied round the workmen's Revolution, and proclaimed it as the only means of their own salvation and that of France!" (S. 63). Zugleich hob Marx die Notwendigkeit der Hegemonie des Proletariats gegenüber diesen sozialen Schichten hervor. Marx machte deutlich, daß im Kampf zwischen der Großbourgeoisie, die wesentlich antidemokatisch und antinational geworden war, und der Arbeiterklasse die mittlere und kleine Bourgeoisie vor die Entscheidung gestellt war, „to follow in the tracks of the ruling classes or the followers of the working class“ (S. 56).

Auch den Vertretern der Intelligenz maß Marx einen festen Platz als Bündnispartner an der Seite des Proletariats zu. Nur die Arbeiterklasse, schrieb er im ersten Entwurf, könne die „men of science“ aus „allies of capital into free agents of thought“ verwandeln. „Science can only play its genuine part in the Republic of Labour.“ (S. 64.)

Große Aufmerksamkeit widmete Marx in seiner Schrift der Bauernfrage. Die Erfahrungen der Kommune bewiesen die Richtigkeit der von ihm und Engels begründeten These, daß die Arbeiterklasse ohne die Unterstützung durch die Bauernschaft in der Revolution nicht siegen kann. Marx unterstrich im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“, daß das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit den nichtproletarischen Massen – in erster Linie mit der werktätigen Bauernschaft – wesentliche Bedingung für den Sieg der proletarischen Revolution und den Aufbau der neuen, von Ausbeutung freien Gesellschaftsordnung ist. Am Beispiel der Kommune zeigte er, daß die Politik des proletarischen Staates völlig den Interessen der Bauernschaft entspricht.

„Die Kommune hatte vollständig Recht, als sie den Bauern zurief: „Unser Sieg ist Eure einzige Hoffnung!““ (S. 207.) Allein die Arbeiterklasse als der natürliche Vertreter der Interessen der werktätigen Bauern ist, wie er in der Adresse nachwies, in der Lage, den Bauern von der kapitalistischen Knechtschaft zu befreien und ihm eine gesicherte Perspektive zu bieten.

Wichtige Gedanken zu dieser Problematik enthält auch der erste Entwurf der Marxschen Arbeit, in dem Marx die objektiven Grundlagen für das Bündnis von Arbeiterklasse und Bauernschaft umriß. Der proletarische Staat „is the only power that can give him [the peasant] immediate great boons even in its present economical conditions, it is the only form of government that can secure to him the transformation of his present economical conditions, rescue him from expropriation by the landlord on the one hand, from grinding, trudging and misery on the pretext of proprietorship on the other, that can convert his nominal proprietorship of the land in the real proprietorship of the fruits of his labour, that can combine for him the profits of modern agronomy ... without annihilating his position as a really independent producer“ (S. 62). Als eine wichtige Aufgabe der Arbeiterklasse nach der Eroberung der politischen Macht bezeichnete es Marx, die Masse der Bauern von der überkommenen ideologischen Rückständigkeit zu befreien.

An Hand der Erfahrungen der Kommune machte Marx im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ die Einheit der Klasseninteressen des Proletariats, seiner geschichtlichen Mission, und der gesamtnationalen Aufgaben als eines der wichtigsten Merkmale der Pariser Arbeiterrevolution sichtbar. Gleichzeitig hob er den internationalistischen Charakter der proletarischen Revolution hervor und verdeutlichte die Dialektik von Nationalem und Internationalem im Kampf der Kommune. In ihrem gesamten Wirken manifestierte sich, wie Marx nachwies, die Einheit der nationalen und internationaen Ziele der proletarischen Revolution. Damit arbeitete er ein äußerst wichtiges Moment des Befreiungskampfes der Arbeiterklasse heraus, das mit der Großen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution und später mit der Herausbildung der sozialistischen Staatengemeinschaft seine Weiterentwicklung fand und große Bedeutung für den Zusammenschluß der Kräfte der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung gewann. „Wenn sonach“, schrieb Marx, „die Kommune die wahre Vertreterin aller gesunden Elemente der französischen Gesellschaft war, und daher die wahrhaft nationale Regierung, so war sie gleichzeitig, als eine Arbeiterregierung, als der kühne Vorkämpfer der Befreiung der Arbeit, im vollen Sinne des Wortes international.“ (S. 208.) Marx’ Schrift machte den unversöhnlichen Gegensatz zwischen dem Internationalismus des revolutionären Proletariats und dem Nationalismus und Chauvinismus der herrschenden Klassen sichtbar. Hier-

zu entwickelte er auch im ersten Entwurf auf breiterem Raum bedeutsame Gedanken. Marx wies darauf hin, daß der Chauvinismus der Bourgeoisie dazu dient, ihren Verrat der nationalen Interessen zu maskieren. Gleichzeitig brandmarkte er den Chauvinismus der herrschenden Klassen als ein Mittel, „to prevent the international cooperation of the working classes, the first condition of their emancipation“ (S. 68). Um so stärker würdigte er demgegenüber die internationalistische Haltung der Kommune, die ihre Aufgaben von Anbeginn mit der internationalen Befreiungsbewegung der Werktätigen identifizierte.

Marx' Werk über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich war ein leidenschaftliches Bekenntnis zur historischen Größe der Kommune, zum Heroismus und Humanismus der revolutionären Pariser Arbeiter, die begonnen hatten, eine neue Welt zu errichten. Die Niederschlagung der Kommune werde – diese Gewißheit vermittelte die Adresse dem internationalen Proletariat – nicht den endgültigen Sieg der Arbeiterklasse über ihre Unterdrücker verhindern. „Aber der Kampf muß aber und abermals ausbrechen, in stets wachsender Ausbreitung, und es kann kein Zweifel sein, wer der endliche Sieger sein wird – die wenigen Aneigner, oder die ungeheure arbeitende Majorität. Und die französischen Arbeiter bilden nur die Vorhut des ganzen modernen Proletariats.“ (S. 222.)

Marx und Engels griffen auch in den Arbeiten der folgenden Jahre – so vor allem in Marx' „Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei“ – immer wieder auf die Lehren der Pariser Kommune zurück. Dabei vertieften sie insbesondere ihre Erkenntnisse und Aussagen über den historischen Platz, den Charakter, die Aufgaben und Funktionen der Diktatur des Proletariats bei der revolutionären Umwälzung der Gesellschaft. In ihrer gesamten Schaffensperiode nach 1871 waren sie ständig bemüht, die Lehren der ersten Arbeiterrevolution dem internationalen Proletariat zu erschließen und sie in der Arbeiterbewegung durchzusetzen.

Marx' Analyse der Pariser Kommune wertete Lenin in seinen Werken „Staat und Revolution“, „Die proletarische Revolution und der Renegat Kautsky“ und anderen Arbeiten allseitig aus. Die grundlegenden Lehren der Pariser Kommune und ihre theoretische Verallgemeinerung durch Marx und Engels gingen in die Theorie und Praxis des Leninismus ein. Gestützt auf Marx' Werk „Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ und andere Arbeiten von Marx und Engels entwickelte Lenin die marxistische Theorie, den ganzen Komplex der im „Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich“ enthaltenen theoretischen Probleme unter den neuen Bedingungen der Epoche des Imperialismus und der proletarischen Revolution weiter. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Lehre vom Staat, von der Revolution, von der Diktatur des Proletariats – ihrem historischen Platz, ihren Aufgaben und Formen –,

für die Lehre von der proletarischen Partei und ihrer Strategie und Taktik im Kampf um die Eroberung der politischen Macht wie auch für die Lehre vom Aufbau der kommunistischen Gesellschaft. Lenin verteidigte die Schlußfolgerungen, die Marx und Engels aus den Erfahrungen der Kommune für den Kampf der Arbeiterbewegung gezogen hatten, gegenüber den Angriffen der Opportunisten und Zentristen der II. Internationale, die versuchten, Marx' Analyse der Kommune, insbesondere die Lehre von der Diktatur des Proletariats, zu entstellen oder totzuschweigen. Die Weiterentwicklung der marxistischen Lehre vom Staat, von der Revolution und der Diktatur des Proletariats durch Lenin war von großer Bedeutung für den Kampf der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung und den Aufbau der sozialistischen und kommunistischen Gesellschaft. Die Große Sozialistische Oktoberrevolution und die Entwicklung einer neuen, von Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung freien Gesellschaftsordnung in den Ländern des Sozialismus bestätigten die Richtigkeit der von Marx, Engels und Lenin aus der Pariser Kommune gewonnenen theoretischen Erkenntnisse und Schlußfolgerungen. Im Verlauf der geschichtlichen Entwicklung nahm die Mannigfaltigkeit der Kampfbedingungen der Arbeiterklasse zu und eröffneten sich ihr immer neue Wege und Formen zur Eroberung und Ausübung der politischen Macht. Doch bleibt die Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse eine allgemeingültige Gesetzmäßigkeit der sozialistischen Revolution und des sozialistischen Aufbaus.

Marx' Schrift über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich fand in der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung binnen kurzer Zeit weite Verbreitung. Bereits 1871 und 1872 wurde sie ganz oder teilweise in viele Sprachen übersetzt und erschien in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und als Broschüre in einer Reihe europäischer Länder sowie in Amerika.

Außer der englischen Ausgabe des Marxschen Werks über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich gelangen in dem vorliegenden Band auch die von Engels 1871 angefertigte deutsche Übersetzung und im Anhang die von Marx betreute und redigierte französische Übersetzung der Schrift von 1872 zum Abdruck. Beide Ausgaben spielten eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Erschließung der Lehren der Pariser Kommune für den Kampf der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung. Welch großen Wert Marx und Engels einer sorgfältigen Übersetzung des Textes der Generalratsadresse beimaßen, bezeugen auch die Varianten der verschiedenen autorisierten Fassungen zur englischen und deutschen Ausgabe sowie Marx' Änderungen und Korrekturen zur französischen Ausgabe, die im wissenschaftlichen Apparat verzeichnet werden (siehe S. 972–975, 1030–1038 und 1325–1342). Die deutsche und französische Druckfassung des Marxschen Werks weisen einige inhaltlich belangvolle Abweichungen von der englischen Ausgabe auf. Diese wer-

den innerhalb des wissenschaftlichen Apparats in Übersetzungsvergleichen und -analysen erfaßt, in denen auch auf sprachliche Besonderheiten der einzelnen Fassungen aufmerksam gemacht wird (siehe S. 1023–1024, 1035–1038 und 1319–1320). Alle diese Angaben gewähren einen Einblick in die umfangreichen Bemühungen von Marx und Engels zur Verbreitung der Marxschen Arbeit und bieten die Grundlage für weitere Forschungsarbeiten zur Geschichte und Bedeutung dieses Werks.

Der überwiegende Teil der im vorliegenden Band veröffentlichten Materialien ist unmittelbar mit Marx' und Engels' Wirken in der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation verknüpft. Wenn die Jahre 1870–1872 den Höhepunkt des Kampfes von Marx und Engels in der Internationale für den Zusammenschluß und die Organisierung des internationalen Proletariats bildeten, so gilt dies im besonderen Maße für die Monate während und unmittelbar nach der Pariser Kommune. Mit der Kommune begann auch eine neue Phase der Entwicklung der Internationale. Marx und Engels mobilisierten in diesen Monaten mit Unterstützung ihrer Kampfgefährten die Arbeiter aller Länder zur Verteidigung der Kommune und vermittelten der Arbeiterbewegung die Lehren der ersten proletarischen Revolution; große Bedeutung maßen sie der Festigung des ideologischen Zusammenschlusses der revolutionären Kräfte der Internationale und der weiteren Durchsetzung des Marxismus im Programm der Arbeiterassoziation bei. Sie erkannten, daß der Internationale in der neuen Periode ihrer Entwicklung objektiv die Aufgabe erwuchs, die Schaffung proletarischer Parteien vorzubereiten.

Überzeugend dokumentieren die Materialien des vorliegenden Bandes die Einheit von theoretischer und praktisch-politischer Tätigkeit im Schaffen der Begründer des Marxismus. Von großer Bedeutung für die Stärkung der Position der revolutionären Kräfte im Generalrat war, daß Engels jetzt an der Seite von Marx in dem leitenden Organ der Internationale wirkte. Die Materialien des Bandes veranschaulichen Engels' hohen Anteil an der Ausarbeitung der Linie des Generalrats und an der Propagierung der Politik der Internationale. Bei der Lösung aller Fragen der Internationale wirkten Marx und Engels auf das engste zusammen; sämtliche wichtigen Beschlüsse und Dokumente des Generalrats waren in dieser Periode die Frucht gemeinsamer Arbeit und Beratung der beiden Führer der Arbeiterassoziation.

Einen Einblick in die intensive Arbeit, die Marx und Engels in diesen Monaten im Generalrat für die Stärkung der ideologischen und politischen Einheit sowie für die organisatorische Festigung der Internationale leisten, geben die Sitzungsprotokolle des Generalrats vom 21. März bis 7. November 1871, die im vorliegenden Band vollständig veröffentlicht

werden, sowie einige von Engels geschriebene Protokolle des Subkomitees des Generalrats. Die Textwiedergabe der Generalratsprotokolle konnte nach Einsichtnahme in die Originalhandschrift des Minute book des Generalrats im Vergleich zu bisherigen Editionen in einer Reihe von Fällen präzisiert werden. Im Band gelangt eine längere Passage aus dem Sitzungsprotokoll vom 25. April 1871 zum Abdruck, die lange Zeit als verschollen galt (siehe S. 540.20–541.6). In den Erläuterungen zu den Protokollen werden viele bisher nicht oder nur wenig erschlossene Quellen – vor allem Briefe – angeführt, die die enge Verbindung von Marx und Engels und des Generalrats mit der Arbeiterbewegung der verschiedenen Länder bezeugen. Gemeinsam mit den Generalratsprotokollen werden eine Reihe von Auszügen aus den Berichten der Zeitung „The Eastern Post“ über die Sitzungen des Rats veröffentlicht, die die Protokolle hinsichtlich des Wirkens von Marx und Engels im Generalrat ergänzen. Die Protokolle enthalten zahlreiche Reden und Diskussionsbeiträge von Marx und Engels sowie Erklärungen und Beschlüsse, die sie im Namen des Generalrats verfaßten. Von großer Bedeutung waren ihre Ausführungen zur Pariser Kommune, die den Mitgliedern des Rats bereits kurz nach dem Beginn der Pariser Revolution ein klares Bild über den Charakter der Ereignisse in Paris und deren historische Tragweite vermittelten. Unter der Leitung von Marx und Engels entwickelte sich der Generalrat innerhalb kürzester Zeit zu einem politischen Zentrum der Aktionen des internationalen Proletariats für die Unterstützung des Kampfes der Kommunarden.

Die Protokolle verdeutlichen, wie die unmittelbare Teilnahme von Marx und Engels an der Tätigkeit des Generalrats in entscheidendem Maße die Entwicklung eines im wesentlichen einheitlichen Standpunktes seiner Mitglieder zu den wichtigsten Fragen des Kampfes der Internationale förderte. Sie widerspiegeln die vielfältigen Bemühungen von Marx und Engels und anderer Generalratsmitglieder, die Beziehungen zwischen den Sektionen in den einzelnen Ländern und dem Generalrat zu festigen und neue Reihen der Werktäglichen für die Internationale zu gewinnen. Eine umfangreiche Tätigkeit entwickelten Marx und Engels im Generalrat bei der Organisierung der internationalen proletarischen Hilfe für streikende Arbeiter. Davon zeugen auch von Engels verfaßte Aufrufe zur Unterstützung streikender belgischer und spanischer Arbeiter, die im vorliegenden Band veröffentlicht werden (siehe S. 11 und 163).

Der Band enthält eine Reihe von Erklärungen an die Redaktionen verschiedener Zeitungen, in denen Marx und Engels den rasch zunehmenden Angriffen der Reaktion gegen die Internationale und die Kommune entgegneten und die Hintergründe der Verleumdungen und Fälschungen der bürgerlichen Presse enthüllten. Die Pariser Kommune verstärkte den

Prozeß der Internationalisierung des Klassenkampfes und bewirkte auch eine Änderung in der Politik der herrschenden Klassen. Diese forcierten ihre Angriffe gegen die gesamte Arbeiterbewegung und versuchten sie gleichzeitig zu spalten. Augenfällig bewiesen das die umfangreiche Hetzkampagne gegen die Internationale und die Versuche der herrschenden Kreise verschiedener Länder, zu einem gemeinsamen Vorgehen gegen die revolutionäre Arbeiterbewegung zu gelangen. „Es liegt in der Natur der Sache“, schrieb Marx, „daß die Großwürdenträger und herrschenden Klassen der alten Gesellschaft, welche ihre eigne Macht und die Exploitation der produktiven Volksmassen nur noch durch *nationale* Kämpfe und Gegensätze erhalten können, in der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* ihren gemeinsamen Gegner erkennen. Ihn zu vernichten, sind alle Mittel gut.“ (S. 6.)

Einige von Marx und Engels kurz nach dem Ausbruch der Pariser Kommune geschriebenen Erklärungen, die in diesem Band veröffentlicht werden („To the Editor of ‘The Times’. March 20 or 21, 1871“, „Statement by the General Council to the Editor of ‘The Times’ and other papers“, „An die Redaktionen des ‚Volksstaats‘ und der ‚Zukunft‘“ u.a.), waren unmittelbarer Bestandteil des Kampfes der Internationale zur Unterstützung der Kommunarden.

Nach der Niederschlagung der Kommune setzte eine bis dahin beispiellose Welle von Polizeiverfolgungen und ein Verleumdungsfeldzug der reaktionären Kräfte gegen die Internationale ein. Die französische Regierung forderte alle europäischen Mächte zur gemeinsamen Hetzjagd gegen die Arbeiterassoziation auf. Besonders heftige Angriffe richtete die bürgerliche Presse gegen Marx und die Generalratsadresse „The Civil War in France“. Marx und Engels wiesen diese Angriffe in einer offensiv geführten, kämpferischen Polemik zurück. In einer Anzahl von Erklärungen, die sie in dem Zeitraum von Juni bis September 1871 an die „Times“, „Pall Mall Gazette“, „Daily News“, „Neue Freie Presse“, „Public Opinion“, den „Spectator“, „Examiner“, „Morning Advertiser“, „Standard“, „Gaulois“ und andere Zeitungen richteten und die zum Teil den Charakter offizieller Stellungnahmen des Generalrats trugen, widerlegten sie die Behauptungen und setzten sich mit den Fälschungsmethoden auseinander, zu denen die Reaktion im Kampf gegen die Internationale ihre Zuflucht nahm. Gleichzeitig nutzten sie die von der bürgerlichen Presse entfesselte Verleumdungskampagne, um die Prinzipien der Internationale zu propagieren. Zwei von Marx und Engels verfaßte kurze Entwürfe solcher Erklärungen an die Zeitungen „The Echo“ und „The Pall Mall Gazette“ werden in diesem Band erstmals veröffentlicht (siehe S. 233 und 234). Aufschlußreiche, für den Kampf gegen die französische Reaktion und die Verleumdun-

gen der bürgerlichen Presse verwertbare Informationen über die kommune-feindliche Haltung der englischen Presse und ihrer Korrespondenten in Paris sowie über die Aktionen der konterrevolutionären Kräfte während der Kommune erhielten Marx und Engels in Gesprächen mit dem demokratischen Journalisten Robert Reid, deren Ergebnisse Engels notierte. Diese Aufzeichnungen werden erstmals in ihrer originalsprachigen Fassung veröffentlicht.

Marx und Engels betrachteten es in den Monaten nach der Kommune als hohe internationalistische Pflicht, alle Anstrengungen zur Unterstützung der Kommunarden zu unternehmen, denen es gelungen war, den Henkern der Kommune zu entkommen. Eine wichtige Aufgabe bestand auch darin, durch die Enthüllung der konterrevolutionären Verschwörung der Regierungen gegen die Kommune und der Verbrechen der Konterrevolution die Verteidigung der gefangenen Kommunarden zu unterstützen und auf die demokratische Öffentlichkeit einzuwirken, um diese zu veranlassen, gegen die Auslieferung der Kommuneflüchtlinge an die Thiers-Regierung Stellung zu nehmen. Diesem Ziel dienten neben der Verbreitung der Generalratsadresse über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich die von Marx verfaßte Adresse des Generalrats „Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris“ sowie sein erst kürzlich wiederentdeckter Artikel „The Commune and Archbishop Darboy“ und ein von Engels an die „Times“ gerichteter Artikel über die unmenschliche Behandlung der gefangenen Kommunarden (siehe S. 246–252, 260–261 und 268–270). In diesen Arbeiten prangerten Marx und Engels den Zynismus und die Brutalität der Konterrevolution sowie die provokatorische Rolle der bürgerlichen Diplomatie gegenüber der Kommune an. Die Adresse über das Verhalten Washburnes während der Kommune ließ an Hand von Augenzeugenberichten das Zusammenwirken der bürgerlichen Regierungen bei der Niederschlagung der Kommune deutlich werden. Sie sollte zugleich den amerikanischen Arbeitern helfen, die Demagogie der Diplomatie der amerikanischen Regierung in den Tagen der Kommune besser zu durchschauen. Starke Beachtung fanden in fortschrittlichen Kreisen der USA Marx' „Letter to the Editor of the ‘Sun’, Charles Dana“ und der Artikel seiner Tochter Jenny „To the Editor of ‘Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly’“. Darin berichteten die Verfasser über die Verfolgungen und Repressalien, denen Marx' Töchter und Paul Lafargue im Sommer 1871 in Frankreich durch die Thiers-Regierung ausgesetzt waren.

Die Pariser Kommune verstärkte den ideologischen Differenzierungsprozeß in der Arbeiterbewegung zwischen der revolutionären proletarischen Richtung einerseits und den kleinbürgerlich-reformerischen und anarchistischen Kräften andererseits. Sie hatte durch die geschichtliche

Praxis die Unhaltbarkeit der anarchistischen Auffassungen wie auch der reformistischen Illusionen der Vertreter des liberalen Tradeunionismus bewiesen. Die Haltung zur Kommune erwies sich als Prüfstein für die Treue zur revolutionären Sache der Arbeiterbewegung. Als sich nach dem Erscheinen der Generalratsadresse über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich einige Vertreter des liberalen Tradeunionismus von der Arbeiterassoziation abwandten und in der bürgerlichen Presse gegen die Adresse Stellung nahmen, mußte der Generalrat mit ihnen brechen. Marx und Engels verurteilten in den von ihnen verfaßten Erklärungen des Generalrats zu den Briefen von George Jacob Holyoake und Benjamin Lucraft (siehe S. 229 und 238–239) sowie auf den Sitzungen des Rats (siehe S. 565–566 und 568–569) die Haltung George Odgers und Benjamin Lucrafts, die öffentlich gegen die Generalratsadresse auftraten und damit ins Lager der Bourgeoisie übergingen. Von Marx' und Engels' konsequenter Kampf für die Verteidigung der Kommune und die Reinheit der Reihen der Internationale zeugte auch die Resolution des Generalrats über den Ausschluß des rechten Proudhonisten Henri Louis Tolain aus der Internationale (S. 165), der nach der Proklamation der Kommune den Abgeordnetensitz in der Versailler Nationalversammlung der Mitarbeit in der Pariser Kommune vorgezogen hatte.

Einer scharfen Kritik unterzogen Marx und Engels die Auffassungen des bürgerlichen Demokraten Giuseppe Mazzini. Dessen Angriffe auf die Internationale und die Pariser Kommune wies Engels in einer Rede auf der Generalratssitzung vom 25. Juli 1871 (S. 581) und in der Presse zurück. Er kennzeichnete den Mazzinismus als eine Richtung der „democrazia borghese che offriva *diritti politici* agli operai, onde poter conservare i *privilegi sociali* delle classi medie e superiori“ (S. 256). Erstmals werden in diesem Band einige Notizen von Engels über Mazzini veröffentlicht (S. 255). Die Aufnahme engerer Kontakte des Generalrats zur italienischen Arbeiterbewegung seit dem Sommer 1871 und insbesondere die Bemühungen von Engels als korrespondierender Sekretär für Italien halfen, den Einfluß des Mazzinismus, mit dem Marx und Engels die Auseinandersetzung in den Monaten nach der Londoner Konferenz fortsetzen, in der italienischen Arbeiterbewegung weiter zurückzudrängen.

Der vorliegende Band enthält einige Artikel, die Engels für die englische und deutsche Arbeiterpresse verfaßt hatte; diese Publikationen bildeten einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Stärkung des Einflusses der Internationale und zur Unterstützung der revolutionären Kräfte in der Arbeiterbewegung. In zwei längeren für die „Eastern Post“ geschriebenen Artikeln („On the progress of the International Working Men's Association in Italy and Spain“, „Giuseppe Garibaldi's statement and its effects on the Working Classes in Italy“) berichtete Engels über die Entwicklung der Internationale

in Italien und Spanien; dabei machte er sichtbar, wie der Einfluß der Pariser Kommune und der sich verschärfende Klassenkampf die Lösung weiterer Teile der Arbeiterklasse vom politischen Einfluß der Bourgeoisie förderten und in zunehmendem Maße auch demokratische Kräfte an die Seite der Internationale führten. Engels' Beiträge im „Volksstaat“, insbesondere der Artikel „Abermals ‚Herr Vogt‘“, förderten den weiteren ideologischen und politischen Konsolidierungsprozeß der marxistischen Kräfte in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung.

Einen bedeutenden Platz nehmen im vorliegenden Band die Materialien der Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationale ein, die vom 17. bis 23. September 1871 in London stattfand. Die Konferenz war ein Markstein im Kampf von Marx und Engels für den weiteren Zusammenschluß der revolutionären Kräfte des internationalen Proletariats. Marx und Engels nahmen an der Vorbereitung und Tätigkeit der Konferenz aktivsten Anteil. Die Materialien, die sie zur Vorbereitung und in den Tagen der Konferenz anfertigten – die Beschußentwürfe des Generalrats, ihre Redeaufzeichnungen, protokollarische Notizen, Resolutionstexte, Übersetzungen von Dokumenten anderer Delegierter, Berichte –, sowie die Protokolle der Konferenz vermitteln ein anschauliches Bild von ihrer umfangreichen ideologisch-politischen und praktisch-organisatorischen Arbeit vor und während der Konferenz.

Der Band enthält – bis auf einige zur Veröffentlichung in der Vierten Abteilung der MEGA bestimmten Exzerpte und Notizen – alle überlieferten Materialien und Dokumente der Londoner Konferenz, die von Marx und Engels verfaßt wurden. Einige dieser Materialien gelangen erstmals zum Abdruck, so z. B. einige Resolutionstexte in einer von Engels niedergeschriebenen Fassung („Propositions du Conseil général adoptées par la Conférence“) und die von Engels verfaßten Unterlagen für den Finanzbericht des Generalrats („Document pour le rapport des finances du Conseil général“, „Résumé de la gestion financière du Conseil général du 1^{er} septembre 1869 au 31 août 1870“, „Gestion financière du Conseil général pour l'année du 1^{er} septembre 1870 au 31 août 1871“), andere werden erstmals in der originalsprachigen Fassung nach den Handschriften veröffentlicht (siehe S. 1128–1129).

Erstmals werden im Anhang des Bandes der vollständige Text der Protokolle der Londoner Konferenz und viele Auszüge aus den unmittelbaren Mitschriften der Protokollanten nach der originalsprachigen Fassung abgedruckt. Ein Teil der Protokolle – größere Abschnitte der Sitzungsprotokolle vom 21. und 22./23. September 1871 – und eine Anzahl von Mitschriftenauszügen werden erstmals veröffentlicht. Die Konferenzprotokolle werden durch protokollarische Aufzeichnungen und Konferenznotizen von Marx

und Engels sowie – im wissenschaftlichen Apparat – durch Anträge und Notizen von Delegierten ergänzt, die auf Marx und Engels Bezug nehmen oder Aufschlüsse über ihr Wirken geben. Die Protokolle und die Auszüge aus den protokollarischen Mitschriften enthalten zahlreiche Resolutionsvorschläge, Reden, Diskussionsbeiträge und Bemerkungen von Marx und Engels zu den Hauptfragen des Kampfes der Internationale und der gesamten Arbeiterbewegung. Auf die Abfassung der Konferenzprotokolle nahmen Marx und Engels teilweise unmittelbaren Einfluß. Im wissenschaftlichen Apparat wird erstmals eine genaue Beschreibung sämtlicher überliefelter Protokollmaterialien der Konferenz gegeben (siehe S. 1400–1405). Außerdem werden Vorbereitung und Verlauf der Konferenz in einem kurzen Abriß skizziert (siehe S. 1116–1128).

Die Konferenz nahm zu den entscheidenden Fragen der mit der Pariser Kommune eingeleiteten neuen Phase der Entwicklung der Internationale Stellung. Nach Auffassung von Marx und Engels erforderten der erreichte Entwicklungsstand der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung und die neuen Bedingungen des Klassenkampfes, nunmehr konkreter im Programm der Arbeiterassoziation zu umreißen, mit welchen politischen Mitteln das in der Inauguraladresse und in den Statuten verkündete Hauptziel – die Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse und die Abschaffung jeglicher Klassenherrschaft – erreicht werden kann. Die Konferenz schuf hierfür wesentliche Grundlagen.

Marx unterstrich in seiner Rede auf der Eröffnungssitzung, daß die Konferenz einberufen wurde, um Maßnahmen zu beraten, die es der Internationale ermöglichen sollten, „pour procéder à une organisation nouvelle répondant aux besoins de la situation“ (S. 645). In den Mittelpunkt der Diskussion stellten er und Engels deshalb die Notwendigkeit des politischen Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse und die Schaffung revolutionärer Arbeiterparteien im nationalen Rahmen als unerlässlicher Voraussetzung für die Errichtung der politischen Herrschaft der Arbeiterklasse. Diese Fragen bildeten auch den Kernpunkt der Auseinandersetzung mit der anarchistischen Ideologie der Bakunisten und dem Reformismus der Führer der Trade-Unions.

Der Bakunismus entwickelte sich in dieser Periode zum Hauptfeind des Marxismus innerhalb der Arbeiterbewegung. Die Bakunisten hatten nach der Pariser Kommune ihre Angriffe auf die ideologischen und organisatorischen Grundlagen der Internationale verstärkt. Nachdem es ihnen nicht gelungen war, der Internationale ihr sektiererisches Programm aufzuzeigen, versuchten sie, die Arbeiterassoziation zu spalten. Marx und Engels und ihre Anhänger setzten sich, wie die Materialien des vorliegenden Bandes zeigen, auf der Konferenz entschieden mit dem Bakunismus

auseinander. Der Kampf gegen das anarchistische Sektierertum war von wesentlicher Bedeutung für die Verteidigung der Einheit der Arbeiterbewegung.

Die entscheidende Diskussion über die Notwendigkeit der proletarischen Partei entbrannte auf den Sitzungen vom 20. und 21. September. Marx und Engels legten hier ausführlich den Standpunkt des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus zu den Grundfragen des Klassenkampfes des Proletariats und zur Notwendigkeit revolutionärer Arbeiterparteien dar. In Auseinandersetzung mit der von den Bakunisten und einigen Vertretern des Proudhonismus verfochtenen Theorie der politischen Abstention gelang es Marx und Engels und ihren Kampfgefährten – Leo Frankel, Henri Perret, Auguste Serraillier, Nikolai Utin, Édouard Vaillant und anderen –, die von ihnen bisher in der Internationale verfochtene Konzeption der Notwendigkeit des politischen Kampfes durchzusetzen. An Hand der Erfahrungen der Pariser Kommune und der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung wiesen sie nach, daß die Arbeiterklasse den politischen Kampf in allen Formen und mit allen Mitteln führen müsse. Ihr Standpunkt wurde vor allem von der Mehrheit der an der Konferenz teilnehmenden Kommune-Emigranten unterstützt. In ihren Reden begründeten Marx und Engels die historische Notwendigkeit der Eroberung der politischen Macht durch die Arbeiterklasse als Voraussetzung für den Aufbau der klassenlosen Gesellschaft und die Notwendigkeit der proletarischen Partei zur Erreichung dieses Ziels. „Nous voulons l’abolition des Classes“, sagte Engels auf der Konferenzsitzung am 21. September 1871 in einer Rede, die im vorliegenden Band nach seiner eigenhändigen Aufzeichnung veröffentlicht wird. «Quel est le moyen d’y parvenir? La domination politique du prolétariat. Et lorsque cela est convenu de toute part on nous demande de ne pas nous mêler de politique! Tous les abstentionnistes se disent révolutionnaires, et même les révolutionnaires par excellence. Mais la révolution, c’est l’acte suprême de la politique; qui la veut doit vouloir le moyen, l’action politique, qui la prépare, qui donne aux ouvriers l’éducation pour la révolution... Mais la politique qu’il faut faire, c’est la politique ouvrière; il faut que le parti ouvrier soit constitué non comme la queue de quelque parti bourgeois, mais bien en parti indépendant qui a son but, sa politique à lui.» (S. 308.) In diesen Worten war gleichsam die gesamte von Marx und Engels seit Jahrzehnten verfochtene Auffassung von der Notwendigkeit des revolutionären Kampfes des Proletariats um die Eroberung der politischen Macht und der Bildung einer selbständigen Arbeiterpartei komprimiert.

Die Auswertung der Erfahrungen der Kommune und der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung ermöglichte es Marx und Engels, ihre Lehre von der Partei auszubauen. In ihrer theoretischen Arbeit wandten sie sich nach der

Kommune erneut und verstkt der Bedeutung, Funktion und Gestalt der revolutionren Arbeiterpartei, den theoretischen, politischen und organisatorischen Grundlagen kftiger nationaler proletarischer Parteien, ihrer Strategie und Taktik, den Kampfmitteln und -formen unter dem Aspekt der neuen Anforderungen des Klassenkampfes zu. Die Londoner Konferenz und der Haager Kongre der Internationale von 1872 bildeten hierbei wichtige Etappen. Die Notwendigkeit einer revolutionren proletarischen Partei – die Hauptlehre der Pariser Kommune – wurde in zunehmendem Mae von den fortgeschrittenen Arbeitern in der Internationale anerkannt und untersttzt.

Zentrale Bedeutung fr die revolutionre Orientierung der Arbeiterbewegung in der neuen Periode des Klassenkampfes und fr die Herausbearbeitung der Aufgaben der Partei hatte die von Marx und Engels formulierte Resolution ber die politische Wirksamkeit der Arbeiterklasse, die eines der wichtigsten Dokumente des vorliegenden Bandes bildet. Sie knpfte an die ersten, von Marx verfaten programmatischen Dokumente der Internationale an und entwickelte sie folgerichtig weiter. Die Resolution bekrftigte und konkretisierte den in der Inauguraladresse und den Statuten sowie in den Beschlssen des Genfer und Lausanner Kongresses enthaltenen Grundsatz der Einheit des konomischen und politischen Kampfes; sie bezeichnete die „Eroberung der politischen Macht“ als „groe Pflicht der Arbeiterklasse“ (S. 354) und deklarierte die Notwendigkeit einer kmpferischen und unabhngigen Arbeiterpartei, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen. Zum erstenmal wurden hier in einem programmatischen Dokument der Internationale die Aufgaben der Partei des Proletariats dargelegt, die gegen die „Gesammtgewalt der besitzenden Klassen“ kmpft und „unerllich ist fr den Triumph der sozialen Revolution und ihres Endziels, – *Abschaffung der Klassen*“ (S. 354). Dieses bedeutsame Dokument widerspiegelt den Standpunkt von Marx und Engels, da die Partei die hchste Organisationsform der Arbeiterklasse fr ihren Emanzipationskampf und die entscheidende Voraussetzung fr die Eroberung der politischen Macht wie fr die kommunistische Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft ist. Mit der Annahme der Resolution, deren wichtigster Teil 1872 auf Beschu des Haager Kongresses in die Statuten der Internationale aufgenommen wurde, erkannte die Internationale einen der programmatischen Leitstze des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus als Grundprinzip der internationalen proletarischen Bewegung an. Gesttzt auf die von Marx und Engels in ihren Werken entwickelten Grundgedanken ber die Bedeutung und die Aufgaben der proletarischen Partei, entwickelte Lenin unter den neuen Bedingungen der Epoche des Imperialismus und der proletarischen Revolution die Lehre von der Partei neuen Typs, der mit einem wissen-

schaftlichen Programm ausgerüsteten, von jedem Opportunismus freien revolutionären Kampfpartei der Arbeiterklasse.

Angesichts der Aufgabe, auf der Grundlage der Erfahrungen der Kommune Klarheit über den Weg des Proletariats zur politischen Macht zu schaffen, gewannen Marx' und Engels' Ausführungen auf der Konferenz über Taktik und Formen des politischen Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei erhöhte Bedeutung. Die Begründer des Marxismus betonten, daß es bei der Klärung des Weges des Proletariats zur politischen Macht notwendig ist, die allgemeingültigen Grundsätze der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung entsprechend den spezifischen Besonderheiten in den einzelnen Ländern anzuwenden. Auf der Konferenz begründete Marx die These, daß das Proletariat seine politische Herrschaft in Abhängigkeit von der konkreten Situation sowohl auf nichtfriedlichem Wege – der damals in den meisten Ländern allein denkbar war – als auch auf friedlichem Wege errichten kann. In einer Rede auf der Sitzung vom 21. September 1871, die in den Konferenzprotokollen aufgezeichnet ist, sagte er, man müsse der Reaktion erklären, „nous savons que vous êtes la force armée contre les prolétaires – nous agirons contre vous pacifiquement là où cela nous sera possible – et par les armes quand cela sera nécessaire“ (S. 710). Bereits wenige Wochen vor der Londoner Konferenz hatte sich Marx in einem Interview für die amerikanische Zeitschrift „The World“ in ähnlicher Weise zu den Fragen der Taktik und der Formen des proletarischen Klassenkampfes geäußert, als er dort in konzentrierter Form seine Konzeption über die Aufgaben und die Strategie der Internationale darlegte (siehe S. 454 und 455).

Mehrfach wiesen Marx und Engels während der Konferenz darauf hin, daß alle Möglichkeiten zur legalen Betätigung, besonders das bürgerliche Parlament und die Wahlen, für den politischen Kampf zu nutzen seien, um Masseneinfluß zu gewinnen. Gleichzeitig lenkte Marx die Aufmerksamkeit der Konferenzteilnehmer auf die notwendige Verbindung von legalen und illegalen Kampfformen. Die Konferenz forderte die Mitglieder der Internationale entsprechend einem Vorschlag von Marx auf, im Falle von Repressalien Organisationspläne vorzuschlagen „as may be compatible with the peculiar circumstances of the Case“ (S. 276). In ihren Beiträgen auf der Konferenz, die im Protokoll der Konferenz festgehalten sind, betonten Marx und Engels wiederholt, daß die Partei des Proletariats sich jeglicher abenteuerlicher Verschwörertaktik ebenso wie einer Politik der opportunistischen Anpassung der Arbeiterinteressen an die Interessen der Bourgeoisie zu enthalten habe.

Gegen die Bakunisten gewandt, befürworteten die Delegierten auf Antrag von Marx ein ausdrückliches Verbot aller Geheimgesellschaften

innerhalb der Internationale und der Annahme von Sektennamen. Marx wies nach, daß Geheimgesellschaften mit dem Charakter der Arbeiterpartei und der proletarischen Klassenbewegung unvereinbar seien. «Du reste ce genre d'organisation est contraire au développement du mouvement prolétaire parce qu'au lieu d'instruire les ouvriers ces sociétés les soumettent à des lois autoritaires et mystiques qui gênent leur indépendance et faussent leur raison» (S. 737). Damit wies er zugleich auf die Notwendigkeit der innerparteilichen Demokratie und der erzieherischen Rolle der Partei hin.

Marx' und Engels' Reden auf der Konferenz wie auch alle von der Konferenz gefaßten Beschlüsse dienten dem Ziel, die Prinzipien der proletarischen Parteilichkeit in der Internationale weiter durchzusetzen, die ideologische Einheit der Assoziation zu stärken und den Weg zur Vereinigung aller revolutionären Kräfte für den Kampf um die Lösung der vor der Arbeiterbewegung stehenden Aufgaben in der neuen Periode des Klassenkampfes zu weisen. Die Beschlüsse der Konferenz waren von Marx' und Engels' Ideen geprägt. Sie hatten die meisten und entscheidenden Beschlüsse verfaßt; andere Beschlüsse, die ihre Mitstreiter vorgeschlagen hatten, waren größtenteils von Marx und Engels beeinflußt worden. Von großer Bedeutung für die Stärkung des Masseneinflusses der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung waren Marx' und Engels' Ausführungen und die entsprechenden Konferenzbeschlüsse über die Schaffung eines Britischen Föderalrats — einem wichtigen Schritt zur Bildung einer selbständigen proletarischen Partei in England —, über die Bedeutung der Gewerkschaften, zum Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der Bauernschaft und zur Organisierung der Arbeiterinnen. Marx hob in einer Rede auf der Sitzung am 20. September 1871 die Notwendigkeit starker, mit den Massen verbundener gewerkschaftlicher Organisationen hervor, deren Funktion als proletarischer Klassenorganisation für den Emanzipationskampf der Arbeiterklasse bereits der Genfer Kongreß 1866 in einem von Marx verfaßten Beschuß eingehend charakterisiert hatte. In den Beschlüssen der Londoner Konferenz präzisierten Marx und Engels das Verhältnis zwischen Partei und Gewerkschaften durch die Feststellung, daß „die Vereinigung der Einzelkräfte, welche die Arbeiterklasse bis zu einem gewissen Punkt bereits durch ihre ökonomischen Kämpfe hergestellt hat, auch als Hebel für ihren Kampf gegen die politische Gewalt ihrer Ausbeuter zu dienen hat“ (S. 355). Marx forderte, die britischen Trade-Unions durch engere Verbindungen mit der Internationale in den politischen Kampf einzubeziehen. Außerdem empfahl die Konferenz dem Generalrat, die Herstellung internationaler Beziehungen zwischen den Gewerkschaften zu fördern.

Die im vorliegenden Band veröffentlichten Materialien der Konferenz

enthalten wichtige Ausführungen von Marx zur Gewinnung der werktätigen Bauern, einer Frage, der Marx und Engels in den Debatten der Konferenz große Aufmerksamkeit widmeten. Hatte der Basler Kongreß der Internationale von 1869 sich besonders auf das Landproletariat konzentriert, so faßte die Londoner Konferenz auf Antrag von Marx den Beschuß, daß dem Anschluß der Ackerbauern an die Bewegung des industriellen Proletariats und der Landagitation verstärktes Gewicht beizumessen sei (siehe S. 328, 353 und 724). Dieser Beschuß, der der sozialistischen Propaganda unter den werktätigen Massen neue Möglichkeiten erschloß, konkretisierte und erweiterte den bisherigen Aspekt der Bündnispolitik der Internationale. Mit dem auf Antrag von Marx gefaßten Beschuß, der die Bildung weiblicher Sektionen innerhalb der Assoziation empfahl (siehe S. 352 und 665–666), lenkte die Konferenz die Aufmerksamkeit auf ein weiteres, äußerst bedeutsames Gebiet der Massenarbeit der proletarischen Partei.

Die Beschlüsse der Konferenz zu Organisationsfragen – in ihrer Mehrzahl von Marx eingebracht – richteten sich vor allem gegen das Sektierertum und hatten zum Ziel, die innere Geschlossenheit und die Disziplin in den Reihen der Internationale zu stärken, die führende Rolle ihres zentralen Organs, des Generalrats, zu festigen, die Beziehungen zwischen Generalrat und Föderalräten zu präzisieren und die Verbindung der notwendigen Zentralisation der Leitung mit der Initiative der Sektionen zu sichern. Sie enthielten wichtige Gedanken hinsichtlich des demokratischen Zentralismus als Organisationsprinzip der proletarischen Partei, die später in den Arbeiten Lenins weiterentwickelt wurden.

Den Kampf gegen den Bakunismus widerspiegeln auch die Diskussionen der Konferenz über den Konflikt zwischen den Anhängern des Generalrats und den Bakunisten in der Schweiz. Marx gehörte der Konferenzkommission zur Untersuchung des Schweizer Konflikts an. Über die Sitzung dieser Kommission vom 18. September 1871 gibt ein ausführliches, von Engels geschriebenes Protokoll Auskunft, das erstmals in der originalsprachigen Fassung veröffentlicht wird (siehe S. 292–299). Die Delegierten aus der Schweiz Nikolai Utin und Henri Perret teilten hier neue Tatsachen über die Spalterpolitik der Bakunisten innerhalb der Romanischen Föderation der Internationale mit. Marx gab einen Überblick über die zersetzende Tätigkeit der bakunistischen Allianz in der Schweiz und informierte über die Maßnahmen, die der Generalrat gegen die Aktivitäten der Allianz ergreifen werde. Ein von ihm vorgeschlagener Beschuß der Konferenz („Résolution de la Conférence des délégués de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs relative au différend entre les fédérations dans la Suisse romande“) schob den bakunistischen Bestrebungen, die Leitung der Roma-

nischen Föderation an sich zu reißen, einen Riegel vor und unterstrich gegenüber den Spaltungsversuchen der Bakunisten die Notwendigkeit der Einheit der Arbeiterbewegung. Außerdem faßte die Konferenz auf Antrag von Marx einen Beschuß, der die Resolution über die Nichtzulässigkeit von Geheimgesellschaften und Sektenorganisationen innerhalb der Internationale ausdrücklich auf die bakunistische Allianz bezog. Marx und Engels und ihre Kampfgefährten rechneten damit, daß die von der Konferenz getroffenen Maßnahmen die Einheit der Internationale festigen und zur Isolierung der Bakunisten beitragen würden.

In ihren Reden auf der Konferenz hoben Marx und Engels die Notwendigkeit und große Bedeutung des proletarischen Internationalismus für den Kampf der Arbeiterklasse hervor. Die Konferenz billigte auf Antrag von Marx und anderer Delegierter die internationalistische Haltung des fortgeschrittenen Teils der deutschen Arbeiterklasse während des Deutsch-Französischen Kriegs und wies darauf hin, daß es gelte, den Chauvinismus und den von der Bourgeoisie geschürten nationalen Hader zu bekämpfen. Grundsätzliche Bedeutung für den festeren Zusammenschluß des internationalen Proletariats hatten Marx' Ausführungen über England. Die Internationale müsse danach streben, die irischen Arbeiter zu gewinnen und den gemeinsamen Kampf von englischen und irischen Arbeitern zu organisieren. Marx, der dem irischen Problem bei der Einschätzung der Perspektiven der proletarischen Revolution in England hohen Rang zumaß, unterstrich, daß die nationale Zwietracht zwischen dem englischen und dem irischen Volk die „digue de la Révolution“ bilde und „habilement par le gouvernement et les classes supérieures“ ausgenutzt werde (S. 736).

Auf der Konferenz äußerten sich Marx und Engels auch zu der revolutionären Entwicklung in Rußland. Marx erklärte in diesem Zusammenhang, daß er große Hoffnungen in die soziale Bewegung in Rußland setze (siehe S. 727–728).

Im Anhang des Bandes werden zwei von Engels besorgte Übersetzungen eines Vorschlags der Konferenz der Spanischen Föderation von Valencia veröffentlicht, die – neben anderen Dokumenten des Bandes – einen Eindruck von Engels' intensiver Arbeit während der Londoner Konferenz vermitteln. Die englische Übersetzung dieses Dokuments, die Engels redigierte, wird in einer Form abgedruckt, die erstmals alle von ihm vorgenommenen Änderungen ausweist. Die von Engels angefertigte französische Übersetzung wird zum erstenmal veröffentlicht.

Die Londoner Konferenz hatte für die weitere Entwicklung der Internationale große Bedeutung. Ihre Beschlüsse widerspiegeln die wichtigsten Schlußfolgerungen, die Marx und Engels aus den Erfahrungen der Pariser Kommune für die Arbeiterbewegung gezogen hatten. Sie erteilten

zugleich dem Bakunismus eine entschiedene Abfuhr. Marx und Engels und ihre Kampfgefährten entwickelten auf der Konferenz die ideologisch-politische Plattform, auf der es möglich war, alle revolutionären Kräfte der Internationale zu vereinen, um die offizielle Anerkennung der entscheidenden politischen Prinzipien des Marxismus im Programm der Arbeiterassoziation zu erreichen und ein festes Fundament für die Bildung revolutionärer proletarischer Parteien zu sichern. In diesem Zusammenhang war es äußerst bedeutsam, daß Marx und Engels auf der Konferenz die Idee von der Diktatur des Proletariats als programmatische These der Internationale begründeten. Dies dokumentierte auch Marx' Rede auf der Festsitzung zum siebenten Jahrestag der Internationale, in der er gleichsam das Fazit der Londoner Konferenz zog („The Seventh Anniversary of the International Working Men's Association. Account of the celebrations held in London September 25, 1871“). „In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labor to the productive laborer“, erklärte er auf dieser Sitzung einem ausführlichen Zeitungsbericht zufolge, „and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change could be effected a proletarian dictatorship would become necessary, and the first condition of that was a proletarian army ... The task of the International was to organize and combine the forces of labor for the coming struggle.“ (S. 479.)

Gestützt auf den proletarischen Kern des Generalrats, leisteten Marx und Engels und ihre Kampfgefährten im Generalrat nach der Londoner Konferenz eine umfangreiche und wirksame Arbeit, um den Beschlüssen der Konferenz die Billigung durch die Sektionen und Föderationen zu sichern. Zeugnisse dieser Bemühungen sind die im vorliegenden Band veröffentlichten, von Marx und Engels im Auftrag des Generalrats besorgten französischen, englischen und deutschen Ausgaben des Zirkulars, das die wichtigsten Konferenzresolutionen enthielt. In diesem grundlegenden Dokument des Marxismus fanden die entscheidenden politischen Prinzipien des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus – insbesondere die Begründung der Notwendigkeit der revolutionären Partei für den Sieg des Proletariats – ihren Niederschlag. Es bekräftigte die ideologische und organisatorische Einheit der Arbeiterassoziation, entwickelte ihre taktischen und organisatorischen Grundsätze weiter und spielte eine bedeutende Rolle bei der weiteren Durchsetzung marxistischer Programmideen in der Internationale. Im wissenschaftlichen Apparat wird über die Geschichte der Entstehung dieses bedeutsamen Dokuments sowie über dessen umfangreiche Verbreitung in der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung Auskunft gegeben.

Einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur politischen und organisatorischen Stärkung der Internationale bildete die von Marx und Engels auf Beschuß der Londoner Konferenz vorbereitete neue authentische Ausgabe der Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der Arbeiterassoziation. Die neue Statutenausgabe, der die von Marx verfaßten Provisorischen Statuten zugrunde lagen, berücksichtigte sämtliche Änderungen und Ergänzungen, die auf den Kongressen und der Londoner Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationale beschlossen worden waren. Erstmals waren damit alle für die Weiterentwicklung der organisatorischen Grundsätze der Assoziation wichtigen Beschlüsse und Bestimmungen in einem Dokument vereinigt. Die Statuten dienten der Festigung der ideologischen Einheit der Internationale auf der Basis des von Marx begründeten politischen Programms der Assoziation und förderten die Durchsetzung der marxistischen Organisationsprinzipien. Damit hatten sie zugleich wesentliche Bedeutung für die Vorbereitung der Gründung revolutionärer Arbeiterparteien in den einzelnen Ländern. Sie stärkten die Rolle des Generalrats als politisches Führungsorgan und waren eine wichtige Waffe im Kampf gegen die separatistischen Versuche kleinbürgerlicher Kräfte. Mit der englischen, französischen und deutschen Ausgabe der Statuten – im vorliegenden Band gelangen alle drei Fassungen zum Abdruck – setzten Marx und Engels auch den Versuchen der rechten Proudhonisten und der Bakunisten ein wirksames Mittel entgegen, verfälschte Statutenausgaben für die Propagierung ihrer Auffassungen auszunutzen. Ebenso wie bei den drei Fassungen des Zirkulars des Generalrats werden im wissenschaftlichen Apparat zu den Statuten die inhaltlichen Unterschiede zwischen der englischen, französischen und deutschen Druckfassung ausgewiesen (siehe S. 1191–1193 und 1218 bis 1223).

Verschiedene im vorliegenden Band veröffentlichte Dokumente des Generalrats, die Marx und Engels nach der Londoner Konferenz verfaßten, zeugen von dem konsequenten Kampf der Begründer des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus für die weitere ideologische, politische und organisatorische Festigung der Internationale. In den Resolutionen des Generalrats über die Section française de 1871, über das Zentralkomitee der Sektionen der Internationale in den USA und über den Ausschluß des Polizeispitzels Gustave Durand („Résolution du Conseil général sur les statuts de la Section française de 1871 adoptée à la séance du 17 octobre 1871“, „Résolution du Conseil général sur la Section française de 1871“, „Resolution on the Central Committee of the International's sections in the United States“, „Resolution of the General Council expelling Gustave Durand from the International Working Men's Association“) verteidigten Marx und Engels und ihre Mitstreiter im Generalrat die politische Reinheit der Reihen

der Internationale und wiesen die Versuche kleinbürgerlicher und reformistischer Kräfte zurück, in die Arbeiterassoziation einzudringen. Gleichzeitig stärkten sie die Positionen der revolutionären, proletarischen Kräfte und gaben ihnen eine klare Orientierung für die Auseinandersetzung mit den Bakunisten und den Vertretern des Reformismus.

Die Schriften und Materialien des vorliegenden Bandes, in nur wenigen Monaten des ereignisreichen Jahres 1871 entstanden, enthalten eine Vielzahl neuer, den Marxismus befruchtender und weiterentwickelnder Gedanken und Erkenntnisse. Im Mittelpunkt aller Arbeiten steht der Gedanke des verstärkten Zusammenschlusses des internationalen Proletariats für seinen Emanzipationskampf. Marx' und Engels' Arbeiten vermittelten der Arbeiterklasse hierfür wertvolle theoretische und politische Waffen.

Editorische Hinweise

Der Band enthält sämtliche Schriften von Marx und Engels aus der Zeit von März bis November 1871 in chronologischer Reihenfolge. Maßgeblich für die Einordnung der Arbeiten ist der Beginn der Niederschrift. Der erste und zweite Entwurf zu Marx' Werk „The Civil War in France“ und die Druckfassung dieses Werkes werden in zusammenhängender Reihenfolge dargeboten. Das gleiche gilt für die von Marx und Engels verfaßten Materialien der Londoner Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation sowie für die englische, französische und deutsche Fassung der Allgemeinen Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der Internationale.

Der Anhang enthält in zwei getrennten, jeweils chronologisch geordneten Teilen einmal die Artikel, Dokumente und Übersetzungen, die unter Mitwirkung von Marx und Engels verfaßt wurden, ein Zeitungsinterview mit Marx und einen Zeitungsbericht über die Festsetzung zum siebenten Jahrestag der Internationale in London, zum anderen die Protokolle der Sitzungen des Generalrats vom 21. März bis 7. November 1871, die durch Auszüge aus den Sitzungsberichten der „Eastern Post“ ergänzt werden, sowie die Protokolle der Londoner Konferenz (17.–23. September 1871).

Alle überlieferten autorisierten Textzeugen werden entweder als Grundlage für den Edierten Text oder – auf die abweichenden Stellen verkürzt – in den Variantenverzeichnissen wiedergegeben. In den editorischen Hinweisen zu den einzelnen Arbeiten wird begründet, welcher Textzeuge dem Edierten Text zugrunde gelegt wird. Die innerhandschriftliche Textentwicklung wird ebenfalls vollständig wiedergegeben.

Bei redaktionellen Titeln zu den von Marx und Engels an Zeitungsredaktionen gerichteten Erklärungen wurde, soweit nicht auf bekannte Sachtitel früherer Editionen zurückgegriffen werden konnte, der Anrede an den Redakteur der Zeitung das Entstehungsdatum der Erklärung hinzuge-

fügt, um eine bibliographisch eindeutige Identifizierung jeder Erklärung zu ermöglichen.

Der Edierte Text folgt der festgelegten Textgrundlage. Eine Vereinheitlichung oder Modernisierung der Orthographie und Interpunktionsregeln wird nicht vorgenommen, jedoch erfolgt eine Textrevision im Sinne der Beseitigung eindeutig fehlerhafter Textstellen.

Eindeutige Schreib- und Druckfehler werden im Edierten Text korrigiert und nicht in das Korrekturenverzeichnis aufgenommen. Darunter fallen auch Druckfehler, die auf Grund von Autorkorrekturen in Druckvorlagen, Wiederveröffentlichungen und Druckfehlerberichtigungen ermittelt werden konnten. Im textkritischen Apparat wird darauf aufmerksam gemacht. Sinnverändernde redaktionelle Korrekturen werden stets im Korrekturenverzeichnis ausgewiesen. Schreib- und Druckfehler, deren Korrektur in verschiedenartiger Weise möglich ist bzw. die nicht eindeutig als solche zu bestimmen sind, werden in Fällen, wo vieles für eine bestimmte Lesung spricht, im Edierten Text berichtigt, in unklaren Fällen jedoch nicht bereinigt. Beide Verfahren sind im Korrekturenverzeichnis vermerkt.

Versehen bei Faktenangaben sowie bei der Schreibweise von Namen, soweit sie eindeutig als solche bestimmbar sind, werden im Edierten Text korrigiert. Diese Berichtigungen werden im Korrekturenverzeichnis ausgewiesen. Ist der Sachverhalt nicht eindeutig, wird keine Veränderung vorgenommen. Notwendige Hinweise bieten dann die Erläuterungen.

Die Interpunktionsregeln der zugrunde gelegten Handschrift bzw. des Druckes wird beibehalten. Nur offensichtliche Interpunktionsfehler werden im Edierten Text ohne Kennzeichnung korrigiert, vorausgesetzt, es tritt dadurch keine Sinnänderung ein. Das Setzen der An- und Abführungszeichen sowie der Gebrauch halber Anführungszeichen erfolgen in einheitlicher Weise, auch wenn dies von der jeweiligen Textgrundlage abweicht.

Abkürzungen und Schreibverkürzungen werden ohne Kennzeichnung ausgeschrieben, ausgenommen solche Abkürzungen, deren Ausschreibung ungebräuchlich ist (bzw., c.-à-d., d.h., etc., usw., z.B.). In einigen Fällen, wo verschiedene Ausschreibungen möglich sind, wird die Abkürzung beibehalten. Engels verwendete in seinen Manuskripten oft Abkürzungssiglen (besonders für die Wörter „and“ bzw. „und“, „nicht“, „kein“ u.a.), die im Edierten Text stets ausgeschrieben werden. In den Zeugenbeschreibungen wird darauf – bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, wo sich der Gebrauch solcher Siglen häuft – nicht gesondert hingewiesen.

In bibliographischen Angaben bleiben Abkürzungen von Personennamen und übliche Abkürzungen (Zitaten- und Literaturnachweise von Marx und Engels) bestehen. Unsichere Buchstaben in Handschriften werden in kleinerem Druck, unleserliche Buchstaben durch x wiedergegeben.

Textverluste, die in Handschriften durch Beschädigung des Papiers entstanden sind, werden im Edierten Text rekonstruiert und in eckigen Klammern eingefügt. Redaktionelle Hinzufügungen werden in der Herausgeberschrift (Grotesk) gedruckt und in eckige Klammern eingeschlossen.

Die verschiedenen Hervorhebungsstufen in den handschriftlichen und gedruckten Textgrundlagen werden im Edierten Text einheitlich folgendermaßen wiedergegeben: erste Hervorhebungsstufe – kursiv; zweite Hervorhebungsstufe – gesperrt; dritte Hervorhebungsstufe – kursiv gesperrt. Das Schrift- bzw. Druckbild der zugrunde gelegten Zeugen (Schriftart, Schriftgröße usw.) bleibt unberücksichtigt. Alle hierzu erforderlichen Angaben bieten die Zeugenbeschreibungen.

Unterstreichungen mit Bleistift und Rotstift in mit Tinte geschriebenen Handschriften werden auch im Edierten Text durch Linien wiedergegeben: Bleistiftunterstreichungen, Rotstiftunterstreichungen, Randanstreichungen

werden im Edierten Text wie folgt wiedergegeben: Tinte | ; Bleistift | ;

Rotstift | . Andere Merkzeichen am Rande und im Text, z. B. Kreuze verschiedener Art, werden in gleicher Weise in stilisierter Form reproduziert.

Beginn und Ende einer Seite der handschriftlichen bzw. gedruckten Textgrundlagen werden im Edierten Text kenntlich gemacht, und die Paginierung wird – wenn vorhanden – mitgeteilt (siehe Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Siglen und Zeichen). Wurde die Paginierung der Handschriften redaktionell ergänzt, so wird die Seitenzahl in eckige Klammern gesetzt. Liegt ein Zeitungsdruck zugrunde, erfolgt keine Angabe des Seiten- bzw. Spaltenwechsels; zu Beginn des Edierten Textes werden aber Nummer und Datum der Zeitung vermerkt.

Zu jeder in den Band aufgenommenen Arbeit wird ein wissenschaftlicher Apparat geboten. Er besteht aus dem Teil Entstehung und Überlieferung (einschließlich Zeugenbeschreibung und Begründung des editorischen Verfahrens), dem Variantenverzeichnis, dem Korrekturenverzeichnis und den Erläuterungen (siehe dazu auch die Abschnitte VIII und IX des Vorworts zur Gesamtausgabe im Band 1 der Ersten Abteilung). In der Kopfleiste werden die Entstehungszeit sowie die Seitenzahlen des betreffenden Edierten Textes mitgeteilt.

Zu einigen Arbeiten von Marx und Engels, die im vorliegenden Band in der Originalfassung sowie in autorisierten Übersetzungen bzw. anderssprachigen Fassungen veröffentlicht werden, enthält der wissenschaft-

liche Apparat ein Verzeichnis, das die wesentlichen inhaltlichen Abweichungen zwischen den verschiedenen Fassungen darbietet.

Zu den Entwürfen und der Druckfassung von Marx' Werk „The Civil War in France“ wird im wissenschaftlichen Apparat außerdem eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der Entstehung, zeitgenössischen Wirkung und Überlieferung dargeboten. Für die Dokumente und Materialien der Londoner Konferenz wird ein einleitender Überblick über die Vorbereitung und den Verlauf der Konferenz gegeben.

Der wissenschaftliche Apparat zu jeder einzelnen Arbeit beginnt mit der Darlegung ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung; von der jeweiligen Wirkungsgeschichte wird nur das unmittelbare zeitgenössische Echo erfaßt. Bei Handschriften, die zu Lebzeiten von Marx und Engels nicht veröffentlicht wurden, ist ihre Erstveröffentlichung angegeben bzw. wird auf die erstmalige Veröffentlichung im vorliegenden Band hingewiesen.

In den Zeugenbeschreibungen werden alle für die Textentwicklung belangvollen überlieferten Zeugen aufgeführt, mit einer Sigle versehen (siehe Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Siglen und Zeichen) und zusätzlich mit Zahlenexponenten bezeichnet. Diese Numerierung erfolgt unabhängig vom Charakter der einzelnen Zeugen fortlaufend in der Reihenfolge ihrer Entstehung (z. B. J¹, K², D³). Nicht autorisierte Zeugen werden mit kleinen Buchstaben bezeichnet. Nicht überlieferte Textzeugen, die in einigen Fällen für die stemmatologische Folge von Bedeutung sind und verzeichnet werden müssen, werden mit der Sigle X bzw. x versehen und erhalten eine gesonderte durchlaufende Zählung (z. B. X¹, x², J¹, K², D³, X³). Ist der Schreiber eines nicht von Marx oder Engels selbst stammenden Textzeugen bekannt (z. B. Auguste Serraillier), so tritt vor den Zahlenexponenten der Sigle ein Buchstabenexponent (z. B. H^{s1}).

Das Variantenverzeichnis enthält alle von Marx bzw. Engels vorgenommenen Textänderungen, soweit der Text dadurch inhaltlich oder stilistisch weiterentwickelt wird. Demzufolge werden nicht verzeichnet: Verbesserungen von Schreib- oder Druckfehlern, Veränderungen der Orthographie oder der Interpunktions, die keinen Einfluß auf die Sinngebung haben (sie werden in der Zeugenbeschreibung generalisierend erwähnt); Schreibansätze, die keinen erkennbaren Sinn ergeben oder bei denen der Sinn der ursprünglich von den Autoren beabsichtigten Aussage nicht wenigstens mit Wahrscheinlichkeit rekonstruiert werden kann; innerhandschriftliche Sofortkorrekturen, die formale Berichtigungen grammatischer oder stilistischer Versehen darstellen, jedoch weder die inhaltliche Aussage verändern noch den Stil wesentlich modifizieren.

Das Variantenverzeichnis gibt mit Hilfe von Stützworten aus dem Edierten Text alle varianten Werkstellen wieder, die innerhalb eines oder meh-

rerer Textzeugen überliefert sind. Diese Varianten treten auf als Textreduzierungen (Tilgungen nicht korrupter Textstellen), Textergänzungen (Einfügungen, Zusätze), Textersetzung und Textumstellungen. Innerhandschriftliche Sofortvarianten treten auch in der Form von Abbrechungen auf, d.h. als Textänderungen, bei denen die Autoren die Gedankenführung unterbrechen und ihr (meist durch Tilgung, aber auch durch Ersetzung von Wörtern oder Wortteilen, Änderungen von Flexionsendungen und Einfügungen) einen neuen Verlauf geben. Abbrechungen, die in der Handschrift vollständig getilgt wurden, werden folgendermaßen dargestellt: Nach dem Stützwort aus dem Edierten Text folgt in Winkelklammern der getilgte Passus und danach das Abbrechungszeichen. Die neue Version der Fortsetzung dieses Satzes ist im Edierten Text nachzulesen.

Innerhandschriftliche Varianten werden entweder mit Hilfe diakritischer Zeichen (siehe das Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Siglen und Zeichen) hintereinander oder mit der Methode der Zeilen- bzw. Zeilengruppenparallelisierung untereinander dargeboten. Bei der Bearbeitung von Varianten verschiedener Textzeugen einer Arbeit wird zunächst die entsprechende Werkstelle des Edierten Textes (das Lemma) angegeben; nach dem abgrenzenden Lemmazichen folgt die Sigle des abweichenden Textzeugen und die entsprechende Variante. Das Variantenverzeichnis benutzt eine im wesentlichen diskursive (schlußfolgernde) Verzeichnungsform, d.h., es wird der Inhalt der Textveränderungen mitgeteilt, jedoch nicht die Form, in der diese Änderungen durchgeführt wurden.

Einige Textumformungen, vor allem größere Textersetzung, werden mit Hilfe der Zeilenparallelisierung dargestellt. Dabei werden Varianten einer Werkstelle in chronologischer Folge partiturähnlich untereinander gestellt, wobei jede Schicht, die links einen Zähler erhält, durch die nächstfolgende ersetzt wird. Die jeweils letzte Schicht ist identisch mit dem Edierten Text. Unverändert bleibende Wörter werden nicht wiederholt, sondern durch Unterführungszeichen gekennzeichnet. Der durchgehende Strich bezeichnet entweder eine Textreduzierung gegenüber der vorhergehenden Schicht oder ist nur ein Dehnungsstrich, um den Raum für eine Texterweiterung in der folgenden Schicht offen zu halten. Man kann sowohl jede Schicht für sich im Zusammenhang (horizontal) lesen als auch die Entwicklung einzelner Werkstellen von Schicht zu Schicht (vertikal) überblicken. Partielle Textveränderungen innerhalb einer Schicht werden durch Gabelungen dargestellt, die mit a, b, c usw. bezeichnet sind. Durch Parallelisierung werden auch kleinere Textänderungen innerhalb größerer Textreduzierungen, -ersetzung oder -erweiterungen dargestellt, da somit der Bereich der „inneren“ Variante ohne zusätzliche Zeichen erkennbar ist.

Bei einigen umfangreichen Textveränderungen macht es sich erforderlich, die Zeilengruppenparallelisierung anzuwenden. Die Varianten einer Werkstelle werden in römisch bezifferten Zeilengruppen in chronologischer Folge untereinander gestellt; jede Gruppe wird durch die jeweils folgende aufgehoben, ersetzt. Die letzte Zeilengruppe (bzw. deren letzte Schicht) ist identisch mit dem Edierten Text.

Stammen Varianten von anderer Hand als der Grundtext, so wird das im Variantenverzeichnis durch Schreibersiglen (kleine, hochgestellte Buchstaben am Beginn und Ende der betreffenden Passage) kenntlich gemacht.

Enthält ein handschriftlicher Textzeuge nur äußerst wenige Textänderungen, so werden diese in Ausnahmefällen innerhalb der Zeugenbeschreibungen ausgewiesen.

Die Erläuterungen geben alle für das Verständnis des Textes (einschließlich der Varianten) erforderlichen Erklärungen und Hinweise, soweit dies nicht schon im Apparateil Entstehung und Überlieferung geschehen ist. Sie bieten ferner die Übersetzung lateinischer Textstellen. Wichtiger Bestandteil der Erläuterungen ist der Nachweis der von Marx und Engels benutzten Literatur. Wenn die vom Autor benutzte Quelle bzw. Ausgabe nicht ermittelt werden konnte, wird auf diese Tatsache hingewiesen und eine andere zeitgenössische Quelle angeführt. In den Erläuterungen zu Marx' Werk „The Civil War in France“ und zu den Entwürfen dieses Werkes wird in Fällen, wo Marx offizielle Dokumente, Dekrete, Gesetze, Parlamentsreden u. ä. nach einer sekundären Quelle zitiert, die offizielle bzw. originale Quelle zusätzlich angeführt. Abweichungen zwischen der Zitierweise der Autoren und der benutzten Quelle werden verzeichnet, wenn diese inhaltlich belangvoll oder für eine vorgenommene oder mögliche Textrevision von Bedeutung sind. Alle von Marx und Engels übersetzten Zitate werden in den Erläuterungen nach der Quelle wiedergegeben. Außerdem werden alle von den Autoren gegenüber der Quelle vorgenommenen Hervorhebungen mitgeteilt. Bei Zitaten aus der Weltliteratur wird in der Regel auf die Angabe einer konkreten Ausgabe verzichtet. Bei weitgehender inhaltlicher Identität verschiedensprachiger Fassungen derselben Arbeit – wie im Falle des Marxschen Werkes über den Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich, des Zirkulars mit den Resolutionen der Londoner Konferenz und der Allgemeinen Statuten- und Verwaltungsverordnungen sowie einiger anderer Arbeiten – wird für die Originalfassung und die anderssprachigen Fassungen ein gemeinsamer Erläuterungsapparat gebracht, der jeweils in den Gesamtapparat der Originalfassung integriert ist.

Verweisungen auf den Band 10 der Ersten Abteilung sowie auf die Bände 1.1 und 1.2 der Zweiten Abteilung erfolgen unter Verwendung der

im Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen entschlüsselten Siglen. In allen anderen Fällen wird bei Zitaten aus Arbeiten von Marx und Engels direkt auf den Erstdruck oder das handschriftliche Manuskript verwiesen. Der wissenschaftliche Apparat bietet ferner ein Verzeichnis nicht überliefelter Arbeiten.

Der Band enthält weiterhin ein Literaturregister, ein Namenregister und ein Sachregister.

Das Literaturregister umfaßt alle Literatur (Bücher, Broschüren, Zeitschriftenaufsätze, Zeitungsartikel, Dokumente, Reden usw.), die in den Texten direkt oder indirekt zitiert bzw. direkt oder indirekt erwähnt wird. Ist kein Titel vorhanden, wird ein Titel fingiert bzw. werden die ersten Worte des Textes mit Auslassungspunkten angeführt. Nicht aufgenommen werden allgemeine Hinweise auf Verträge, Verfassungen u.ä. sowie auf Archivmaterialien und Briefe, die zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung des Textes noch unveröffentlicht waren und zum Teil auch heute noch sind.

Das Namenregister stellt die in den Texten direkt oder indirekt genannten Personennamen zusammen, wobei literarische und mythologische Namen einbezogen werden. Aufgenommen werden auch die Verfasser von Veröffentlichungen, die im Text selbst nicht genannt, deren Arbeiten aber direkt oder indirekt genannt oder zitiert werden. Alle von der authentischen Namensform abweichenden Schreibweisen des Edierten Textes werden im Register der authentischen Schreibweise in runden Klammern zugefügt und, wenn notwendig, gesondert als Verweisung angeführt. Verschlüsselte Namen im Edierten Text werden in Erläuterungen erklärt.

Das Sachregister erschließt alle Texte von Marx und Engels (einschließlich Varianten). Außerdem werden die Aussagen von Marx und Engels in den Protokollen des Generalrats und in den Protokollen der Londoner Delegiertenkonferenz von 1871 vollständig, die weiterer Redner teilweise erschlossen. Das Sachregister umfaßt vor allem Begriffe, die den wesentlichen Inhalt der Arbeiten von Marx und Engels widerspiegeln, wobei die Schlagworte und Unterschlagworte sich weitgehend dem Edierten Text anlehnern. Das Sachregister ist im Prinzip in der Redaktionssprache und in moderner Orthographie abgefaßt. Einige Begriffe werden in der Sprache des jeweiligen Textes und die Bezeichnungen von Organisationen in der Originalsprache gebracht.

Die in den Band als Illustrationen aufgenommenen Abbildungen von Handschriftenseiten, Korrekturfahnen, Titelblättern bzw. Textseiten von Zeitungen und Flugblättern werden mit redaktionellen Unterschriften versehen. Faksimiles von Titelblättern selbständiger Drucke sind Bestandteile des Edierten Textes und werden ohne erklärende Untertitel dargeboten.

Der vorliegende Band wurde bearbeitet von Hans-Dieter Krause (Leitung), Liselotte Hermann, Brigitte Rieck und Rosie Rudich. An der Vorbereitung des Bandes haben mitgearbeitet: Irma Baude, Mathias Engel und Edith Voigt. Wissenschaftlich-technische Arbeiten wurden ausgeführt von Waltraud Schulze und Katharina Kühl. Das Literaturregister wurde von Irma Baude, das Namenregister von Rosie Rudich und Liselotte Hermann, das Sachregister von Waldtraut Opitz und Jutta Nesler, unter Mitarbeit von Sabine Edeling und Brigitte Rieck, zusammengestellt. Ferner waren beteiligt: Jo Koch, Maria Lehmann und Käthe Schwank.

Der Band wurde seitens der Redaktionskommission betreut und begutachtet von Erich Kundel. Gutachter des IML beim ZK der KPdSU war Nikita Kolpinski. An der Begutachtung des Gesamtmanuskripts war beteiligt Inge Taubert; Teilgutachten zu einzelnen Arbeiten sowie Stellungnahmen zu bestimmten Sachgebieten erfolgten durch Mercedes Alvarez (Madrid), Bert Andréas (Genf), Mary Ashraf (Berlin), Jean Bruhat (Paris), Madeleine Burgaleta (Paris), Nina Catach (Paris), Philip S. Foner (Lincoln University, Pennsylvania), Ernesto Gatta (Berlin), Beatrice de Gerloni (Trento), Joachim Höppner (Berlin), Motomi Itizyo (Tokio), Johannes Klare (Berlin), Vivien Morton (Clare, Suffolk), John Peet (Berlin), Arvid Spreu (Berlin), Hans Wetzler (Berlin) sowie durch den Verlag Éditions sociales (Paris).

Die Herausgeber danken allen wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen, die bei der Vorbereitung des Bandes Unterstützung gewährten. Die Einsichtnahme in die Originale von Marx und Engels ermöglichten das Internationale Institut für Sozialgeschichte in Amsterdam und – für eine Handschrift – die Kinki-Universität, Osaka. Ferner ist zu danken der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle/S., der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Dresden, der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, der British Library, London und dem Feltrinelli-Institut in Milano.

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE · ARTIKEL · ENTWÜRFE
MÄRZ BIS NOVEMBER 1871

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
To the Editor of "The Times"
March 20 or 21, 1871

|To the Editor of the Times

Sir

In your impression of the 16th March your Paris correspondent states: "Karl Marx has written a letter to one of his principal affiliés in Paris,
5 stating that he is not satisfied with the attitude which the members of that society (the "International") have taken up in that city etc." This statement your correspondent has evidently taken from the Paris Journal of the 14th March where also the publication, in full, of the pretended letter is promised. The Paris Journal of the 19th March does indeed contain a
10 letter dated London 28th February 1871 and purporting to be signed by me, the contents of which agree with the statement of your correspondent. I now beg to declare that this letter is, from beginning to end, an impudent forgery.|

Karl Marx
Statement by the General Council to the Editor
of "The Times" and other papers

The Times. Nr. 27018,
23. März 1871

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—I am directed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to solicit your favour to publish the following in the columns of your journal:—

A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had in so far joined the so-called Anti-German League as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our association. 5

This statement is the very reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that council, have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club, and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working-classes have nothing whatever to do 10 15 with it.

The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the Prussian press accuse it of having created the late outrages upon Germans in Zurich, French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon*, *Courrier de la Gironde*, *La Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having been held at Geneva and Berne, the Prussian Ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder. 20 25

Yours respectfully,
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS,
General Secretary of the
International Working Men's Association.

256, High Holborn, March 22.

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Karl Marx
An die Redaktionen des „Volksstaats“ und der „Zukunft“

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 26,
29. März 1871

An die Redaktion des „Volksstaat“.

Das *Paris-Journal*, eines der gelungensten Organe der Pariser Polizeipresse, veröffentlichte in seiner Nummer vom 14. März einen Artikel unter dem sensationellen Aushängeschild: „Le Grand Chef de l’Internationale.“

- 5 („Grand Chef“ ist wohl die französische Uebersetzung des Stieber’schen „Haupt-Chef“). „Er“, beginnt der Artikel, „ist, wie bekannt, ein Deutscher, was schlimmer ist, ein Preuße. Er nennt sich Karl Marx, wohnt zu Berlin etc. Nun wohl! Dieser Karl Marx ist unzufrieden mit der Haltung der französischen Mitglieder der *Internationalen*. Dies spricht schon für ihn.
- 10 Er findet, daß sie sich unendlich zu viel mit Politik und nicht genug mit den sozialen Fragen beschäftigen. Das ist seine Ansicht, und er hat sie so eben sehr entschieden formulirt in einem Brief an seinen Bruder und Freund, den Bürger *Serraillier*, einen der Pariser Hochpriester der *Internationalen*. Karl Marx bittet die französischen Mitglieder, insbesondere die
- 15 Pariser Affiliirten, nicht aus dem Auge zu verlieren, daß ihre Gesellschaft einen einzigen Zweck hat: die Organisation der Arbeit und die Zukunft der Arbeitergesellschaften. Aber man desorganisiert die Arbeit, statt sie zu organisieren, und er glaubt die Delinquenten zum Respekt der Statuten der Assoziation zurückrufen zu müssen. Wir erklären uns im Stand, diesen
- 20 merkwürdigen Brief des Herrn Karl Marx publiziren zu können, sobald er den Mitgliedern der *Internationalen* mitgetheilt worden sein wird“.

In seiner Nummer vom 19. März hat das *Paris-Journal* in der That einen angeblich von mir unterzeichneten Brief, der sofort von der gesammten Pariser Reaktionspresse nachgedruckt ward und dann seinen Weg in Londoner Blätter fand. Mittlerweile jedoch hatte *Paris-Journal* ausgewittert, daß ich in London hause und nicht in Berlin. Es datirt daher diesmal den Brief von London, im Widerspruch zu seiner ersten Ankündigung. Diese nachträgliche Korrektur leidet jedoch an dem Mißstand, daß sie mich mit meinem zu London befindlichen Freunde *Serraillier* über den Umweg von

30 Paris korrespondiren läßt. Der Brief, wie ich bereits in der *Times* erklärt habe, ist von Anfang bis zu Ende eine unverschämte Fälschung.

Dasselbe *Paris-Journal* und andere Pariser Organe der „guten Presse“ verbreiteten das Gerücht, der Pariser Föderalrath der *Internationalen* habe den außerhalb seiner Kompetenz liegenden Beschuß gefaßt, die Deutschen von der Internationalen Arbeiterassocation auszuschließen. Die Londoner Tagesblätter griffen die willkommene Nachricht hastig auf und ergingen sich in schadenfroh gerührten Leitartikeln über den endlich vollzogenen Selbstmord der *Internationalen*. Leider bringt die *Times* heute folgende Erklärung des *Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation*:

„Eine Mittheilung, wonach die Pariser Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den Ausschluß aller Deutschen aus der *Internationalen* erklärt, also im Sinne der *antideutschen Ligue* gehandelt hätten, macht die Runde in der englischen Presse. Die Mittheilung steht im schreiendsten Widerspruch zu den Thatsachen. Weder der Föderalrath unserer Assoziation zu Paris, noch irgend eine der Pariser Sektionen, die er repräsentirt, haben jemals von einem solchen Beschuß geträumt. Die sogenannte anti-deutsche *Ligue*, so weit sie überhaupt existirt, ist ausschließlich das Werk der Aristokratie und der Bourgeoisie. Sie ward ins Leben gerufen durch den Jockey-Club und in Gang gehalten durch die Zustimmungen der Akademie, der Börse, einiger Bankiers und Fabrikanten u. s. w. Die Arbeiterklasse hatte nie damit zu schaffen. – Der Zweck dieser Verleumdungen springt ins Auge. Kurz vor dem Ausbruch des neulichen Krieges mußte die *Internationale* als Sündenbock für alle mißliebigen Ereignisse herhalten. Dieselbe Taktik wird jetzt wiederholt. Während z. B. Schweizer und preußische Blätter sie als Urheber der Unbilden gegen die Deutschen in Zürich denunzieren, berichten gleichzeitig französische Blätter, wie der „*Courrier de Lyon*“, der „*Courrier de la Gironde*“, die Pariser „*Liberté*“ u. s. w. von gewissen geheimen Zusammenkünften der „*Internationalen*“ zu *Genf* und *Bern*, unter dem Vorsitz des preußischen Gesandten, worin der Plan ausgeheckt worden sei, den vereinigten Preußen und Internationalen *Lyon* zum Behuf gemeinsamer Plünderung zu überliefern.“

So weit die Erklärung des Generalraths. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß die Großwürdenträger und herrschenden Klassen der alten Gesellschaft, welche ihre eigne Macht und die Exploitation der produktiven Volksmassen nur noch durch *nationale* Kämpfe und Gegensätze erhalten können, in der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* ihren gemeinsamen Gegner erkennen. Ihn zu vernichten, sind alle Mittel gut.

London, 23. März 1871.

Karl Marx,
Sekretär des Generalraths der Internationalen
Arbeiterassoziation für Deutschland.

Karl Marx
A la rédaction du « Werker »
31 mars 1871

General Council of the International
Working Men's Association,
256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Londres, 31 Mars, 1871

5 Citoyen,

Ma soi-disante lettre, adressée aux Internationaux de Paris, est tout bonnement, comme je l'ai déjà déclaré dans le *Times* du 22^{ème} Mars, une fabrication du *Paris-Journal*, un de ces journaux de mauvais lieu couvés dans l'égout, impérialiste. Du reste, tous les organes de la « bonne presse »
10 en Europe ont, à ce qu'il paraît, reçu le mot d'ordre d'employer *le faux* comme leur grand instrument de guerre contre *l'Internationale*. Aux yeux de ces honnêtes souteneurs de la religion, de l'ordre, de la famille et de la propriété, [le cr]ime de faux n'est pas même une peccadille.

Salut et fraternité

Karl Marx.

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Karl Marx
To the Editor of "The Times"
April 3, 1871

The Times. Nr. 27028,
4. April 1871

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—Will you allow me to again intrude upon your columns in order to contradict widely-spread falsehoods?

A Lombard telegram, dated Paris, March 30, contains an extract from the *Gaulois* which, under the sensational heading, "Alleged Organization of the Paris Revolution in London," has adorned the London papers of Saturday last. Having during the late War successfully rivalled the *Figaro* and the *Paris Journal* in the concoction of Munchausiades that made the Paris *petite presse* a byword all over the world, the *Gaulois* seems more than ever convinced that the news-reading public will always cling to the tenet, "*Credo quia absurdum est.*" Baron Munchausen himself, would he have undertaken to organize at London "in the early part of February," when M. Thiers did not yet hold any official post, "the insurrection of the 18th of March," called into life by the attempt of the same M. Thiers to disarm the Paris National Guard? Not content to send MM. Assi and Blanqui on an imaginary voyage to London, there to conspire with myself in secret conclave, the *Gaulois* adds to that conclave two imaginary persons—one "Bentini, general agent for Italy," and one "Dermott, general agent for England." It also graciously confirms the dignity of "supreme chief of the *Internationale*," first bestowed upon me by the *Paris Journal*. These two worthies notwithstanding, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association will, I am afraid, continue to transact its business without the incumbrance of either "chief" or "president."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obediently,

KARL MARX.

London, April 3.

Friedrich Engels
Der Streik der Zigarrenarbeiter
in Antwerpen

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 30,
12. April 1871

- In *Antwerpen* sind 500 *Cigarrenarbeiter* außer Arbeit. Die Fabrikanten stellten ihnen die Wahl: entweder ihre (zur Internationalen-Arbeiter-Assoziation gehörige) Gewerkschaft aufzulösen oder entlassen zu werden. Alle ohne Ausnahme wiesen diese Zumuthung entschieden zurück, und
- 5 so schlossen die Fabrikanten ihre Werkstätten.
- Die Arbeiter haben 6000 Fr. (1600 Thaler) in ihrer Kasse; sie haben sich mit den Cigarren-Arbeitern von Holland und England bereits in Verbindung gesetzt und jeder Zuzug von dort ist verhindert. Von England werden sie nicht unbedeutende Geldunterstützung erhalten, 176 Pfund St. (1200 Thlr.)
- 10 sind bereits abgegangen und für weitere Hülfe wird gesorgt. Die Antwerper verlangen übrigens nur *Vorschuß*, da sie erklären, im Stande zu sein, jede geleistete Hülfe zurückzuerstatten. Sollten die deutschen Cigarrenarbeiter oder andere Gewerkschaften im Stande sein, ihren Antwerper Brüdern Unterstützung zuwenden zu können so ist zu hoffen, daß sie nicht damit
- 15 zurückhalten. Geldsendungen sind zu machen an Ph. Coenen, Boomgaardsstraat 3, Antwerpen. Jedenfalls aber ist es ihre Pflicht, deutsche Cigarrenarbeiter von allem Zuzug nach Antwerpen abzuhalten, solange die Fabrikanten dort auf ihren Forderungen beharren.

Karl Marx
Mitteilung über Karl Vogt

/In den jetzt offiziell veröffentlichten „*Papiers et Correspondance de la famille impériale*“ findet sich unter dem Buchstaben V (die Geldempfänger sind nämlich alphabetisch aufgeführt) ————— verbotenus:
„Vogt, il lui est remis en août 1859 40 000 fr.“/

Karl Marx
The Civil War in France
(First Draft, Second Draft and Address
of the General Council)

Karl Marx
The Civil War in France
(First Draft)

|1| The Government of defence.

Four months after the commencement of the war, when the Government of Defence had thrown a sop to the Paris National Guard by allowing them to show their fighting capabilities at Buzenval, the

5 Government considered the opportune moment come to prepare Paris for capitulation. To the assembly of the maires of Paris for capitulation, Trochu, in presence of u[nd] supported by Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, revealed at last his "*plan*". He said literally: "The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues *on the evening of the*

10 *4th September*, was this: Paris can it stand, with any chance of success, a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative*. Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of these my words, and *the persistence of my opinion*. I told them in these very terms that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege

15 against the Prussian army would be a *folly*. Without doubt, I added, this might be a *heroical folly*, but it would be nothing else . . . *The events have not given the lie to my prevision*." Hence Trochu's plan, from the very day of the proclamation of the Republic, was *the capitulation of Paris and of France*. In point of fact he was the commander in chief of the Prussians. In a letter

20 to Gambetta, Jules Favre himself confessed so much that the enemy to be put down, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris "demagogue revolutionist". The high sounding promises to the people, by the Government of Defence, were therefore as many deliberate lies. Their "plan" they systematically carried out by entrusting the defence of Paris to Bonapartist generals, by disorganizing the National Guard and by organizing famine under the maladministration of Jules Ferry. The attempts of the Paris workmen on the 5th of October, the 31st of October etc, to supplant these traitors by the Commune, were put down as conspiracies with the Prussian! After the capitulation the mask was thrown off (cast aside). The

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capitulards became a government by the grace of Bismarck. Being his prisoners, they stipulated with him a general armistice the conditions of which disarmed France and rendered all further resistance impossible. Resuscitated at Bordeaux as the Government of the Republic, these very same capitulards through Thiers, their ex-Ambassador, and Jules Favre, their Foreign minister, fervently implored Bismarck, in the name of the majority of the socalled National Assembly, and long before the rise of Paris, to disarm and occupy Paris and put down "its canaille", as Bismarck himself sneeringly told his admirers at Frankfurt on his return from France to Berlin. This occupation of Paris by the Prussians—such was the last word of the "plan" of the government of defence. The cynical effrontery with which, since their instalment at Versailles, the same men fawn upon and appeal to the armed intervention of Prussia, has dumbfounded even the venal press of Europe. The heroic exploits of the Paris National Guard, since they fight no longer *under* but *against* the capitulards, have forced even the most sceptical to brand the word "traitor" on the brazen fronts of the Trochu, Jules Favre et Co. The documents seized by the Commune, have at last, furnished the juridical proofs of their high treason. Amongst these papers there are letters of the Bonapartist *sabreurs*, to whom the execution of Trochu's "plan" had been confided, in which these infamous wretches crack jokes at and make fun of their own "defence of Paris". (cf. for instance the letter of Alphonse Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to Suzanne, General of division of artillery, published by the *Journal officiel* of the Commune.)

It is, therefore evident, that the men who now form the government of Versailles, can only be saved from the fate of convicted traitors by civil war, the death of the Republic and a monarchical restauration under the shelter of Prussian bayonets.

But—and this is most characteristic of the men of the Empire as well as of the men who but on its soil and within its atmosphere could grow into mock-tribunes of the people—the victorious republic would not only brand them as traitors, it would have to surrender them as common felons to the criminal court. Look only at Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, and Jules Ferry, the great men, under Thiers, of the government of defence!

A series of authenticated judiciary documents spreading over about 20 years, and published by M. Millière, a representative to the National Assembly, proves that Jules Favre, living in adulterous concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers, had, by a most complicated concatenation of daring forgeries, contrived to grasp in the name of his bastards, a large succession that made him a rich man and that the conniv-

ance only of the Bonapartist tribunals saved him from exposure in a law-suit undertaken by the legitimate claimants. Jules Favre, then, this unctuous mouthpiece of family, religion, property, and order, has long since been forfeited to the *Code Pénal*. Lifelong penal servitude would

5 be his unavoidable lot under every honest government. *Ernest Picard*, the present Versailles home minister, appointed by himself on the 4th of September Home minister of the government of defence, after he had tried in vain to be appointed by L. Bonaparte, this *Ernest Picard* is the brother of one *Arthur Picard*. When, together with Jules Favre and Co.,

10 he had the impudence to propose this worthy brother of his as a candidate in the Seine et Oise for the *Corps législatif*, the Imperialist government published two documents, a report of the Prefecture of Police (31 July, 1867) stating that this *Arthur Picard* was excluded from the Bourse as an "Escrocq", and another document of the 11 December 1868, according to

15 which *Arthur* had confessed the theft of 300,000 fcs, committed by him as a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*, rue Palestro, № 5. Ernest made not only his worthy *Arthur* the *editor in chief* of a paper of his own, the *Electeur Libre*, founded under the Empire and continued to this day, a paper, in which the republicans are daily denounced as

20 "robbers, bandits, and *partageux*", but once become the home minister of the "Defence", Ernest employed *Arthur* as his financial medium between the home office to the Stock Exchange, there to discount the State secrets entrusted to him. The whole "financial" correspondence between Ernest and *Arthur* has fallen into the hands of the Commune.

25 Like the lachrymose Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Versailles Government, is a man forfeited to the *Code Pénal* and the galleys!

To make up this trio, *Jules Ferry*, a poor briefless barrister before 4 September, not content to organize the famine of Paris, had contrived to

30 job a fortune out of this famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his peculations during the Paris siege would be his day of judgment!

No wonder then that these men who can only hope to escape the hulks in a monarchy, protected by Prussian bayonets, who but in the turmoil

35 of civil war can win their *ticket of leave*, that these desperadoes were at once chosen by Thiers and accepted by the Rurals as the safest tools of the Counterrevolution!

No wonder that when in the beginning of April captured National Guards were exposed at Versailles to the ferocious outrages of Piétri's

40 "lambs" and the Versailles mob, M. Ernest Picard, "with his hands in his trousers pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes" while

"on the balcony of the Prefecture Madame Thiers, Madame Jules Favre and a ||2| bevy of similar *Dames*, looking in excellent health and spirits", exulted in that disgusting scene. No wonder then, that while one part of France winces under the heels of the conquerors while Paris, the heart and head of France, daily sheds streams of its best blood in self-defence against the home traitors,-----the Thiers, Favres et Co. indulge in revelries at the Palace of Louis XIV, such f.i. as the grand *fête* given by Thiers in honour of Jules Favre on his return from Rouen (whither he had been sent to conspire with the Prussians). It is the cynical orgy of evaded felons!

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If the Government of Defence first made Thiers their Foreign Ambassador, going a begging at all Courts of Europe there to barter a king for France for their intervention against Prussia, if, later on, they sent him on a travelling tour throughout the French provinces, there to conspire with the *Châteaux* and secretly prepare the General elections which together with the Capitulation would take France by surprise—Thiers, on his side, made them his ministers and high functionaries. They were safe men.

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There is one thing rather mysterious in the proceedings of Thiers, his recklessness in precipitating the revolution of Paris. Not content to goad Paris by the Antirepublican demonstrations of his rurals, by the threats to *decapitate* and *decapitalize* Paris, (by Dufaure's (Thiers' minister of justice) law of the 10th of March on the *échéances* of bills which impended bankruptcy on the Paris commerce), by appointing Orleanist ambassadors, by the transfer of the Assemblée to Versailles, by an imposition of a new tax on newspapers, by the confiscation of the Republican Paris journals, by the revival of the State of Siege, first proclaimed by Palikao and annulled with the downfall of the Imperialist government on the 4th of September, by appointing Vinoy, the *Décembriser* and Exsenator governor of Paris, Valentin, the Imperialist Gendarme Prefect of Police, and Aurelle de Paladines, the jesuit General Commander in chief of the Paris National Guard—he opened the civil war with feeble forces, by Vinoy's attack on the Buttes Montmartre, by the attempt first to rob the National Guards of Cannons which belonged to them and which were only left to them by the Paris convention, because they were their property, and thus to disarm Paris.

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Whence this feverish eagerness *d'en finir*? To disarm and put down Paris was of course the first condition of a monarchical counterrevolution, but an astute intriguer like Thiers could only risk the future of the difficult enterprise in undertaking it without due preparation, with ridiculously insufficient means, except under the sway of some overwhelmingly

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urgent move. The motive was this. By the agency of Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had concluded a loan of two milliards to be paid immediately down and some more milliards to follow at certain terms. In this loan transaction a truly royal *pot-de-vin* (drinkmoney)

5 was reserved for those grand citizens Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Jules Simon, Pouyer-Quertier etc. But there was one hitch in the transaction. Before definitively sealing the treaty, the contractors wanted one guarantee—the *tranquillization of Paris*. Hence the reckless proceedings of Thiers. Hence the savage hatred against the Paris workmen

10 perverse enough to interfere with this fine job.

As to the Jules Favres, Picards etc, we have said enough to prove them the worthy accomplices of such a jobbery. As to Thiers himself, it is notorious that during his two ministries under Louis Philippe he realized 2 millions, and that during his premiership (dating Mars 1840) he

15 was taunted from the tribune of the Chambre of Deputies with his Bourse peculations, in answer to which he shed tears, a commodity he disposes of as freely as Jules Favre and the celebrated comedian Frederick Lemaître. It is no less notorious that the first measure taken by M. Thiers to save France from the financial ruin, fastened upon her by the war, was—to
20 endow himself with a yearly salary of 3 Millions of francs, exactly the sum L. Bonaparte got in 1850 as an equivalent from M. Thiers and his troop in the *Legislative Assembly* for allowing them to abolish the general suffrage. This endowment of M. Thiers with 3 millions was the first word of “the economic republic” the vista of which he had opened to

25 his Paris electors in 1869. As to Pouyer-Quertier, he is a cottonspinner at Rouen. In 1869, he was the leader of the millowners’ conclave that proclaimed a general reduction of wages necessary for the “conquest” of the English market—an intrigue, then baffled by the *International*. Pouyer-Quertier, otherwise a fervent and even servile partisan of the Empire,
30 found only one fault with it, its commercial treaty with England damaging to his own shop interests. His first step as M. Thiers’ finance minister was to denounce that “hateful” treaty and to pronounce the necessity of reestablishing the old protective duties for his own shop. His second step was the patriotic attempt to strike Alsace by the reestablished old

35 protective duties on the pretext that in this case no international treaty stood in the way of their re-introduction. By this masterstroke his own shop at Rouen would have got rid of the dangerous competition of the rival shops at Mulhausen. His last step was to make a present to his son-in-law, M. Roche Lambert, of the receveur-generalship of the Loiret, one
40 of the rich booties falling into the lap of *the governing bourgeois*, and which Pouyer-Quertier had found so much fault with his Imperialist

predecessor M. Magne, endowing his own son with that big jobbing place. This Pouyer-Quertier was then exactly the man for the perpetration of the above-said job.

30 Mars. Rappel. Jules Ferry, ex-maire de Paris, a défendu, par une circulaire du 28 Mars, aux employés de l'octroi, de continuer toute perception for the city of Paris. 5

Small state-roggeries,—a little character... cankering conscience... everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigue... petty expedients and devices... rehearsing his homilies of liberalism, of the “libertés nécessaires”... eagerly bent on... strong reasons to weigh against the chances of failure... cogent arguments which counterpoise... kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness... lucky parliamentary stratagems... 10

M. E. Picard est un malandrin, qui pendant toute la durée du siège a tripoté 15 à la Bourse sur les défaites de nos armées.

massacre, trahison, incendie, assassinat, calomnie, mensonge.

In his speech to the assembly of maires etc. (25th April) Thiers says himself that the “assassins of Clément Thomas and Lecomte” are a 20 handful of criminals « et ceux qui pourront à juste titre être considérés comme complices de ces crimes par conspiration ou assistance, c. à. d. un très petit nombre d’individus ». |

|3| Dufaure.

Dufaure wants to put down Paris by press prosecutions in the provinces. 25 Monstruous to bring journals before a jury because preaching “Cconciliation”.

Dufaure plays a great part in the Thiers intrigue. By his law of the 10th of March, he roused all the indebted commerce of Paris. By his law on Paris houserents, he menaced all Paris. Both laws were to punish Paris for having saved the honour of France and delayed the surrender to Bismarck for 6 months. Dufaure is an Orleanist, and a “Liberal”, in the parliamentary sense of the word. Consequently, he has always been the minister of repression and of the State of Siege. 30

He accepted his first portefeuille on the 13 May, 1839, after the defeat 35

of the dernière prise d'armes of the Republican party, was therefore the minister of the pitiless repression of the July government of that day.

Cavaignac, forced on the 29th October (1848) to raise the state of siege, called into his ministry two ministers of Louis Philippe (*Dufaure*, for 5 the Interior, and *Vivien*). He appointed them on the demand of the *rue Poitiers* (Thiers), which demanded guarantees. He thus hoped to secure the support of the dynastics for the impending election of president. *Dufaure* employed the most illegal means to secure Cavaignac's candidature. Intimidation and electoral corruption had never been exercised on a larger 10 scale. *Dufaure* inundated France with diffamatory prints against the other candidates, and especially of Louis Bon., what did not prevent him to become later on Louis Bonaparte's minister. *Dufaure* became again the minister of the *state of siege of 13 June 1849* (against the demonstration of the National Guard against the bombardment of Rome etc by the French 15 army). He is now again the minister of the state of siege, proclaimed at Versailles (for department of Seine et Oise). Power given to Thiers to declare any department whatever in a state of siege. *Dufaure*, as in 1839, as in 1849, wants new repressive laws, new press laws, a law to "abridge the formalities 20 of the Courts Martial". In a circular to the Procureurs-Généraux he denounces the cry of "*conciliation*" as a press crime to be severely prosecuted. It is characteristic of the French magistrature that only one single Procureur Général (der of Mayenne) wrote to *Dufaure* to "resign... I cannot serve an Administration which orders me, in a moment of civil 25 war, to rush into party struggles and prosecute citizens, whom my conscience holds innocent, for uttering the word *conciliation*". He belonged to the "Union Libérale" in 1847 which conspired against Guizot, as he belonged to the "Union libérale" of 1869 which conspired against Louis Bonaparte.

With respect to the law of 10 March and the law of houserents, it ought to be remarked that both *Dufaure*'s and *Picard*'s, both advocates, best 30 clients are amongst the houseproprietors and the *big bourses* averse to losing anything by the siege of Paris.



Now as after the Revolution of February 1848, these men tell the Republic, as the executioner told Don Carlos, « *Je vais t'assassiner, mais c'est pour ton bien* ». (I shall murder thee, but for thy own good.)

Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

After Vinoy's attempt to carry the Buttes Montmartre (on the 18th March, they were shot in the gardens of the Château Rouge, 4 o'clock, 18th) General Lecomte and Clement Thomas were taken prisoners and shot by the same excited soldiers of the 81st of the line. It was a summary act of Lynch justice performed despite the instances of some delegates of the *Central Committee*. Lecomte, an epauletted cut-throat, had four times commanded his troop, on the place Pigalle, to charge an unarmed gathering of women and children. Instead of shooting the people, the soldiers shot him. Clement Thomas, an ex-quartermaster, a "general" extemporized at the eve of the June massacres (1848) by the men of the *National*, whose *gérant* he had been, had never dipped his sword in the blood of any other enemy but that of the Paris working class. He was one of the sinister plotters who deliberately provoked the June insurrection and one of its most atrocious executioners. When on the 31 October 1870, the Paris Proletarian National Guards surprised the "Government of Defence" at the Hôtel de Ville and took them prisoners, these men, who had [been] appointed by themselves, these *gens de paroles*, as one of them, Picard, called them recently, gave their *word of honour* that they would make place to the *Commune*. Thus allowed to escape scot free, they launched Trochu's Bretons on their too-confident captors. One of them, however, M. Tamisier, resigned his dignity as commander in chief of the National Guard. He refused to *break* his word of honour. Then the hour had again struck for Clement Thomas. He was appointed in Tamisier's place commander in chief of the National Guard. He was the true man for Trochu's "plan". He never made war upon the Prussians; he made war upon the National Guard, whom he disorganized, disunited, calumniated, weeding out all its officers hostile to Trochu's "plan", setting one set of National Guards against the other, and whom he sacrificed in "sorties" so planned as to cover them with ridicule. Haunted by the spectres of his June victims, this man, without any official charge, must needs again reappear on [the] theatre of war of the 18th of Mars, where he scented another massacre of the Paris people. He fell a victim of Lynch justice in the first moment of popular exasperation. The men who had surrendered Paris to the tender mercies of the *Décembriseur* Vinoy, in order to kill the Republic and pocket the pots-de-Vin stipulated by the Pouyer-Quertier contract, shouted now: Assassins, Assassins! Their howl was re-echoed by the press of Europe so eager for the blood of the "Proletarians". A farce of hysterical "sensibility" was enacted in the rural Assemblée, and, as now as before, the

corpses of their friends were most welcome weapons against their enemies. Paris and the Central Committee were made responsible for an accident out of their control. It is known how in the days of June 1848 the "men of order" shook Europe with the cry of indignation against the Insurgents

5 because of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris. Even at that time they knew perfectly well from the evidence of M. Jacquemet, the vicaire général of the Archbishop, who had accompanied him to the barricades, that the Bishop had been shot by the troops of "Cavaignac", and not by the insurged, but his dead corpse served their turn. M. Darboy,

10 the present Archbishop of Paris, one of the hostages taken by the *Commune* in self-defence against the savage atrocities of the Versailles government, however seems, as appears from his letter to Thiers, to have strange misgivings [that] *Papa Transnonain* be eager to speculate in his dead body, as an object of holy indignation. There passed hardly a day,

15 in which the Versailles journals did not announce his execution, which the continued atrocities, and violation of the rules of war on the side of "order", would have sealed on the part of every government but that of the Commune. The Versailles government had hardly realized a first military success, when Captain Desmarests, who at the head of his gendarmes

20 assassinated the chivalrous Flourens, has been decorated by Thiers. Flourens had saved the lives of the "defence men" on the 31st October. Vinoy, the runaway (runagate), was appointed grand cross of the Legion of Honour, because he had our brave comrade Duval, when taken prisoner, shot inside the redoubts, because as a second instalment, he had shot

25 some dozen captive troops of the line who had joined the Paris people and inaugurated this civil war by the "methods of December". General Galliffet—"the husband of that charming Marchioness ||4| whose costumes at the masked balls were one of the wonders of the Empire", as a London penny a liner delicately puts it, "surprised" near Rueil a captain, lieutenant,

30 and private of National Guards, had them at once shot, and immediately published a proclamation to glorify himself in the deed. These are a few of the murders officially narrated and gloried in by the Versailles government. 25 soldiers of the 80th Regiment of the line shot as "rebels" by the 75th. "Every man wearing the uniform of the regular army who was

35 captured in the ranks of the Communists was straightaway shot without the slightest mercy. The government troops were perfectly ferocious." "*M. Thiers communicated the encouraging particulars of Flourens' death to the Assembly.*"

Versailles 4. April. Thiers, that misshapen dwarf, reports on his prisoners brought to Versailles (in his proclamation): "Never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest

men.” (Piétri’s men!) “*Vinoy protests against any mercy to insurgent officers or line men.*”

On the 6th of April *decree of the Commune on reprisals* (and hostages): “Considering that the Versailles government openly treads underfoot the laws of humanity and those of war, and that it has been guilty of horrors such as even the invaders of France have not dishonoured themselves by... it is decreed etc.” (*Folgen die Artikel*)

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April 5. Proclamation of the Commune: “Every day the banditti of Versailles slaughter or shoot our prisoners, and every hour we learn that another murder has been committed... The people even in its anger, detests bloodshed, as it detests civil war, but it is its duty to protect itself against the savage attempts of its enemies, and whatever it may cost it shall be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.”

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« Les sergents de ville qui se battent contre Paris ont 10 fcs par jour ».

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Versailles, 11 April. Most horrible details of the cold-blooded shooting of prisoners, not deserters, related with an evident gusto by general officers and other eyewitnesses.

In his letter to Thiers, Darboy protests “against the atrocious excesses which add to the horror of our fratricidal war”. In the same strain writes Deguerry (curé de la Madeleine): « These executions rouse des grandes colères à Paris et peuvent y produire des terribles représailles. » « Ainsi l’on est résolu, à chaque nouvelle exécution, d’en ordonner deux des nombreux otages que l’on a entre les mains. Jugez à quel point ce que [je] vous demande comme prêtre est d’une rigoureuse et absolue nécessité. »

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In midst of these horrors Thiers writes to the Prefects: « L’assemblée siège paisiblement. » (Elle aussi a le cœur léger.)

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Thiers and la commission des quinze of his rurals had the cool impudence to “deny officially” the “pretended *summary executions and reprisals attributed to the troops of Versailles*”. But Papa Transnonain, in his *circular of 16th April on the bombardment of Paris*: ‘If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents wanting to make believe that they are fighting, while they do not dare show themselves.’ Thiers has proved that he surpasses his hero, Napoleon I, at least in one thing—lying bulletins. (Of course, Paris bombards itself, in order to be able to calumniate M. Thiers!)

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To these atrocious provocations of the Bonapartist blacklegs, the Commune has contented itself to take hostages and to threaten reprisals, but its threats have remained a dead letter! Not even the Gendarmes masqueraded into officers, not even the captive sergents de ville, upon whom explosive bombs have been seized, were placed before a court

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martial! The Commune has refused to soil its hands with the blood of these bloodhounds!

- A few days before the 18th March, Clément Thomas laid before the war minister Le Flô a plan for the disarmament of trois quarts of the
5 National Garde. « La fine fleur de la canaille, disait-il, s'est concentrée autour de Montmartre et s'entend avec Belleville. »
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The National Assembly

L'assemblée élue le 8 février sous la pression de l'ennemi, aux mains
10 desquels les hommes qui gouvernent à Versailles avaient remis tous les forts et livré Paris sans défense, l'Assemblée de Versailles avait un but unique et clairement déterminé par la Convention même signée à Versailles le 28 Janvier — de décider si la guerre pouvait être continuée ou traiter la paix; et, dans ce cas, fixer les conditions de cette paix et assurer le plus
15 promptement possible l'évacuation du territoire français.

Chanzy, Archbishop of Paris etc.

Liberation of Chanzy took place almost simultaneously with the retreat of Saisset. The Royalist journalists were unanimous *in decreeing the death of the General*. They desired to fix that amiable proceeding on the Reds.
20 Three times he had been ordered to execution, and now he was really going to be shot.



After the Vendôme affair: There was consternation at Versailles. An attack on Versailles was expected on 23 March, for the leaders of the Communal agitation had announced that they would march on Versailles,
25 if the Assembly took any hostile action. The assembly did not. On the contrary, it voted as urgent a proposition to hold Communal Elections at Paris etc. By the concessions the Assembly admitted its powerlessness. At the same time *Royalist Intrigues at Versailles*. Bonapartist Generals and the Duc d'Aumale. Favre avowed he had received a letter from Bismarck,
30 announcing that unless order were restored by the 26 March Paris would be occupied by the German troops. Reds saw plainly through his little artifice. Die Vendôme affaire provoquée by le faussaire, *ce jésuite infâme J. Favre*, qui le (21 Mars?) est monté à la tribune de l'Assemblée de Versailles

pour insulter ce peuple qui l'a tiré du néant et soulever Paris contre les départements.

30 March *Proclamation of the Commune*: « Aujourd'hui les criminels, que vous n'avez pas même voulu poursuivre, abusent de votre magnanimité pour organiser aux portes mêmes de la cité un foyer de conspiration monarchique. Ils invoquent la guerre civile, ils mettent en œuvre toutes les corruptions, ils acceptent toutes les complicités, ils ont osé mendier jusqu'à l'appui de l'étranger. » | 5

| 5 | Thiers.

On the 25th April, in his reception of the maires, adjuncts, and municipal councillors of the suburban communes of the Seine, Thiers said: 10

« La république existe. *Le chef du pouvoir exécutif* n'est qu'un simple citoyen. »

The progress of France from 1830 to 1871, according to M. Thiers, consists in this: In 1830 Louis Philippe was “the best of Republics”. 15 In 1871 the ministerial fossil of Louis Philippe's reign, little Thiers himself, is the *best of Republics*.

(M. Thiers commenced his regime by an usurpation. By the National Assembly he was appointed chief of the ministry of the Assembly; he appointed himself chief of the executive of France.) 20

The Assembly and the Paris Revolution.

((The Assembly, summoned at the dictate of the Foreign invader, was, as is clearly laid down in the Versailles convention of the 28th January, but elected for one single purpose: To decide the continuation of war or settle the conditions of peace. In their calling the French people to electoral urns, the Capitulards of Paris themselves plainly defined that specific mission of the Assembly and this accounts to a great part for its very constitution. The continuation of the war having become impossible through the very terms of the armistice humbly accepted by the capitulards, the Assembly had in fact but to register a disgraceful peace and for this specific performance the worst men of France were best. 25 30 35

The Republic was proclaimed on the 4th of September, not by the pettifoggers who installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville as a government of defence, but by the Paris people. It was acclaimed throughout France without a single dissentient voice. It conquered its own existence by a five 35

months' war whose cornerstone was the prolonged resistance of Paris. Without this war, carried on by the Republic and in the name of the Republic, the Empire would have been restored by Bismarck after the capitulation of Sedan, the pétifoggers with M. Thiers at their head would

5 have had to capitulate not for Paris, but for personal guarantees against a voyage to Cayenne, and the rural Assembly would never have been heard of. It met only by the grace of the Republican revolution, initiated at Paris. Being no constituent Assembly, as M. Thiers himself has repeated to nauseousness, it would, if not as a mere chronicler of the passed incidents

10 of the Republican Revolution, not even have had the right to proclaim the destitution of the Bonapartist dynasty. The only legitimate power, therefore, in France is the *Revolution* itself, centring in Paris. That revolution was not made against Napoleon the little, but against the social and political conditions, which engendered the Second Empire, which received

15 their last finish under its sway, and which, as the war with Prussia glaringly revealed, would leave France a cadaver, if they were not superseded by the regenerating powers of the French working class. The attempts of the Rural Assembly, holding only an Attorney's Power from the Revolution to sign the disastrous bond handed over by its present

20 "executive" to the Foreign invader, its attempt to treat the Revolution as its own capitulard, is, therefore, a monstrous usurpation. Its war against Paris is nothing but a cowardly Chouannerie under the shelter of Prussian bayonets. It is a base conspiracy to assassinate France, in order to save the privileges, the monopolies and the luxuries of the degenerate, effete,

25 and putrefied classes that have dragged her to the abyss from which she can only be saved by the Herculean hand of a truly social Revolution.))

Thiers' finest army

Even before he became a "statesman", M. Thiers had proved his lying powers as a historian. But the vanity, so characteristic of dwarfish men, has this time betrayed him into the sublime of the ridiculous. *His* army of order, the dregs of the Bonapartist soldatesca, freshly reimported, by the grace of Bismarck from Prussian prisons, the Pontifical Zouaves, the Chouans of Charette, the Vendéans of Cathelineau; the "municipals" of

30 Valentin, the ex-sergents de ville of Piétri and the Corsican Gendarmes of Valentin who under L. Bonaparte were only the spies of the army but under M. Thiers form its warlike flower, the whole under the supervision of epauletted mouchards and under the command of the runaway Decembrist

Marshals who had no honour to lose—this motley, ungainly, hangdog lot, M. Thiers dubs “*the finest army France ever possessed*”! If he allows the Prussians still to quarter at St. Denis, it is only to frighten them by the sight of the “finest army” of Versailles.

Thiers.

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Small state rogueries. Everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigues, M. Thiers was never anything else but an “able” journalist and a clever “word fencer”, a master of parliamentary roguery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the small stratagems, base perfidies, and subtle devices of Parliamentary party-warfare. This mischievous gnome charmed the French bourgeoisie during half a century because he is the truest intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. When in the ranks of the opposition he over and over rehearsed his stale homily of the “libertés nécessaires”, to stamp them out when in power. When out of office, he used to threaten Europe with the sword of France. And what were his diplomatic performances in reality? To pocket in 1841 the humiliation of the London treaty, to hurry on the war with Prussia by his declamations against German unity, to compromise France in 1870 by his begging tour at all the Courts of Europe, to sign in 1871 the Paris capitulation to accept a “peace at any price” and implore from Prussia a concession: leave and means to get up a civil war in his own downtrodden country. To a man of his stamp the underground agencies ||6| of modern society remained of course always unknown, but even the palpable changes at its surface he failed to understand. F. i. any deviation from the old French protective system he denounced as a sacrilege and, as a minister of Louis Philippe, went the length of treating disdainfully the construction of railways as a foolish chimera and even under Louis Bonaparte he eagerly opposed every Reform of the rotten French army organization. A man without ideas, without convictions, and without courage.

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A professional “Revolutionist” in that sense, that in his eagerness of display, of wielding power and putting his hands into the National Exchequer, he never scrupled, when banished to the banks of the opposition, to stir the popular passions and provoke a catastrophe to displace a rival; he is at the same time a most shallow man of routine, etc. The working class he reviled as “*the vile multitude*”. One of his former colleagues in the legislative assemblies, a cotemporary of his, a capitalist, and however a member of the Paris Commune, *M. Beslay* thus addresses him in a public address: “The subjugation (asservissement) of labour to capital, such is

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the ‘fonds’ of your politics (policy), and the day you saw the *Republic of Labour* installed at the Hôtel-de-Ville, you have never ceased to cry to France ‘They are criminals!’” No wonder that M. Thiers has given orders by his home minister Ernest Picard to prevent “the International Association”

- 5 from communicating with Paris. (*Sitting of Assembly*. 28 Mars.) *Circulaire de Thiers, aux préfets et sous préfets*: “The good workmen, so numerous as compared to the bad ones, ought to know, that if bread flies again from their mouths, they owe it to the adepts of the *International*, who are the tyrants of labour, of which they pretend themselves the liberators.”

10 Without the *International*

(Jetzt die Geldgeschichte) (Er und Favre haben ihr Geld nach London übersiedelt.) It is a proverb that if rogues fall out truth comes out. We can therefore not better finish the picture of Thiers than by the words of the London *Moniteur* of the master of his Versailles generals. Says the

- 15 *Situation* in its number of the 21 Mars: “M. Thiers has never been minister without pushing the soldiers to the massacre of the people, he the parricide, the man of incest, the peculator, the plagiarist, the traitor, the ambitious, the *impuissant*.”

shrewd in cunning devices, and artful dodges.

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Banded with the republicans before the Revolution of July, he slipped into his first ministry under Louis Philippe by ousting Laffitte, his old protector. His first deed was to throw his old collaborator Armand Carrel into prison. He insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and

- 25 the gaol-accoucheur of the Duchesse of Berry, but his activity centred in the massacre of the insurgent Paris Republicans in the Rue Transnonain and the September Laws against the press, to be then cast aside as an instrument become blunted. Having intrigued himself again into power in 1840, he planned the Paris fortifications opposed as an attempt on the

- 30 liberty of Paris by the whole democratic party, except the Bourgeois Republicans of the *National*. M. Thiers replied to their outcry from the Tribune of the Chambre des Députés: « Quoi ! imaginer que des ouvrages de fortification quelconque peuvent nuire à la liberté... C'est se placer hors de toute réalité. Et d'abord, c'est calomnier un *gouvernement quel qu'il soit* de

- 35 supposer qu'il puisse un jour chercher à se maintenir en bombardant la capitale. Quoi ! Après avoir bercé de ses bombes la voûte des Invalides ou du Panthéon, après avoir inondé de ses feux la demeure de vos familles, il se présenterait à vous pour vous demander la confirmation de son existence ! *Mais il serait cent fois plus impossible après la victoire qu'auparavant.* » Indeed, neither the government of Louis Philippe nor that of the

Bonapartist Regency dared to withdraw from Paris and bombard it. This employment of the fortifications was reserved to M. Thiers, their original plotter.

When King Bomba of Naples bombarded Palermo in January 1848, M. Thiers again declared in the Chambre of Deputies:

« Vous savez, Messieurs, ce qui se passe à Palerme : vous avez tous tressailli d'horreur en apprenant que pendant 48 heures une grande ville a été bombardée. Par qui ? Etais-ce par un ennemi étranger, exerçant les droits de la guerre ? Non, messieurs, par *son propre gouvernement*. Et pourquoi ? Parce que cette ville infortunée demandait des droits. Eh bien ! pour la demande de ses droits, il y a eu 48 heures de bombardement. Permettez moi d'en appeler à l'opinion européenne. C'est un service à rendre à l'humanité que de venir, du haut de la plus grande tribune peut-être de l'Europe, faire retentir quelques paroles d'indignation contre de tels actes. Messieurs, lorsque, il y a 50 ans, les Autrichiens exerçant les droits de la guerre, pour s'épargner les longueurs d'un siège, voulaient bombarder Lille, lorsque plus tard les Anglais, qui exerçaient aussi les droits de la guerre, bombardèrent Copenhague ; et tout récemment, quand le régent Espartero, qui avait rendu des services à son pays, pour réprimer une insurrection, a voulu bombarder Barcelone ; dans tous les parts, il y a eu une générale indignation. »

Little more than a year later, Thiers acted the most fiery apologist of the bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic, and exalted his friend, General Changarnier, for sabring down the Paris National Guards protesting against this breach of the French Constitution.

A few days before the Revolution of February 1848, fretting at the long exile from place to which Guizot had condemned him, scenting the growing commotion of the masses, which he hoped would enable him to oust his rival and impose himself upon Louis Philippe, Thiers exclaimed in the Chambre of Deputies:

« Je suis du parti de la Révolution, tant en France qu'en Europe. Je souhaite que le gouvernement de la Révolution reste dans les mains des hommes modérés... Mais quand ce gouvernement passera dans les mains d'hommes ardents, fut-ce des radicaux, je n'abandonnerai pas ma cause pour cela. Je serai toujours du parti de la Révolution. »

To put down the February Revolution was his exclusive occupation from the day when the Republic was proclaimed to the Coup d'Etat.

The first days after the February explosion he anxiously hid himself, but the Paris workmen despised him too much to hate him. Still, with his notorious cowardice which made Armand Carrel answer to his boast "he would one day die on the banks of the Rhine", "Thou wil'st die in a gutter"—he

dared not play a part on the public stage before the popular forces were broken down through the massacre of the Insurgents of June. He confined himself first to the secret direction of the Conspiracy of the Reunion of the Rue de Poitiers which resulted in the Restoration of the Empire,
5 until the stage had become sufficiently clear to reappear publicly on it.

During the siege of Paris, on the question whether Paris was about to capitulate, Jules Favre answered that, to utter the word capitulation, the bombardment of Paris was wanted! This explains his melodramatic protests
10 against the Prussian bombardment, and why the latter was a mock-bombardment, while the Thiers bombardment is a stern reality. |

[7] *Parliamentary mountebank.*

He is for 40 years on the stage. He has never initiated a single useful measure in any department of state or life. Vain, sceptical, epicurean:
15 He has never written or spoken for things. In his eyes the things themselves are only pretexts for the display of his pen or his tongue. Except his thirst for place and pelf and display there is nothing real about him, not even his chauvinism.

In the true vein of vulgar professional journalists he now sneers in his
20 bulletins [at] the bad looks of his Versailles prisoners, now communicates that the rurals are “à leur aise”, now covers himself with ridicule by his bulletin on the taking of “Moulin-Saquet” (4 of Mai), where 300 prisoners were taken. « Le reste des insurgés s'est enfui à toutes jambes, laissant 150 morts et blessés sur le champ de bataille », and snappishly adds:
25 « Voilà la victoire que la Commune peut célébrer demain dans ses bulletins. » « Paris sera sous peu délivré de ces terribles tyrans qui l'oppriment. » (Paris—the “Paris” of the mass of the Paris people fighting against him is not “Paris”. “Paris—that is the rich, the capitalist, the idle” (why not the cosmopolitan stew?) This is the Paris of M. Thiers. The real Paris, working,
30 thinking, fighting Paris, the Paris of the people, the Paris of the Commune is a “vile multitude”. There is the whole case of M. Thiers, not only for Paris, but for France. The Paris that shews its courage in the “pacific procession” and Saisset's “escapade”, that throngs now at Versailles, at Rueil, at St. Denis, at St. Germain-en-Laye, followed by the Cocottes sticking to
35 the “men of religion, family, order, and property” (the Paris of the really “dangerous”, of the exploiting and lounging classes) (“the franc-fileurs”) and amusing itself by looking by the telescope at the battle going on, for whom “the civil war is but an agreeable diversion”—that is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne.)
40 In his vulgar journalist vein he knows not even to observe sham dignity,

but he murders the wives and girls, and children found under the ruins of Neuilly not to swerve from the etiquette of "legitimacy". He must needs illuminate the municipal elections he has ordered in France by the conflagration of Clamart burnt by petroleum bombs. The Roman historians finish off Nero's character by telling us that the monster gloried in being a rhymester and a comedian. But lift a professional mere journalist and parliamentary mountebank like Thiers to power, and he will outnero Nero.

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He acts only his part as the blind tool of class interests in allowing the Bonapartist "generals" to revenge themselves on Paris; but he acts his personal part in the little byplay of bulletins, speeches, addresses, in which the vanity, vulgarity, and lowest taste of the journalist creep out.

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He compares himself with Lincoln and the Parisians with the rebellious slaveholders of the South. The Southerners fought for the slavery of labour and the territorial secession from the United States. Paris fought for the emancipation of labour and the secession from power of Thiers stateparasites, of the wouldbe slaveholders of France!

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In his speech to the Maires: « On peut compter sur ma parole à laquelle je n'ai jamais manqué ! »

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« L'assemblée est une des plus libérales qu'ait nommé la France. »

Er wird die Republik retten « pourvu que l'ordre et le travail ne soient pas perpétuellement compromis par ceux qui se prétendent les gardiens particuliers du salut de la république ».

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In der Sitzung der Assemblée vom 27 April sagt er: « L'assemblée est plus libérale que lui-même ! »

He whose rhetorical trumpcard was always the denunciation of the Vienna treaties, he signs the Paris treaty, not only the dismemberment of one part of France, not only the occupation of almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of it, but the milliards of indemnity, without even asking Bismarck to specify and prove his war expenses! He does not even allow the Assembly at Bordeaux to discuss the paragraphs of his capitulation!

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He who upbraided throughout his life the Bourbons because they came back in the rear of Foreign armies and because of their undignified behaviour

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to the allies occupying France after the conclusion of peace, he asks nothing from Bismarck in the treaty but one concession: 40,000 troops to subdue Paris (as Bismarck stated in the Diet). Paris was for all purposes of internal defence and Foreign aggression fully secured by his armed
5 National Guard, but Thiers superadded at once to the capitulation of Paris to the Foreigner the character of the capitulation of Paris to himself and Co. This stipulation was a stipulation for civil war. That war itself he opens not only with the passive permission of Prussia, but by the facilities she lends him, by the captive French troops she magnanimously despatches
10 him from German dungeons! In his bulletins, in his and Favre's speeches in the Assembly, he crawls in the dust before Prussia and threatens Paris every eight days with her intervention, after having failed to get it, as stated by Bismarck himself. The Bourbons were dignity itself compared to this mountebank, this grand apostle of Chauvinism!

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After the downbreak of Prussia (Tilsit peace 1807), its government felt that it could only save itself and the country by a great social regeneration. It naturalized in Prussia—on a small scale, within the limits of a feudal monarchy—the results of the French revolution. It liberated the peasant
20 etc. After the Crimean defeat, which, however Russia might have saved her honour by the defence of Sebastopol and dazzled the Foreigner by her diplomatic triumphs at Paris, laid open at home the rottenness of her social and administrative system, her government emancipated the serf and her whole administrative and judicial system. In both countries the daring social
25 reform was fettered and limited in its character because it was octroyed from the throne and not conquered by the people. Still there were great social changes doing away with the worst privileges of the ruling classes and changing the economical basis of the old society. They felt that the great malady could only be cured by heroic measures. They felt that they could only
30 answer to the victors by social reforms, by calling into life elements of popular regeneration. The French catastrophe of 1870 stands unparalleled in the history of the modern world! It shewed official France, the France of Louis Bonaparte, the France of the ruling classes and their state parasites—a putrescent cadaver. And what is the first attempt of the infamous men, who
35 had got at her government by a surprise of the people and who continue to hold it by a conspiracy with the Foreign invader, what is their first attempt? To assassinate, under Prussian patronage, by L. Bonaparte's soldatesca and Piétri's police, the glorious work of popular regeneration commenced at Paris, to summon all the old legitimist spectres, beaten by the July Revolution,
40 the fossile swindlers of Louis Philippe, beaten by the revolution of

February, and celebrate an orgy of counterrevolution! Such heroism in exaggerated selfdebasement is unheard of in the annals of history! But, what is most characteristic, instead of arousing a general shout of indignation on the part of official Europe, and America, it evokes a current of sympathy and of fierce denunciation of Paris! (fossiles, vilains, hommes tarés) This proves that Paris, true to its historical antecedents, seeks the regeneration of the French people in making it the champion of the regeneration of old society, making the social regeneration of mankind the national business of France! It is the emancipation of the producing class from the exploiting classes, their retainers and their state parasites who prove the truth of the French adage, that "les valets du diable sont pire que le diable himself." Paris has hoisted the flag of mankind!

18 March. Government laid "stamp of 2 centimes on each copy of every periodical, whatever its nature". "forbidden to found new journals until the raising of the state of siege".|

[8] The different fractions of the French bourgeoisie had successively *their reigns*, the great landed proprietors under the *Restoration* (the old Bourbons), the capitalists under the parliamentary monarchy of July, (Louis Philippe), while its Bonapartist and republican elements kept rankling in the background. Their party feuds and intrigues were of course carried on on pretexts of *public welfare*, and a popular revolution having got rid of these monarchies, the other set in. All this changed with the Republic (February). All the fractions of the Bourgeoisie combined together in the *Party of Order*, that is the party of Proprietors and Capitalists, bound together to maintain the economic subjugation of labour and the repressive state machinery supporting it. Instead of a monarchy, whose very name signified the prevalence of one bourgeois fraction over the other, a victory on one side and a defeat on the other, (the triumph of one side and the humiliation of the other) the *Republic* was the anonymous joint-stock-company of the combined bourgeois fractions, of all the *exploiteurs* of the people clubbed together, and indeed, Legitimists, Bonapartists, Orleanists, Bourgeois Republicans, Jesuits, and Voltaireans, embraced each other. No longer hidden by the shelter of the crown, no longer able to interest the people in their party feuds by maskerading them into struggles for popular interest, no longer subordinate the one to the other. Direct and confessed antagonism of their class rule to the emancipation of the producing masses,—*order* the name for the economical and political conditions of their class rule and the servitude of labour, this anonymous or republican form of the bourgeois regime—this Bourgeois Republic, this Republic of the *Party of Order* is the most *odious* of all political regimes. Its direct business, its only *raison d'être* is to crush down the people. It is the

terrorism of class rule. The thing is done in this way. The people having fought and made the Revolution, proclaimed the Republic, and made room for a National Assembly, the Bourgeois whose known Republican professions are a guarantee for their “Republic”, are pushed on the foreground of the

5 stage by the majority of the Assembly, composed of the vanquished and professed enemies of the Republic. The Republicans are entrusted with the task to goad the people into the trap of an insurrection to be crushed by fire and sword. This part was performed by the party of the *National* with Cavaignac at their head after the Revolution of February. (by the June

10 Insurrection) By their crime against the masses, these Republicans lose then their sway. They have done their work and, if yet allowed to support the *party of order* in its general struggle against the Proletariate, they are at the same time displaced from the government, forced to fall back in the last ranks, and only allowed “on sufferance”. The combined royalist

15 bourgeois then become the fathers of the Republic, the true rule of the “Party of Order” sets in. The material forces of the people being broken for the time being, the work of reaction—the breaking down of all the concessions conquered in four revolutions—begins piece by piece. The people is stung to madness not only by the deeds of the *party of order*, but

20 by the cynical effrontery with which it is treated as the vanquished, with which in its own name, in the name of the Republic, that low lot rules it supreme. Of course, that spasmodic form of *anonymous* class despotism cannot last long, can only be a transitory phasis. It knows that it is seated on a revolutionary volcano. On the other hand, if the party of order is united

25 in its war against the working class, in its capacity of the *party of order*, the play of intrigue of its different fractions the one against the other, each for the prevalence of its peculiar interest in the old order of society, each for the Restoration of its own pretender and personal ambitions, sets in in full force as soon as its rule seems secured (guaranteed) by the

30 destruction of the material revolutionary forces. This combination of a common war against the people and a common conspiracy against the Republic, combined with the internal feuds of its rulers, and their play of intrigues, paralyses society, disgusts and bewilders the masses of the middleclass and “troubles” business, keeps them in a chronic state

35 of disquietude. All the conditions of despotism are created (have been engendered) under this regime, but despotism without quietude, despotism with parliamentary anarchy at its head. Then the hour has struck for a *Coup d'Etat*, and the incapable lot has to make room for any lucky pretender, making [an] end of the *anonymous* form of class rule. In this

40 way Louis Bonaparte made an end of the Bourgeois Republic after its 4 years of existence. During all that time *Thiers* was the “âme damnée” of the party

of order, that in the name of the Republic made war upon the Republic, a class war upon the people, and, in reality, created the Empire. He played exactly the same part now as he played then, only then but as a parliamentary intriguer, now as the Chief of the Executive. Should he not be conquered by the Revolution, he will now as then be a baffled tool. Whatever countervailing government will set in, its first act will be to cast aside the man who surrendered France to Prussia and bombarded Paris.

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Thiers had many grievances against L. Bonaparte. The latter had used him as a tool and a dupe. He had frightened him by his arrest after the Coup d'Etat. He had annulled him by putting down the parliamentary regime, the only one under which a mere state-parasite, like Thiers, a mere talker can play a political part. Last not least, Thiers having been the historic shoebblack of Napoleon had so long described his deeds as to fancy he had enacted them himself. The legitimate caricature of Nap. I was in his eyes not Nap. the little, but little Thiers. With all that there was no infamy committed by L. B. which had not been backed by Thiers, from the occupation of Rome by the French troops to the war with Prussia.

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Only a man of his shallow head can fancy for one moment, that a Republic with his head on its shoulders, with a National Assembly half legitimist, half Orleanist, with an army under Bonapartist leaders, will, if victorious, not push him aside.

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There is nothing more grotesquely horrid than a Tom Pouce affecting to play the Timur Tamerlane. With him the deeds of cruelty are not only a matter of business, but a thing of theatrical display, of phantastical vanity. To write his "bulletins", to show his "severity", to have "his" troops, "his" strategy, "his" bombardments, "his" petroleum-bombs, to hide "his" cowardice under the coldbloodedness with which he allows the Decembrist blacklegs to take their revenge on Paris! This kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness! He exults in the important part he plays and the noise he makes in the world! He quite fancies to be a great man! and how gigantic (titanic) he, the dwarf, the parliamentary dribbler, must look in the eyes of the world! Inmidst the horrid scenes of this war, one cannot help smiling at the ridiculous capers Thiers Vanity cuts! M. Thiers is a man of lively imagination, there runs an artist's vein through his blood, and an artist's vanity able to gull him into a belief of his own lies, and a belief in his own grandeur.

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Through all the speeches, bulletins etc. of Thiers, runs a vein of elated vanity.

|9| that affreux Triboulet.

- 5 Splendid Bombardment (with petroleum bombs) from Mont Valérien on one part of the houses in the Ternes within the rampart, with a grandious conflagration and a fearful thunder of cannon shaking all Paris. Bombs purposely thrown into Ternes and the Champs Elysées quarters.

Explosive bombs, petroleum bombs.

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The Commune.

- The glorious British penny a liner has made the splendid discovery that this is not what we use to understand by selfgovernment. Of course, it is not. It is not the selfadministration of the towns by turtle-soup guttling aldermen, jobbing vestries, and ferocious workhouse guardians. It is 15 not the selfadministration of the counties by the holders of broad acres, long purses and empty heads. It is not the judicial abomination of "the Great Unpaid". It is not political selfgovernment of the country through the means of an oligarchic club and the reading of the *Times* newspaper. It is the people acting for itself by itself.

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Within this war of cannibals the most disgusting, the "literary" shrieks of the hideous gnome seated at the head of the government!

- The ferocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners was not interrupted one moment, and their coldblooded assassination was resumed so soon as 25 Versailles had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of reprisals!

- The *Paris Journal* (at Versailles) says that 13 line soldiers made prisoners at the railway station of Clamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever 30 doubts about their identity are cleared up!

M. Alexander Dumas, fils, tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot after having marched (in custody) a few hundred yards along a road.

- 5 Mai. Mot d'Ordre: D'après la *Liberté*, qui paraît à Versailles «tous 35 les soldats de l'armée régulière qui ont été trouvés à Clamart parmi les insurgents ont été fusillés séance tenante» (by Lincoln Thiers!) (Lincoln

acknowledged the belligerent rights) "These are the men denouncing on the walls of all French communes the Parisians as assassins!" The banditti!

Desmarests.

Deputation de commune à Bicêtre (27 April) pour faire une enquête sur les 4 gardes nationaux du 185^e bataillon de marche de la garde nationale, où ils ont visité le survivant (grièvement blessé) *Scheffer*. Le malade a déclaré que le 25 Avril, à la belle Epine, près de Villejuif, il était surpris avec trois de ces camarades par les chasseurs à cheval, qui leur ont dit de se rendre. Comme il leur était impossible de faire une résistance utile contre les forces qui les entouraient, ils jetèrent leurs armes à terre et se rendirent. Les soldats les entourèrent, les firent prisonniers sans exercer aucune violence ni aucune menace envers eux. Ils étaient déjà prisonniers depuis quelques instants, lorsqu'un capitaine des chasseurs à cheval arriva et se précipita sur eux le revolver au poing. Il fit feu sur l'un d'eux sans dire un seul mot et l'étendit raide mort, puis il en fit autant sur le garde *Scheffer* qui reçut une balle en pleine poitrine et tomba à côté de ses camarades. Les deux autres gardes se retirèrent effrayés de cette infâme agression, mais le féroce capitaine se précipita sur les deux prisonniers et les tua de deux autres coups de revolver. Les chasseurs après les actes d'atroce et de féroce lâcheté, se retirèrent avec leur chef, laissant leurs victimes étendues sur le sol.

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New York Tribune outdoes the London papers.

M. Thiers' "most liberal and most freely elected National assembly that ever existed in France" is quite of a piece with his "finest army that France ever possessed". The municipal elections, carried on under Thiers himself on the 30th of April, show their relations to the French people! Of 700,000 councillors (in round numbers) returned by the 35,000 communes still left in mutilated France, 200 are Legitimists, 600 Orléanists, 7,000 avowed Bonapartists, and all the rest Republicans or Communists. (*Versailles Cor. Daily News*, 5 May) Is any other proof wanted that this Assembly with the Orleanist mummy Thiers at its head represent only an usurpatory minority?

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Paris.

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M. Thiers represented again and again the Commune as the instrument of a handful of "convicts" and "ticket of leave men", of the scum of

Paris. And this “handful” of desperadoes holds in check since more than 6 weeks the “finest army that France ever possessed” led by the invincible Mac Mahon and inspired by the genius of Thiers himself!

- The exploits of the Parisians have not only refuted him. All elements
- 5 of Paris have spoken. « Il ne faut point confondre le mouvement de Paris avec la surprise de Montmartre, qui n'en a été que l'occasion et le point de départ; ce mouvement est général et profond dans la conscience de Paris; le plus grand nombre de ceux-là mêmes qui, pour une cause ou pour une autre, s'en sont tenus à l'écart, n'en désavouent point pour cela
- 10 la légitimité sociale. » Who says this? The *delegates of the Syndical chambres*, men who speak in the name of 7–8,000 merchants and industrials. They have gone to tell it at Versailles... The *Ligue de la réunion républicaine*... *the manifestation of the Francs Maçons* etc.

The Province.

- 15 *Les provinciaux espions.*

If Thiers fancied one moment that the provinces were really antagonistic to the Paris movement, he would do all in his power to give the provinces the greatest possible facilities to become acquainted with that movement and all “its horrors”. He would solicit them to look at it in its naked reality, to convince themselves with their own eyes and ears of what it is. Not he! He and his “defence men” try to keep the provinces down, to prevent their general rising for Paris, by a *wall of lies* as they kept out the news from the provinces in Paris during the Prussian siege. The Provinces are only allowed to look at Paris through the Versailles *camera obscura*. (les

20 mensonges et les calomnies des journaux de Versailles parviennent seuls aux départements et y font loi.) Pillages and murders of 20,000 ticket of leave men dishonour the capital. « La Ligue se donne pour premier devoir de faire la lumière et de rétablir les relations normales entre la province and Paris. » As they were, when besieged in Paris, thus they are now in besieging

25 it in their turn. « Le mensonge, comme par le passé, est leur arme favorite. Ils suppriment, saisissent les journaux de la Capitale, interceptent les communications, sift the letters, de telle sorte que la Province est réduite aux nouvelles qu'il plaît aux Jules Favre, Picard et Consorts de lui donner, sans qu'il soit possible de vérifier l'exactitude de leur dire. » Thiers'

30 bulletins, Picards' circulars, Dufaures'... The placards in the Communes. The felon press of Versailles and the Germans. The petit moniteur. The reintroduction of passports for travelling from one place to another. An army of mouchards spread in every direction. Arrests (in Rouen etc under

Prussian authority) etc. Les milliers de commissaires de police répandus dans les environs de Paris ont reçu du préfet gendarme Valentin l'ordre de saisir tous les journaux, à quelque nuance qu'ils appartiennent, qui s'impriment dans la ville insurgée, et de les brûler en place publique comme au meilleur temps de la Ste Inquisition.

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Thiers' government first appealed to the provinces to form battalions of National Guards and send them to Versailles against Paris. "The Province," as the *Journal de Limoges* says, "showed its discontent by refusing the battalion of volontaires which were asked from it by Thiers and his ruraux." The few Breton idiots, fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast a Jesus heart in [10] white cloth and shouting "vive le roi!" are the only "provincial" army gathered round Thiers.

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The elections Vengeur 6 Mai.

M. Dufaure's presslaw (8 April) confessedly directed against the "excesses" of the Provincial press.

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Then the numerous arrests in the Province. It is placed under the *laws of suspects. Blocus intellectuel et policier de la province.*

April 23 Havre: The municipal council has despatched three of its members to Paris and Versailles with instructions to offer mediation, with the view of terminating the civil war on the basis of the maintenance of the Republic, and the granting of municipal franchises to the whole of France... *23 April delegates from Lyon received by Picard and Thiers—guerre à tout prix*" deren Antwort.

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Adresse des délégués de Lyon présentée à l'assemblée par Greppo 24 Avril.

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The municipalities of the provincial towns committed the great impudence to send their deputations to Versailles in order to call upon them to grant what demanded by Paris; not one Commune of France has sent an address approving of the acts of Thiers and the rurals; the provincial papers, like these municipal councils, as Dufaure complains in his *circular against Conciliation to the Procureur Général* « mettent sur la même ligne l'Assemblée issue du suffrage universel et la prétendue commune de Paris; reprochent à la première de n'avoir pas accordé à Paris ses droits municipaux etc » and what is worse, these municipal councils, f. i. *that of Auch* "unanimement lui demandent de proposer immédiatement un armistice avec Paris and that the Assembly chosen on the 8-th of February, dissolves itself because its mandate had expired". (*Dufaure, l'assemblée de Versailles 26 April*)

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It ought to be remembered that these were the old municipal councils, not those elected on 30th April. Their delegations so numerous, that Thiers

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decided no longer to receive them personally, but address them to a ministerial subaltern.

Lastly the elections of 30 April the final judgment of the Assembly and the electoral surprise from which it had sprung. If then, the provinces have
5 till now only made a passive resistance against Versailles without rising for Paris, to be explained by the strongholds the old authorities hold here still, the trance in which the Empire merged and the war maintained the Province. It is evident that it is only the Versailles army, government, and Chinese wall of lies, that stand between Paris and the provinces. If that
10 wall falls, they will unite with it.

It is most characteristic, that the same men (Thiers et Co.) who in May 1850 abolished by a parliamentary conspiracy (Bonaparte aided them, to get them into a snare, to have them at his mercy, and to proclaim himself after the coup d'état as the restorator of the universal suffrage against the
15 party of order and its Assembly) the *universal suffrage*, because under the Republic it might still play them freaks, are now its fanatical adepts, make it their "legitimate" title against Paris, after it had received under Bonaparte such an organization as to be the mere plaything in the hand of the Executive, a mere machine of cheat, surprise, and forgery on the part of
20 the Executive. Congrès de la Ligue des Villes (*Rappel 6 Mai!*)

Trochu, Jules Favre, et Thiers' Provincials.

It may be asked how these superannuated parliamentary mountebanks and intriguers like Thiers, Favre, Dufaure, Garnier Pagès (only strengthened
25 by a few rascals of the same stamp) continue to reappear, after every revolution, on the surface, and usurp the executive power? these men that always exploit and betray the Revolution, shoot down the people that made it, and sequester the few liberal concessions conquered from former governments? (which they opposed themselves?)
30 The thing is very simple. In the first instance, if very unpopular, like Thiers after the February Revolution, popular magnanimity spares them. After every successful rising of the people the cry of conciliation, raised by the implacable enemies of the people, is reechoed by the people in the first moments of the enthusiasm at its own victory. After this first moment
35 men like Thiers and Dufaure eclipse themselves as long as the people hold material power and work in the dark. They reappear as soon as it is disarmed and are acclaimed by the bourgeoisie as their *chefs de file*.
Or, like Favre, Garnier Pagès, Jules Simon etc (recruited by a few younger

ones of similar stamp) and Thiers himself after the 4th of September, were the “respectable” republican opposition under Louis Philippe: afterwards the parliamentary opposition under L. Bonaparte. The reactionary regimes they have themselves initiated when raised to power by the Revolution, secure for them the ranks of the opposition, deporting, killing, exiling the true Revolutionists. The people forget their past, the middleclass look upon them as their men, their infamous past is forgotten, and thus they reappear to recommence their treason and their work of infamy.

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Night of 1 to 2 May: the village of Clamart had been in the hands of the military, the railway station in that of the insurgents. (this station dominates the Fort of Issy.) By a surprise (their patrouilles being let in by a soldier on guard, the *watchword having been betrayed* to them) the 23 Bataillon of Chasseurs got in, surprised the garrison most of them sleeping in their bed, made only 60 prisoners, *bayoneted 300 of the insurgents*. Dazu line soldiers afterwards shot offhand. *Thiers in his circular to the Prefects, civil and military authorities of 2 May* has the impudence to say: “It (the Commune) arrests generals (Cluseret!) only to shoot them, and institutes a committee of public safety which is utterly unworthy!”

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Troops under General Lacretelle took the *redoubt* of *Moulin Saquet* situated betwixt Fort Issy and Montrouge, by a coup de main. The garrison was surprised by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien*, who had sold the password to the Versaillese troops. 150 of the Federals bayoneted and over 300 of them made prisoners.

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M. Thiers, says the *Times* correspondent was weak when he ought to have been firm (the coward is always weak as long as *he has to apprehend danger for himself*) and firm, when everything was to be gained by some concessions. (the rascal is always firm, when the employment of material force bleeds France, gives great airs to himself, but when he, personally, is safe. This is his whole cleverness. Like Anthony, Thiers is an “honest man.”)

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Thiers’ bulletin über Moulin-Saquet (4 Mai) «*Délivrance de Paris des affreux tyrans qui l’oppriment*» («les Versaillais étaient déguisés en gardes nationaux.») («le plus grand nombre des fédérés dormaient et ont été frappés ou saisis dans leur sommeil.»)

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«Blanqui, enseveli mourant dans un cachot, Flourens haché par les gendarmes, Duval fusillé par Vinoy, les ont tenus dans leurs mains au 31 Octobre, et qu’ils leur ont rien faits.»

|11| The Commune.

a) Measures for the Working Class.

nightwork of journeymen bakers suppressed. (20 April)

- the private jurisdiction, usurped by the Seigneurs of mills etc (manufacturers) (employers, great and small) being at the same time judges, executors, gainers and parties in the disputes, that right of a *penal code of their own*, enabling them to rob the labourers' wages by *fines and deductions*, as punishment etc, abolished in public and private workshops; penalties impended upon the employers in case they infringe upon this law; *fines and deductions* extorted since the 18th of March to be paid back to the workmen; (27 April)

Sale of pawned articles at Pawn Shops suspended; (29 March)

- A great lot of workshops and manufactures have been closed in Paris; their owners having run away. This is the old method of the industrial capitalists, who consider themselves entitled "by the spontaneous action of the laws of political economy" not only to make a profit out of labour, as the condition of labour, but to stop it altogether and throw the workmen on the pavement—to produce an artificial crisis whenever a victorious revolution threatens the "order" of their "system". The Commune, very wisely, has appointed a Communal commission which in cooperation with delegates chosen by the different trades will inquire into the ways of handing over the deserted workshops and manufactures to cooperative workmen societies with some indemnity for the capitalist deserters; (16 April) (this commission has also to make statistics of the abandoned workshops);
- Commune has given order to the mairies to make no distinction between the femmes called illegitimate, the mothers and widows of national guards, as to the indemnity of 75 centimes;

- the public prostitutes till now kept for the "men of order" at Paris but for their "safety" kept in penal servitude under the arbitrary rule of the police; the Commune has liberated the prostitutes from this degrading slavery, but swept away the soil upon which, and the men by whom, prostitution flourishes. The higher prostitutes—the cocottes—were of course, under the rule of order, not the slaves, but the masters of the police and the governors.

- There was, of course, no time to reorganize public instruction (education); but by removing the religious and clerical element from it, the Commune has taken the initiative in the mental emancipation of the people. It has appointed a Commission for the organization de l'enseignement (primary and

professional) (28 April). It has ordered that all tools of instruction like books, maps, paper etc be given gratuitously by the schoolmasters who receive them in their turn from the respective mairies to which they belong. No schoolmaster is allowed on any pretext to ask payment from his pupils for these instruments of instruction. (28 April)

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Pawnshops: toute reconnaissance du Mont de Piété antérieure au 25 Avril 1871, portant engagement d'effets d'habillement, de meubles, de linge, de livres, d'objets de literie et d'instruments de travail nicht über 20 fcs pourra être dégagée gratuitement à partir du 12 Mai courant. (7 May)

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2) Measures for working class,
but mostly for the middle classes.

Houserent for the last 3 quarters up to April wholly remitted: Whoever had paid any of these 3 quarters shall have right of setting that sum against future payments. The same law to prevail in the case of furnished apartments. No notice to quit coming from landlords to be valid for 3 months to come. (29 Mars)

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échéances (Payment of bills of exchange due): (expiration of bills): all prosecutions for bills of exchange fallen due suspended. (12 April)

All commercial papers of that sort to be repaid in repayment spread over two years, to begin next July 15, the debts being not chargeable with interest. The total amount of the sums due divided in 8 *equal coupures, payable by trimestre* (first trimester to be dated from July 15). Only on these partial payments when fallen due judicial prosecutions permitted. (16 April) The Dufaure laws on leases and bills of exchange entailed the bankruptcy of the majority of the respectable shopkeepers of Paris.

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The notaries, huissiers, auctioneers, bum-bailiffs and other judicial officers making till now a fortune of their functions transformed into agents of the Commune receiving from it fixed salaries like other workmen;

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As the Professors of the Ecole de Médecine have run away, the Commune appointed a Commission for the foundation of *free universities*, no longer stateparasites; given to the students that had passed their examination means to practise independent of Doctor titles; (titles to be conferred by the faculty).

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Since the judges of the *Civil tribunal of the Seine*, like the other magistrates always ready to function under any class government, had run away, Commune appointed an advocate to do the most urgent business until the reorganization of tribunals on the basis of general suffrage; (26 April)

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3) General Measures.

Conscription abolished. In the present war every able man (National Guard) must serve. This measure excellent to get rid of all traitors and cowards hiding in Paris (29 Mars)

5 *Games of hazard suppressed. (2 April)*

Church separated from State; the religious budget suppressed; all clerical estates declared national properties, (3 April).

The Commune, having made inquiries consequent upon private informations, found that beside the old Guillotine the "government of order"

10 had commanded the construction of a new guillotine (more expedite and portable), and paid in avance. The Commune ordered both the old and the new guillotine to be burned publicly on the 6th of April. The Versailles journals, reechoed by the press of order all over the world, narrated the Paris people, as a demonstration against the bloodthirstiness of the

15 Communals, had burnt these guillotines! (6 April) All political prisoners were set free at once after the Revolution of the 18th of March. But the Commune knew that under the régime of L. Bonaparte and his worthy successor of the Government of Defence many people were simply incarcerated on no charge whatever as political suspects. Consequently it charged one of its

20 members—Protot—to make inquiries. By him 150 people set free who being arrested since six months, had not yet undergone any judicial examination; many of them, already arrested under Bonaparte, had been for a year in prison without any charge or judicial examination. (9 April) This fact, so characteristic of the Government of Defence, ||12| enraged them.

25 They asserted the Commune had liberated all felons. But who liberated convicted felons? The forger Jules Favre. Hardly got into power, he hastened to liberate Pic and Taillefer, condemned for theft and forgery in the affaire of the *Etendard*. One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris, has been reinstated into his convenient abode. But this is not all.

30 The Versailles government has delivered in the *Maisons Centrales* all over France convicted thieves on the condition of entering M. Thiers' army!

Decree on the demolition of the column of the place Vendôme as "a monument of barbarism, symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international right". (12 April)

Election of Frankel (German member of the International) to the Commune declared valid: "considering that the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic and that foreigners can have a seat in it";

(4 April) Frankel afterwards chosen a member of the executive of the Commune; (21 April)

The Journal officiel has inaugurated the publicity of the sittings of the Commune. (15 April)

Decree of Paschal Grousset for the protection of Foreigners against requisitions. Never a government in Paris so courteous to Foreigners. (27 April)

The Commune has abolished political and professional oaths. (27 April)

Destruction of the monument dit "Chapelle expiatoire de Louis XVI" rue d'Anjou St. Honoré (œuvre de la Chambre introuvable de 1816) (7 Mai)

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4) Measures of public safety.

Disarmament of the "loyal" National Guards; (30 Mars)

Commune declares incompatibility between seats in its ranks and at Versailles; (29 Mars).

X Decree of Reprisals. Never executed. Only the fellows arrested, Archbishop of Paris and Curé of the Madeleine; whole staff of the college of Jesuits; Incumbents of all the principal churches; Part of these fellows arrested as hostages, part as conspirators with Versailles, part because they tried to save church property from the clutches of the Commune. (6 April) "The Monarchists wage war like savages; they shoot prisoners, they murder the wounded, they fire on ambulances, troops raise the butt-end of their rifles in the air and then fire traitorously." (Proclamation of Commune)

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In regard to these decrees of Reprisals to be remarked:

In the first instance men of all layers of the Paris society—after the exodus of the capitalists, the idlers, and the parasite—have interposed at Versailles to stop the Civil war—except the Paris clergy. The Archbishop and the curé de [la] Madeleine have only written to Thiers because averse to "the effusion of their own blood", in their quality as hostages.

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Secondly: After the publication by the Commune of the Decree of reprisal, the taking of hostages etc, the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners by Piétri's lambs and Valentin's Gendarmes did not cease, but the assassination of the captive Paris soldiers and National Guard was stopped to set in with renewed fury so soon as the Versailles Government had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of the 6th of April. Then the assassination set again in wholesale. The Commune did not execute one hostage, not one prisoner, not even some Gendarme officers who under the disguise of National Guards had entered Paris as spies and were simply arrested.

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Surprise of the Redoute of Clamart (2 May.) Railway Station in the hands of the Parisians, massacre, bayonetting, the 22nd Battalion of Chasseurs (Gallifet?) shoots line soldiers offhand without any formality. (2 Mai)

- 5 *Redoubt of Moulin Saquet*, situated between Fort Issy and Montrouge, surprised in the night by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien* who had sold the password to the Versaillaise troops. Federals surprised in their beds asleep—massacred great part of them. (4 May?)

- 25 April 4 National guards (this constated by Commissaries sent to 10 Bicêtre where the only survivor of the 4 men, à Belle Epine, près Villejuif. His name *Scheffer*.) These men being surrounded by horse Chasseurs, on their order, unable to resist, surrendered, disarmed, nothing done to them by the soldiers. But then arrives the captain of the chasseurs, and shoots them down one after the other with his revolver. Left them on the soil.
15 Scheffer fearfully wounded survived.

- 13 soldiers of the line made prisoners at the railway Station of Clamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever doubts about their identity are cleared up. (*Liberté* at Versailles.) Alexander Dumas fils, now at Versailles, 20 tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot, by order of a Bonapartist general, after having marched in custody a few 100 yards along a road.... Parisian troops and National Guards surrounded in houses by Gendarmes, inundate the house with Petroleum and then fire it. Some cadavers of National Guards (*calcinés*) 25 have been transported by the ambulance of the press of the Ternes. (Mot d'ordre 20 April) "They have no right to ambulances".

Thiers. Blanqui. Archbishop. General Chanzy. (Thiers said his Bonapartists should have liked to be shot.)

- Visitation in Houses, etc. Casimir Bouis nommé président d'une commission d'enquête in the doings of the dictators of 4 September. (14 April)
30 Private houses invaded and papers seized, but no furniture has been carried away and sold by auction. (Papers der fellows vom 4. September, des Thiers etc und bonapartistischer Polizeileute), f. i. in Hotel of Lafont, inspecteur général des prisons. (11 April) The houses (properties) of 35 Thiers et Co. as traitors sealed but *only the papers* confiscated.

Arrest among themselves: This shocks the bourgeois who wants political idols and "great men" immensely.

- "It is provoking" (Daily News 6 May. Paris Correspondence), "however, and discouraging, that whatever be the authority possessed by the Commune,
40 it is continually changing hands, and we know not to-day with whom the power may rest to-morrow... In all these eternal changes one sees more

than ever the want of a presiding mind. The Commune is a concourse of equivalent atoms, each one jealous of another and *none endowed with supreme control over the others.*"

Journal suppression!

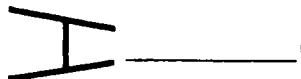
5) Financial Measures.
(See *Daily News. 6 may*)

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Principal outlay for war!

Only 8,928 fcs. from saisies—all taken from ecclesiastics etc

Vengeur 6 Mai.



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| 13 | La Commune.

The rise of the Commune and the Central Committee.

The Commune had been proclaimed at Lyons, then Marseilles, Toulouse etc after Sedan. Gambetta tried his best to break it down.

The different movements at Paris in the beginning of October aimed at the establishment of the Commune, as a measure of defence against the Foreign invasion, as the realisation of the rise of the 4th of September. Its establishment by the movement of the 31 October failed only because Blanqui, Flourens and the other then leaders of the movement believed in the *gens de paroles* who had given their *parole d'honneur* to abdicate and make room to a Commune freely elected by all the arrondissements of Paris. It failed because they saved the lives of those men so eager for the assassination of their saviours. Having allowed Trochu and Ferry to escape, they [were] surprised then by Trochu's Bretons. It ought to be remembered that on the 31st of October the selfimposed "government of defence" existed only on sufferance. It had not yet gone even through the farce of a plebiscite. Under the circumstances, there was of course nothing easier than to misrepresent the character of the movement, to decry it as a treasonable conspiracy with the Prussians, to improve the dismissal of the only man amongst them who would not break his word, for strengthening Trochu's Bretons who were for the Government of the Defence what the Corsican *spadassins* had been for L. Bonaparte by the appointment of Clément Thomas as Commander in Chief of the National Guard; there was nothing easier for these old panic-mongers than—appealing

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to the cowardly fears of the middleclass working bataillons who had taken the initiative, throwing distrust and dissension amongst the working bataillons themselves, by an appeal to patriotism—to create one of those days of blind reaction and disastrous misunderstandings by which they

5 have always contrived to maintain their usurped power. As they had slipt into power the 4th of September by a surprise, they were now enabled to give it a mock sanction by a plebiscite of the true Bonapartist pattern during days of reactionary terror.

The victorious establishment at Paris of the Commune in the beginning of

10 November 1870 (then already initiated in the great cities of the country and sure to be imitated all over France) would not only have taken the defence out of the hands of traitors and imprinted its enthusiasm as the present heroic war of Paris shows, it would have altogether changed the character of the war. It would have become the war of republican France, hoisting the

15 flag of the social Revolution of the 19th century, against Prussia, the banner bearer of the conquest and counterrevolution. Instead of sending the hackneyed old intriguer a begging at all courts of Europe, it would have electrified the producing masses in the old and the new world. By the *escamotage* of the Commune on October 31, the Jules Favre et Co

20 secured the capitulation of France to Prussia and initiated the present civil war.

But this much is shown: The revolution of the 4th September was not only the reinstalment of the Republic because the place of the usurper had become vacant by his capitulation at Sedan,—it not only conquered that

25 republic from the Foreign invader by the prolonged resistance of Paris although fighting under the leadership of its enemies—that revolution was working its way in the heart of the working classes. The republic had ceased to be a name for a thing of the past. It was impregnated with a new world. Its real tendency veiled from the eye of the world through the

30 deceptions, the lies and the vulgarizing of a pack of intriguing lawyers and word fencers, came again and again to the surface in the spasmodic movements of the Paris working classes (and the South of France) whose watchword was always the same: the *Commune!*

The Commune—the positive form of the Revolution against the Empire

35 and the conditions of its existence—first essayed in the cities of Southern France, again and again proclaimed in the spasmodic movements during the siege of Paris and *escamotés* by the sleights of hands of the Government of Defence and the Bretons of Trochu, the “plan of capitulation” hero—was at last victoriously installed on the 26th March, but it had not suddenly

40 sprung into life on that day. It was the unchangeable goal of the workmen’s revolution. The capitulation of Paris, the open conspiracy against the Repub-

lic at Bordeaux, the Coup d'Etat initiated by the nocturnal attack on Montmartre, rallied around it all the living elements of Paris, no longer allowing the defence men to limit it to the insulated efforts of the most conscious and revolutionary portions of the Paris working class.

The government of defence was only undergone as a *pis aller* of the first surprise, a necessity of the war. The true answer of the Paris People to the Second Empire, the Empire of Lies—was the Commune. 5

Thus also the rising of all living Paris—with the exception of the pillars of Bonapartism and its official opposition, the great capitalists, the financial jobbers, the sharpers, the loungers, and the old stateparasites—against the government of Defence does not date from the 18th of March, although it conquered on that day its first victory against the conspirators, it dates from the 31 January, from the very day of the capitulation. The National Guard—that is all the armed manhood of Paris—organized itself and really ruled Paris from that day, independently of the usurpatory government of the capitulards installed by the grace of Bismarck. It refused to deliver its arms and artillery, which was its property and only left them in the capitulation because its property. It was not the magnanimity of Jules Favre that saved these arms from Bismarck, but the readiness of armed Paris to fight for its arms against Jules Favre and Bismarck. In view of the Foreign invader and the peace negotiations Paris would not complicate the situation. It was afraid of civil war. It observed a mere attitude of defence and content with the *de facto* selfrule of Paris. But it organized itself quietly and steadfastly for resistance. (Even in the terms of the capitulation itself the capitulards had unmistakeably shown their tendency to make the surrender to Prussia at the same time the means of their domination over Paris. The only concession of Prussia, they insisted upon, a concession, which Bismarck would have imposed upon them as a condition, if they had not begged it as a concession—was 40,000 soldiers for subduing Paris. In the face of its 300,000 national guards,—more than sufficient for securing Paris from an attempt by the Foreign enemy, and for the defence of its internal order—the demand of these 40,000 men—a thing which was besides avowed—could have no other purpose.) On its existing military organisation it grafted a political federation according to a very simple plan. It was the alliance of all the guard nationale, put in connection the one with the other by *the delegates* of each company, appointing in their turn the delegates of the bataillons, who in their turn appointed general delegates, generals of legions, who were to represent an arrondissement and to cooperate with the delegates of the 19 other arrondissements. Those 20 delegates, chosen by the majority of the bataillons of the National Guard, composed the *Central Committee*, which on the 18th of March 10
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initiated the greatest revolution of this century and still holds its post in the present glorious struggle of Paris. Never were elections more sifted, never delegates fuller representing the masses from which they had sprung. To the objection of the outsiders that they were unknown—in point of fact, that they

5 only were known to the working classes, but no old stagers, no men illustrated by the infamies of their past, by their chase after pelf and place—they proudly answered: “So were the 12 Apostles” and they answered by their deeds.

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The character of the Commune.

The centralized statemachinery which, with its ubiquitous and complicated military, bureaucratic, clerical and judiciary organs, entoils (inmeshes) the living civil society like a boa constrictor, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent modern society in its

15 struggle of emancipation from feudalism. The seignorial privileges of the medieval lords and cities and clergy were transformed into the attributes of a unitary state power, displacing the feudal dignitaries by salaried state-functionaries, transferring the arms from medieval retainers of the landlords and the corporations of townish citizens to a standing army;

20 substituting to the checkered (party coloured) anarchy of conflicting medieval powers the regulated plan of a statepower, with a systematic and hierarchic division of labour. The first French Revolution with its task to found national unity (to create a nation) had to break down all local, territorial, townish and provincial independences. It was, therefore, forced to

25 develop, what absolute monarchy had commenced, the centralization and organization of state power, and to expand the circumference and the attributes of the state power, the number of its tools, its independence of, and its supernaturalist sway of real society which in fact took the place of the medieval supernaturalist heaven with its saints. Every minor solitary

30 interest engendered by the relations of social groups was separated from society itself, fixed and made independent of it and opposed to it in the form of stateinterest, administered by state priests with exactly determined hierarchical functions.]

|14| This parasitical [excrescence upon] civil society, pretending to

35 be its ideal counterpart, grew to its full development under the sway of the first Bonaparte. The restauration and the monarchy of July added nothing to it but a greater division of labour, growing at the same measure in which the division of labour within civil society created new groups

of interest, and, therefore, new material for state action. In their struggle against the Revolution of 1848, the parliamentary republic of France and the governments of all continental Europe, were forced to strengthen, with their measures of repression against the popular movement, the means of action and the centralization of that governmental power. All revolutions thus only perfected the state machinery instead of throwing off this deadening incubus. The fractions and parties of the ruling classes which alternately struggled for supremacy, considered the occupancy (seizure) and the direction of this immense machinery of government as the main booty of the victor. It centred in the creation of immense standing armies, a host of state vermin, and huge national debts. During the time of the absolute monarchy it was a means of the struggle of modern society against feudalism, crowned by the French revolution, and under the first Bonaparte it served not only to subjugate the Revolution and annihilate all popular liberties, it was an instrument of the French revolution to strike abroad, to create for France on the Continent instead of feudal monarchies more or less states after the image of France. Under the Restauration and the Monarchy of July it became not only a means of the forcible class domination of the middleclass, and a means of adding to the direct economic exploitation a second exploitation of the people by assuring to their families all the rich places of the State household. During the time of the Revolutionary struggle of 1848 at last it served as a means of annihilating that Revolution and all aspirations at the emancipation of the popular masses. But the state parasite received only its last development during the second Empire. The governmental power with its standing army, its all directing bureaucracy, its stultifying clergy and its servile tribunal hierarchy, had grown so independent of society itself, that a grotesquely mediocre adventurer with a hungry band of desperadoes behind him sufficed do wield it. It did no longer want the pretext of an armed Coalition of old Europe against the modern world founded by the Revolution of 1789. It appeared no longer as a means of class domination, subordinate to its parliamentary ministry of legislature. Humbling under its sway even to the interests of the ruling classes, whose parliamentary showwork it supplanted by selfselected Corps Législatifs and self-paid senates, sanctioned in its absolute sway by universal suffrage, the acknowledged necessity for keeping up "order", that is the rule of the landowner and the capitalist over the producer, cloaking under the tatters of a maskerade of the past, the orgies of the corruption of the present and the victory of the most parasite fraction, the financial swindler, the *debauchery* of all the reactionary influences of the past let loose—a pandemonium of infamies—the statepower had received its last and supreme expression in the Second Empire. Apparently the

final victory of this governmental power over society, it was in fact the orgy of all the corrupt elements of that society. To the eye of the uninitiated it appeared only as the victory of the Executive over the legislative, of the final defeat of the form of class rule pretending to be the autocracy of society under its form pretending to be a superior power to society. But in fact it was only the last degraded and the only possible form of that class rule, as humiliating to those classes themselves as to the working classes which they kept fettered by it.

The 4th of September was only the vindication of the République against the grotesque adventurer that had assassinated it. The true antithesis to the *Empire itself*—that is to the state power, the centralized executive, of which the Second Empire was only the exhausting formula—was the *Commune*. This state power forms in fact the creation of the middleclass, first a means to break down feudalism, then a means to crush the emancipatory aspirations of the producers, of the working class. All reactions and all revolutions had only served to transfer that organized power—that organized force of the slavery of labour—from one hand to the other, from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other. It had served the ruling classes as a means of subjugation and of pelf. It had sucked new forces from every new change. It had served as the instrument of breaking down every popular rise and served it to crush the working classes after they had fought and been ordered to secure its transfer from one part of its oppressors to the others. This was, therefore, a Revolution not against this or that, legitimate, constitutional, republican or Imperialist form of State Power. It was a Revolution against the *State itself*, of this supernaturalist abortion of society, a resumption by the people for the people, of its own social life. It was not a revolution to transfer it from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other, but a Revolution to break down this horrid machinery of Classdomination itself. It was not one of those dwarfish struggles between the executive and the parliamentary forms of class domination, but a revolt against both these forms, integrating each other, and of which the parliamentary form was only the deceitful bywork of the Executive. The Second Empire was the final form of this State usurpation. The Commune was its definite negation, and, therefore the initiation of the social Revolution of the 19th century. Whatever therefore its fate at Paris, it will make *le tour du monde*. It was at once acclaimed by the working class of Europe and the United States as the magic word of delivery. The glories and the antediluvian deeds of the Prussian conqueror seemed only hallucinations of a bygone past.

It was only the working class that could formulate by the word “Commune” and initiate by the fighting Commune of Paris—this new aspiration. Even

the last expression of that state power in the Second Empire although 5
humbling for the pride of the ruling classes and casting to the winds their parliamentary pretensions of selfgovernment, had been only the last possible form of their class rule. While politically dispossessing them, it was
got full sway. The middling bourgeoisie and the petty middleclass were by
their economical conditions of life excluded from initiating a new revolution
and induced to follow in the tracks of the ruling classes or the followers of
the working class. The peasants were the passive economical basis of the
Second Empire, of that last triumph of a State separate of and independent 10
from society. Only the Proletarians, fired by a new social task to accomplish
by them for all society, to do away with all classes and class rule, were the
men to break the instrument of that class rule—the State, the centralized and
organized governmental power usurping to be the master instead of the
servant of society. In the active struggle against them by the ruling classes,
supported by the passive adherence of the peasantry, the Second Empire,
the last crowning at the same time as the most signal prostitution of the
State—which had taken the place of the medieval church—had been
engendered. It had sprung into life against them. By them it was broken, not
as a peculiar form of centralized governmental power, but as its most power- 15
ful, elaborated into seeming independence from society expression, and,
therefore, also its most prostitute reality, covered by infamy from top to
bottom, having centred in absolute corruption at home and absolute power-
lessness abroad.]

[15] Parliamentarism in France had come to an end. Its last term and 25
fullest sway was the parliamentary Republic from May 1848 to the Coup
d'Etat. The Empire that killed it, was its own creation. Under the Empire
with its Corps Legislatif and its Senate—and in this form it has been repro-
duced in the military monarchies of Prussia and Austria—it had been a
mere farce, a mere bywork of Despotism in its crudest form. Parliamentarism 30
then was dead in France and the workmen's Revolution certainly was
not to awaken it from the death.

But this one form of class rule had only broken down to make the Executive, the governmental statemachinery the great and single object of
attack to the Revolution.

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The *Commune*—the reabsorption of the State power by society, as its
own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the
popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized
force of their suppression—the political form of their social emancipation,

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instead of the artificial force (their own force opposed to and organized against them) of society wielded for their oppression by their enemies. The form was simple like all great things. The Reaction of former Revolutions—the time wanted for all historical developments, and in the past always lost in all

5 Revolutions in the very days of popular triumph, whenever it had rendered its victorious arms, to be turned against itself—first by displacing the army by the National guard. "For the first time since the 4th September the republic is liberated from the *government of its enemies*... to the city a national militia that defends the citizens against the power (*the government*)

10 instead of a permanent army that defends the government against the citizens." (*Proclamation* of Central Committee of 22 Mars.) (the people had only to organize this militia on a national scale, to have done away with the Standing armies; the first economical condition *sine qua* for all social improvements, discarding at once this source of taxes and state debt, and

15 this constant danger to government usurpation of class rule—of the regular class rule or an adventurer pretending to save all classes); at the same time the safest guarantee against Foreign aggression and making in fact the costly military apparatus impossible in all other states; the emancipation of the peasant from the bloodtax and the most fertile source of all state

20 taxation and state debts. Here already the point in which the Commune is a bait for the peasant, the first word of his emancipation. With the "independent police" abolished, and its ruffians supplanted by servants of the Commune. The general suffrage, till now abused either for the parliamentary sanction of the Holy State Power, or a play in the hands of the

25 ruling classes, only employed by the people to choose the instruments of parliamentary class rule once in many years, adapted to its real purposes, to choose by the communes their own functionaries of administration and initiation. The Delusion as if administration and political governing were mysteries, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained

30 caste, stateparasites, richly paid sycophants and sinecurists, in the higher posts, absorbing the intelligences of the masses and turning them against themselves in the lower places of the hierarchy. Doing away with the state hierarchy altogether and replacing the haughty masters of the people into its always removable servants, a mock responsibility by a real responsibility, as they act continuously under public supervision. Paid like skilled workmen, 12 pounds a month, the highest salary not exceeding 240£ a year, a salary somewhat more than $\frac{1}{5}$, according to a great scientific authority, Professor Huxley, to satisfy a clerk for the Metropolitan School Board. The whole sham of statemysteries and statepretensions was done

35 away by a Commune, mostly consisting of simple working men, organizing the defence of Paris, carrying war against the Pretorians of Bonaparte, secur-

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ing the approvisionment of that immense town, filling all the posts hitherto divided between Government, police, and Prefecture, doing their work publicly, simply, under the most difficult and complicated circumstances, and doing it, as Milton did his *Paradise Lost*, for a few pounds, acting in bright daylight, with no pretensions to infallibility, not hiding itself behind circumlocution office, not ashamed to confess blunders by correcting them. Making in one order the public functions,—military, administrative, political—*real workmen's functions*, instead of the hidden attributes of a trained caste; (keeping order in the turbulence of civil war and revolution) (initiating measures of general regeneration). Whatever the merits of the single measures of the Commune, its greatest measure was its own organisation, extemporized with the Foreign Enemy at one door, and the class enemy at the other, proving by its life its vitality, confirming its thesis by its action. Its appearance was a victory over the victors of France. Captive Paris resumed by one bold spring the leadership of Europe, not depending on brute force, but by taking the lead of the Social Movement, by giving body to the aspirations of the working class of all countries.

With all the great towns organized into Communes after the model of Paris no government could repress the movement by the surprise of sudden reaction. Even by this preparatory step the time of incubation, the guarantee of the movement, won. All France organized into selfworking and self-governing communes, the standing army replaced by the popular militias, the army of stateparasites removed, the clerical hierarchy displaced by the schoolmaster, the state judges transformed into Communal organs, the suffrage for the National representation not a matter of sleight of hands for an allpowerful government, but the deliberate expression of organized communes, the statefunctions reduced to a few functions for general national purposes.

Such is the *Commune—the political form of the social emancipation*, of the liberation of labour from the usurpation of the monopolists of the means of labour, created by the labourers themselves or forming the gift of nature. As the state machinery and parliamentarism are not the real life of the ruling classes, but only the organized general organs of their dominion, the political guarantees and forms and expressions of the old order of things, so the Commune is not the social movement of the working class and therefore of a general regeneration of mankind but the organized means of action. The Commune does not away with the class struggles, through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule (because it does not represent a peculiar interest. It represents the liberation of “labour”, that is the fundamental and natural condition of individual and social life which only by usurpation, fraud, and artificial

contrivances can be shifted from the few upon the many), but it affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way. It could start violent reactions and as violent revolutions. It begins the *emancipation of labour*—its

- 5 great goal—by doing away with the unproductive and mischievous work of the state parasites, by cutting away the springs which sacrifice an immense portion of the national produce to the feeding of the state-monster, on the one side, by doing, on the other, the real work of administration, local and national, for workingmen's wages. It begins therefore with
- 10 an immense saving, with economical reform as well as political transformation.|

[16] The communal organization once firmly established on a national scale, the catastrophes it might still have to undergo, would be sporadic slaveholders' insurrections, which, while for a moment interrupting the
15 work of peaceful progress, would only accelerate the movement, by putting the sword into the hand of the Social Revolution.

The working class know that they have to pass through different phases of class struggle. They know that the superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labour by the conditions of free and associated labour can only be the progressive work of time, (that economical transformation) that they require not only a change of distribution, but a new organization of production, or rather the delivery (setting free) of the social forms of production in present organized labour, (engendered by present industry) of the trammels of slavery of their present class
25 character and their harmonious national and international coordination. They know that this work of regeneration will be again and again relented and impeded by the resistances of vested interests and class egotisms. They know that the present "spontaneous action of the natural laws of capital and landed property"—can only be superseded by "the spontaneous action of
30 the laws of the social economy of free and associated labour" by a long process of development of new conditions, as was the "spontaneous action of the economic laws of slavery" and the "spontaneous action of the economical laws of serfdom". But they know at the same time that great strides may be taken at once through the Communal form of political organization and that the time has come to begin that movement for themselves
35 and mankind.

(Peasantry

((*War indemnity*). Even before the instalment of the Commune, the Central Committee had declared through its *Journal Officiel*: “*the greater part of the war indemnity should be paid by the authors of war.*” This is the great “conspiracy against Civilization” the men of order are most afraid of. It is the most practical question. With the Commune victorious, the authors of the war will have to pay its indemnity; with Versailles victorious, the producing masses who have already paid in blood, ruin, and contributions, will have again to pay, and the financial dignitaries will even contrive to make a profit out of the transaction. The liquidation of the war costs is to be decided by the civil war. The Commune represents on this vital point not only the interests of the working class, the petty middleclass, in fact, all the middleclass with the exception of the *bourgeoisie* (the wealthy capitalist) (the rich landowners, and their stateparasites). It represents above all the interest of the *French peasantry*. On them the greater part of the wartaxes will be shifted, if Thiers and his “Ruraux” are victorious. And people are silly enough to repeat the cry of the “ruraux” that they—the great landed proprietors—represent the peasant, who is of course, in the naivety of his soul exceedingly anxious to pay for these good “landowners” the milliards of the war indemnity who made him already pay the milliard of the Revolution indemnity!

The same men deliberately compromised the Republic of February by the additional 45 Centimes tax on the peasant, but this they did in the name of the Revolution, in the name of the “provisional government”, created by it. It is now in their own name that they wage a civil war against the Communal Republic to shift the war indemnity from their own shoulders upon those of the peasant! He will of course be delighted by it!

The Commune will abolish Conscription, the party of order will fasten the bloodtax on the peasant. The party of order will fasten upon him the taxcollector for the payment of a parasitical and costly statemachinery, the Commune will give him a cheap government. The party of order will continue [to] grind him down by the townish usurer, the Commune will free him of the incubus of the mortgages lasting upon his plot of land. The Commune will replace the parasitical judiciary body eating the heart of his income—the notary, the huissier etc—into Communal agents doing their work at workmen’s salaries, instead of enriching himself out of the peasants’ work. It will break down this whole judiciary cobweb which entangles the French peasant and gives abodes to the judiciary bench and maires of the bourgeois spiders that suck its blood! The party of order will

keep him under the rule of the gendarme, the Commune will restore him to independent social and political life! The Commune will enlighten him by the rule of the schoolmaster, the party of order force upon him the stultification by the rule of the priest! But the French peasant is above all a
5 man of reckoning! He will find it exceedingly reasonable that the payment of the clergy will no longer [be] exacted from him by the tax-collector, but will be left to the “spontaneous action” of his religious instincts!

The French peasant had elected L. Bonaparte President of the Republic, but the party of Order (during the anonymous Regime of the Republic under
10 the assembly constituante, and législative) was the creator of the Empire! What the French peasant really wants, he commenced to show in 1849 and 1852 by opposing his maire to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the government's parson, himself to the government's gendarme! The nucleus of the reactionary laws of the Party of Order in 1849—and
15 peculiarly in January and February 1850—were specifically directed against the French Peasantry! If the French peasant had made L. Bonaparte president of the Republic because in his tradition all the benefits he had derived from the first Revolution were phantastically transferred on the first Napoleon, the armed risings of Peasants in some departments of
20 France and the gendarm hunting upon them after the Coup d'Etat proved that that delusion was rapidly breaking down! The Empire was founded on the delusions artificially nourished and traditional prejudices, the Commune would be founded on his living interests and his real wants!

The hatred of the French peasant centres on the “rural”, the men of the
25 Château, the men of the Milliard of indemnity and the townish capitalist, maskeraded into a landed proprietor, whose encroachment upon him marched never more rapidly than under the Second Empire, partly fostered by artificial state means, partly naturally growing out of the very development of modern agriculture. The “rurals” know that three months rule of
30 the Republican Commune in France would be the signal of the rising of the peasantry and the agricultural Proletariat against them. Hence their ferocious hatred of the Commune! What they fear even more than the emancipation of the townish proletariat is the emancipation of the peasants! The peasants would soon acclaim the townish proletariat as their own leaders
35 and seniors! There exists of course in France as in most continental Countries a deep antagonism between the townish and rural producers, between the industrial Proletariat and the peasantry. The aspirations of the Proletariat, the material basis of its movement is labour organized on a grand scale, although now despotically organized, and the means of production centralized,
40 although now centralized in the hands of the monopolist, not only as a means of production, but as a means of the exploitation and enslavement of

the producer. What the proletariat has [to] do is to transform the present capitalist character of that organized labour and those centralized means of labour, to transform them from the means of class rule and class exploitation into forms of free associated labour and social means of production. On the other hand, the labour of the peasant is insulated, and the means of production are parcelled, dispersed. On these economical differences rests superconstructed a whole world of different social and political views. But this peasantry proprietorship has long since outgrown its normal phase, that is the phase in which it was a reality, a mode of production and a form of property which responded to the economical wants of society and placed the rural producers themselves into normal conditions of life. It has entered its period of decay. On the one side a large *proletariat foncier* (rural proletariat) has grown out of it whose interests are identical with those of the townish wages labourer. The mode of production itself has become superannuated by the modern progress of agronomy. Lastly—the peasant proprietorship itself has become nominal, leaving to the peasant the delusion of proprietorship, and expropriating him from the fruit of his own labour. The competition of the great farm producers, the bloodtax, the statetax, the usury of the townish mortgagee and the multitudinous pilfering of the judiciary system thrown around him, | 17| have degraded him to the position of a Hindoo Ryot, while expropriation—even expropriation from his nominal proprietorship—and, his degradation into a rural proletarian is an every day's fact. What separates the peasant from the proletarian is, therefore, no longer his real interest, but his delusive prejudice. If the Commune, as we have shown, is the only power that can give him immediate great boons even in its present economical conditions, it is the only form of government that can secure to him the transformation of his present economical conditions, rescue him from expropriation by the landlord on the one hand, from grinding, trudging and misery on the pretext of proprietorship on the other, that can convert his nominal proprietorship of the land in the real proprietorship of the fruits of his labour, that can combine for him the profits of modern agronomy, dictated by social wants, and every day now encroaching upon him as a hostile agency, without annihilating his position as a really independent producer. Being immediately benefited by the communal Republic, he would soon confide in it.)

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Union (Ligue) Républicaine.

The party of disorder, whose régime topped under the corruption of the Second Empire, has left Paris (Exodus from Paris), followed by its appurtenances, its retainers, its menials, its stateparasites, its mouchards, its 5 "cocottes", and the whole band of low *bohème* (the common criminals) that form the complement of that *bohème of quality*. But the true vital elements of the middle classes, delivered by the workmen's revolution from their sham representants, has for the first time in the history of French Revolution, separated from it and come out in its true colours. It is the 10 "Ligue of Republican Liberty" acting the intermediary between Paris and the Provinces, disavowing Versailles and marching under the banners of the Commune.

15 The Communal Revolution as the Representative of all classes of society not living upon foreign labour.

We have seen that the Paris Proletarian fights for the French Peasant, and Versailles fights against him; that the greatest anxiety of the "ruraux" is that Paris be heard by the Peasants and no longer separated by him through the blockade; that at the bottom of its war upon Paris is the attempt 20 to keep the peasantry as its bondman and treat him as before as its matière "taillable à merci et miséricorde".

For the first time in history the petty and *moyenne* middleclass has openly rallied round the workmen's Revolution, and proclaimed it as the only means of their own salvation and that of France! It forms with them 25 the bulk of the National guard, it sits with them in the Commune, it mediates for them in the Union Républicaine!

The principal measures taken by the Commune are taken for the salvation of the middleclass—the debtor class of Paris against the Creditor class! That middleclass had rallied in the June insurrection (1848) against the 30 Proletariat under the banners of the capitalist class, their generals, and their stateparasites. It was punished at once on the 19 September 1848 by the rejection of the "concordats à l'amiable". The victory over the June insurrection showed itself at once also as the victory of the creditor, the wealthy capitalist, over the debtor, the middleclass. It insisted mercilessly 35 on its pound of flesh. On the 13th June 1849 the national guard of that

middleclass was disarmed and sabred down by the army of the bourgeoisie! During the Empire the dilapidation of the State Resources, upon which the wealthy capitalist fed, this middleclass was delivered to the plunder of the stockjobber, the Railway kings, the swindling associations of the Crédit Mobilier etc and expropriated by Capitalist Association (Joint Stock Company). If lowered in its political position, attacked in its economical interests, it was morally revolted by the orgies of that regime. The infamies of the war gave the last shock and roused its feelings as Frenchmen. The disasters bestowed upon France by that war, its crisis of national downbreak and its financial ruin, this middle class feels that not the corrupt class of the would be slaveholders of France, but only the manly aspirations and the herculean power of the working class can come to the rescue!

They feel that only the workingclass can emancipate them from priestrule, convert science from an instrument of class rule into a popular force, convert the men of science themselves from the panderers to class prejudice, place hunting state parasites, and allies of capital into free agents of thought! Science can only play its genuine part in the Republic of Labour.

Republic only possible as avowedly Social Republic.

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This civil war has destroyed the last delusions about "Republic" as the Empire the delusion of unorganized "universal suffrage" in the hands of the State Gendarm and the parson. All vital elements of France acknowledge that a Republic is only in France and Europe possible as a "Social Republic", that is a Republic which disowns the capital and landowner class of the State machinery to supersede it by the Commune, that frankly avows "social emancipation" as the great goal of the Republic and guarantees thus that social transformation by the Communal organisation. The other Republic can be nothing but the *anonymous* terrorism of all monarchical fractions, of the combined legitimists, orleanists, and bonapartists to land in an Empire quelconque as its final goal, the *anonymous* terror of class rule which having done its dirty work will always burst into an Empire!

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The professional republicans of the rural assembly are men who really believe, despite the experiments of 1848–51, despite the civil war against Paris—the *republican form* of class despotism a possible, lasting form, while the "party of order" demands it only as a form of conspiracy for fighting the Republic and reintroducing its only adequate form, monarchy

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or rather Imperialism, as the form of class despotism. In 1848 these voluntary dupes were pushed in the foreground till, by the insurrection of June, they had paved the way for the *anonymous* rule of all fractions of the would be slaveholders in France. In 1871, at Versailles, they are from
5 beginning pushed in the background, there to figure as the "Republican" decoration of Thiers' rule and sanction by their presence the war of the Bonapartist generals upon Paris! In unconscious selfirony these wretches hold their party meeting in the *Salle des Paumes* (Tennis-Court) to show how they have degenerated from their predecessors in 1789! By their
10 Schoelchers etc they tried to coax Paris in tendering its arms to Thiers and to force it into disarmament by the National Guard of "Order" under Saisset! We do not speak of the socalled Socialist Paris deputies like Louis Blanc. They undergo meekly the insults of a Dufaure and the ruraux, dote upon Thiers' "legal" rights, and whining in presence of the banditti
15 cover themselves with infamy!

Workmen and Comte.

If the workmen have outgrown the time of Socialist Sectarianism, it ought not be forgotten that they have never been in the leading strings of
20 Comtism. This sect has never afforded the *International* but a *branch* of about half a dozen of men, and whose programm was rejected by the General Council. Comte is known to the Parisian workmen as the prophet in politics of Imperialism (of personal *Dictatorship*), of capitalist rule in political economy, of hierarchy in all spheres of human action, even in the
25 sphere of science, and as the author of a new catechism with a new pope and new saints in place of the old ones. If his followers in England play a more popular part than those in France, it is not by preaching their Sectarian doctrines, but by their personal valour, and by the acceptance on their part of the forms of working men class struggle created without
30 them, as f.i. the tradeunions and strikes in England which by the by are denounced as a heresy by their Paris coreligionists. |

| 18 | The Commune (Social Measures).

That the workmen of Paris have taken the initiative of the present Revolution and in heroic self sacrifice bear the brunt of his battle, is nothing
35 new. It is the striking fact of all French revolutions! It is only a repetition |

of the past! That the revolution is made in *the name* and confessedly
for the popular masses, that is the producing masses, is a feature this
 Revolution has in common with all its predecessors. The new feature is that
 the people, after the first rise, have not disarmed themselves and
 surrendered their power into the hands of the Republican mountebanks
 of the ruling classes, that, by the constitution of the *Commune*, they have
 taken the actual management of their Revolution into their own hands and
 found at the same time, in the case of success, the means to hold it in the
 hands of the People itself, displacing the Statemachinery, the govern-
 mental machinery of the ruling classes by a governmental machinery
 of their own. This is their ineffable crime! Workmen infringing upon the
 governmental privilege of the upper 10,000 and proclaiming their will to
 break the economical basis of that class despotism, which for its own sake
 wielded the organized Stateforce of society! This is it that has thrown
 the respectable classes in Europe as in the United States into the paroxysm
 of convulsions and accounts for their shrieks of abomination, it is blas-
 phemy, their fierce appeals to assassination of the people, and this
 Billingsgate of abuse and calumny from their parliamentary tribunes and
 their journalistic servants' hall!

The greatest measure of the Commune is its own existence, working,
 acting under circumstances of unheard of difficulty! The red flag, hoisted by
 the Paris Commune, crowns in reality only the government of workmen for
 Paris! They have clearly, consciously proclaimed the Emancipation of
 Labour, and the transformation of Society, as their goal! But the actual
 "social" character of their Republic consists only in this, that workmen
 govern the Paris Commune! As to their measures, they must, by the nature
 of things, be principally confined to the military defence of Paris and its
 approvisionment!

Some patronizing friends of the working class, while hardly dissembling
 their disgust even at the few measures they consider as "socialist" although
 there is nothing socialist in them except their tendency—express their
 satisfaction and try to coax genteel sympathies for the Paris Commune
 by the great discovery that after all workmen are rational men and when-
 ever in power always resolutely turn their back upon Socialist enterprises!
 They do in fact neither try to establish in Paris a *phalanstère* nor an *Icarie*.
 Wise men of their generation! These benevolent patronizers, profoundly
 ignorant of the real aspirations and the real movement of the working classes,
 forget one thing. All the Socialist founders of Sects belong to a period in which
 the working class themselves were neither sufficiently trained and organized
 by the march of capitalist society itself to enter as historical agents upon
 the world's stage, nor were the material conditions of their emancipation

sufficiently matured in the old world itself. Their misery existed, but the conditions of their own movement did not yet exist. The utopian founders of sects, while in their criticism of present society clearly describing the goal of the social movement, the supersession of the wages system with all its economical conditions of class rule, found neither in society itself the material conditions of its transformation nor in the working class the organized power and the conscience of the movement. They tried to compensate for the historical conditions of the movement by phantastic pictures and plans of a new society in whose propaganda they saw the true means of salvation. From the moment the workingmen class movement became real, the phantastic utopias evanesced, not because the working class had given up the end aimed at by these Utopists, but because they had found the real means to realize them, but in their place came a real insight into the historic conditions of the movement and a more and more gathering force of the military organization of the workingclass. But the last 2 ends of the movement proclaimed by the Utopians are the last ends proclaimed by the Paris Revolution and by the International. Only the means are different and the real conditions of the movement are no longer clouded in utopian fables. These patronizing friends of the Proletariat in glossing over the loudly proclaimed Socialist tendencies of this Revolution, are therefore but the dupes of their own ignorance. It is not the fault of the Paris proletariat, if for them the Utopian creations of the prophets of the workingmen movement are still the "Social Revolution", that is to say, if the Social Revolution is for them still "utopian".

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Journal officiel of the Central Committee 20 Mars:

"The proletarians of the capital, in midst the *défaillances* and the treasons of the governing (ruling) classes, have understood (compris) that the hour was arrived for them to *save the situation in taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs* (the statebusiness)." They denounce "the political incapacity and the moral decrepitude of the bourgeoisie" as the source of "the misfortunes of France". "The workmen, who produce everything and enjoy nothing, who suffer from misery in the midst of their accumulated products, the fruit of their work and their sweat, ... shall 35 *they never be allowed to work for their emancipation?*... The proletariat, in face of the permanent menace against its rights, of the absolute negation of all its legitimate aspirations, of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, has understood that it was its imperious duty and its absolute right to take into its hands its own destinies and to assure their triumph in seizing 40 the state power (en s'emparant du pouvoir)."

It is here plainly stated that the government of the working class is, in the first instance, necessary to save France from the ruins and the corruption impended upon it by the ruling classes, that the dislodgment of these classes from Power (of these classes who have lost the capacity of ruling France) is a *necessity of national safety*. 5

But it is no less clearly stated that the government by the working class can only save France and do the national business, by working for its own *emancipation*, the conditions of that emancipation being at the same time the conditions of the regeneration of France. 10

It is proclaimed as a war of labour upon the monopolists of the means of labour, upon capital. 10

| The *chauvinism* of the bourgeoisie is only the supreme vanity, giving a national cloak to all their own pretensions. It is a means, by permanent armies, to perpetuate international struggles, to subjugate in each country the producers by pitching them against their brothers in each other country, a means to prevent the international cooperation of the working classes, the first condition of their emancipation. The true character of that chauvinism (long since become a mere phrase) has come out during the war of defence after Sedan, everywhere paralysed by the Chauvinist bourgeoisie, in the capitulation of France, in the civil war carried on under that high Priest of Chauvinism, Thiers, on Bismarck's sufferance! It came out in the petty police intrigue of the Anti-German league, Foreigners hunting in Paris after the capitulation. It was hoped that the Paris people (and the French people) could be stultified into the passion of National hatred and by factitious outrages to the Foreigner forget its real aspiration and its home betrayers! 20
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How has this factitious movement disappeared (vanished) before the breath of Revolutionary Paris! Loudly proclaiming its international tendencies—because the cause of the producer is every[where] the same and its enemy everywhere the same, whatever its nationality (in whatever national garb)—it proclaimed as a principle the admission of Foreigners into the Commune, it chose even a Foreign workman (a member of the International) into its Executive, it decreed [the destruction of] the symbol of French chauvinism—the Vendôme column! 30

And, while their bourgeois chauvins have dismembered France, and act under the dictatorship of the Foreign Invasion, the Paris workmen have beaten the Foreign enemy by striking at their own class rulers, have abolished frontiers, in conquering the post as the vanguard of the workmen of all nations! 35

| 19| The genuine patriotism of the bourgeoisie—so natural for the real proprietors of the different “national” estates—has faded into a mere sham 40

consequent upon the cosmopolitan character imprinted upon their financial, commercial, and industrial enterprise. Under similar circumstances it would be exploded in all countries as it did in France.

Decentralization by the Ruraux and The Commune.

- 5 It has been said that Paris, and with it the other French towns, were oppressed by the rule of the peasants, and that its present struggle is for its emancipation from the rule of the peasantry! Never was a more foolish lie uttered!

Paris as the central seat and the stronghold of the centralized government machinery subjected the peasantry to the rule of the gendarmes, the tax collector, the Prefect, and the priest, and the rural magnates, that is to the despotism of its enemies, and deprived it of all life (took the life out of it). It repressed all organs of independent life in the rural districts. On the other hand, the government, the rural magnates, the gendarm and the priest, into whose hands the whole influence of the provinces was thus thrown by the centralized statemachinery centring at Paris, brought this influence to bear for the government and the classes whose government it was, not against Paris [of] the government, the parasite, the capitalist, the idle, the cosmopolitan stew, but against the Paris of the workmen and the thinker. In this way, by the government centralization with Paris as its base, the peasants were suppressed by the Paris of the government and the capitalist, and the Paris of the workmen was suppressed by the provincial power handed over into the hands of the enemies of the peasants.

- 25 The *Versailles Moniteur* (29 Mars) declares "that Paris cannot be a *free city*, because it is *the capital*". This is the true thing. Paris, the capital of the ruling classes and its government, cannot be a "free city", and the provinces cannot be "free", because such a Paris is the capital. The provinces can only be free with the *Commune at Paris*. The *party of order* is 30 still less infuriated against Paris because it has proclaimed its own emancipation from them and their government, than because, by doing so, it has sounded the alarm signal for the emancipation of the peasant and the provinces from their sway.

35 *Journal officiel de la Commune, 1 April:* "the revolution of the 18th March had not for its only object the securing to Paris of communal representation elected, but subject to the *despotic tutelage of a national power strongly centralized*. *It is to conquer, and secure independence for all the communes of France*, and also of all superior groups, departments, and provinces,

united amongst themselves for their common interest by a really national pact; it is to guarantee and perpetuate the Republic... Paris has *renounced her apparent omnipotence* which is identical with her forfeiture, she has not renounced that moral power, that intellectual influence, which so often has made her victorious in France and Europe in her propaganda.

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~~X~~ "This time again Paris works and suffers for all France, of which it prepares by its combats and its sacrifices the intellectual, moral, administrative and economic regeneration, the glory and the prosperity." (*Programme of the Commune de Paris sent out by balloon*)

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* Mr. Thiers, in his tour through the provinces, managed the elections, and above all, his own manifold elections. But there was one difficulty. The Bonapartist provincials had for the moment become impossible. (Besides, he did not want them, nor did they want him.) Many of the old Orleanist stagers had merged into the Bonapartist lot. It was, therefore, necessary, to appeal to the rusticated legitimist landowners, who had kept quite aloof from politics and were just the men to be duped. They have given the apparent character to the Versailles assembly, its character of the "chambre introuvable" of Louis XVIII, its "rural" character. In their vanity, they believed of course, that their time had at last come with the downfall of the Second Bonapartist Empire and under the shelter of Foreign invasion, as it had come in 1814 and 1815. Still they are mere dupes. So far as they act, they can only act as elements of the "party of order", and its "anonymous" terrorism as in 1848—1851. Their own party effusions lend only the comical character to that association. They are, therefore, forced to suffer as president the jail-accoucheur of the Duchess of Berry and as their ministers the pseudo republicans of the government of defence. They will be pushed aside as soon as they have done their service. But—a freak of history—by this curious combination of circumstances they are forced to attack Paris because of revolting against "the République une et indivisible" (Louis Blanc expresses it so, Thiers calls it unity of France), while their very first exploit was to revolt against unity by declaring for the "decapitation and decapitalization" of Paris, by wanting the Assembly to throne in a provincial town. What they really want is to go back to what preceded the centralized statemachinery, become more or less independent of its prefects and its minister, and put into its place the provincial and local domanial influence of the Châteaux. They want a reactionary *decentralization* of France. What Paris wants is to supplant that centralization which has done its service against feudalism, but has become the mere unity of an artificial body, resting on gendarmes, red and black armies, repressing the life of real society, lasting as an incubus upon it, giving Paris an "apparent omnipotence" by enclosing it and leaving the provinces out-

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¹⁴ The question of the ownership or control of these properties of different judicial circles by the local court which may be those brought up by the appellate courts against them from various judicial districts may be worth examining as well as the legal and financial aspects.

Demolition by the United States.

the following points were suggested:—
1. Constitutional Conference.—The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the Government of the
United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Balkan States, to be convened at Geneva, in the month of June, 1946.
2. International Conference.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at Geneva, in the
month of July, 1946.
3. International Conference of the United Nations.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at
Geneva, in the month of August, 1946.
4. International Conference of the United Nations.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at
Geneva, in the month of September, 1946.
5. International Conference of the United Nations.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at
Geneva, in the month of October, 1946.
6. International Conference of the United Nations.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at
Geneva, in the month of November, 1946.
7. International Conference of the United Nations.—The International Conference of the United Nations, to be convened at
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door—to supplant this unitarian France which exists besides the French society—by the political union of French society itself through the Communal organization.

5 The true partisans of breaking up the unity of France are therefore the rurals, opposite to the united statemachinery so far as it interferes with their own local importance (seignorial rights), so far as it is the antagonist of feudalism.

10 What Paris wants is to break up that factitious unitarian system, so far as it is the antagonist of the real living union of France and a mere means of class rule.

Comtist view.

Men completely ignorant of the existing economical system are of course still less able to comprehend the workmen's negation to that system. They
15 can of course not comprehend that the social transformation the working class aim at is the neccessary, historical, unavoidable birth of the present system itself. They talk in deprecatory tones of the threatened abolition of "property" because in their eyes their present class form of property—a transitory historical form—is property itself, and the abolition of that
20 form would therefore be the abolition of property. As they now defend the "eternity" of capital rule and the wages system, if they had lived in feudal times or in times of slavery they would have defended the feudal system and the slavesystem as founded on the nature of things, as springing from nature, fiercely declaimed against their "abuses", but at
25 the same time from the height of their ignorance answering to the prophecies of the abolition by the dogma of their "eternity" righted by "moral checks". (constraints)

Poor men! They do not even know that every *social form* of property has "morals" of its own, and that the form of social property which makes
30 property the attribute of labour, far from creating individual "moral constraints" will emancipate the "morals" of the individual from its class constraints.

They are as right in their appreciation of the aims of the Paris working classes, as is M. Bismarck in declaring that what the Commune wants is
35 the Prussian municipal order.

|20| How the breath of the popular revolution has changed Paris! The revolution of February was called the Revolution of moral contempt! It was proclaimed by the cries of the people: “à bas les grands voleurs! à bas les assassins!” Such was the sentiment of the people. But as to the bourgeoisie, they wanted broader sway for corruption! They got it under Louis Bonaparte's (Napoleon the little) reign. Paris, the gigantic town, the town of historic initiative, was transformed in the *Maison dorée* of all the idlers and swindlers of the world, into a cosmopolitan stew! After the exodus of the “better class of people”, the Paris of the working class reappeared, heroic, selfsacrificing, enthusiastic in the sentiment of its herculean task! No cadavers on the Morgue, no insecurity of the streets. Paris was never more quiet within. Instead of the Cocottes, the heroic women of Paris! Manly, stern, fighting, working, thinking Paris! Magnanimous Paris! In view of the cannibalism of their enemies, making their prisoners only dangerless!.. “What Paris will no longer stand is yet the existence of the Cocottes and Cocodès. What it is resolved to drive away or transform is this useless, sceptical and egotistical race which has taken possession of the gigantic town, to use it as its own. No celebrity of the Empire shall have the right to say, Paris is very pleasant in the best quarters, but there are too many paupers in the others.” (*Vérité: 23 April*) “Private crime wonderfully diminished at Paris. The absence of thieves and cocottes, of assassines and streetattacks: all the conservateurs have fled to Versailles!”

“There has not been signalized one single nocturnal attack even in the most distant and less frequented quarters since the citizens do their police business themselves.”

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Thiers on the rurals:

“This party knows only to employ three means: Foreign invasion, civil war and anarchy... such a government will never be that of France”.
(*Chambre des Députés of 5th Janvier 1833.*)

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Government of Defence.

And this same Trochu said in his famous programme: “the governor of Paris will never capitulate” and Jules Favre in his circular: “Not a stone of our fortresses, nor a foot of our territories” same as Ducrot: “I shall never

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return to Paris save dead or victorious." He found afterwards at Bordeaux that his life was necessary for keeping down the "rebels" of Paris. (These wretches know that in their flight to Versailles they have left behind the proofs of their crimes, and to destroy these proofs, they would not recoil from
5 making of Paris a mountain of ruins bathed in a sea of blood) (*Manifeste à la Province*, by balloon).

"The unity which has been imposed upon us to the present, by the Empire, the Monarchy, and Parliamentary Government is nothing but
10 centralization, despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary and onerous. The political unity as desired by Paris, is a voluntary association of all local initiatives... a central delegation from the Federal Communes... End of the old governmental and clerical world, of military supremacy and bureaucracy and jobbing in monopolies and privileges to which the *proletariat owed its slavery*
15 and the *country its misfortunes and disasters.*" (Proclamation of Commune
19. April.)

The Gendarms and Policemen.

20,000 Gendarmes drawn to Versailles from all France (im Ganzen
20 30,000 unter dem Empire) und 12,000 Paris policeagents,—basis of the finest army France ever had.

Republican Deputies of Paris.

The Republican deputies of Paris "have not protested either against the
25 bombardment of Paris, nor the summary executions of the prisoners, nor the calumnies against the People of Paris. They have on the contrary by their presence at the assembly and their mutisme given a consecration to all these acts supported by the notoriety the republican party has given those men. "Have become the allies and conscious accomplices of the
30 monarchical party. Declares them traitors to their mandate and the Republic". (*Association générale des défenseurs de la République*) (9 May)

"Centralization leads to apoplexy in Paris and to absence of life everywhere else" (*Lamennais*).

« Aujourd’hui tout se rapporte à un centre, et ce centre est, pour ainsi dire, l’Etat même. » (*Montesquieu*)

|21| Vendôme affair etc.

The Central Committee of the National Guard, constituted by the nomination of a delegate of each company, on the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, transported to Montmartre, Belleville and La Villette the cannons and mitrailleuses found by the subscription of the National guards themselves, which cannons and mitrailleuses were abandoned by the government of the National defence, even in those quarters which were to be occupied by the Prussians.

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On the morning of the 18th March the government made an energetic appeal to the National Guard, but out of 400,000 National Guard only 300 men answered.

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On the 18th March, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the agents of police, and some bataillons of the line were at Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette to surprise the guardians of artillery and to take it away by force.

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The National Guard resisted, the soldiers of the line levèrent la crosse en l'air, *despite the menaces and the orders of General Lecomte*, shot the same day by his soldiers at the same time as Clément Thomas. (“troops of the line threw the butts of their muskets in the air, and fraternized with the insurgents.”)

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The bulletin of victory by Aurelle de Paladines was already printed, also papers found on the Decembrisation of Paris.

On the 19 March the Central Committee declared the state of siege of Paris raised, on the 20 Picard proclaimed it for the department of the *Seine et Oise*.

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18 Mars (Morning: still believing in his victory:) *proclamation of Thiers*, placarded on the walls: “The Government has resolved to act. The Criminals who affect to institute a government must be delivered to regular justice, and the cannons taken away must be restored to the Arsenals.”

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Late in the afternoon, the nocturnal surprise having failed he appeals to the *National Guards*: “The Government is not preparing a coup d'état. The Government of the Republic has not and cannot have any other aim than the safety of the Republic.” He will only “do away with the insurgent committee... *almost all unknown to the population*”.

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Late in the evening, a third proclamation to the *National Guard*, signed by Picard and d'Aurelle: “Some misguided men... resist forcibly the National Guard and the army... The Government has chosen *that your*

arms should be left to you. Seize them with resolution to establish the reign of law and to save the Republic from anarchy."

(On the 17th Schoelcher tries to wheedle them into disarming.)

Proclamation of the Central Committee of the 19 March. "the state of

5 siege is raised. The people of Paris is convoked for its communal elections."

Id. to the National Guards: "You have charged us to organize the defence of Paris and of your rights... At this moment our mandate has expired; we give it back to you, we will not take the place of those whom the popular breath vient de renverser."

10 They allowed the members of the Government to withdraw quietly to Versailles (even such as they had in their hands like Ferry).

The communal elections convoked for the 22 March through the demonstration of the party of order removed to the 26th March.

21 Mars. The Assembly's frantic roars of dissent against the words "Vive

15 la République" at the end of a Proclamation "to *Citizens and Army*".

Thiers: "It might be a very legitimate proposal etc" (Dissent of the rurals). *Jules Favre* made a harangue against the doctrine of the Republic being superior to universal suffrage, flattered the rural majority, threatened the Parisians with Prussian intervention and provokes—the demonstration of

20 *the Paris of Order. Thiers:* "come what may he would not send an armed force to attack Paris." (had no troops yet to do it.)

Le comité central était si peu sûr de sa victoire, qu'il accepta avec empressement la médiation des maires et des députés de Paris... L'entêtement de Thiers lui permit (au comité) de vivre un ou deux jours: il eut alors

25 conscience de ses forces. Fautes sans nombre des révolutionnaires. Au lieu de mettre les sergents de ville hors d'état de nuire, on leur ouvrit les portes; ils allèrent à Versailles, où ils furent accueillis comme les sauveurs; on laissa partir le 43 de ligne; on renvoya dans leur foyers tous les soldats qui avaient fraternisé avec le peuple; on permit à la réaction de s'organiser

30 dans le centre même de Paris; on laissa tranquille Versailles. Tridon, Jaclard, Varlin, Vaillant voulaient qu'on allait immédiatement débusquer les royalistes... Favre et Thiers faisaient des démarches pressantes auprès des autorités prussiennes dans le but d'obtenir leur concours... pour réprimer le mouvement insurrectionnel de Paris.

35 L'occupation constante de Trochu et de Clément Thomas d'entraver toutes les tentatives d'armements et d'organisation de la garde nationale. La marche sur Versailles fut décidée, préparée et entreprise par le Comité Central, à l'insu de la Commune et même en opposition directe avec sa volonté nettement manifestée...

40 Bergeret... au lieu de faire sauter le pont de Neuilly, que les fédérés ne



pouvaient garder à cause du Mont Valérien et des batteries établies à Courbevoie, il laissa les royalistes s'en emparer, s'y retrancher puissamment et s'assurer par là une voie de communication avec Paris...

As M. Littré said in a letter (*Daily News* 20 April): "Paris disarmed; Paris manacled by the Vinois, the Valentins, the Paladines, the Republic was lost. This the Parisians understood. With the alternative of succumbing without fighting, and risking a terrible contest of uncertain issue, they chose to fight; and I cannot but praise them for it."

The expedition to Rome, the work of Cavaignac, Jules Favre, and Thiers.

« Un gouvernement qui a tous les avantages intérieurs du gouvernement républicain et la force extérieure du gouvernement monarchique. Je parle de la *République fédérative*... C'est une société des sociétés, qui en font une nouvelle qui peut s'agrandir par des nombreux associés, jusqu'à ce que sa puissance suffise à la sûreté de ceux qui se sont unis. Cette sorte de république... peut se maintenir dans sa grandeur *sans que l'intérieur* se corrompe. La forme de cette société prévient tous les inconvenients. » (*Montesquieu, Esprit des lois*, t. IX, ch. I).

Constitutions de 1793 § 78) Il y a dans *chaque commune* de la république une administration municipale. Dans *chaque district*, une administration intermédiaire, dans *chaque département* une administration centrale. § 79) les officiers municipaux sont élus par les assemblées de la commune. § 80) Les administrateurs sont nommés par les assemblées électorales de département et de district. § 81) Les municipalités et les administrations sont renouvelées tous les ans par moitié.

Conseil exécutif § 62) composé de 24 membres. 63) L'assemblée électorale de chaque département nomme un candidat. Le corps législatif choisit sur la liste générale, les membres du conseil. 64) Il est renouvelé par moitié à chaque législature, dans le dernier mois de sa session. 65) Le conseil est chargé de la direction et de la surveillance de l'administration générale. 66) Il nomme, hors de son sein, les agens en chef de l'administration générale de la république. 68) Ces agens ne forment point un conseil; ils sont séparés, sans rapports immédiats entre eux; ils n'exercent aucune autorité personnelle. 73) Le Conseil révoque et remplace les agens à sa nomination. |

[22] Roused on the one hand by J. Favre's call to civil war in the Assembly—he told that the Prussians had threatened to interfere, if the Parisians did not give in at once,—encouraged by the forbearance of the people and the passive attitude towards them of the Central Committee, the "Party of Order" at Paris resolved *on a coup de main* which came off on the 22 March under the etiquette of a *Peaceful Procession*, a peaceable

demonstration against the Revolutionary Government. And it was a peaceful demonstration of a very peculiar character. "The whole movement seemed a surprise. There were no preparations to meet it." A riotous mob of "gentlemen", in their first rank the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren,
5 Coëtlogon, and H. de Pène etc, illtreating and disarming national guards detached from advanced sentinels (sentries) who fled to the Place Vendôme whence the National Guards march at once to the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Meeting the rioters, they received order not to fire, but the rioters advance under the cry: "down with the Assassins! down with the Com-
10 mittee!" insult the guards, grasp at their muskets, shoot with a revolver citizen *Maljournal* (lieutenant d'était major de la place) (membre du Comité central). General Bergeret calls upon them to withdraw (disband) (retire). During about 5 minutes the drums are beaten and the sommations (replacing the English reading of the riot acts) made. They reply by cries of insult. Two
15 national guards fall severely wounded. Meanwhile their comrades hesitate and fire into the air. The *rioters try to forcibly break through the lines and to disarm them.* Bergeret commands fire and the cowards fly. The émeute is at once dispersed and the fire ceases. Shots were fired from houses on the national guard. Two of them, Wahlin and François were killed, eight are
20 wounded. The streets through which the "pacific" disband are strewn with revolvers and sword-canes". (many of them picked up in the Rue de la Paix) Vicomte de Molinet, killed from behind (by his own people) found with a *dagger* fixed by a chain.

Rappel was beaten. A number of cane swords, revolvers, and daggers lay
25 on the streets by which the "unarmed" demonstration had passed. Pistol shots were fired before the insurgents received orders to fire on the crowd. The manifestors were the aggressors (witnessed by General Sheridan from a window).

This was then simply an attempt to do by the reactionists of Paris,
30 armed with revolvers, caneswords, and daggers, what Vinoy had failed to do with his sergents de ville, soldiers, cannon and mitrailleuse. That the "lower orders" of Paris allowed themselves not even to be disarmed by the "gentlemen" of Paris, was really too bad!

When on the 13th June 1849 the National Guards of Paris made a really
35 "unarmed" and "pacific" procession to protest against a crime, the attack on Rome by the French troops, General Changarnier was praised by his intimate Thiers for sabring and shooting them down. The state of siege was declared, new laws of repression, new proscriptions, a new reign of terror! Instead of all that, the Central Committee and the workmen of
40 Paris strictly kept on the defensive, during the encounter itself, allowed the assailers, the gentlemen of the dagger, to return quietly home, and,

by their indulgence, by not calling them to account for this daring enterprise, encouraged them so much, that two days later, under the leadership of admiral Saisset, sent from Versailles, rallied again and tried again their hands at civil war.

And this Vendôme affair evoked at Versailles a cry of "Assassination of unarmed citizens" reverberating throughout the world. Be it remarked that even Thiers while eternally reiterating the assassination of the two generals, has not once dared to remind the world of this "Assassination of unarmed citizens".

As in the medieval times the knight may use any weapon whatever against the plebeian, but the latter must not dare even to defend himself.

(27 Mars. *Versailles. Thiers*: "I give a formal contradiction to those who accuse me of leading the way for a monarchical settlement. *I found the Republic an accomplished fact*. Before God and men I declare I will not betray it".)

After the second rising of the party of Order, the Paris people took no reprisals whatever. The Central Committee even committed the great blunder, against the advice of its most energetic members, not to march at once at Versailles, where, after the flight of Adm. Saisset and the ridiculous collapse of the National Guard of Order, Consternation ruled supreme, there being not yet any forces of resistance organized.

After the election of the Commune, the party of order tried again their forces at the ballot box, and, when again beaten, effected their Exodus from Paris. During the election handshaking and fraternization of the Bourgeois (in the courts of the Mayoralties) with the insurgent National Guards, while among themselves they talk of nothing but "decimation en masse", "mitraille", "frying at Cayenne", "wholesale fusillades". "The runaways of yesterday think to-day by flattering the men of the Hôtel-de-Ville to keep them quiet until the Rurals and Bonapartist generals, who are gathering at Versailles will be in a position to fire on them."

Thiers commenced the armed attack on the National Guard for the second time in Affair of April 2. Fighting between Courbevoie and Neuilly, close to Paris. National Guards beaten, bridge of Neuilly occupied by Thiers' soldiers. Several thousands of National Guards having come out of Paris and occupied Courbevoie et Puteaux and the bridge of Neuilly, routed. Many prisoners taken. Many of the insurgents immediately shot as rebels. Versailles troops began the firing.

Commune: "The Government of Versailles has attacked us. Not being able to count upon the army, it has sent Pontifical Zouaves of Charette, Bretons of Trochu, and Gendarmes of Valentin, in order to bombard Neuilly." On 2nd April the Versailles Government had sent forward a division chiefly

consisting of *Gendarmes, Marines, Forest Guard, and Police*. Vinoy with two brigades of infantry, and Galliffet at the head of a brigade of cavalry and a battery of artillery advanced upon Courbevoie.

- Paris. April 4. *Millière* (Declaration) “the people of Paris was not making any aggressive attempt... when the Government ordered it to be attacked by the ex-soldiers of the Empire, organized as pretorian troops, under the Command of ex-Senators.”|

Karl Marx
The Civil War in France
(Second Draft)

| 1 | 1) Government of Defence.

Trochu, Favre, Picard, Ferry.

| The republic, proclaimed on the 4th September by the Paris workmen, was acclaimed through all France without a single voice of dissent. Its right of life was fought for in a 5 months' defensive war (centring in) based upon the resistance of Paris. Without that war of defence waged in the name of the Republic, William the "Conqueror" would have restored the Empire of his "good brother" Louis Bonaparte. The cabal of barristers, with Thiers for their statesman, and Trochu for their general, who installed themselves at the Hôtel-de-Ville at a moment of surprise, when the real leaders of the Paris working class were still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussian army was already marching upon Paris. So deeply were the Thiers, the Jules Favre, the Picard then imbued with the belief in the historical leadership of Paris, that to legitimate their title as the government of national defence they founded their claim exclusively upon their having been chosen in the elections to the Corps Légitif, in 1869, as the *Deputies of Paris*.

| In our Second address on the late war, five days after the advent of those men, we told you what they were. If they had seized the government without consulting Paris, Paris had proclaimed the republic in the teeth of their resistance. And their first step was to send Thiers begging about at all courts of Europe there to buy if possible Foreign mediation bartering the Republic for a king. Paris did bear with their assumption of power, because they highly professed on their solemn vow to wield that power for the single purpose of *national defence*. Paris, however, was not to be seriously defended without arming the working class, organizing them into a National Guard, and training their ranks through the war itself. But Paris armed was the social Revolution armed. The victory of Paris over its Prussian besieger would have been a victory of the Republic over French classrule. In this

conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of national Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a government of national defection. In a letter to Gambetta, Jules Favre confessed that what Trochu stood in defence of, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris workman. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addresses the reunion of the maires of Paris in these terms: "The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues, *on the very evening of the 4th September*, was this: Paris can it, with any chance of success, stand a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative.* Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words, and *the persistence of my opinion*. I told them, in these very terms, that under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege against the Prussian army would be a *folly*. Without doubt, I added, it might be a *heroic folly*, but it would be nothing more *The events* (managed by himself) *have not given the lie to my prevision.*" (This little speech of Trochu's was after the armistice published by M. Corbon, one of the Maires present.) Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan", known to his colleagues, was nothing else but the *capitulation of Paris and France*. To cure Paris of its "heroic folly", it had to undergo a treatment of decimation and famine, long enough to screen the usurpers of the 4th of September from the vengeance of the December men. If the "national defence" had been more than a false pretence for "government", its selfappointed members would have abdicated on the 5th of September, publicly revealed Trochu's "plan", and called upon the Paris people to at once surrender to the conqueror or take the work of defence in its own hands. Instead of this the imposters published high sounding manifestoes wherein Trochu "the governor will never capitulate" and Jules Favre the Foreign minister "not cede a stone of our fortresses, nor a foot of our territory". Through the whole time of the siege Trochu's plan was systematically carried out. In fact, the vile Bonapartist cut-throats, to whose trust they gave the generalship of Paris, cracked in their intimate correspondence ribald jokes at the well understood farce of the defence. (See f.i. the correspondence of *Alphonse Simon Guiod*, supreme commander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to *Suzanne*, General of Division of Artillery, published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune.) The mask of imposture was dropped at the capitulation of Paris. The "*government of national defence*" unmasked itself as the "*government of France by Bismarck's prisoners*"—a part which Louis Bonaparte himself at Sedan had considered too infamous

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even for a man of his stamp. On their wild flight to Versailles, after the events of the 18th March, the capitulards have left in the hands of Paris the documentary evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its *Manifesto to the Provinces*, "they would not recoil from

- 5 battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed in a sea of blood".

Some of the most influential members of the government of defence had moreover urgent private reasons of their own to be passionately bent upon such a consummation. Look only at Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, and Jules Ferry!

- 10 | Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, *M. Millière*, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, published a series of authentic legal documents in proof that *Jules Favre*, living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard, resident at Algiers, had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in
15 the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession which made him a rich man, and that, in a law suit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure through the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. Since those dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any horsepower of rhetorics, Jules Favre, in the same heroism of self-
20 abasement, remained for once tongue-tied until the turmoil of the civil war allowed him to brand the Paris people in the Versailles assembly as a band of "escaped convicts" in utter revolt against family, religion, order and property!

- (*Pic affaire*). This very forger had hardly got into power when he sympathetically hastened to liberate two brother forgers, Pic and Taillefer, under the Empire itself convicted to the hulks for theft and forgery. One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris after the instalment of the Commune, was at once returned to a convenient abode; and then Jules Favre told all Europe that Paris was setting free all the felonious inhabitants
30 of her prisons!

- Ernest Picard*, appointed by himself the homeminister of the French Republic on the 4th of September, after having striven in vain to become the homeminister of Louis Bonaparte, is the brother of one *Arthur Picard*, an individual expulsed from the Paris bourse as a blackleg (Report of the
35 Prefecture of Police d. d. 13 July 1867) and convicted on his own confession of a theft of 300,000 fcs while a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*, (see Report of the Prefecture of Police 11 December 1868). Both these reports have been still published at the time of the Empire. This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard the *redacteur en chef*
40 of his "*Electeur libre*" to act, during the whole siege, as his financial go-between, discounting at the Bourse the state secrets in the trust of

Ernest and safely speculating on the disasters of the French army, while the common jobbers were misled by the false news, and official lies, published in the “*Electeur libre*”, the organ of the home minister. The whole financial correspondence between that worthy pair of brethren has fallen into the hands of the Commune. No wonder that Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Versailles government, “with his hands in his trousers’ pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes”, at the first batch of Paris National Guards, made prisoners, and exposed to the ferocious outrages of Piétri’s lambs.

Jules Ferry, a pennyless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as the Maire of Paris, to job during the siege a fortune out of the famine which was to a great part the work of his maladministration. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be his day of judgement. The documentary proofs are in the hands of the Commune.

These men, therefore, are the deadly foes of the workingmen’s Paris, not only as parasites of the ruling classes, not only as the betrayers of Paris during the siege, but above all as common felons who but in the ruins of Paris, this stronghold of the French Revolution, can hope to find their *tickets of leave*. These desperadoes were exactly the men to become the ministers of Thiers. |

|2| 2) Thiers. Dufaure. Pouyer-Quertier.

In the “parliamentary sense” things are only a pretext for words serving as a snare for the adversary, an ambuscade for the people, or a matter of artistic display for the speaker himself.

Their master, M. Thiers, the mischievous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption. Even before he became a statesman, he had shown his lying powers as a historian. Eager of display, like all dwarfish men, greedy of place and pelf, with a barren intellect but lively fancy, epicurean, sceptical, of an encyclopedic facility for mastering the surface of things, and turning things into a mere pretext for talk, a wordfencer of rare conversational power, a writer of lucid shallowness, a master of small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices and base perfidies of parliamentary party warfare, national and class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of conscience, in order to displace a rival, and to shoot the people, in order to stifle the Revolution, mischievous

when in opposition, odious when in power, never scrupling to provoke revolutions the history of his public life is the chronicle of the miseries of his country. Fond of brandishing with his dwarfish arms in the face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoebblack he had become,
5 his Foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London convention of 1841 to the Paris capitulation of 1871 and the present civil war he wages under the shelter of Prussian invasion. It need not be said that to such a man the deeper undercurrents of modern society remained a close book, but even the most palpable changes at its surface
10 were abhorrent to a brain all whose vitality had fled to the tongue. F.i. he never fatigued to denounce any deviation from the old French protective system as a sacrilege, railways he sneeringly derided, when a minister of Louis Philippe, as a wild chimera, and every reform of the rotten French army system he branded under Louis Bonaparte as a profanation. With all his
15 versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, he was steadily wedded to the traditions of a fossilized routine, and never, during his long official career, became guilty of one single, even the smallest measure of practical use. Only the old world's edifice, may be proud of being crowned by two such men as Napoleon the little and little Thiers. | The socalled accomplishments
20 of culture appear in such a man only as the refinement of debauchery and the of selfishness.

| Banded with the republicans under the restauration, Thiers insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and the jailaccoucheur of the Duchess of Berry, but his activity when he had first slipt into a ministry
25 (1834—35) centred in the massacre of the insurgent Republicans at the rue Transnonain and the incubation of the atrocious September laws against the press.

| Reappearing as the chief of the cabinet in March 1840, he came out with the plot of the Paris fortifications. To the [outcry] of the Republican party,
30 against the sinister attempt on the liberty of Paris, he replied: "What! To fancy that any works of fortification could endanger liberty! And first of all, you calumniate *every Government whatever* in supposing that it could one day try to maintain itself by bombarding the capital... But it would be hundred times more impossible after its victory than before."

35 Indeed no French government whatever save that of M. Thiers himself with his ticket-of-leave ministers and his rural assembly ruminants could have dared upon such a deed! And this too in the most classic form; one part of his fortifications in the hands of his Prussian conquerors and protectors.

40 | When King Bomba tried his hands at Palermo in January 1848, Thiers rose in the Chambre of Deputies: "You know, gentlemen, what passes at

Palermo: you all shook with horror" (in the "parliamentary" sense) "when hearing that *during 48 hours a great town has been bombarded*. By whom? was it by a Foreign enemy, exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, by its own government." (If it had been by its own government, under the eyes and on the sufferance of the Foreign enemy, all would, of course, have been right.) "And why? Because that unfortunate town (city) demanded its rights. Well, then. For the demand of its rights, it has *had 48 hours of bombardment*." (If the bombardment had lasted 4 weeks and more all would have been right) "... Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to mankind to come and make reverberate from the greatest tribune perhaps of Europe some words of indignation (indeed! words!) against such acts... When the regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country, (what Thiers never did), *in order to suppress an insurrection*, wanted to *bombard Barcelona*, there was from all parts of the world a general shriek of indignation."

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Well, about a year later this fine-souled man became the sinister suggester and the most fierce defender (apologist) of the bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic, under the command of the legitimist Oudinot.

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from power to which Guizot had condemned him, smelling in the air the commotion, Thiers exclaimed again in the Chambre of Deputies:

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"I am of the party of Revolution not only in France, but in Europe. I wish the government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men... But if that government should pass into the hands of ardent men, even of the Radicals, I should not for all that desert (abandon) my cause. *I shall always be of the party of the Revolution.*"

The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the cabinet Guizot by the cabinet Thiers, as the little man had dreamt, it displaced Louis Philippe by the Républic. To put down that Revolution was M. Thiers' exclusive business from the proclamation of the Republic to the *Coup d'Etat*. On the first day of the popular victory, he anxiously hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the people rescued him from its hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage until after the bloody disruption of the material forces of the Paris proletariat by Cavaignac, the bourgeois republican. Then the scene was cleared for his sort of action. His hour had again struck. He became the leading mind of the "*Party of Order*" and its "*Parliamentary Republic*", that anonymous reign in which all the rival factions of the ruling classes conspired together to crush the working class and conspired against each other each for the restoration of its own monarchy.|

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|4| 3) The Rural Assembly.

If this rural assembly, meeting at Bordeaux, made this government, the “government of defence men” had beforehand taken good care to make that assembly. For that purpose they had dispatched Thiers on a travelling tour through the provinces, there to foreshadow coming events and make ready for the surprise of the general elections. Thiers had to overcome one difficulty. Quite apart from having become an abomination to the French people the Bonapartists, if numerously elected, would at once have restored the Empire and embalmed M. Thiers and Co. for a voyage to Cayenne. The
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Orleanists were too sparsely scattered to fill their own places and those vacated by the Bonapartists. To galvanize the Legitimist party, had therefore become unavoidable. Thiers was not afraid of his task. Impossible as a government of modern France, and therefore contemptible as rivals for place and pelf, who could be fitter to be handled as the blind tool of Counter-
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revolution, than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers, had always been confined to the three resources of “Foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy”. (*Speech of Thiers at the Chambre of Deputies of January 5, 1833*). A select set of the Legitimists, expropriated by the Revolution of 1789, had regained their estates by enlisting in the servant hall of the first
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Napoleon, the bulk of them by the milliard of indemnity and the private donations of the Restauration. Even their seclusion from participation in active politics under the successive reigns of Louis Philippe and Napoleon the little, served as a lever to the reestablishment of their wealth as landed proprietors. Freed from court dissipation and representation costs at
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Paris, they had, out of the very corners of provincial France, only to gather the golden apples falling into their châteaux from the tree of modern industry, railways enhancing the price of their land, agronomy applied to it by capitalist farmers, increasing its produce, and the inexhaustible demand of a rapidly swollen town population securing the growth of markets for that
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produce. The very same social agencies which reconstituted their material wealth and remade their importance as partners of that jointstockcompany of modern slaveholders, screened them from the infection of the modern ideas and allowed them, in rustic innocence, nothing to forget and nothing to learn. Such people furnished the mere passive material to be worked upon by
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a man like Thiers. While executing the mission, entrusted to him by the government of Defence, the mischievous imp overreached his mandataries in securing to himself that multitude of elections which was to convert the defence men from his opponent masters into his avowed servants.
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| The electoral traps being thus laid, the French people was suddenly

summoned by the capitulards of Paris to choose within 8 days a national assembly with the exclusive task by virtue of the terms of the convention of the 31st January, dictated by Bismarck, to decide on war or peace. Quite apart from the extraordinary circumstances, under which that election occurred, with no time for deliberation, with one half of France under the sway of Prussian bayonets, with its other half secretly worked upon by the government intrigue, with Paris secluded from the provinces, the French people felt instinctively that the very terms of the armistice, undergone by the capitulards, left Franco no alternative choice but that of a peace à outrance and that for its sanction the worst men of France would be the best. Hence the rural assembly emerging at Bordeaux.

| Still we must distinguish between the old regime orgies and the real historical business of the rurals. Astonished to find themselves the strongest fraction of an immense majority, composed of themselves and the Orleanists, with a contingent of Bourgeois republicans and a mere sprinkling of Bonapartists, they verily believed in the long expected advent of their retrospective millennium. There were the heels of the Foreign invasion trampling upon France, there was the downfall of the Empire and the captivity of a Bonaparte, and there they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently turned round to stop at the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816, with its deep and impassionate curses against the Revolutionary deluge and its abominations, with its "decapitation and decapitalization of Paris", its "decentralization" breaking through the network of state rule by the local influences of the *Châteaux* and its religious homilies and its tenets of antediluvian politics, with its gentilhommery, flippancy, its genealogic spite against the drudging masses, and its Oeil de Boeuf views of the world. Still in point of fact they had only to act their part as joint stock holders of the "party of order", as monopolists of the means of production. From 1848 to 1851, they had only to form a fraction of the interregnum of the "parliamentary republic", with this difference that then they were represented by their educated and trained parliamentary champions, the Berryer, the Falloux, the Larochejaquelein, while now they had to ask in their rustic rank and file, imparting thus a different tone and tune to the assembly, maskerading its bourgeois reality under feudal colours. Their grotesque exaggerations serve only to set off the liberalism of their banditti government. Ensnared into an usurpation of powers beyond their electoral mandates, they live only on the sufferance of their selfmade rulers. The Foreign invasion of 1814 and 1815 having been the deadly weapon wielded against them by the bourgeois parvenus, they have in injudicial blindness bestowed upon themselves the responsibility of this unprecedented surrender of France to the Foreigner by their bourgeois foes. And the

French people astonished and insulted by the reappearance of all the noble Pourceaugnacs it believed buried long since, has become aware that beside making the Revolution of the 19th century it has to finish off the Revolution of 1789 by driving the ruminants to the last goal of all rustic
5 animals—the shambles.]

| 6| 5) Opening of the civil war. 18 March Revolution.
Clement Thomas. Lecomte. The Affaire Vendôme.

| The disarmament of Paris, as a mere necessity of the contrarevolutionary plot might have been undertaken in a more temporizing circumspect manner,
10 but as a clause of the urgent financial treaty with its irresistible fascinations it brooked no delay. Thiers had therefore to try his hands at a *coup d'Etat*. He opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, the Décembriser, at the head of a multitude of sergents de ville and a few regiments of the line, upon the nocturnal expedition against the Buttes Montmartre. Thiers' felonious
15 attempt having broken down on the resistance of the National Guards and their fraternization with the soldiers, on the following day, in a manifesto, stuck to the walls of Paris, Thiers told the National Guards of his magnanimous resolve to leave them their arms with which he felt sure, they would be eager to rally round the government against "the rebels".
20 Out of 300,000 national guards only 300 responded to his summons. The glorious workmen's Revolution of the 18th March had taken undisputed possession (sway) of Paris.

| The Central Committee, which directed the defence of Montmartre and emerged on the dawn of the 18th March as the leader of the Revolution, was
25 neither an expedient of the moment nor the offspring of secret conspiracy. From the very day of the capitulation, by which the government of the national defence had disarmed France but reserved to itself a bodyguard of 40,000 troops for the purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The national guard reformed its organization and entrusted its supreme
30 control to a Central Committee, consisting of the delegates of the single companies, mostly workmen, with their main strength in the workmen's suburbs, but soon accepted by the whole body save its old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and
35 La Villette, of the cannons and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards, even in those quarters which the Prussians were about to occupy. It thus made safe of the artillery, furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard, officially recognized as their private property in the

convention of the 31st of January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender of arms. During the whole interval from the meeting of the National Assembly at Bordeaux to the 18th of March, the Central Committee had been the people's government of the capital, strong enough to persist in its firm attitude of defence despite the provocations of the Assembly, the violent measures of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops.

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[The defeat of Vinoy by the National Guard was but a check given to the Counterrevolution plotted by ruling classes, but the Paris people turned at once that incident of their selfdefence into the first act of a social Revolution. The revolution of the 4th September had restaured the Republic after the throne of the usurper had become vacant. The tenacious resistance of Paris during its siege, serving as the basis for the defensive war in the provinces, had wrung from the Foreign invader the recognition of that Republic, but its true meaning and purpose were only revealed on the 18th of March. It was to supersede the social and political conditions of class rule, upon which the old world's system rests, which had engendered the Second Empire and under its tutelage, ripened into rottenness. Europe thrilled as under an electric shock. It seemed for a moment to doubt whether its late sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them and were not the mere sanguinary dreams of a long bygone past. The traces of the long endured famine still upon their figures, and under the very eye of Prussian bayonets, the Paris working class conquered in one bound the championship of progress etc.]

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In the sublime enthusiasm of historic initiative, the Paris workmen's Revolution made it a point of honour to keep the proletarian clean of the crimes in which the revolutions and still more the counterrevolutions of their betters abound.

Clement Thomas. Lecomte etc.

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But the horrid "atrocities" that have sullied this Revolution?

So far as these atrocities imputed to them by their enemies are not the deliberate calumny of Versailles or the horrid spawn of the penny a liner's brain, they relate only to two facts—the execution of the Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas and the Vendôme Affaire, of which we shall dispose in a few words.

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One of the paid cut-throats selected for the execution of the nocturnal coup de main on Montmartre, General Lecomte had on the place Pigalle four

times ordered his troops of the 81st of the line to charge an unarmed gathering, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, some of his own men shot him, when taken prisoner in the afternoon of the 18th March, in the gardens of the Château rouge.

- 5 The inveterate habits acquired by the French soldatesca under the training of the enemies of the working class, are of course not likely to change the very moment they change sides. The same soldiers executed Clement Thomas.

“General” Clement Thomas, a discontent ex-quartermaster sergeant had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe’s reign, enlisted in the “republican”

- 10 *National* newspaper, there to serve in the double quality of strawman (responsible *Gérant*) and bully. The men of the *National* having abused the February Revolution, to cheat themselves into power metamorphosed their old quartermaster serjeant into a “General” on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters and
15 became one of the most merciless executors. Then his generalship came to a sudden end. He disappears only to rise again to the surface on the 1st November 1870. The day before the government of defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had, upon their word of honour, solemnly bound themselves to Blanqui, Flourens and the other representatives of the working class to abdicate
20 their usurped power into the hands of a Commune to be freely chosen by Paris. They broke, of course, their word of honour, to let loose the Bretons of Trochu, who had taken the place of the Corsicans of L. B[onaparte], upon the people guilty of believing in their honour. M. Tamisier alone refusing to brand himself by such a breach of faith, tendering at once his resignation
25 of the commandership in chief of the National Guard, “General” Clement Thomas was shuffled into his place. During his whole tenure of office he made war not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard, | | proving inexhaustible in pretexts to prevent its general armament, in devices of disorganization by pitching its bourgeois element against its
30 working men’s elements, of weeding out the officers hostile to Trochu’s “plan” and disbanding, under the stigma of cowardice, the very proletarian bataillons whose heroism is now astonishing their most inveterate enemies. Clement Thomas felt proud of having reconquered his June preeminence as the personal enemy of the Paris working class. Only a few days
35 before the 18th of March he laid before the warminister Le Flô a new plan of his own for finishing off “*la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*”. As if haunted by the June spectres, he must needs appear, in the quality of an *amateur* detective, on the scene of action after Vinoy’s rout!

- The Central Committee tried in vain to rescue these two criminals,
40 Lecomte and Clement Thomas, from the soldier’s wild lynch justice, of which they themselves and the Paris workmen were as guilty as the

Princess Alexandra of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance in London. Jules Favre with his forged Pathos, flung his curses upon Paris, the den of assassins. The Rural Assembly mimicked hysterical contortions of "sensiblerie". These men never shed their crocodile tears but as a pretext for shedding the blood of the people. To handle respectable cadavers as weapons of civil war has always been a favourite trick with the party of order. How did Europe ring in 1848 with their shouts of horror at the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris by the insurgents of June, and while they were fully aware from the evidence of an eye witness: M. Jaquemet, the Archbishop's vicar, that the Bishop had been shot by Cavaignac's own soldiers! Through the letters to Thiers of the present Archbishop of Paris, a man with no martyr's vein in him, there runs the shrewd suspicion that his Versailles friends were quite the men to console themselves of his prospective execution in the violent desire to fix that amiable proceeding on the Commune! However, when the cry of "assassins" had served its turn, Thiers coolly disposed of it by declaring from the tribune of the National Assembly, that the "assassination" was the private deed of a few, "very few" obscure individuals.

The "men of order", the reactionists of Paris, trembling at the people's victory as the signal of retribution, were quite astonished by proceedings, strangely at variance with their own traditional methods of celebrating a defeat of the people. Even the sergeants de ville, instead of being disarmed and locked up, had the doors of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles, while the "men of order", left not only unhurt, were allowed to rally quietly and lay hold on the strongholds in the very centre of Paris. They interpreted, of course, the indulgence of the Central Committee and the magnanimity of the armed workmen as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their plan to try under the mask of an "unarmed" demonstration the work which four days before Vinoy's cannon and mitrailleuses had failed in. Starting from their quarters of luxury, this riotous mob of "gentlemen", with all the "petits crevés" in their ranks and the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, H. de Pène etc at their head, fell in marching order under the cries of "down with the Assassins! down with the Central Committee, Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" illtreating and disarming the detached posts of National Guards they met with on their progress. When then at last debouching into the place Vendôme, they tried, under shouts of ribald insults, to dislodge the National Guards from their headquarters and forcibly break through the lines. In answer to their pistol shots the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English reading of the Riot acts) were made, but proved ineffective to stop the aggressors. Then fire was

commanded by the general of the National Guard and these rioters dispersed in wild flight. Two national guards killed, eight dangerously wounded, and the streets, through which they disbanded, strewn with revolvers, daggers and cane swords, gave clear evidence of the "unarmed" character of their
5 "pacific" demonstration. When, on the 13th June 1849, the National guards of Paris made a really "unarmed" demonstration of protest against the felonious assault on Rome by French troops, Changarnier, the general of the "party of order", had their ranks sabred, trampled down by cavalry and shot down, the state of siege was at once proclaimed, new arrests, new
10 proscriptions, a new reign of terror set in. But the "lower orders" manage these things otherwise. The runaways of the 22nd March being neither followed up on their flight nor afterwards called to account by the judge of instruction (juge d'instruction), were able two days later to muster again an "armed" demonstration under Admiral Saisset. Even after the
15 grotesque failure of this their second rising they were, like all other Paris citizens, allowed to try their hands at the ballot box for the election of the Commune, and when succumbing in this bloodless battle, they at last purged Paris from their presence by an unmolested Exodus, dragging along with them the cocottes, the lazzaroni and the other dangerous class
20 of the capital. The "assassination of the unarmed citizens" on the 22nd of March is a myth which even Thiers and his rurals have never dared to harp upon, entrusting it exclusively to the servant hall of European journalism.

If there is to be found fault with in the conduct of the Central Committee
25 and the Paris workmen towards these "men of order" from 18-th March to the time of their Exodus it is an excess of moderation bordering upon weakness.

Look now to the other side of the medal!

30 After the failure of their nocturnal surprise of Montmartre, the party of order began their regular Campaign against Paris in the commencement of April. For inaugurating the civil war by the methods of December, the massacre in cold blood of the captured soldiers of the line and infamous murder of our brave friend Duval, Vinoy, the runaway, is appointed by
35 Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour! Galliffet, the fancy man of that woman so notorious for her shameless maskerades at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasts in an official manifesto of his cowardly assassination of Paris National Guards, their lieutenant and their captain, made by surprise and treason. Desmarêts, the gendarme, is decorated for his

butchery like chopping of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, the "encouraging" particulars of whose death are triumphantly communicated to the Assembly by Thiers. In the horribly grotesque exultation of a Tom Pouce playing the part of Timur Tamerlane, Thiers denies the "rebels" against his littleness all the rights and customs of civilized warfare, even the rights of "ambulances".

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When the Commune had published on the 7 April its decree of reprisals, declaring it its duty to protect itself against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners, of whom Thiers says in one of his bulletins "never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy ||7| met the afflicted gazes of honest men"—did not cease, but the fusillades of the captives were stopped. Hardly however had he and his Decembrist general become aware, that the Commune's decree was but an empty threat, that even their spying gendarmes caught in Paris under the

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disguise of National Guards, that even their sergeants de ville captured with explosive bombs upon them were spared, when at once the old regime set in wholesale and has continued to this day. The National Guards who had surrendered at Belle Epine to an overwhelming force of Chasseurs were then shot down one after the other by the captain of the peloton on horseback; houses, to which Parisian troops and National guards had fled, surrounded by Gensdarmes, inundated with petroleum, and then set on fire, the calcinated corpses being afterward transported by Paris ambulance; the bayonetted of the national guards surprised by treason in their beds at the Redoubt of Moulin Saquet, the massacre of Clamart, prisoners wearing

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the line uniform shot offhand, all these high deeds flippantly told in Thiers bulletin, are only a few incidents of this slaveholders' rebellion! But would it not be ludicrous to quote single facts of ferocity in view of this civil war, fomented amidst the ruins of France, by the conspirators of Versailles from the meanest motives of class interest, and the bombardment of Paris under the patronage of Bismarck, in the sight of his soldiers! The flippant manner in which Thiers reports on these things in the bulletin, has even shocked the not oversensitive nerves of *the Times*. All this is however "regular" as the Spaniards say. All the fights of the ruling classes against the producing classes menacing their privileges are full of the same horrors, although none exhibits such an excess of humanity on the part of the oppressed and few such an abasement... Theirs has always been the old axiom of knight-errantry that every weapon is fair if used against the plebeian.

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"L'assemblée siège paisiblement", writes *Thiers* to the *Prefects*.

The Affaire at Belle-Epine.

The affair at Belle-Epine, near Villejuif this: On the 25 April four national guards, being surrounded by a troop of mounted Chasseurs, who bid them to surrender and lay down their arms. Unable to resist, they obeyed and

5 were left unhurt by the chasseurs. Some time later then their Captain, a worthy officer of Galliffet's, arrives in full galop and shoots the prisoners down with his revolver, one after the other, and then trots off with his troop. Three of the guards were dead, one, named Scheffer, grievely wounded, survives, and is afterwards brought to the Hospital of Bicêtre. Thither the Com-

10 mune sent a commission to take up the evidence of the dying man which it published in its rapport. When one of the Paris members of the *Assemblée* interpellated the war minister upon that report, the *rurals* drowned the voice of the deputy and forbid the minister to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army—not to commit murder, but to speak of it.

15 The tranquillity of mind with which that Assembly bears with the horrors of civil war is told in one of Thiers' bulletins to his prefects: "L'assemblée siège paisiblement" (has the coeur leger like Ollivier) and the executive with its ticket of leave men shows by its gastronomical feats, given by Thiers and at the table of German princes, that their digestion

20 is not troubled even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

6) The Commune.

| The Commune had, after Sedan, been proclaimed by the workmen of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse. Gambetta did his best to destroy it. During the siege of Paris the ever recurrent workmen's commotions again

25 and again crushed on false pretences by Trochu's Bretons, those worthy substitutes of L. Bonaparte's Corsicans, were as many attempts to dislodge the government of impostors by the Commune. The Commune then silently elaborated, was the true secret of the Revolution of the 4th of September. Hence on the very dawn of the 18th March, after the rout of the Counter-

30 revolution, drowsy Europe started up from its dreams of the Prussian Empire under the Paris thunderbursts of *Vive la Commune!*

| What is the Commune, this sphinx so tantalizing to the Bourgeois mind?

| In its most simple conception the form under which the working class

35 assume the political power in their social strongholds, Paris and the other centres of industry. "The proletarians of the capital", said the Central Com-

mittee in its proclamation of the 20 March, "have, in the midst of the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, understood that for them the hour had struck to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs... They have understood that it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to take into their own hands their own destiny by seizing upon the political power" (state power). 5

[But the proletariat cannot, as the ruling classes and their different rival fractions have done in their successive hours of their triumph, simply lay hold on the existent statebody and wield this ready made agency for their own purpose. The first condition for the holding of political power, is to transform the traditional working machinery and destroy it as an instrument of class rule. That huge governmental machinery, entoiling like a boa constrictor the real social body in the ubiquitous meshes of a standing army, a hierarchical bureaucracy, an obedient police, clergy and a servile magistrature, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent middleclass society in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The first French Revolution, with its task to give full scope to the free development of modern middleclass society had to sweep away all the local, territorial, townish and provincial strongholds of feudalism, prepared the social soil for the superstructure of a centralized statepower, with omnipresent organs ramified after the plan of a systematic and hierachic division of labour.] 10 15 20

[8] But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready made state-machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation. 25

[The modern bourgeois state is embodied in two great organs, parliament and government. Parliamentary omnipotence had, during the period of the party of order republic, from 1848 to 1851, engendered its own negative—the Second Empire, and Imperialism, with its mere mockery of parliament, is the regime now flourishing in most of the great military states of the continent. At first view apparently the usurpatory dictatorship of the governmental body over society itself, rising alike above and humbling alike all classes, it has in fact, on the European continent at least, become the only possible state form in which the appropriating class can continue to sway it over the producing class. The assembly of the ghosts of all the defunct French parliaments which still haunts Versailles, wields no real force save to governmental machinery as shaped by the Second Empire.] 30 35

[The huge governmental parasite, entoiling the social body like a boa constrictor in the ubiquitous meshes of its bureaucracy, police, standing 40

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army, clergy and magistrature—dates its birth from the days of absolute monarchy. The centralized statepower had at that time to serve nascent middleclass society as a mighty weapon in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The French Revolution of the 18th century, with its task

5 to sweep away the medieval rubbish of seigniorial, local, townish, and provincial privileges, could not but simultaneously clear the social soil of the last obstacles hampering the full development of a centralized statepower, with omnipresent organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierachic division of labour. Such it burst into life under the first

10 Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semifeudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent parliamentary regimes of the Restauration, the July Monarchy, and the party of order Republic, the supreme management of that statemachinery with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf and patronage, became not only the

15 butt of contest between the rival fractions of the ruling class, but at the same degree that the economic progress of modern society swelled the ranks of the working class, accumulated its miseries, organized its resistance and developed its tendencies at emancipation, that, in one word, the struggle of classes, the struggle between labour and capital assumed shape and form,

20 the physiognomy and the character of the state power underwent a striking change. It had always been the power for the maintenance of order, i. e. the existing order of society, and, therefore, of the subordination and exploitation of the producing class by the appropriating class. But as long as this order was accepted as the uncontrovertible and uncontested necessity, the state power

25 could assume an aspect of impartiality. It kept up the existing subordination of the masses which was the unalterable order of things and a social fact undergone without contest on the part of the masses, exercised by their "natural superiors" without solicitude. With the entrance of society itself into a new phase, the phase of class struggle, the character of its organized

30 public force, the state power, could not but change also (but also undergo a marked change) and more and more develop its character as the instrument of classdespotism, the political engine for forcibly perpetuating the social enslavement of the producers of wealth by its appropriators, of the economic rule of capital over labour. After each new popular revolution,

35 resulting in the transfer of the direction of the statemachinery from one set of the ruling classes to another, the repressive character of the state power was more fully developed and more mercilessly used, because the promises made, and seemingly assured by the Revolution, could only be broken by the employment of force. Besides, the change worked by the

40 successive revolutions, sanctioned only politically the social fact, the growing power of capital, and, therefore, transferred the statepower itself