THE PARIS COMMUNE KARL MARX

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With introduction by

Frederick Engels

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By

KARL MARX

Introduction by

FREDERICK ENGELS

With Preface and Notes to the

American Edition by

LUCIEN SANIAL

1954

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INTRODUCTION

Deeming it just to both Marx and Engels that their work should be given in an unabridged form, the Socialist Labor Party presents in this volume the first complete edition of the essays by Marx and the Introduction by Engels published in the English language. The only liberty taken with the text is the addition of chapter titles to "The Civil War in France."

In the Appendix will be found (1) a translation of the anti-plebiscite manifesto, referred to on pages 23 and 24; (2) further details regarding "Bloody Week," consisting of a compilation of testimony from capitalist sources, with brief comments on the same by Lucien Sanial; (3) the reply of the Secretary of the General Council of the International when the manifestoes on the Franco-Prussian War and the Civil War in France were issued. These documents throw additional light on the events of 1870 and the tragedy of 1871.

The preface written for the American edition by Lucien Sanial, and which was removed when this work ceased to be published in a cloth-bound edition, has been restored in this edition. This has been done because that preface has taken on a renewed significance in view of the events of the last few years. Written at the height of his S.L.P. power, Lucien Sanial splendidly exposes and scornfully denounces the Kautskian betrayal of Marxism through his now infamous resolution introduced at the Paris Congress held in the year 1900 and opposed only by the Socialist Labor Party and fractions of a few European groups. This resolution aimed at destroying the Marxian principle that there cannot, under any conceivable circumstances, be collaboration between the capitalist

class and the working class. The resolution sought to reduce the vital question of Socialist participation in capitalist government to one of expediency, thus obviously sanctioning, in principle, such class collaboration, or, as it is now called, Social Patriotism or Social Fascism. To the disrupting and demoralizing action of Kautsky in Paris in 1900 may be traced most, if not all, the confusion, logrolling and eventually direct betrayal of the workers by the Social Democrats all over the world. For to these Social Democrats Kautsky became the major prophet, while Marx and Engels became mere names, signifying nothing. The crime that was fathered by Kautsky in 1900 reached its culmination in Bloody Vienna in 1934, with the intermediary stage of the Social Democratic sell-out in Germany from 1914 to the present time. During this period the German Social Democracy established a record of bloody treason against the working class, and of cowardly servitude in behalf of the capitalist class. The assassinations of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, and the ruthless slaughter of the rebellious workers by the Social Democrat Noske's myrmidons, marked the high lights of this record of Social Democratic treachery. The streams of blood spilled by the Noske-Ebert Social Democrats swelled into the river of blood that ran through the streets of Vienna in February 1934. And many of those who now rant against Kautsky and Social Democratic treason were then supporting the bloody and treasonable work of these allies of capitalism, while the lone voice of the Socialist Labor Party then, as now, rang out in clearest accents against the corruption of Marxism and the betrayal of the working class.

Marx's analysis of the Paris Commune is at once profound and spirited. The great historic event convinced him that "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." In the course of his analysis, he makes a number of profound observations which, if properly heeded, might have saved the working class movement since 1871 many disasters, and would certainly have hastened, per-

haps by a decade or more, the advent of the Socialist Industrial Republic. Outstanding among his profound observations is the following: "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time." Since both Marx and Engels repeatedly pointed to the Paris Commune, and its constitution, as the model of what was then conceived to be the possible and probable working out of the transition problems that would lie between the passing of capitalism and the complete triumph of the working class, it is of the most vital importance to note Marx's specific designation of the Commune as being a *working,* in contradistinction to a *parliamentary,* body. In this sentence Marx gave the death-blow to the Social Democratic theory of a gradual merging of the capitalist State with the new working class rule, as then conceived. What Marx clearly pointed out was that an entirely new governmental machine had to be evolved, one suited to the new social groundwork, in short, an administration of things, or an industrial administration. "The Communal constitution [was to] become a reality," said Marx, *"by the destruction of the state power* which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, *from which it was but a parasitic excrescence."*

The Paris Commune, more than any other event in the history of the working class movement, demonstrated beyond any theoretical doubt that without the necessary force the working class revolution could never succeed. The question as to what constitutes force must at all times be determined by the conditions prevailing at a given time, since the varying concepts of what constitutes force in a revolutionary sense necessarily reflect the particular degree of economic development and capitalist-political ripeness of the given country and period. In its earliest stages force was invariably conceived as purely military insurrections, barricade battles, and the like. In the later stage, to this concept was joined the force inherent in the strike. At a still later stage, from

this concept the insurrectionary feature was wholly discarded, and the force inherent in working class economic organization is brought to the fore. This particular concept has been brought to complete efflorescence in the Industrial Union principle formulated by Daniel De Leon and now embodied in the principle and program of the Socialist Labor Party. Without such industrial organization in a highly developed country such as the United States of America, there is no hope or possibility of working class success in its final struggle with the forces of capitalism. The victory of the working class in the United States, and similarly highly developed capitalist countries, is predicated upon the destruction of the Political State and the establishment of the Industrial Union Government wherein the central governmental agency is composed of representatives from the industrial divisions of the working class throughout the land. As Marx so succinctly put it, "Where its organizing activity begins, where its proper aim, its soul, emerges, there Socialism casts away the political hull."

The United States of America, more than any other capitalist nation on earth, offers the logical ground where this Marxian principle can be put into effect, and *must* be put into effect, if the revolution is to succeed. In this country, above all other countries, the mould of the nation, and the goal of Socialism alike, dictate the casting away of the political hull, and the rearing of the industrial administrative structure. And this is one of the most important lessons derived from the agony, the blood and the tears of the Paris Commune.

ARNOLD PETERSEN.

March 6, 1934.

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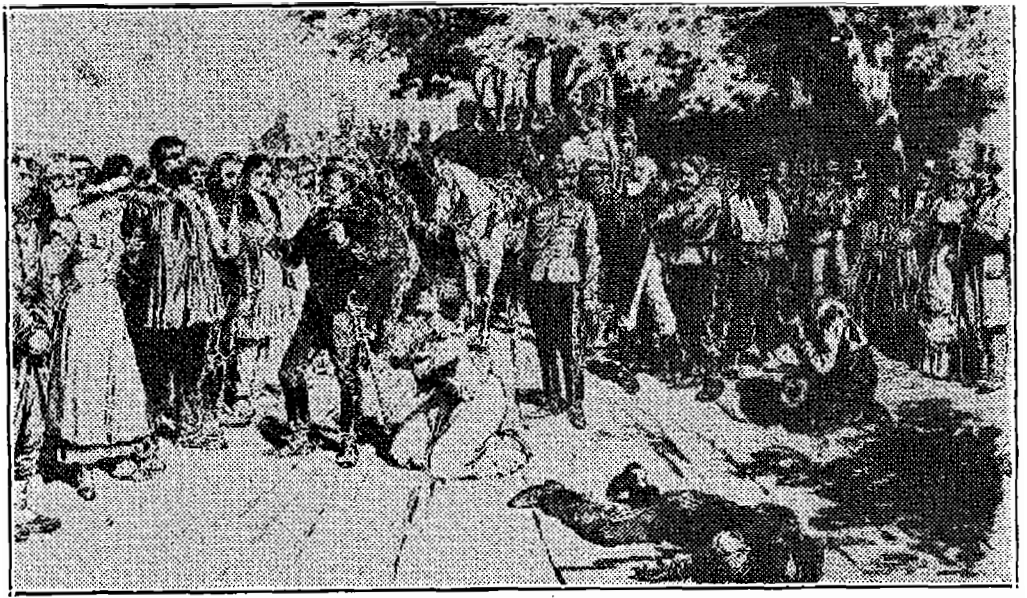
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"General Marquis de Gallifet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks....A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced....It was the execution of these summarily convicted wretches."

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

WERE it not for certain happenings of recent date in the international socialist movement, which give to the contents of this book an additional interest, there would be no occasion here for a lengthy preface. The three manifestoes of the International Workingmen's Association, issued from the pen of Karl Marx in 1870-71, and supplemented by an introduction which his life-long friend and co-laborer Frederick Engels wrote twenty years later, speak indeed for themselves. Insomuch as their perfect understanding by the present generation may require an ampler and truer knowledge of certain important events therein briefly mentioned than can be obtained from the "historic" works of capitalist mouthpieces, a footnote has been appended wherever an explanation or comment seemed most needful. But, realizing the insufficiency of annotations for the purpose in view, as well as their interference with the concentration of the reader's mind upon the text, the editor has sparingly resorted to this mode of information, preferring to refer the student to Lissagaray's admirable *History of the Commune* for a methodical and reliable presentation of nearly all the facts which it is essential to know in order to grasp, in their fulness and verity, the historic, philosophic, and economic generalizations

embodied by Marx in those stirring appeals to the class-consciousness and class-solidarity of the proletarian masses throughout the world.

This is, we believe, the first time that a complete edition of these imperishable documents, including also, unabridged and carefully translated, Frederick Engels' introduction, has been published in the English language. They are in themselves historic facts; and while it is the unquestionable right of any one to comment upon them, or to produce, in the course of an argument, literal extracts from them, provided always that the sense of the quoted text is not modified by the context, it belongs to nobody to alter them in any way, even if the declared object or tacit purpose of the alteration is to correct a "mistake," or to eliminate a "doubtful statement," or to supply a "deficiency."

We deem it here appropriate to insist upon the strict observance of this ethical rule in the treatment of historic papers, because in a French edition of these manifestoes which has lately appeared in Paris the "translator" has deliberately suppressed some important passages. For one of these suppressions he gives in an appendix the following reasons: "I have thought it my duty to expunge here a few lines from the English text. They contain imputations which then had currency, but several of which, concerning Jules Favre, Ernest and Arthur Picard, can no longer be justified. Another, against Jules Ferry, is the most inexact of all, but may be explained both by his violent 'moderantism' and his administrative incapacity as mayor of Paris." The "few" lines thus omitted are in our own edition the forty-nine in number, beginning on page 50 with these words, "Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, etc.," and ending on page 51 with this sentence,

"The day on which he [Ferry] would have to give an account of his maladministration would be the day of his conviction."

It falls under the sense that the only proper way for the scrupulous translator to act in this matter, was to give the full text of Marx's specific charges against the men involved, and to produce in a footnote, or in his appendix, the evidence (or at least the references thereto) upon which he declared that "several" of these charges were unfounded, thus at the same time leaving untouched and standing those that were "justified." As we write, we understand that the forgeries of Favre on the birth registers of a *mairie,* and the interested care which Ernest Picard took of his blackleg brother, are "facts" which have never been successfully controverted; while in the light of the stupendous jobbery which in later years, when Jules Ferry was prime minister, attended his policy of colonial expansion, we dare say that "the integrity of his incapacity" on any previous occasion would have to be strongly demonstrated before Karl Marx himself, if he were still alive, would permit his own words to be retracted for him by any translator.

Another omission — entirely unexplained and even passed over without so much as a dotted line to indicate it — is to be noticed in the following sentence (page 67), the words here in brackets being those that were suppressed: "Galliffet, [the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire,] boasted in a proclamation of having commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards," etc. Is not this true, every word of it? And if all of it is terrible truth, was it Galliffet or his wife that the translator generously considered in suppressing that part of it? Surely the licentious marchioness

neither deserved nor desired so much consideration; while her cruel husband showed little pity of any sort to the communards' honest wives, whom he shot after insulting them. Both were equally brazen-faced in their respective fields. Should it be claimed that the translator's intention was not to render Galliffet less odious to himself or to others than he should be, since the references to his cold-blooded murders were not suppressed, it might be observed that he, Galliffet, far from deeming himself odious for his diabolical brutalities, ever took pride in them; esteemed them, indeed, military achievements of the highest order. And he lived in a world that took the same view of such matters, in which, therefore, he was not a monster but a hero, and the opinion of which was for him the only opinion. But to be "the kept man of a shameless wife"! Fie, even for a general of the Second Empire.

We don't know that much light may be cast upon the mental operations of the French translator in question by stating that he is none else than Charles Longuet,[1] ex-member of the Paris Commune and Karl Marx's son-in-law, now a Millerandist, that is, a convert to the "new method" of "socialist union," even with such as Galliffet. *Autres temps, autres mœurs.* At any rate, his sins of omission are mere peccadilloes by the side of his sins of commission; which we must also notice here, simply because they typify the "tactics" lately adopted by a motley crowd of so-called "intellectual socialists," and consisting sometimes, as in the present case, in ludicrous attempts to stand Marx upon his head and in that posture make him see as they do.

On the title page of Longuet's French edition is given

[1] *La Commune de Paris.* Karl Marx. Traduction, préface et notes de Charles Longuet, Paris, 1901.

as epigraph the following quotation from the manifesto on the Paris Commune:

"The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its economic agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men."

Upon this text Longuet, commenting in his preface and appendix, actually "transforms Karl Marx into a precursor of Millerand"; a feat, however, which he regrets that the Ministerialist majority of the Paris International Congress (held in 1900), by failing to avail itself of this quotation, did not give Jules Guesde an opportunity to perform. In his own words, "Marx combated by Guesde—that would, indeed, have been piquant!"

Of course, according to Longuet, had Marx lived long enough to attend that memorable congress, he would have, then and there, voted for the Kautsky resolution. He—who knew so well the irrepressible, merciless character of the class struggle, and to whom, therefore, any scheme of compromission with any fraction, or faction, of the bourgeoisie, at any time, anywhere, or for any purpose, was abhorrent as a crime against the proletariat—would have sanctioned, by his weighty approval, this great Act of Cowardice, unprecedented in the annals of international socialism! How could he have done otherwise? Would not Longuet have told him, as he now tells us, that the Kautsky resolution "corroborates Marx's view [as expressed in the above quotation], which is as true to-day as it was in 1871, notwithstand-

ing the advance made since then by the economic forces of society and the transforming idea?"

Perchance, however, Marx might have indignantly repudiated such "corroboration" of his views. He might have said, in substance: "Go to, scheming logomachists! Away with your Kautsky resolution! Even that—bad as it is and contemptible economically and politically—can be no cloak at all for your treachery to the proletariat. For, while it displays extraordinary cowardice in not reprobating unconditionally and forbidding instantly, in the name of international solidarity, your ministerial "tactics" and so-called "new method," it at least disapproves of them in language sufficiently suggestive, despite its incongruities, to cause their immediate abandonment by any one of you that may still honestly claim to be a socialist; that is, by every man who, temporarily waylaid in your ministerialist ranks, is of other sort than the bourgeois politician, unscrupulous *arriviste*, speculating in socialism."

For analytical purposes this document may be divided into three parts, which we shall briefly consider here seriatim, omitting criticisms which, ever so important in themselves, are relatively of a second order.

The first part (literally translated, like the others, from the French text) reads as follows:

"In a modern democratic State, the conquest of the political power by the proletariat cannot be the result of a *coup-de-main*, but of a long and painful work of proletarian organization in the economic and the political fields, of the physical and moral regeneration of the laboring class, and of the gradual conquest of the municipalities and legislative assemblies.

"But, in those countries where the governmental power is centralized, it cannot be conquered fragmentarily."

It is upon the opening paragraph of this first part that the French Ministerialists, through their mouthpiece Longuet, rest their claim of "corroboration." It is, indeed, as we shall see, the only passage in the whole resolution that may be said to bear a certain relation to Marx's words quoted by Longuet. But, to use a favorite expression of Marx, it is the relation of a "parody" to the original play.

Supposing it was Kautsky's intention to thus "corroborate" his great master in economics, the latter might have turned from Longuet to him and asked: "Where did you see in any of my writings that I made the conquest of the political power by the proletariat—in other words, the Social Revolution—dependent upon 'the physical and moral regeneration' of the workers? Is not the proletariat to-day strong enough, physically, to drive from power the degenerates who exploit it? Is it not, indeed, by its own strong arms that all the battles of those degenerates are fought, even against its own flesh and blood? What proportion of the total amount of human muscle and endurance, wasted in war or spent in industry, comes from the other classes? Again, is not the proletariat moral enough for all the immediate purposes of the Social Revolution, through which alone it can enter an era of higher morality and physical improvement? As a body is it not, in fact, the most moral of the classes into which the exploitation of the industrious by the idle—fundamental immorality, source of nearly all forms of private and public degradation—has divided the human race? Look at the proletarians of '71, or at those of '48, or at any of those who, in various countries and at different times before and since, suffered martyrdom in the cause of social justice; did they fail because they were physical wrecks and moral deformities?"

To these questions the answer is obvious. Manifestly, it is neither physical strength nor moral sense that is now wanting in the proletariat. And precisely because the natural tendency of capitalism is to stunt and demoralize a constantly growing number of wage-workers; precisely because, with its development, a condition must ultimately prevail that will be the very reverse of that improvement which in the Kautsky *savante consultation* is absurdly considered as a not only possible but essential preliminary to the Social Revolution; it becomes more and more imperative to hasten the day when the proletariat can victoriously and securely proclaim itself forever the absolute master of its own destinies.

How to accomplish this is the very problem which Marx has solved. He solved it theoretically by his masterly analysis of the class struggle, and practically by the synthesis of it which he carried out as far as he could with the undeveloped elements then within his reach. In the Workingmen's International Association, which he founded; in its principles, which he formulated; in its work, which he superintended; and in its ultimate result, which is the class-conscious, uncompromising and only *bona fide* socialism of the present day, we have that synthesis so far as the revolutionary process has now gone, but with all the elements required for its completion, together with the plainest rules for the increase of their power and the elimination of retarding factors.

Those elements, already powerful, but as yet insufficiently so to bring about the Social Revolution,[1] are:

[1] By this expression, the Social Revolution, is here meant not a mere insurrection, ever so widespread or temporarily successful, yet liable to be drowned in blood and followed by a new lease of life for the old social order, but the abolition of the present economic system with its consequent political class rule, and the substitution therefor of the Socialist Commonwealth, leaving aside all consideration, purely speculative at the present time, of the circumstances under which the change may take place.

(1) a clear and widespread knowledge, among the proletarian masses, of the great historic facts and fundamental economic truths upon which socialism is established; (2) a consequent class-consciousness and class-solidarity, all pervading, ever wakeful, highly sensitive to every act of oppression committed by capitalists or their political agents, and manifesting itself by extensive organization in the economic[1] and the political fields; it being understood that the two branches of this proletarian organization, without intrenching on each other's field, shall be closely allied, strictly conducted on parallel class lines, and strongly self-disciplined.

Aye, these are the elements upon the development of which, at a constantly increasing rate, depends the hastening of the day when the Social Revolution shall be not only achievable but achieved. In the course of their progress they must reach a point where they will make short work of retarding factors, such, for instance, as may produce Millerandisms and Kautsky resolutions; a

[1] It may seem quite superfluous to observe that that part of the proletarian organization which is here termed "economic," and which has heretofore been generally limited, in its use by the workers of English-speaking nationalities, to the single purpose of mutual protection in their daily conflicts with employers, should not be confounded with the great economic organization which it is the object of the social-revolutionary movement to substitute for capitalism. Yet this confusion is sometimes resorted to by logomachists of the anarchistic and "pure-and-simple" trade unionist schools, who oppose independent proletarian action in the political field. By vigorous amputation and gross misrepresentation of Karl Marx's words (in the Declaration of Principles of the International) concerning the necessary "subordination" of the "political" movement to its great end, the "economic" emancipation of the working class, they argue that the political movement is of secondary importance, that it is even demoralizing, and that the "economic movement"—by which they mean trade unionism pure and simple—not only is sufficient to bring about the emancipation of the proletariat, but can alone accomplish it. At the same time they are found in America supporting the corrupt and corrupting bourgeois parties, with all the zeal which their hatred of socialism and schemes of personal advantage can inspire, while in France they similarly make common cause with the Millerandists against the *Parti Ouvrier Français*.

point where the proletariat will remain deaf to the frantic appeals and deceitful promises of the small labor exploiters who now compose the moribund middle-class; a point, in short, where its accumulated experience will have crystallized into a logical, inexorable rule of conduct.

In the meantime the class-conscious fraction of the proletariat, ever growing in numbers and knowledge, will, indeed, "conquer municipalities." It will also increase its representation in those legislative assemblies that are directly elected by the people, without as yet "conquering" them, however, since the "conquest" of such bodies implies that a majority of the people are ready for the Social Revolution, imperatively demand it, and would therefore proclaim it themselves if their representatives proved so recreant to their plain duty as to delay action.

But in what spirit and for what purpose will those municipalities be conquered and those legislative seats be carried? In a "Christian-Socialist" spirit? To slowly, "painfully," one step at a time, accomplish the "physical and moral regeneration of the working class"? And with this far-away end in view—thoroughly utopian, after all, as we have previously seen—to lengthen the agony of the proletariat by compromises with the small middle class, calculated to retard the progress of capitalist concentration? May we here ask also, by the way, where is that "modern democratic State" in which the municipalities are not subject to the higher legislative and executive powers that are now and will remain till Revolution Day controlled by the capitalist class; or in which the legislative branch directly elected by the people cannot be checked at every step by a senate or suchlike contrivance for the perpetuation of class rule?

No, no! But in the social-revolutionary spirit of undying opposition and fearless defiance. To take strategic positions in view of the final battle, and from there ceaselessly bombard the citadel of oppression; to thus and otherwise, by constant agitation from every point of vantage that may be gained, educate the proletarian masses, enlighten their blind discontent and transform it into a clear-minded resolve; to so organize them that every conflict in which they may be engaged, every victory they may win, and every reverse they may suffer, shall alike serve as object lessons to intensify their class-consciousness and class-solidarity; to do, in short, all that can be done along the straight line of the class struggle and do it quickly, then challenge the enemy to undo it; such is the great work, and the sole mission, of a social-revolutionary party.

We now come to the second part of the Kautsky resolution. It reads as follows:

"The entrance of an isolated socialist in a bourgeois government cannot be considered as the normal beginning of the conquest of the political power, but only as a necessary expedient (*expédient forcé*), transitory and exceptional.

"Whether, in a particular case, the political situation necessitates this dangerous experiment, is a question of tactics and not of principle; *the International Congress has not to pronounce itself upon that point;* but, in any case, the entrance of a socialist in a bourgeois government affords no hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless the Socialist Party, in its great majority, approves of such an act, and the socialist minister remains the mandatary of his party.

"In the contrary case, of this minister becoming independent of this party, or representing only a portion of it, his intervention in a bourgeois government threatens the militant proletariat with disorganization and

confusion; it threatens to weaken instead of fortifying it, and to hinder instead of promoting the conquest of the public powers."

It is in that second part, and especially in the second paragraph of it, that lies the "Act of Cowardice."

There was before the International Congress an issue of fundamental importance, involving as it did the attitude of the militant proletariat towards the bourgeoisie throughout the world. It was a burning issue. Upon its immediate and definite settlement depended the harmonious working, nationally and internationally, of the socialist forces. The concrete form which it had already assumed in France was at that very moment "threatening disorganization and confusion" in the great movement of that country, while in other parts certain tendencies, ominous of similar evils, were boldly emerging from a long dormant state. Yet, precisely because of its obvious magnitude, of its far-reaching import, of its extreme urgency, and of the concrete forcefulness with which it presented itself in France, the Congress took fright, and, instead of facing it squarely, ran away from it, circuitously, by the Kautsky diplomatic back-door.

Can a militant socialist accept office from a bourgeois government? Such was the plain question. A plain *Yes* or *No* was the direct answer, the only answer, which it called for.

But the reply of the Congress was neither of those two briefest yet plainest of words. By an artifice of language which a Metternich would not have disavowed, this simplest of questions was turned into a complex problem, a tangle, in fact an impossibility. Observe the process.

First of all, its general importance is dwarfed by localizing it. To be sure, we are told that "the entrance of an isolated socialist in a bourgeois government"

can never and nowhere "be considered as the beginning of the conquest of the political power," but we are told also that in countries where such an event occurs it may be considered as an *expédient forcé,* of a temporary and exceptional character, like the circumstances which may necessitate it.

The back-door is now wide open. Circumstances are not the same at all times and in all countries. Manifestly, then, "whether in a *particular* case the political situation necessitates this *dangerous* experiment, is a question of (particular, local) tactics, and not of (general, universal) principle." And thereupon the Congress declares itself incompetent, impotent. *Non possumus.* The question is dodged. The act of cowardice is consummated.

But the question will not down. It still faces the Congress, reproachfully:—"What are you here for, with all your past declarations of international solidarity? You have settled nothing. You have, in fact, done terribly worse than nothing; you have actually laid the foundation of universal strife between the clear-minded, class-conscious, bona fide socialists, and the honest but unwary fraction of the proletariat, which ambitious *arrivistes* may now, to their heart's content, delude with false promises of improvement at the hands of bourgeois governments." Whereupon the Congress—that same Congress which the previous instant declined to legislate on a fundamental question of so-called "tactics," even though it involved a still more fundamental question of principle—undertakes to redeem itself by providing tactical checks and other tactical rules to be observed in the hazardous operation of making a "socialist" into a bourgeois minister.

As it always happens in cases of flagrant inconsistency, the Congress succeeded only in adding to the pile of its

previous blunders. True, it subjected the "dangerous experiment" (or *expédient forcé*) to conditions that apparently made it incumbent upon the "socialist" minister Millerand to instantly resign his portfolio if he had any respect for that international body, and upon his "socialist" supporters to immediately repudiate him if he failed to do so. But, in that circuitous phraseology which consists in substituting the conditional for the positive form of speech, it actually held out the hope that some "good" might result from such an experiment if "the Socialist Party, in its great majority, approved of it."[1]

Of course, the Ministerialists were not slow in availing themselves of this declaration. They boldly claimed that they were "the great majority" of the Socialist Party of France; and in order to make their claim good before the world they immediately set to the task of "wiping the earth" with their mighty opponent, the *Parti Ouvrier Français*. This was for them a second *expédient forcé*, and, like the previous one, it was a "dangerous experiment." They did their best, however, and failed miserably.

The third and last part of the document under consideration is an addition made to the original Kautsky motion by the eminent Russian delegate Plechanoff, who was otherwise opposed to that motion. It is as follows:

"At any rate, the Congress is of opinion, that, even in those extreme cases, the socialist minister must resign

[1] Upon this point, the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, speaking in the Ninth Commission of the Congress (where the Kautsky resolution was first considered), observed: "It was with intense disgust that the militant socialists of America heard of Millerand's spontaneous acceptance of a portfolio in the Waldeck-Galliffet bourgeois combination; but it would have been with an inexpressible sentiment of horror that they would have heard of such an act having been committed by order of the organized socialists of France."

his office in the cabinet when the party organization recognizes that the latter gives evident proofs of partiality between labor and capital."

This addition was obviously intended by its author as a summons served by International Socialism upon Millerand to withdraw from the bourgeois cabinet of France, in view of its infamous conduct towards the proletariat, as illustrated by the then recent massacres of unarmed strikers at Martinique and Chalon. But (probably because it was written in great haste) it was manifestly deficient, in that it left absolutely intact the spirit as well as the letter of the original motion, and unfortunately defective in that its last words, "partiality between capital and labor," are highly objectionable from the scientific standpoint of socialism. There can be no more partiality or impartiality between capital and labor —that is, to be absolutely correct, between the capitalist class and the laboring class—than between the robber and the robbed.

In conclusion of this criticism of the Kautsky resolution, which has been here forced upon us by Longuet's preface to Marx's international manifesto on the Paris Commune, we may now briefly consider that resolution in its relation to another act of the Paris Congress.

We have already noted the inconsistency of that body in declaring itself incompetent to decide upon a fundamental question of so-called tactics and in the same breath providing rules for the prosecution of such tactics. But this was by no means its only or most flagrant act of self-contradiction. On its first working day, its very first act was to decree the formation of an International Bureau, by unanimously and enthusiastically adopting a resolution from which we quote the following preamble and article 4:

"Whereas, it is incumbent upon the International Socialist Congresses, destined as they are to become the parliament of the proletarian class, to adopt resolutions for the guidance of that class in its struggle for emancipation; and whereas these resolutions constitute an international agreement, which must be carried out; the Congress decides . . . . Art. 4.—The International Socialist Committee[1] shall exact [*sic*, in the French text, *exigera*] from the national socialist parliamentary groups, that they organize an International Socialist Commission, composed of such of their own members as they may select, for the purpose of facilitating the common action of socialist representatives in the various parliaments on all the great political and international questions. This commission shall be adjoined to the International Socialist Committee."

Here, then, was a Congress asserting itself as the world's labor parliament, whose powers were such, in its own declared opinion, that it could not only institute an executive to carry out its decisions and those of its predecessors, but order the socialist representatives elected to the parliaments of various countries to come together under the supervision of that executive and in coöperation with it determine the policy—the tactics—which all must adopt concerning matters that may in any way affect the laboring class. Yet, two days later, this same Congress, by adopting the Kautsky resolution, declared itself impotent to take action upon a matter that was causing a deeper agitation in the world's proletariat than had been produced by any other event since the Paris Commune.

Let us, indeed, thank Longuet for his suggestive audacity; by all means let us compare Marx's manifesto on the fall of the Commune with the Kautsky resolution.

[1] A permanent representative body, created by Art. 1, Sec. 2, of this resolution, and composed of two delegates from each nationality.

Each of these two documents is the characteristic product of a distinct epoch in the history of socialism, and in the spirit which they respectively display, as in the circumstances attending their respective appearance, they present a contrast that has no parallel in the socialist movement.

It was at the end of 1864 that the Workingmen's International Association, projected by Marx in 1862, was finally constituted. At that time Louis Bonaparte, ever so distrusted by every government on the face of the earth, was still kindly looked upon and gratefully remembered by the mercantile classes of Europe as the "Society-Savior" who, in strangling the French Republic, had most contributed to the reëstablishment of "order" on the Continent, and apparently brought to an end the irrepressible conflict between the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat of France. The events of 1848 had indeed made it quite plain that a revolution in France was apt to be quickly followed in other countries by similar upheavals, far more injurious to capitalist interests than any foreign war could be. Therefore, while the foreign schemes of Louis Bonaparte were watched in diplomatic circles and preparations were made to defeat them by the force of arms if necessary, his domestic rule was deemed everywhere by labor exploiters a general guarantee of "economic peace" between the classes. In the thirteen years that his exemplary despotism had already lasted, not a ripple of proletarian discontent had been permitted to ruffle the smooth surface of "business"; and while socialism had passed into Germany, where Marx's writings and Lassalle's agitation had begun its transformation from a sentimental utopia into a scientific certainty, its very name, practically expunged from the French language by the Bonapartist police, had become an almost foreign word in the land of its birth.

Manifestly, Louis Bonaparte was the chief obstacle to the revival of that proletarian movement which had already made itself felt as a powerful factor in the various uprisings of 1848. True, as above stated, socialism in its perfected form was effecting a lodgment in Germany. But Germany was still a conglomeration of States widely differing in economic and political conditions. The partial awakening, here and there, of some local bodies among the many that composed her working class could not yet be of such general import and widespread influence as must have attached to an equal display of vigor by the more compact proletariat of France; and so long as this recognized leader in the social-revolutionary process lay seemingly unconscious and helpless under the yoke of a vulgar despot, the German socialists, hampered at every step in their agitation by the repressive measures of their own petty tyrants, could only prepare their own ground and await developments.

Necessarily, then, the first aim of the International Association must have been to gain a strong foothold in France, with a special view to the abolition of the Bonapartist régime. Marx realized that among the French militants that could be enlisted for this arduous task, there were but few, if any, whose economic knowledge was sound and safe. He was aware of the fact that most of them were incoherently imbued with Proudhonist notions of "gratuitous credit," "*banques du peuple*," and other middle-class reform quackery, which they innocently believed, upon the word of Proudhon himself, to be the essence of scientific and practical socialism. But he knew also that the class spirit, fomented from time immemorial by class persecution, and intensified by the stupendous acts of bourgeois treachery repeatedly committed from 1789 to 1848, was highly developed in the

French proletariat. In this he rightly saw the basic element of proletarian organization. Straight into that organization, more and more class-conscious, the newly discovered economic truth would naturally, irresistibly, force its way, driving out of it the fogs of sophistry.[1]

The class struggle, to be sure, is not a principle, it is a fact; but in the clear perception of it at all times and under all circumstances, lies the fundamental requirement of correct tactics. Once the class struggle is fully seen in the broad light of history, once its inexorable and irrepressible character is fully comprehended, class compromise logically becomes an obvious impossibility, which it were utopian or criminal according to motive, and inevitably most harmful, to attempt or to commend as a proletarian policy. There can be no end to the class struggle, and no relief from its horrors, until the battle shall have been fought out to a finish; that is, until the working class, the only class fit to survive, the only class, in fact, that cannot die, shall have won it.

In that spirit and upon those lines the International gained in France the required foothold. We know the sequel. "Economic peace between the classes" came at last to an end. It was the only title of Louis Bonaparte to the fidelity of the bourgeoisie. For its sake this class had resigned in his hand the political power; it had repudiated or silenced its own political mouthpieces; its Orleanist and republican factions had jointly disowned in his favor their respective political idols; it had tamely submitted to the reckless extravagance of his corrupt court; it had patiently borne the steadily increasing burden of taxation, for which its scandalous enrichment

[1] With such a spirit, economic education of the right sort is not only possible, but fruitful. Without it — as in the case of the Longuets and the Bernsteins — the best education is of little avail; to those who, aware of the right, profess the wrong, knowledge is an intolerable burden.

could not be deemed a compensation, since the sources from which it was derived, even when they consisted in public franchises, were its "legitimate" property and could not be fructified but through its "enterprise, industry, abstinence"; it had countenanced foreign policies, dangerous ventures, costly expeditions, which it could not approve; it had, in short, sacrificed itself on the altar of patriotism. All to no purpose, as it now seemed. What would that decayed old bunco man ever be good for, anyhow? And while the proletariat attacks the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie attacks the Bonaparte, who vainly does his best to defend it. The Second Empire becomes a pandemonium; war to Germany is declared; ignominiously falls the imperial mountebank.

Then does the class battle reach its climax. The bourgeoisie rushes on to seize the power. The armed proletariat bars the way. The Commune is proclaimed.

The Commune is conquered; the Commune is murdered. Is its spirit dead? Read the manifesto.

The class war has only begun. Between the classes the chasm now is as wide and as deep as the infinite. Jump into it, ye compromisers!

Bleeding and prostrated, the French proletariat must be given time to recover its breath. It is the turn of Germany to struggle; Germany, no longer a dust of petty States, but a great nation, imperialized and united right in the face of that cowardly bourgeoisie that paid Bismarck five round milliards of labor-created wealth for the right to slaughter its own wage-slaves. Back to Berlin went Wilhelm the Great. He had seen the Commune expire; he found her ghost sitting on his imperial throne.

For nineteen years the merciless conflict raged night

and day, extending gradually to all parts of the Empire, until the giant Bismarck himself fell by the wayside, a sore giant indeed, unhorsed by Socialism and kicked by his little master. And on that day of famous victory, up again went the old cry of the dying Commune, the old cry of Marx, the old cry of all socialist veterans, a mighty cry now, hurled at the stupefied enemy by fourteen hundred thousand German proletaires, "No Compromise!"

Nor had all been still in the proletarian world outside of Germany. As early as 1878, the now great *Parti Ouvrier Français* had been founded by Jules Guesde, with a programme approved by Marx. The Labor Party of Belgium had followed in 1884. Successively the other European countries had fallen into line, and in 1889 the Socialist Labor Party of the United States had reconstituted itself on its present platform and tactical lines. To this general movement the German victory gave a tremendous impetus, the birth of a new International far more powerful than the first, appeared certain, and everywhere ceaselessly the fight went on, in the same spirit, under the same banner, bearing the same motto, "No Compromise!"

Moreover, economic developments in the Old World and the New, political affairs domestic and foreign—everything was apparently shaping itself for a decisive encounter. How, when and where it would begin, no one as yet presumed to tell. Nor did any one desire to precipitate it: the socialists, because every day brought them new strength; the capitalists, because in three countries at least they trembled in their stolen boots. But every one felt that some unexpected incident might bring it about. In France especially, the bourgeoisie was utterly demoralized; "incapable," according to Jaurès

himself, "of action or reaction"; so that in this particular country even more than in any other, the "No Compromise" fundamental rule of socialist tactics seemed to have the force of a self-evident proposition.

Then came Millerand, with his portfolio and his *bureaux de tabac.*

His self-appointed mission was to save the bourgeois republic in the name of Socialism, with the sword of Galliffet.

To be sure, in the domain of the unexpected nothing could be more startling.

A commonplace incident (the "Dreyfus affair"), an act of violent injustice committed by military members of the oppressing class upon one of their fellows, had been so worked up by "socialists," so-called, of the eleventh hour, as to totally eclipse the multitude of acts not less infamous committed by the same class upon the proletariat. And the result was—not, of course, the Social Revolution, not the relaxing, for one moment, of class injustice and class oppression, not even the rehabilitation of Dreyfus and the punishment of his torturers, but the entrance of a "socialist," hand in hand with the murderer Galliffet, in the bourgeois government, quickly followed by the participation of that "socialist minister" in the massacres of strikers at Martinique and Châlon.

Did a cry of indignation arise, unanimous, from every "socialist" quarter throughout the world? No; a cry of horror arose, deep and significant, but it was not "unanimous."

Why? What had happened to thus suddenly "transform circumstances and men"? And was this, indeed, the kind of transformation expected by Marx?

The answer to these questions is simple enough. A man is not "transformed" by merely changing his name.

Circumstances even, will not "transform" him, if they are such only that, by deceitfully professing a change of views and sentiments, he can best subserve his selfish interest. No sooner had socialism given ample evidence of its enormous power of expansion, than it became a most attractive field of exploitation to intellectual schemers and profit-seekers. In the wake of those undesirable accessions came others still more dangerous and in greater number; men belonging, body and soul, to the doomed middle class, ignorantly seeking relief from the pressure of capitalist concentration in "reforms" of a so-called "socialist kind," and "therefore" calling themselves "socialists." From that moment the apparent growth of the socialist movement was abnormal, and its real spirit was correspondingly impaired. "It lost in depth what it gained in surface." Or, to tell the full truth, a detached body of the bourgeoisie, finding the proletarian citadel closed to compromission, had treacherously stolen into it in socialist garb and under the socialist banner.

It may well be conceived that many of the veterans viewed with intense disgust this turn of affairs. But, even in Germany, where Bernstein's recent somersault from Marxism into Middle-classism had raised their indignation to a very high pitch, courage was obviously wanting to take vigorous action against the unsound fraction of the party. Marx was dead; Engels was dead; Liebknecht was dying. The vague formulas, "Socialist Unity," "Freedom of Opinion," etc., which the logomachists of the "new method" used with apparent magical effect upon the unwary rank and file, seemed to paralyze the surviving leaders of the Marxian epoch. Most of these could not contemplate with equanimity the possible decrease of the "socialist vote" that might result from

a split of the "socialist forces." Moreover, it must be admitted that some of them—as was glaringly shown by Auer's speech at the Paris International Congress—had very actually been "transformed"—backward—by the Millerand circumstance. In Belgium—as shown not less plainly by the speeches of Anseele and Furnémont—the same kind of "transformation" had taken place to a still greater extent. Visions of portfolios presented to socialists on a golden salver, bearing the inscription, *Expédient Forcé,* would by no means be idle dreams in that country, where an alliance with the "Liberal" bourgeoisie, if contracted for the "temporary" purpose of substituting equal suffrage for the present plural system, might be indefinitely continued for other objects, not less "necessary," and rendered every day more imperative by other circumstances, not less "exceptional"—as had already long been the case in France with the Waldeck-Millerand combination when the Congress met.

It falls under the sense that everywhere the wage-working, bona fide socialists were sorely perplexed. Unquestionably, the participation of a socialist in a bourgeois government was equally repugnant to their feelings and to their reason. But they were advised to keep cool, to be patient. This was only a French tempest that would soon blow over; a family quarrel that would terminate in a wonderful love-feast. From a German standpoint, for instance, Millerand might have acted too impulsively; but the matter was pressing, and while the divided organization of the French party afforded him no means of getting in time its collective permission "to save the republic," no doubt could be entertained that a vast majority of it sustained him. The Guesdists were right enough in "principle," but too stalwart in "tactics" on this "exceptional" occasion. "They should not di-

vide the party by opposing him." He was an honest man, an able man also; and since he was "there" he should be given a chance to carry out "his" good intentions, to develop "his" plans, and to show to the world what a socialist minister could do, even when hampered by bourgeois colleagues.—And the international proletariat kept very cool, very patient, hoping that its delegates to the Paris Congress might succeed in restoring harmony "in France," but in the meantime growing very watchful, and very thoughtful also, concerning harmony in other countries.

It is safe to say that the Kautsky resolution did not meet with its unanimous and unqualified approval; that the withdrawal of the *Parti Ouvrier Français* from the ministerially packed congress of the French organizations held immediately after the International body had adjourned, did not greatly surprise it; that the further withdrawal of the Blanquists and the Communists, besides important trade federations, from the similarly packed Lyons "Congress of Unity" a few months later, was viewed with satisfaction by a large portion of it; and that the news of the final union of the Social-Revolutionary forces of France against the Ministerialists and all such bourgeois gentry, was greeted with intense delight by all true socialists, whose rallying cry is, and must remain till the glad evening of Revolution Day, "No Compromise!"

If there are still any abroad who, mistakenly calling this only possible union a "split," fear its results, we can only deplore their intellectual blindness, despite which, however, they must soon perforce have to know better. Of Millerand's acts and "participation" we cannot undertake here to write the history. Nor is it needful that we should do so. With the exception of the secret use

he made of his immense patronage—extending directly over the Post Office, the Customs, the national monopoly of tobacco manufacture and retailing, and indirectly (as a "participant") over all the public services—his performances are known to the world. And we dare say that no bourgeois minister can show a blacker record of duplicity, pretense, cunning and heartlessness in his treatment of the wage-working class. As it was on the shoulders of the proletariat that he climbed to power, it is well, perhaps, that he proved himself the worst deceiver that could, by any possibility, have "accepted" or assumed to represent it in a bourgeois government. For it was a valuable experience, which Marx had certainly not in his prophetic mind when he wrote the "Longuet epigraph," but which it now appears that the present generation of workingmen had still to pass through, notwithstanding the terrible lessons transmitted to it by its predecessor of thirty years ago.

It also goes without saying that the *Non Possumus* of the Paris Congress struck its International Bureau with impotency. The Second International is not a mere aspiration; it is an absolute necessity, more strongly imposed every day by the economic, social and political developments. It must and shall be organized; and it will then be a mighty power. But, first of all, the union of the social-revolutionary forces must be accomplished in all the leading countries, as it has been in France and in the United States.

In conclusion, it is in the light of all the facts above stated or referred to, that the International's Manifesto on the Paris Commune and the Paris Congress's Kautsky resolution must be read and compared. In that light is best seen what they truly are: one an act of sublime fortitude and unconquerable determination on the day

of greatest darkness; the other an act of unpardonable cowardice, an abandonment of the highest position on the battlefield to a demoralized and disordered enemy at the turning-point of the conflict.

LUCIEN SANIAL.

NEW YORK, February, 1902.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GERMAN EDITION

THE invitation to prepare another edition of the address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association concerning the Civil War in France, and to preface it with an introduction, came to me quite unexpectedly. I can only, therefore, take up the most essential points and touch upon them very briefly.

I prefix the two shorter addresses of the General Council to the longer pamphlet on the Franco-Prussian War. Firstly, because in the pamphlet on the Civil War reference is made to the second address, which itself would not be intelligible without the first. Secondly, because these two addresses, which are also the work of Marx, are, not less than the *Civil War,* excellent specimens of that marvelous gift of the author, first exhibited in the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* of apprehending clearly the character, the import, and the inevitable consequences of great historical events, at the very time when these events are still unfolding themselves, or have only just taken place. And lastly because, as I write, the German people are still suffering from the evils consequent upon the events here considered, as clearly foreseen and foretold by Marx.

Has it not, indeed, come to a fulfilment, as predicted in the first address, that should Germany's war of defense against Louis Bonaparte degenerate into a war of con-

quest against the French nation, all the calamities that befell the German people after the so-called wars of liberation[1] would revisit them "with accumulated intensity"? Have we not had twenty years more of Bismarckian rule, and in place of the former persecution of the "demagogues" have we not had the "exceptional law"[2] and the hounding of socialists, with the same police tyranny and the same revolting interpretation of legal texts?

And has it not come literally true, that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would "drive France into the arms of Russia," and that after this annexation Germany would either become the acknowledged vassal of Russia, or would have, after a short respite, to arm herself for a new war? And what a war? A "race war of the Germans against the coalesced Slavs and Latins"! Is it not a fact, that the annexation of the French provinces has driven France into the arms of Russia? Has not Bismarck for twenty years courted in vain the favor of the Czar, and lowered himself before him with even meaner servility than little Prussia, before she became the "first great power of Europe," had been accustomed to display at the feet of "Holy Russia"? And does not the "Damocles sword" overhang us of a war, on the first day of which all written treaties will be blown unto the wind like chaff; of a war as to which nothing is certain but the absolute uncertainty of its issue; of a race war which will expose all Europe to the devastation of fifteen or twenty millions of armed men, and which only hangs fire

[1] 1813-15, against Napoleon.—*Note to the American Edition.*

[2] This law was passed by the German Reichstag in 1878 with the object of suppressing socialist agitation, confiscating the socialist press and literature, etc. Owing to the courage and determination of the socialists, this "law of exception" proved a boomerang, and after twelve years of fierce conflict between the socialist workingmen and the capitalist government, the latter allowed the law to die by limitation.—*Note to the American Edition.*

at present for the reason that even the strongest of the great military states shrinks before the absolute uncertainty of the final result?

All the more, therefore, is it our duty to render accessible to the German workingmen these brilliant but half-forgotten documents, which attest to the far-sightedness of the International's proletarian policy in connection with the events of 1870.

What applies to these two addresses, applies also to the one entitled *The Civil War in France*. On the 28th of May, the last of the combatants of the Commune were crushed by superior numbers on the heights of Belleville, and not more than two days passed, before Marx, on the 30th, read to the General Council of the International the pamphlet in question, in which the historical significance of the Paris Commune is presented briefly, but in words so powerful, so incisive, and above all, so true, that there is no equal to it in the whole range of the extensive literature on the subject.

Thanks to the economic and political development of France since 1789, Paris has for fifty years been placed in such a position that no revolution could there break out without assuming a proletarian character, in such wise that the proletariat, which had bought the victory with its blood, would immediately thereafter put forward its own demands. These demands were more or less indefinite, and even confused, in accordance with the particular degree of development to which the Paris workmen had attained at the time; but the upshot of them all was the abolition of the class contrast between capitalist and laborer. How this was to be done, 'tis true nobody knew. But the demand itself, however indefinite its form, was a danger for the existing order of society; the workmen who made it were still armed; if the bour-

geoisie at the head of the State would maintain their political supremacy, they were bound to disarm the workmen. Accordingly, after every revolution made victorious with the arms of the workers, there arose a new struggle which ended with the defeat of the workers.

This happened for the first time in 1848.[1] The Liberal bourgeoisie of the Parliamentary opposition held reform banquets in favor of an electoral change which should assure domination to their party. In their struggles with the Government driven to appeal ever more to the people, they were obliged to admit to the front rank the Radical and Republican elements of the small middle class as well

[1] Of course there were in earlier days premonitions of that class-conscious movement of the proletariat, which in 1848 won a first victory — soon, however, followed by defeat — under the circumstances here referred to. In *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Engels himself calls attention to the fact that "in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was a forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat. For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasants War, the Anabaptists and Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levelers; in the great French Revolution, Babœuf." To this may be added that in the seventeen years that followed the Revolution of 1830 (the second revolution of the French bourgeoisie, by which the political conquests which this class had made during its great revolution of 1789-93, were finally placed beyond the reach of feudal reaction), several proletarian insurrections occurred in France; and although the "bread question" was always instrumental in provoking them, the "social question" gradually assumed in them a greater importance until it was paramount in the minds of the insurrectionists. The first uprising was at Lyons in 1831, when the *canuts* (silk workers) descended from the heights of Croix-Rousse upon the rich quarters below with a black flag on which was inscribed in red letters: *Vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant* (to live working or to die fighting). The subsequent outbursts at Lille, Saint Etienne, Limoges, and other industrial centers were of the same character. But in 1839 the Barbès insurrection not only was "communistic," but through the foreigners who fought in its ranks, it acquired, to some extent, an international character, which in the trials that followed was duly pointed out by the prosecuting attorneys. At the same time in England, the thoroughly proletarian Chartist agitation was carried on, coincidently with the mercantile-class movement in favor of free trade. The fact is that all these outbursts, insurrections, and revolutions so called, including 1848 and the Commune of 1871, are mere episodes of the great Proletarian Revolution, which is in course of accomplishment.—*Note to the American Edition.*

as of the wealthier bourgeoisie. But behind these stood the revolutionary workmen; and the latter had, since 1830, acquired for themselves a far greater sense of political independence than even the Republicans among the middle classes suspected. In the moment of crisis between Government and Opposition, the workmen inaugurated the battle in the streets; Louis Philippe disappeared, and with him the electoral reform. In its stead arose the Republic, and moreover a republic designated by the victorious workmen themselves as the "Social Republic." As to what was to be understood by this "social" republic, nobody was quite clear, not even the workmen themselves. But they now had weapons, and wielded power in the State. So soon, therefore, as the bourgeois Republicans, who were at the head of affairs, began to feel somewhat firm ground under their feet, their first object was to disarm the workmen. To effect this, the bourgeoisie drove them to insurrection in June, 1848, by the direct breach of pledges, by scornful and defiant treatment, and by the attempt to banish the unemployed into a distant province. The Government had taken care to have an overwhelming repressive force at hand. After five days of heroic struggle, the workmen succumbed, and now followed a massacre of the defenseless prisoners, the like of which had not been seen since the days of the Civil Wars which ushered in the downfall of the Roman Republic. It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what a mad ferocity of vengeance it can be stirred up, so soon as the proletariat dares to stand up against it as a separate class with its own interests and demands. And yet 1848 was child's play compared with their fury in 1871.

But Nemesis straightway followed. If the proletariat could not as yet rule France, the bourgeoisie could not

do so any more. At least, not at that time, when it was in its majority monarchical, and moreover split into three dynastic parties besides one Republican party. The internal dissensions of the bourgeoisie allowed the adventurer Louis Bonaparte to filch all positions of influence — army, police, administrative machinery — and, on December 2, 1851, to blow up the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie, the National Assembly. The Second Empire followed. It brought about the exploitation of France by a band of political and financial adventurers, but at the same time an industrial development such as had not been possible under the narrow and timid system of Louis Philippe, when France was under the exclusive domination of a mere fraction of the wealthier bourgeoisie. Louis Bonaparte took from the capitalists their political power, under the pretense, on the one hand, of protecting them against the workers, and on the other hand of protecting the workers against them; but, in return for this, his Government favored speculation and industrial activity, in short, the rise and enrichment of the whole of the capitalist class in a hitherto unheard of degree. Corruption and wholesale robbery, it is true, developed to a still greater extent at the Imperial Court and among its hangers-on, who exacted no trifling percentage of the new wealth accumulated by the bourgeoisie.

But the Second Empire — that meant also the appeal to French Chauvinism,[2] which implied the demand for the reacquisition of the frontier of the First Empire lost in 1814, at the very least that of the First Republic. A French Empire within the boundaries of the old Monarchy, not to say the still more circumscribed ones of 1815, was impossible for long. Hence the necessity of occasional wars and extensions of frontier; but no exten-

[2] Jingoism.

sion of frontier so dazzles the imagination of French Chauvinists, as that beyond the German left bank of the Rhine. One square mile on the Rhine was worth more to them than ten in the Alps or elsewhere. Given the Second Empire, the demand for the reacquisition of the left bank of the Rhine, either in the lump or piecemeal, was only a question of time. This time came with the Austro-Prussian War of 1866; but Bonaparte was juggled out of the expected territorial indemnity through Bismarck and his own all-too cunning policy of hesitation. There remained nothing for Bonaparte but war — a war which broke out in 1870 and drove him first to Sedan and thence to Wilhelmshöhe.

The necessary consequence was the Paris revolution of the 4th of September, 1870. The Empire collapsed like a house of cards, the Republic was again proclaimed. But the enemy stood before the gates. The armies of the Empire were either hopelessly shut up in Metz or prisoners in Germany. In this extremity the people allowed the Parisian deputies of the former parliament (*Corps Législatif*) to set themselves up as the "Government of National Defense." This was the more readily conceded because, for the purpose of defense, all Parisians capable of bearing arms had been armed and were enrolled in the National Guard, of which the workmen now constituted the great majority. But the antagonism between the Government, composed almost exclusively of bourgeois, and the armed proletariat, broke out soon. On the 31st of October the working class battalions stormed the Hôtel de Ville (City Hall), and took some of the members of the Government prisoners. Treachery, direct breach of faith on the part of the Government, and the intervention of some middle-class battalions freed them again, and in order not to provoke civil war inside a

town besieged by a foreign power, the existing Government was permitted to remain in office.

Finally, on the 28th of January, 1871, Paris, starved out, capitulated, but with honors hitherto unheard of in military history. The forts were surrendered, the line of fortifications disarmed, the weapons of the line and of the *Garde Mobile* were handed over to the Germans, and the men themselves were regarded as prisoners of war. But the National Guard retained its weapons and cannon, and only entered into a truce with the conquerors. The latter did not venture upon a triumphal entry into Paris. Only a small portion of Paris, for the most part consisting of public parks, did they attempt to occupy, and even this only for a few days. And during the whole time they, who had kept Paris in a state of siege for 131 days, found themselves in their turn surrounded by armed Parisian workmen, who carefully watched lest any "Prussian" should overstep the narrow limits of the quarter reserved for the foreign conqueror. Such respect the Parisian workmen extorted from that army, before which all the armies of the Empire successively had laid down their weapons; and the Prussian Junkers, who had come thither in order to take revenge on the hotbed of revolution, were compelled to stand and deferentially salute this very armed revolution.

During the war the Parisian workmen had confined themselves to demanding the energetic continuance of the struggle. But now, peace having been established after the capitulation of Paris, Thiers, the new head of the Government, could not help seeing that the rule of the propertied classes — of the great landlords and capitalists — was in continual danger so long as the Parisian workmen retained their arms. His first work accordingly was the attempt to disarm them. On the 18th of March he

sent some troops of the line with the order to steal the artillery belonging to the National Guard, which had been manufactured and paid for by public subscription during the siege of Paris. The attempt miscarried. Paris instantly rose in arms like one man, and war was declared between Paris and the French Government sitting at Versailles. On the 26th of March the Paris Commune was elected, and proclaimed on the 28th. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which had hitherto carried on the Government, decreed the abolition of the scandalous Parisian "guardians of morality," and then abdicated its functions into the hands of the Commune. On the 30th the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army, and declared the National Guard, to which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to belong, to be the only force with the right to bear arms; it remitted all rents of dwellings from October, 1870, to April, 1871, such rent as had already been paid to be deducted from future payments; and stopped all sales of pledges in the city's pawnshop. The same day the foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in their functions, since "the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic." On the 1st of April it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs ($1,200) a year. On the following day was decreed the separation of Church and State, the abolition of all State payments for religious purposes, and the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers — in short, "all things appertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience" — were on the 8th of April ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as

soon as possible. On the 5th, in retaliation for the daily murder of communards captured by the Versailles troops, there was enacted a decree for the arrest of hostages, but it was never carried out. On the 6th, the guillotine was fetched out by the 137th battalion of the National Guard, and publicly burnt amid loud popular applause. On the 12th, the Commune ordered the triumphal column on the Place Vendôme, which had been constructed by Napoleon I. after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon, to be overthrown, as it was a symbol of *chauvinism* and mutual hatred among the nations. This was accomplished on the 16th of May. On the 16th of April, the Commune issued an order for a statistical account of all factories and workshops which had been closed by the employers; for the elaboration of plans for their management by the workingmen hitherto engaged in them, who were to be formed into co-operative societies for the purpose; and, also, for the federation of these societies into one great coöperative organization. On the 20th, it abolished the night work of bakers, as also the register-offices for procuring employment, which, since the Second Empire, had been the monopoly of certain police-appointed scoundrels, exploiters of the worst kind. The matter was henceforward placed in the hands of the mayoralties of the twenty arrondissements[1] of Paris. On the 30th of April it decreed the abolition of pawnshops, as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. On the 5th of May it ordered the destruction of the chapel erected in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI.

[1] Subdivisions, districts. Each arrondissement of the French capital has its own Mayor, subject, however, to the regulations and orders of the Municipal Council, which directs the general affairs of the whole city and, at the time here spoken of, was called the Commune.—*Note to the American Edition.*

Thus, since the 18th of March, the class character of the Parisian movement, hitherto thrust into the background by the struggle against the foreign invasion, came clearly and emphatically to the fore. As in the Commune there sat almost exclusively workmen, or the recognized representatives of workmen, its decisions naturally bore a distinctively proletarian character. It either decreed reforms which the Republican bourgeoisie had omitted to carry out from pure cowardice, but which formed a necessary foundation for the free action of the working class, as, for instance, the carrying out of the principle that religion, *as far as the State is concerned*, is a purely private matter; or it adopted measures directly in the interest of the working class, and in a few cases even cutting deeply into the life tissue of the old order of society. But in a besieged city all this could not be carried beyond the first stages of realization. And from the beginning of May onwards the struggle against the ever increasing masses of the army of the Versailles Government claimed exclusive attention and energy.

On the 7th of April the Versaillese had seized the bridge over the Seine at Neuilly on the west side of Paris; on the other hand, on the 11th, they were beaten back with much loss by General Eudes in an attack they made on the south side. Paris was continually bombarded by the very people who had stigmatized the bombardment of the same city by the Prussians as a sacrilegious outrage. These very people went on their knees to the Prussian Government to implore the speedy return of the French military prisoners taken at Sedan and Metz, who were to reconquer Paris for them. The gradual arrival of these troops gave a decisive superiority to the Versaillese from the beginning of May onward. This showed itself even as early as the 23d of April, when Thiers broke off the

negotiations with the Commune respecting the latter's offer to exchange the Archbishop of Paris and a number of other priests retained in Paris as hostages, against Blanqui alone, who had been twice elected to the Commune, but who remained a prisoner at Clairvaux. It showed itself still more clearly in the altered language of Thiers; hitherto hesitating and ambiguous, he now suddenly became insulting, threatening, and brutal. On the south side the Versaillese took, on the 3d of May, the redoubt of Moulin Saquet; on the 9th, the fort of Issy reduced to a heap of ruins by the cannonade; on the 14th, that of Vanves. On the west side they gradually advanced, seizing the numerous buildings and villages which extended to the outer line of fortifications, up to the *enceinte* itself; on the 21st, they succeeded, owing to treachery and the carelessness of the National Guard posted at that point, in entering the city. The Prussians, who occupied the northern and eastern forts, allowed the Versaillese to press forward into the territory in the north of the city, which the conditions of peace had closed to them, and thence to inaugurate a formidable attack over a long line, which the Parisians, believing them to be covered by the terms of the truce, had in consequence only weakly occupied. The result of this was that the resistance in the western parts of Paris, the wealthier parts of the city, was only feeble; it became tougher and more severe as the attacking troops approached the eastern half, the working class parts of the city. Only after an eight days' struggle did the last defenders of the Commune succumb on the heights of Belleville and Menilmontant. And now the murder of defenseless men, women, and children, which had raged the whole week through in ever-increasing proportions, reached its highest point! The breechloader no longer killed fast enough;

the conquered were slaughtered in hundreds with the mitrailleuses; "the wall of the Federals" in the Père la Chaise cemetery, where the last massacre took place, remains to-day a dumb but eloquent witness to the frenzy of crime of which the governing classes are capable as soon as the proletariat dares to stand up for its rights. Then, as the slaughter of all was seen to be impossible, came the arrests *en masse*, the shooting down of arbitrarily selected prisoners as victims for sacrifice, and the transference of the remainder into great camps, where they awaited the mercy of the courts-martial. The Prussian troops, who were encamped to the northeast of Paris, received the order to allow no fugitives to pass. Nevertheless, the officers often shut their eyes when the soldiers obeyed the call of humanity rather than that command. Especially does the Saxon Army Corps deserve the credit of having acted very humanely and of having let through many whose character as combatants of the Commune was obvious.

Looking back to-day, after twenty years, upon the acts and historical significance of the Paris Commune, it appears to us that the information contained in the pages of the *Civil War in France* may usefully be supplemented here by some special considerations.

The members of the Commune were divided into a majority of Blanquists, who had also predominated in the central committee of the National Guard, and a minority, which consisted for the most part of members of the International Workingmen's Association, who were adherents of the Proudhonian School of Socialism. The great mass of the Blanquists at that time were socialists only because of their revolutionary proletarian instinct. A few only had attained to greater clearness of principle

owing to Vaillant, who was acquainted with German scientific socialism. Thus we can understand why, in the economic field, many things were left undone which, according to our present conceptions, should have been done by the Commune. The most difficult thing to understand is, indeed, the sacred respect with which the Commune reverently stopped before the portals of the Bank of France. This was also a portentous political error. The Bank in the hands of the Commune — that was worth more than ten thousand hostages. It would have meant the pressure of the entire French bourgeoise upon the Versailles Government in the interest of peace with the Commune. But what is still more wonderful, is the number of correct things done by the Commune, in spite of its make-up of Blanquists and Proudhonists. Of course, the Proudhonists are responsible for the economic decrees of the Commune, for those that are praiseworthy as well as for those that are not, while the Blanquists are responsible for the political acts of commission and omission. And in both cases the irony of history would have it—as is usual when doctrinaires take the helm of the State—that both the ones and the others did the reverse of that which the doctrines of their school prescribed.[1]

[1] In the "Appendix" to his French edition of the papers published here in English, Charles Longuet takes exception to this statement of Engels concerning the composition of the Central Committee and the Commune. The fact is, however, that although Longuet can claim that he was a member of the Commune and might, therefore, be supposed to know whereof he speaks in this matter, Engels' view is absolutely correct. Longuet classifies men, as a statistical clerk might do, by the organizations to which they respectively happened to belong; whereas Engels judges of them, as a philosopher must do, by their actual spirit and tendencies. The revolutionary spirit that dominated the Commune was essentially "Blanquist"; while the prevailing economic notions, among the comparatively few who had any, were "Proudhonist." Of clear-minded, thorough "Collectivists" there was only a handful in the whole city of Paris. That with intellectual elements economically so weak, and under circumstances so unfavorable to

Proudhon, the socialist of the small farmer and petty tradesman, hated association most heartily. According to him, it does more harm than good; it is naturally unfruitful, even detrimental, because it curtails the worker's freedom; it is pure dogma, unproductive and troublesome, destructive of the freedom of the worker as well as the saving of labor; its disadvantages multiply faster than its advantages; while competition, division of labor, private property, are economic springs of greater power. Only in exceptional cases — these are Proudhon's own words — of great industries and great business corporations, the railroads, for instance, is the association of the workers good and proper.[1]

And yet, even in Paris, the center of the artistic trades, production on a large scale had so far ceased to be an exception in 1871 that the most important decree of the Commune had for its object the organization of great industries and even of manufacture;[2] and this organization

the proper consideration of economic questions, the Commune should have done so well as to deserve the praise of Marx and Engels for such measures as it was able to take during its short life, is in itself an object lesson of the highest import. It shows in a vivid light the natural tendency of the proletarian mind when its class-consciousness is set in motion by a terrific class struggle.—*Note to the American Edition.*

[1] See *Idée générale de la Révolution*, 3me étude.

[2] This term, "manufacture," is a compound of two Latin words: *manu*, by hand, and *factum*, made. From the birth of the factory system the true meaning of this expression has been lost by the "vulgar bourgeois," who ignorantly applied it to all the products of industries carried on upon a large scale, without making in his terminology, as he surely did in his mercantile operations, the important discrimination between those that were still entirely or chiefly wrought out with hand tools by hand labor, and those that now were to any appreciable extent turned out by "labor-saving" machinery, moved by steam, water, or some other non-human power, and simply "tended" by mere "operatives," less paid than the "artizans," and fewer in number as compared with the amount of production. Nay, sometimes the sense adulteration went even farther. For instance, a century ago every shoe was hand-made, it was a "manufacture." To-day some shoes are still hand-made, and therefore are still truly "manufactures," while the great bulk of the shoe production is machinery-made and comes from "factories." Yet shoes of the latter sort are called "manufactures,"

tion was to comprise not only the association of the workers in each factory, but also the union of all these coöperative associations into one great federation: in short, an organization of such a character that, as Marx very correctly states in the *Civil War,* it must have ultimately ended in communism, that is, in the very opposite of the Proudhonistic theory. For this reason, the Commune was the grave of the Proudhonist School of Socialism. This school no longer exists among the French workers; and among the Possibilists[1] no less than among the Marxists, there now rules undisputedly the Marxian theory. To-day Proudhonists are found only among the "radical" bourgeoisie.

The Blanquists fared no better. Brought up in the school of conspiracy, held together by the rigid discipline essential to it, they started from the conception that a comparatively small number of resolute, well organized men would be able not only to grasp the helm of State at

while the former are not (except by the census-taker when this particular class of footwear is turned out in custom shoe-making establishments of some importance). Marx and Engels, however, never failed to put back on its feet what the "vulgar bourgeois" had turned upon its head. They restored in their works the correct sense of the expression, according to its derivation; and by the word "manufacture" is here meant the product of the large workshop in which the work is done by hand, as of old, but the modern characteristic of which is the division of labor. Let us also observe here that although the division of labor is in this case a mere administrative device, economic results are obtained from it that are similar to those which flow from the division of labor necessitated by the use of machinery: namely, greater efficiency of the worker in the particular branch of work especially assigned to him; increase of the intensity of his toil; decrease, however, of his general skill, and, consequently, "cheaper labor."—*Note to the American Edition.*

[1] The "Possibilists" were opportunists, who believed in working only for what they considered as "possible" or "practicable;" the "Marxists" are the great French Labor Party (*Parti Ouvrier Français*), a thoroughly socialist revolutionary organization. The acceptance of the Marxist theory by the Possibilists can refer only to the goal—the Socialist Commonwealth. Incorrigible *arrivistes,* they hastened into the camp of the Ministerialists when Millerand accepted a portfolio in the Waldeck-Rousseau-Galliffet cabinet.—*Note to the American Edition.*

a favorable moment, but also, through the display of great energy and reckless daring, to hold it as long as required, that is, until they had succeeded in carrying the masses of the people into the revolutionary current and ranging them around the small leading band. To accomplish this, what was necessary, above all else, was the most stringent, dictatorial centralization of all power in the hands of the new revolutionary government. And what did the Commune do, which in the majority consisted of these very Blanquists? In all its proclamations to the French people in the provinces, it called upon them for a free federation of all French communes with Paris, for a national organization, which for the first time was to be the real creation of the nation. The army, the political police, the bureaucracy, all those agencies of oppression in a centralized government, which Napoleon had created in 1798, and which since then every new government had gladly used and kept up as ready weapons against its enemies, were to be abolished everywhere, as they had been abolished in Paris.

From the very outset the Commune had to recognize that the working class, having once attained supremacy in the State, could not work with the old machinery of government; that this working class, if it was not to lose the position which it had just conquered, had, on the one hand, to abolish all the old machinery of oppression that had hitherto been utilized against itself, and, on the other hand, to secure itself against its own representatives and officers by declaring them to be removable, without exception and at all times. In what did the chief characteristic of the old State consist? Society had created for itself definite organs, originally by simple division of labor, for the provision of its common interests. But these organs, at the head of which is the power of the

State, had in the course of time, and in the service of their own separate interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into its masters. And this is true not only of the hereditary monarchy, but also of the democratic republic. Nowhere do the "politicians" form a more distinct and more powerful subdivision of the nation than in the United States. Here both the great parties, to which the predominance alternately falls, are in their turn ruled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate upon seats in the legislative bodies of the Union and the separate States, or who live by agitation for their party and are rewarded with offices after its victory. It is well known how the Americans have tried for thirty years past to throw off this yoke, which has become intolerable, and how, notwithstanding, they sink ever deeper into the mire of corruption. It is just in the United States that we can most clearly see the process through which the State acquires a position of independent power over against the society, for which it was originally designed as a mere tool. There exists here no dynasty, no aristocracy, no standing army with the exception of a few men to guard against the Indians, no bureaucracy permanently installed and pensioned. Nevertheless, we have here two great rings of political speculators, that alternately take possession of the power of State and exploit it with the most corrupt means and to the most corrupt purposes. And the nation is powerless against these men, who nominally are its servants, but in reality are its two overruling and plundering hordes of politicians.

Against this transformation of the State and the State's organs from the servants of society into its rulers—a transformation which has been inevitable in all hitherto existing States — the Commune adopted two unfailing

remedies. In the first place it filled all positions of administration, justice, and instruction, through election by universal suffrage, the elected being at all times subject to recall by their constituents. And secondly, it paid for all services, high or low, only the same pay that other workers received. The highest salary that it ever paid was six thousand francs. Thus a check was put to all place-hunting and career-making, even without the imperative mandate under which delegates to the representative bodies were placed, quite superfluously.

This disruption of the power formerly possessed by the State, and its replacement by a new power that was truly democratic, is described in detail in the third chapter of the *Civil War*. But it was necessary to enter here once more upon some of its features, because in Germany the superstition concerning the State has been transmitted from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie, and even of many workers. According to the conception of philosophy, the State is the "realization of the Idea," or the philosophic equivalent of the Kingdom of God upon earth — the sphere in which eternal truth and righteousness are, or ought to be, realized. There follows from this a superstitious reverence for the State and all its adjuncts, a superstition that is all the more natural, since from our very childhood we have grown up in the idea that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be provided for in any other way than had been the practise hitherto, namely, through the State and its highly paid functionaries. And people imagine they have taken a very bold step, when they have once freed themselves from the belief in monarchy and swear now by the democratic republic. But in reality the State is nothing else than a machine for the oppression of one class by another class,

and that no less so in the democratic republic than under the monarchy. At the very best it is an inheritance of evil, bound to be transmitted to the proletariat when it has become victorious in its struggle for class supremacy, and the worst features of which it will have to lop off at once, as the Commune did, until a new race, grown up under new, free social conditions, will be in a position to shake off from itself this State rubbish in its entirety.

The German philistine has lately been thrown once again into wholesome paroxisms by the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat." Well, gentle sirs, would you like to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, on the 20th anniversary of the Commune, March 18, 1871.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION
ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

FIRST MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

ISSUED ON JULY 23, 1870, AND ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND
THE UNITED STATES

THE

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

FIRST MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

In the inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association, of November, 1864, we said: "If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?" We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words: "Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite[1] he ordered a raid on the mem-

[1] For several years before the Franco-Prussian war and the resulting fall of the Second Empire, the dissatisfaction of the bourgeoisie with the foreign and domestic policy of Louis Bonaparte had been steadily increasing, while the discontent of the workingmen was frequently manifesting itself in a way suggestive of impending revolution. He could not, of course, make a public admission of his growing unpopularity; but, fully realizing that unless he made "timely concessions" his rule would soon be imperilled, he concluded

bers of the administrative committees of the International Workingmen's Association's throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, etc., on the pretext that the International was a secret society dabbling in a complot for his assassination, a pretext soon after exposed in its full absurdity by his own judges. What was the real crime of the French branches of the International? They told the French people publicly and emphatically that voting the plebiscite was voting despotism at home and war abroad.[1] It has been, in fact, their work

to act, mountebank-like, the part of a generous and liberal monarch. The French people, he said, rendered happy and wise under his reign, were at last fitted for greater freedom. He had, therefore, resolved to submit to a plebiscite — that is, to a general vote — such parliamentary reforms as he deemed adapted to the character and circumstances of the nation. This plebiscite, which was also intended to firmly establish his dynasty on the throne of France, took place in the midst of considerable excitement, heightened by its fraudulent manipulation. Some time before, in wild fear of the International, he had caused sixty of its leading agitators to be arrested. But this act of despotism further inflamed the urban proletariat against him. In its vote on the plebiscite he could read his doom. Terror-stricken at the prospect of a revolution, he evoked the god of patriotism and declared war to Prussia. Johnson had the like of him in his mind's eye when he said that patriotism was the last resort of a scoundrel.—*Note to the American Edition.*

[1] How the plebiscite was regarded by the French branches of the International is clearly set forth in the "Anti-Plebiscite Manifesto" issued jointly by the Paris Sections of that body and the Federal Chamber of Labor Societies. (See Appendix, page 107.) The historic importance of this document may not fully appear, however, until it is contrasted with another anti-plebiscite manifesto, issued at the same time by Leon Gambetta, Emmanuel Arago, Jules Ferry, Jules Simon, and other political mouthpieces of the dissatisfied fraction of the French bourgeoisie. These bourgeois "republicans" were, not less than Louis Bonaparte himself, apprehensive of the socialist movement, which men of their own kind and class had murderously stifled in 1848, but which the International was at last reviving despite all imperial obstacles and persecutions. In fact, they held the "personal government of the Emperor" responsible for that revival, and they appealed "to the people" in the name of "social peace and order, which could only be secured by conciliating the interests and the classes."

On the other hand, the Internationalists and their sympathizers in the labor societies had sufficiently learned the true meaning of the bourgeois expression "conciliation of the classes" to be no longer bamboozled by such logomachy; and they could see no greater virtue in the impersonal government of a "peace-loving" bourgeoisie than in the personal government

that in all the great towns, in all the industrial centers of France, the working class rose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Unfortunately the balance was turned by the heavy ignorance of the rural districts. The stock exchanges, the cabinets, the ruling classes and the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as a signal victory of the French Emperor over the French working class; and it was the signal for the assassination, not of an individual, but of nations.

The war plot of July, 1870, is but an amended edition of the *coup d'état* of December, 1851. At first view, the thing seemed so absurd that France would not believe in its real good earnest. It rather believed the deputy denouncing the ministerial war talk as a mere stock-jobbing trick. When, on July 15th, war was at last officially announced to the *Corps Législatif*, the whole Opposition refused to vote the preliminary subsidies — even Thiers branded it as "detestable"; all the independent journals of Paris condemned it, and, wonderful to relate, the provincial press joined in almost unanimously.

Meanwhile, the Paris members of the International

of a military despot. In other words, they understood the nature of the class struggle; hence the class character of their manifesto, which was obviously intended, not for "the people," so called in bourgeois parlance, but for the working people, "who alone are entitled to the esteem of their fellow citizens," and whose mission, as a body, "is to regenerate the world." Furthermore, it will be observed that while they made specific reference to a few only of the grievances and demands of the proletariat, they tersely summed up their whole programme in one brief and bold declaration, namely, that "the Socialist Republic is the only form of government through which the legitimate aspirations of the working class can be realized."

Here, then, were two antagonistic classes, irreconcilable enemies, each working separately and in its own way for the downfall of Louis Bonaparte; one with a view to the establishment of a bourgeois republic (or, this failing, of a bourgeois parliamentary republic); the other looking to the initiation of the Socialist Republic. The lines were tightly drawn, and upon the fall of Bonaparte a great class conflict was inevitable.—*Note to the American Edition.*

had again set to work. In the *Réveil* of July 12th, they published their manifesto "to the Workmen of all Nations," from which we extract the following few passages:

"Once more," they say, "on the pretext of European equilibrium, of national honor, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. French, German, Spanish Workmen! let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war! . . . War for a question of preponderance or a dynasty, can, in the eyes of workmen, be nothing but a criminal absurdity. In answer to the war-like proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the blood-tax, and find in public misfortunes a source of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labor, and liberty! . . . Brothers of Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine. . . . Workmen of all countries! Whatever may for the present become of our common efforts, we, the members of the International Workingmen's Association, who know of no frontiers, we send you, as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity, the good wishes and the salutations of the workmen of France."

This manifesto of our Paris section was followed by numerous similar French addresses, of which we can here only quote the declaration of Neuilly-sur-Seine, published in the *Marseillaise* of July 22: "The war, is it just? No! The war, is it national? No! It is merely Dynastic. In the name of humanity, of democracy, and the true interests of France, we adhere completely and energetically to the protestation of the International against the war."

These protestations expressed the true sentiments of the French working people, as was soon shown by a curious incident. *The band of the 10th of December,* first or-

ganized under the presidency of Louis Bonaparte, having been masqueraded into *blouses* and let loose on the streets of Paris, there to perform the contortions of war fever, the real workmen of the faubourgs came forward with public peace demonstrations so overwhelming that Pietri, the Prefect of Police, thought it prudent to at once stop all further street politics, on the plea that the feal Paris people had given sufficient vent to their pent-up patriotism and exuberant war enthusiasm.[1]

Whatever may be the incidents of Louis Bonaparte's war with Prussia, the death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end, as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Bonaparte to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire.*

On the German side, the war is a war of defense; but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia!* It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the

[1] Louis Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I., was elected President of the Republic in 1849. On December 2, 1851, he made his infamous *coup d'état,* preparatory to his assumption of imperial power. With this supreme end in view his police then organized "the band of the 10th of December," which was recruited from the dregs in all ranks of society. The special work of these vile mercenaries, paid and later pensioned from the "secret funds," was to shout "Vive l'Empereur!" on the President's passage through the streets of Paris and on his travels throughout France, besides acting as spies and *agents provocateurs,* especially among the working people. As the press of the opposition had been suspended or muzzled, the demonstrations of the *Décembriseurs* were heralded everywhere by the subsidized papers as bona fide manifestations of popular enthusiasm for Louis Bonaparte, and of an irresistible desire in all classes for an imperial form of government. At the time here referred to by Marx, the Empire was already tottering, and the retired *Décembriseurs* had been called back on active duty. (See *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* by Karl Marx, translated by Daniel De Leon.) — *Note to the American Edition.*

Hohenzollern dynasty. If the battle of Sadowa had been lost instead of being won, French battalions would have overrun Germany as the allies of Prussia. After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low legerdemains. The Bonapartist régime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war?*

If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous. All the miseries that befell Germany after her war of independence will revive with accumulated intensity.

The principles of the International are, however, too widely spread and too firmly rooted amongst the German working class to apprehend such a sad consummation. The voices of the French workmen have reëchoed from Germany. A mass meeting of workmen, held at Brunswick on July 16th, expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to France, and wound up its resolutions with these words: "We are enemies of all wars, but above all of dynastic wars. . . . With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time, upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power to decide on peace

and war, and making them masters of their own destinies."

At Chemnitz, a meeting of delegates, representing 50,000 Saxon workmen, adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect: "In the name of the German democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic. . . . . We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France. . . . Mindful of the watchword of the International Workingmen's Association: *Proletarians of all countries unite,* we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries our *enemies.*"

The Berlin branch of the International has also replied to the Paris manifesto: "We," they say, "join with heart and hand your protestation. . . . Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat, shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil of all countries."

Be it so!

In the background of this suicidal strife looms the dark figure of Russia. It is an ominous sign that the signal for the present war should have been given at the moment when the Moscovite Government had just finished its strategic lines of railway and was already massing troops in the direction of the Pruth. Whatever sympathy the Germans may justly claim in a war of defense against Bonapartist aggression, they would forfeit at once by allowing the Prussian Government to call for, or accept the help of, the Cossack. Let them remember that, after their war of independence against the First Napoleon, Germany lay for generations prostrate at the feet of the Czar.

The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship to the French and German working people. They feel deeply convinced that whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and good will; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society, with its economic miseries, and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *Labor!* The Pioneer of that new society is the International Workingmen's Association.

London, July 23, 1870.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION
ON THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

AFTER SEDAN

SECOND MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

ISSUED ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1870, AND ADDRESSED TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE
AND THE UNITED STATES



AFTER SEDAN

SECOND MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

In our first manifesto of the 23d of July we said:

"The death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end, as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Restored Empire.*"

Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people." The war of defense ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of the Imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military camarilla had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way — *King William's own proclamations at the commencement of the*

war. In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, he had solemnly declared to make war upon the Emperor of the French, and not upon the French people. On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said: "The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation, which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have assumed the command of the German armies *to repel his aggression*, and I have been led by *military events to cross the frontiers of France*." Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "*to repel aggression*," he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations, dictated by "military events."

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle class, which, in its struggles for civil liberty, had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism. It revindicated its civic independence by affecting to force upon the Prussian Government the secret designs of that same Government. It does penance for its long-continued and almost religious faith in Louis Bonaparte's infallibility, by shouting for the dismemberment of the French Re-

public. Let us for a moment listen to the special pleadings of those stout-hearted patriots!

They dare not pretend that the people of Alsace and Lorraine pant for the German embrace; quite the contrary. To punish their French patriotism, Strasburg, a town with an independent citadel commanding it, has for six days been wantonly and fiendishly bombarded by "German" explosive shells, setting it on fire, and killing great numbers of its defenseless inhabitants! Yet, the soil of those provinces once upon a time belonged to the whilom German Empire. Hence, it seems, the soil and the human beings grown on it must be confiscated as imprescriptible German property. If the map of Europe is to be remade in the antiquary's vein, let us by no means forget that the Elector of Brandenburg, for his Prussian dominions, was the vassal of the Polish Republic.[1]

[1] In the old Germanic Empire, the Emperor was elected by a "college," originally composed of seven "electors," three of whom were sovereign archbishops, and four were secular sovereigns. The number of the latter was subsequently increased to five by the elevation to the electorate of the Brandenburg principality, which in the course of time passed to the King of Prussia. This empire, which was practically a confederation of three hundred States under different rulers, lasted about nine hundred years; that is, from the beginning of the tenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, when Napoleon I. abolished it and in its place formed under his own protectorate the Confederation of the Rhine, thereby severing Austria and Prussia from important German States upon which their influence had previously extended. On the fall of Napoleon, the changes had been so great in the economic and political conditions of Germany that it was found impossible to reconstitute the Empire, and in 1815 a German Confederation was formed, with a "Diet" (or parliament) sitting at Frankfort. The number of States was then reduced to forty, and was subsequently brought down to thirty-five by the extinction of "families." In 1866, a war between Prussia and Austria resulted in the defeat of the latter and the formation of the North German Confederation under the lead of the former. Then came the war with France in 1870, in which the South German States hastened to make common cause with their Northern brothers. Finally, in January, 1871, at Versailles, the new German Empire was proclaimed, with the King of Prussia as hereditary Emperor. The Empire is now composed of four kingdoms, six grand-duchies, five duchies, and seven principalities, besides the old free towns of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, and the conquered province of Alsace-Lorraine. There are two

The more knowing patriots, however, require Alsace and the German-speaking part of Lorraine as a "material guarantee" against French aggression. As this contemptible plea has bewildered many weak-minded people, we are bound to enter more fully upon it.

There is no doubt that the general configuration of Alsace, as compared with the opposite bank of the Rhine, and the presence of a large fortified town like Strasburg, about halfway between Basle and Germersheim, very much favor a French invasion of South Germany, while they offer peculiar difficulties to an invasion of France from South Germany. There is, further, no doubt that the addition of Alsace and German-speaking Lorraine would give South Germany a much stronger frontier, inasmuch as she would then be master of the crest of the Vosges mountains in its whole length, and of the fortresses which cover its northern passes. If Metz were annexed as well, France would certainly for the moment be deprived of her two principal bases of operation against Germany, but that would not prevent her from constructing a fresh one at Nancy or Verdun. While Germany owns Coblentz, Mainz, Germersheim, Rastadt, and Ulm, all bases of operation against France, and plentifully made use of in this war, with what show of fair play can she begrudge France Strasburg and Metz, the only two fortresses of any importance she has on that side? Moreover, Strasburg endangers South Germany only while South Germany is a separate power from North Germany. From 1792 to 1795 South Germany was never invaded from that direction, because Prussia was a party to the war against the French Revolution:

legislative bodies in it; namely, the *Bundesrath*, or Federal Council, the members of which are appointed from the various States, and the *Reichstag*, or House of Representatives, the members of which are elected by universal suffrage.—*Note to the American Edition.*

but as soon as Prussia made a peace of her own in 1795, and left the South to shift for itself, the invasions of South Germany, with Strasburg for a base, began, and continued till 1809. The fact is, a *united* Germany can always render Strasburg and any French army in Alsace innocuous by concentrating all her troops, as was done, in the present war, between Saarlouis and Landau, and advancing, or accepting battle, on the line of road between Mainz and Metz. While the mass of the German troops is stationed there, any French army advancing from Strasburg into South Germany would be outflanked, and have its communications threatened. If the present campaign has proved anything, it is the facility of invading France from Germany.

But, in good faith, is it not altogether an absurdity and an anachronism to make military considerations the principle by which the boundaries of nations are to be fixed? If this rule were to prevail, Austria would still be entitled to Venetia and the line of the Mincio, and France to the line of the Rhine, in order to protect Paris, which lies certainly more open to an attack from the northeast than Berlin does from the southwest. If limits are to be fixed by military interests, there will be no end to claims, because every military line is necessarily faulty, and may be improved by annexing some more outlying territory; and, moreover, they can never be fixed finally and fairly, because they always must be imposed by the conqueror upon the conquered, and consequently carry within them the seed of fresh wars.

Such is the lesson of all history. Thus with nations as with individuals. To deprive them of the power of offense, you must deprive them of the means of defense. You must not only garrote, but murder. If ever conqueror took "material guarantees" for breaking the sin-

ews of a nation, the First Napoleon did so by the Tilsit treaty, and the way he executed it against Prussia and the rest of Germany. Yet, a few years later, his gigantic power split like a rotten reed upon the German people. What are the "material guarantees" Prussia, in her wildest dreams, can, or dare impose upon France, compared to the "material guarantees" the first Napoleon had wrenched from herself? The result will not prove the less disastrous. History will measure its retribution, not by the extent of the square miles conquered from France, but by the intensity of the crime of reviving, in the second half of the 19th century, *the policy of conquest!*

But, say the mouthpieces of Teutonic patriotism, you must not confound Germans with Frenchmen. What *we* want is not glory, but safety. The Germans are an essentially peaceful people. In their sober guardianship, conquest itself changes from a condition of future war into a pledge of perpetual peace. Of course, it is not Germans that invaded France in 1792, for the sublime purpose of bayoneting the revolution of the eighteenth century. It is not Germans that befouled their hands by the subjugation of Italy, the oppression of Hungary, and the dismemberment of Poland. Their present military system, which divides the whole able-bodied male population into two parts—one standing army on service, and another standing army on furlough, both equally bound in passive obedience to rulers by divine right—such a military system is, of course, "a material guarantee" for keeping the peace, and the ultimate goal of civilizing tendencies! In Germany, as everywhere else, the sycophants of the powers that be poison the popular mind by the incense of mendacious self-praise.

Indignant as they pretend to be at the sight of French

fortresses in Metz and Strasburg, those German patriots see no harm in the vast system of Moscovite fortifications at Warsaw, Modlin, and Ivangorod. While gloating at the terrors of Imperialist invasion, they blink the infamy of Autocratic tutelage.

As in 1865 promises were exchanged between Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck, so in 1870 promises have been exchanged between Gortschakoff and Bismarck. As Louis Bonaparte flattered himself that the war of 1866, resulting in the common exhaustion of Austria and Prussia, would make him the supreme arbiter of Germany, so Alexander flattered himself that the war of 1870, resulting in the common exhaustion of Germany and France, would make him the supreme arbiter of the Western Continent. As the Second Empire thought the North German Confederation incompatible with its existence, so autocratic Russia must think herself endangered by a German empire under Prussian leadership. Such is the law of the old political system. Within its pale the gain of one State is the loss of the other. The Czar's paramount influence over Europe roots in his traditional hold on Germany. At a moment when in Russia herself volcanic social agencies threaten to shake the very base of autocracy, could the Czar afford to bear with such a loss of foreign prestige? Already the Moscovite journals repeat the language of the Bonapartist journals after the war of 1866. Do the Teuton patriots really believe that liberty and peace will be guaranteed to Germany by forcing France into the arms of Russia? If the fortune of her arms, the arrogance of success, and dynastic intrigue lead Germany to a spoliation of French territory, there will then only remain two courses open to her. She must at all risks become the *avowed* tool of Russian aggrandizement, or, after some short respite,

make again ready for another "defensive" war, not one of those new-fangled "localized" wars, but a *war of races*—a war with the combined Sclavonian and Roman races.

The German working class have resolutely supported the war, which it was not in their power to prevent, as a war for German independence and the liberation of France and Europe from that pestilential incubus, the Second Empire. It was the German workmen who, together with the rural laborers, furnished the sinews and muscles of heroic hosts, leaving behind their half-starved families. Decimated by the battles abroad, they will be once more decimated by misery at home. In their turn they are now coming forward to ask for "guarantees"—guarantees that their immense sacrifices have not been brought in vain, that they have conquered liberty, that the victory over the Imperialist armies will not, as in 1815, be turned into the defeat of the German people; and, as the first of these guarantees, they claim an *honorable peace for France,* and the *recognition of the French Republic.*

The Central Committee of the German Socialist Democratic Workmen's party issued, on the 5th of September, a manifesto, energetically insisting upon these guarantees. "We," they say, "we protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. And we are conscious of speaking in the name of the German working class. In the common interest of France and Germany, in the interest of peace and liberty, in the interest of Western civilization against Eastern barbarism, the German workmen will not patiently tolerate the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. . . . We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common International cause of the Proletariat!"

Unfortunately, we cannot feel sanguine of their im-

mediate success. If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor, are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangor of arms? The German workmen's manifesto demands the extradition of Louis Bonaparte as a common felon to the French Republic. Their rulers are, on the contrary, already trying hard to restore him to the Tuileries as the best man to ruin France. However that may be, history will prove that the German working class are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle class. They will do their duty.

Like them, we hail the advent of the Republic in France, but at the same time we labor under misgivings which we hope will prove groundless. That Republic has not subverted the throne, but only taken its place become vacant. It has been proclaimed, not as a social conquest, but as a national measure of defense. It is in the hands of a Provisional Government composed partly of notorious Orleanists, partly of middle-class Republicans, upon some of whom the insurrection of June, 1848, has left its indelible stigma.[1] The division of labor amongst the

[1] On the 8th of September, 1870, two days after Napoleon III., beaten at Sedan, had surrendered to the King of Prussia, the people of Paris assembled tumultuously in the streets, and the National Guard, armed with muskets, invaded the *Corps Législatif*. All the deputies were expelled except those of the Left, who were carried off to the Hôtel de Ville, and who, then and there, in compliance with the imperious demands of a vast multitude, proclaimed the Republic. Then Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Jules Ferry, Gambetta, Cremieux, Emmanuel Arago, Glais-Bizoin, Pelletan, Garnier-Pages, and Picard, by mutual agreement proposed themselves as a Provisional Government of Defense. When their names were read by Favre, the crowd answered by adding those of well-known revolutionists, such as Delescluze and Blanqui; but Favre & Co. cunningly insisted upon having no colleagues in the provisional government that were not deputies of Paris, and the crowd assented, satisfied with the addition of Rochefort. In Lissagaray's words: "This phrenzy of just emancipated serfs made the [bourgeois] Left masters. Twelve individuals took possession of France. They invoked no other title than their mandate as representatives of Paris, and declared themselves legitimate by popular acclamation."—*Note to the American Edition.*

members of that Government looks awkward. The Orleanists have seized the strongholds of the army and the police, while to the professed Republicans have fallen the talking departments. Some of their first acts go far to show that they have inherited from the Empire, not only ruins, but also its dread of the working class. If eventual impossibilities are in wild phraseology promised in the name of the Republic, is it not with a view to prepare the cry for a "possible" government? Is the Republic, by some of its middle-class undertakers, not intended to serve as a mere stop-gap and bridge over an Orleanist Restoration?

The French working class moves, therefore, under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Any attempt at upsetting the new Government in the present crisis, when the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly. The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens; but, at the same time, they must not allow themselves to be swayed by the national souvenirs of 1792, as the French peasants allowed themselves to be deluded by the national souvenirs of the First Empire. They have not to recapitulate the past, but to build up the future. Let them calmly and resolutely improve the opportunities of Republican liberty, for the work of their own class organization. It will gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France, and our common task—the emancipation of labor. Upon their energies and wisdom hinges the fate of the Republic.

The English workmen have already taken measures to overcome, by a wholesome pressure from without, the reluctance of their Government to recognize the French Republic. The present dilatoriness of the British Government is probably intended to atone for the Anti-

Jacobin war and the former indecent haste in sanctioning the *coup d'état*. The English workmen call also upon their Government to oppose by all its power the dismemberment of France, which a part of the English press is shameless enough to howl for. It is the same press that for twenty years deified Louis Bonaparte as the providence of Europe, that frantically cheered on the slaveholders to rebellion. Now, as then, it drudges for the slaveholder.

Let the sections of the *International Workingmen's Association* in every country stir the working classes to action. If they forsake their duty, if they remain passive, the present tremendous war will be but the harbinger of still deadlier international feuds, and lead in every nation to a renewed triumph over the workman by the lords of the sword, of the soil, and of capital.

Vive la République!

London, September 9, 1870.

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION ON THE PARIS COMMUNE

ISSUED ON MAY 30, 1871, AND ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

CHAPTER I

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

On the 4th of September, 1870, when the workingmen of Paris proclaimed the Republic, which was almost instantaneously acclaimed throughout France, without a single voice of dissent, a cabal of place-hunting barristers, with Thiers for their statesman and Trochu for their general, took hold of the Hôtel de Ville. At that time they were imbued with so fanatical a faith in the mission of Paris to represent France in all epochs of historical crises, that, to legitimatize their usurped titles as governors of France, they thought it quite sufficient to produce their lapsed mandates as representatives of Paris. In our second address on the late war, five days after the rise of these men, we told you who they were. Yet, in the turmoil of surprise, with the real leaders of the working class still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussians already marching upon Paris, Paris bore with their assumption of power, on the express condition that it was to be wielded for the single purpose of national defense. Paris, however, was not to be defended without arming its working class, organizing them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the Revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been

a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defense did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.

The first step they took was to send Thiers on a roving tour to all the Courts of Europe, there to beg mediation by offering the barter of the Republic for a king. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment had come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addressed the assembled mayors of Paris in these terms:

"The first question put to me by my colleagues on the very evening of the 4th of September was this: Paris, can it, with any chance of success stand a siege by 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 hold out a siege by the Prussian army would be folly. Without doubt, I added, it would be an heroic folly, but that would be all. . . . . The events [managed by himself] have not given the lie to my prevision." This nice little speech of Trochu was afterwards published by M. Corbon, one of the mayors present.

Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan" was known to his colleagues to be the capitulation of Paris. If national defense had been more than a pretext for the personal government of Thiers, Favre & Co., the upstarts of the 4th of September, would have abdicated on the 5th—would have initiated the Paris people into Trochu's "plan," and called

upon them to surrender at once, or to take their own fate into their own hands. Instead of this, the infamous impostors resolved upon curing the heroic folly of Paris by a regimen of famine and broken heads, and to dupe her in the meanwhile by ranting manifestoes, holding forth that Trochu, "the Governor of Paris, will never capitulate," and Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister, will "not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our fortresses." In a letter to Gambetta, that very same Jules Favre avows that what they were "defending" against were not the Prussian soldiers, but the workingmen of Paris. During the whole continuance of the siege the Bonapartist cut-throats, whom Trochu had wisely intrusted with the command of the Paris army, exchanged, in their intimate correspondence, ribald jokes at the well-understood mockery of defense.[1] The mask of imposture was at last dropped on the 28th of January, 1871. With the true heroism of utter self-debasement, the Government of National Defense, in their capitulation, came out as the Government of France by Bismarck's permission—a part so base that Louis Bonaparte himself had, at Sedan, shrunk from accepting it. After the events of the 18th of March, on their wild flight to Versailles, the *capitulards* 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, "those men would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed by a sea of blood."

To be eagerly bent upon such a consummation, some of the leading members of the Government of Defense had, besides, most peculiar reasons of their own.

[1] See, for instance, the correspondence of Alphonse Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defense of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, to Suzanne, general of division of artillery, a correspondence published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune.

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, M. Millière, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, now shot by express order of Jules Favre, 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 the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession, which made him a rich man, and that, in a lawsuit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure by the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. As these dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any amount of rhetorical horsepower, Jules Favre, for the first time in his life, held his tongue, quietly awaiting the outbreak of the civil war, in order, then, frantically to denounce the people of Paris as a band of escaped convicts in utter revolt against family, religion, order, and property. This same forger had hardly got into power, after the 4th of September, when he sympathetically let loose upon society Pic and Taillefer, convicted, even under the Empire, of forgery, in the scandalous affair of the *Étendard*. One of these men, Taillefer, having dared to return to Paris under the Commune, was at once reinstated in prison; and then Jules Favre exclaimed, from the tribune of the National Assembly, that Paris was setting free all her jailbirds!

Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Government of National Defense, who appointed himself Home Minister of the Republic after having in vain striven to become the Home Minister of the Empire, is the brother of one Arthur Picard, an individual expelled from the Paris Bourse as a blackleg,[1] and convicted, on his own con-

[1] See report of the Prefecture of Police, dated July 13th, 1867.

fession, of a theft of 300,000 francs, while manager of one of the branches of the *Société Générale,* rue Palestro, No. 5.[1] This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard the editor of his paper, *l'Électeur Libre.* While the common run of stockjobbers were led astray by the official lies of the Home Office paper, Arthur was running backwards and forwards between the Home Office and the Bourse, there to discount the disasters of the French army. The whole financial correspondence of that worthy pair of brothers fell into the hands of the Commune.

Jules Ferry, a penniless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as the mayor of Paris during the siege, to job a fortune out of famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be the day of his conviction.

These men, then, could find, in the ruins of Paris only, their tickets-of-leave: they were the very men Bismarck wanted. With the help of some shuffling of cards, Thiers, hitherto the secret prompter of the Government, now appeared at its head, with the ticket-of-leave men for his Ministers.

Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century, because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. Before he became a statesman he had already proved his lying powers as an historian. The chronicle of his public life is the record of the misfortunes of France. Banded, before 1830, with the Republicans, he slipped into office under Louis Philippe by betraying his protector Lafitte, ingratiating himself with the king by exciting mob-riots against the clergy, during which the Church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the

[1] See report of the Prefecture of Police, dated December 11th, 1868.

Archbishop's palace were plundered, and by acting the minister-spy upon, and the jail-accoucheur of, the Duchess de Berri. The massacre of the Republicans in the rue Transnonain, and the subsequent infamous laws of September against the press and the right of association, were his work. Reappearing as the chief of the Cabinet in March, 1840, he astonished France with his plan of fortifying Paris. To the Republicans, who denounced this plan as a sinister plot against the liberty of Paris, he replied from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies:

"What! to fancy that any works of fortification could ever endanger liberty! And first of all you calumniate any possible Government in supposing that it could some day attempt to maintain itself by bombarding the capital. . . . But that Government would be a hundred times more impossible after its victory than before." Indeed, no Government would ever have dared to bombard Paris from the forts, but that Government which had previously surrendered these forts to the Prussians.

When King Bomba[1] tried his hand at Palermo, in January, 1848, Thiers, then long since out of office, again rose in the Chamber of Deputies: "You know, gentlemen, what is happening at Palermo. You, all of you, shake with horror [in the parliamentary sense] on hearing that during forty-eight hours a large town has been bombarded —by whom? Was it by a foreign enemy exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, it was by its own Government. And why? Because that unfortunate town demanded its rights. Well, then, for the demand of its rights it has got forty-eight hours of bombardment. . . . . Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is

[1] Ferdinand, King of Naples, nicknamed "Bomba" (bomb), because of the barbarous bombardment of Palermo to which reference is made here. —*Note to the American Edition.*

doing a service to mankind to arise, and to speak out from this tribune—the greatest, perhaps, in Europe—some resounding words [mere words, indeed] of indignation against such acts. . . . When the Regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country [which M. Thiers never did], intended bombarding Barcelona, in order to suppress its insurrection, there arose from all parts of the world a general outcry of indignation."

Eighteen months afterwards, M. Thiers was amongst the fiercest defenders of the bombardment of Rome by a French army. In fact, the fault of King Bomba seems to have consisted in this only, that he limited his bombardment to forty-eight hours.

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from place and pelf to which Guizot had condemned him, and sniffing in the air the scent of an approaching popular commotion, Thiers, in that pseudo-heroic style which won him the nickname of *Mirabeau-mouche,* declared to the Chamber of Deputies: "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 fall into the hands of ardent minds, even into those of Radicals, I shall, for all that, not desert my cause. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution." The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the Guizot Cabinet by the Thiers Cabinet, as the little man had dreamt, it superseded Louis Philippe by the Republic. On the first day of the popular victory he carefully hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the workingmen screened him from their hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage, until the June massacre had cleared it for his sort

of action. Then he became the leading mind of the "Party of Order" and its Parliamentary Republic, that anonymous interregnum, in which all the rival factions of the ruling class conspired together to crush the people, and conspired against each other to restore each of them its own monarchy. Then, as now, Thiers denounced the Republicans as the only obstacle to the consolidation of the Republic; then, as now, he spoke to the Republic as the hangman spoke to Don Carlos: "I shall assassinate thee, but for thine own good." Now, as then, he will have to exclaim on the day after his victory: *L'Empire est fait*—the Empire is consummated. Despite his hypocritical homilies about necessary liberties and his personal grudge against Louis Bonaparte, who had made a dupe of him and kicked out parliamentarism—and outside of its factitious atmosphere the little man is conscious of withering into nothingness—he had a hand in all the infamies of the Second Empire, from the occupation of Rome by French troops to the war with Prussia; a war which he incited by his fierce invective against German unity, not as a cloak of Prussian despotism, but as an encroachment upon the vested right of France in German disunion. Fond of brandishing, with his dwarfish arms, in the face of Europe the sword of the First Napoleon, whose historical shoeblack he had become, 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, when he hounds on the prisoners of Sedan and Metz against Paris by special permission of Bismarck. Despite his versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, this man has his whole lifetime been wedded to the most fossil routine. It is self-evident that to him the deeper undercurrents of modern society remained forever hidden;

but even the most palpable changes on its surface were abhorrent to a brain all the vitality of which had fled to the tongue. Thus he never tired of denouncing as a sacrilege any deviation from the old French protective system. When a minister of Louis Philippe, he railed at railways as a wild chimera; and when in opposition under Louis Bonaparte, he branded as a profanation every attempt to reform the rotten French army system. Never in his long political career has he been guilty of a single — even the smallest — measure of any practical use.

Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it. Having entered his first ministry under Louis Philippe poor as Job, he left it a millionaire. His last ministry under the same king (of the 1st of March, 1840), exposed him to public taunts of peculation in the Chamber of Deputies, to which he was content to reply by tears—a commodity he deals in as freely as Jules Favre, or any other crocodile. At Bordeaux his first measure for saving France from impending financial ruin was to endow himself with three millions a year, the first and the last word of the "Economical Republic," the vista of which he had opened to his Paris electors in 1869. One of his former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist and, nevertheless, a devoted member of the Paris Commune, M. Beslay, lately addressed Thiers thus in a public placard: "The enslavement of labor by capital has always been the cornerstone of your policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labor installed at the Hôtel de Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals!'" A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices, and

base perfidies of parliamentary party-warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stifle it in blood when at the helm of the State; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.

The capitulation of Paris, by surrendering to Prussia not only Paris, but all France, closed the long-continued intrigues of treason with the enemy, which the usurpers of the 4th of September had begun, as Trochu himself said, on that very same day. On the other hand, it initiated the civil war they were now to wage with the assistance of Prussia, against the Republic and Paris. The trap was laid in the very terms of the capitulation. At that time above one-third of the territory was in the hands of the enemy, the capital was cut off from the provinces, all communications were disorganized. To elect under such circumstances a real representation of France was impossible, unless ample time were given for preparation. In view of this, the capitulation stipulated that a National Assembly must be elected within eight days; so that in many parts of France the news of the impending election arrived on its eve only. This Assembly, moreover, was, by an express clause of the capitulation, to be elected for the sole purpose of deciding on peace or war, and, eventually, to conclude a treaty of peace. The population could not but feel that the terms of the armistice rendered the continuation of the war impossible, and that for sanctioning the peace imposed by Bismarck, the worst men in France were the best. But not content with these precautions, Thiers, even before

the secret of the armistice had been broached to Paris, set out for an electioneering tour through the provinces, there to galvanize back into life the Legitimist party, which now, along with the Orleanists, had to take the place of the then impossible Bonapartists. He was not afraid of them. Impossible as a government of modern France, and, therefore, contemptible as rivals, what party were more eligible as tools of counter-revolution than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers himself (Chamber of Deputies, January 5, 1833), "had always been confined to the three resources of foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy"? They verily believed in the advent of their long-expected retrospective millennium. There were the heels of foreign invasion trampling upon France; there was the downfall of an Empire, and the captivity of a Bonaparte; and there they were themselves. The wheel of history has evidently rolled back to stop at the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816. In the assemblies of the Republic, 1848 to '51, they had been represented by their educated and trained parliamentary champions; it was the rank-and-file of the party which now rushed in—all the Pourceaugnacs[1] of France.

As soon as this Assembly of "Rurals" had met at Bordeaux, Thiers made it clear to them that the peace preliminaries must be assented to at once, without even the honors of a parliamentary debate, as the only condition on which Prussia would permit them to open the war against the Republic and Paris, its stronghold. The counter-revolution had, in fact, no time to lose. The Second Empire had more than doubled the national debt and plunged all the large towns into heavy municipal

[1] The *Pourceaugnacs* are an ideal creation that typifies the country nobility, *Pourceau* meaning swine, and *gnac* being a suffix common to a number of noble names in the southern part of France; for instance, *Polignac, Cavaignac, Cassagnac,* etc.—*Note to the American Edition.*

debts. The war had fearfully swelled the liabilities, and mercilessly ravaged the resources of the nation. To complete the ruin, the Prussian Shylock was there with his bond for the keep of half a million of his soldiers on French soil, his indemnity of five milliards and interest at 5 per cent. on the unpaid instalments thereof. Who was to pay the bill? It was only by the violent overthrow of the Republic that the appropriators of wealth could hope to shift on to the shoulders of its producers the cost of a war which they, the appropriators, had themselves originated. Thus, the immense ruin of France spurred on these patriotic representatives of land and capital, under the very eyes and patronage of the invader, to graft upon the foreign war a civil war—a slaveholders' rebellion.

There stood in the way of this conspiracy one great obstacle—Paris. To disarm Paris was the first condition of success. Paris was therefore summoned by Thiers to surrender its arms. Then Paris was exasperated by the frantic anti-republican demonstrations of the "Rural" Assembly and by Thiers' own equivocations about the legal status of the Republic; by the threat to decapitate and decapitalize Paris; the appointment of Orleanist ambassadors; Dufaure's laws on over-due commercial bills and house rents, inflicting ruin on the commerce and industry of Paris; Pouyer-Quertier's tax of two centimes upon every copy of every imaginable publication; the sentences of death against Blanqui and Flourens; the suppression of the Republican journals; the transfer of the National Assembly to Versailles; the renewal of the state of siege declared by Palikao, and expired on the 4th of September; the appointment of Vinoy, the *Décembriseur*, as governor of Paris—of Valentin, the Imperialist gendarme, as its prefect of police—and of

D'Aurelles de Paladine, the Jesuit general, as the commander-in-chief of its National Guard.

And now we have to address a question to M. Thiers and the men of national defense, his understrappers. It is known that, through the agency of M. Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had contracted a loan of two milliards, to be paid down at once. Now, is it true or not—

1. That the business was so managed that a consideration of several millions was secured for the private benefit of Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, and Jules Simon? and—

2. That no money was to be paid down until after the "pacification" of Paris?

At all events, there must have been something very pressing in the matter, for Thiers and Jules Favre, in the name of the majority of the Bordeaux Assembly, unblushingly solicited the immediate occupation of Paris by Prussian troops. Such, however, was not the game of Bismarck, as he sneeringly, and in public, told the admiring Frankfort Philistines on his return to Germany.[1]

[1] The four paragraphs at the end of this chapter are omitted from Longuet's French edition, to which reference is made in our Preface. Longuet gives no reason for this suppression. It will be observed that the charges of corruption which were then currently made against Thiers, Favre and others, are presented here, not in the positive but in the interrogative form. Such charges cannot be readily proved; yet every one knows that it would have been contrary to all the principles of morality by which the relations of financiers and statesmen of France were determined in those days, for the financiers who made such an enormously profitable operation to offer no reward and for the statesman to refuse any.—*Note to the American Edition.*

CHAPTER II

THE EIGHTEENTH OF MARCH

ARMED Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux Assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its Rurals had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris by Thiers to the tender mercies of the triumvirate of Vinoy the *Décembriseur,* Valentin the Bonapartist gendarme, and Aurelles de Paladine the Jesuit general, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt. But while insultingly exhibiting the true purpose of the disarmament of Paris, the conspirators asked her to lay down her arms on a pretext which was the most glaring, the most barefaced of lies. The artillery of the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State, and to the State it must be returned. The fact is this: From the very day of the capitulation, by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France, but reserved to themselves a numerous bodyguard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The National Guard reorganized themselves and intrusted their supreme control to a Central Committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formation. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central Committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards in and about the very quarters the Prussians

were to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property, it was officially recognized in the capitulation of the 28th of January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender, into the hands of the conqueror, of arms belonging to the Government. And Thiers was so utterly destitute of even the flimsiest pretext for initiating the war against Paris, that he had to resort to the flagrant lie of the artillery of the National Guard being State property!

The seizure of her artillery was evidently but to serve as the preliminary to the general disarmament of Paris, and, therefore, of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that revolution had become the legal status of France. The Republic, its work, was recognized by the conqueror in the terms of the capitulation. After the capitulation, it was acknowledged by all the foreign Powers, and in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Paris workingmen's revolution of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at Bordeaux, and of its executive. Without it, the National Assembly would at once have to give way to the *Corps Législatif*, elected in 1869 by universal suffrage under French, not under Prussian, rule, and forcibly dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. Thiers and his ticket-of-leave men would have had to capitulate for safe-conducts signed by Louis Bonaparte, to save them from a voyage to Cayenne. The National Assembly, with its power of attorney to settle the terms of peace with Prussia, was but an incident of that revolution, the true embodiment of which was still armed Paris, who had initiated it, undergone for it a five months' siege, with its horrors of famine, and made her prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's plan, the basis of

an obstinate war of defense in the provinces. And Paris was now either to lay down her arms at the insulting behest of the rebellious slaveholders of Bordeaux, and acknowledge that her revolution of the 4th of September meant nothing but a simple transfer of power from Louis Bonaparte to his royal rivals; or she had to stand forward as the self-sacrificing champion of France, whose salvation from ruin, and whose regeneration were impossible, without the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the Second Empire, and, under its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. She heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators, even with Prussian cannon frowning upon her from her own forts. Still, in its abhorrence of the civil war into which Paris was to be goaded, the Central Committee continued to persist in a merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.

Thiers opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, at the head of a multitude of *sergents-de-ville* and some regiments of the line, upon a nocturnal expedition against Montmartre, there to seize, by surprise, the artillery of the National Guard. It is well known how this attempt broke down before the resistance of the National Guard and the fraternization of the line with the people. D'Aurelles de Paladine had printed beforehand his bulletin of victory, and Thiers held ready the placards announcing his measures of *coup d'état*. Now these had to be replaced by Thiers' appeals, imparting his magnanimous resolve to leave the National Guard in the possession of their arms, with which, he said, he felt sure they would

rally round the Government against the rebels. Out of 300,000 National Guards only 300 responded to this summons to rally round little Thiers against themselves. The glorious workingmen's revolution of the 18th of March took undisputed sway of Paris without striking a blow. The Central Committee was its provisional government. Europe seemed, for a moment, to doubt whether the recent sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them, or whether they were the dreams of a long bygone past.

From the 18th of March to the entrance of the Versailles troops into Paris, the proletarian revolution remained so free from the acts of violence in which the revolutions, and still more the counter-revolutions, of the "better classes" abound, that no facts were left to its opponents to cry out about but the execution of Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas, and the affair of the Place Vendôme.

One of the Bonapartist officers engaged in the nocturnal attempt against Montmartre, General Lecomte, had four times ordered the 81st line regiment to fire at an unarmed gathering in the Place Pigale, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, his own men shot him. The inveterate habits acquired by the soldiery under the training of the enemies of the working class are, of course, not likely to change the very moment these soldiers change sides. The same men executed Clement Thomas.

"General" Clement Thomas, a malcontent ex-quartermaster-sergeant, had, in the latter days of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted at the office of the Republican newspaper *Le National*, there to serve in the double capacity of responsible man-of-straw (*gérant responsable*) and of duelling bully to that very combative journal. After the

revolution of February, the men of *Le National* having got into power, they metamorphosed this old quartermaster-sergeant into a general on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters, and became one of the most dastardly executioners. Then he and his generalship disappeared for a long time, to again rise to the surface on the 1st of November, 1870. The day before, the Government of Defense, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had solemnly pledged their parole to Blanqui, Flourens, and other representatives of the working class, to abdicate their usurped power into the hands of a commune to be freely elected by Paris. Instead of keeping their word, they let loose on Paris the Bretons of Trochu, who now replaced the Corsicans of Bonaparte. General Tamisier alone, refusing to sully his name by such a breach of faith, resigned the commandership-in-chief of the National Guard, and in his place Clement Thomas for once became again a general. During the whole of his tenure of command, he made war, not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard. He prevented their general armament, pitted the bourgeois battalions against the workingmen's battalions, weeded out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan," and disbanded, under the stigma of cowardice, the very same proletarian battalions whose heroism has now astonished their most inveterate enemies. Clement Thomas felt quite proud of having reconquered his June preëminence as the personal enemy of the working class of Paris. Only a few days before the 18th of March, he laid before the War Minister, Leflô, a plan of his own for "finishing off *la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*." After Vinoy's rout, he must needs appear upon the scene of action in the quality of an amateur spy. The Central Committee and the Paris

workingmen were as much responsible for the killing of Clement Thomas and Lecomte as the Princess of Wales was for the fate of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance into London.

The massacre of unarmed citizens in the Place Vendôme is a myth which M. Thiers and the Rurals persistently ignored in the Assembly, entrusting its propagation exclusively to the servants' hall of European journalism. "The men of order," the reactionists of Paris, trembled at the victory of the 18th of March. To them it was the signal of popular retribution at last arriving. The ghosts of the victims assassinated at their hands from the days of June, 1848, down to the 22d of January, 1871, arose before their faces. Their panic was their only punishment. Even the *sergents-de-ville,* instead of being disarmed and locked up, as ought to have been done, had the gates of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles. The men of order were left not only unharmed, but allowed to rally and quietly to seize more than one stronghold in the very center of Paris. This indulgence of the Central Committee—this magnanimity of the armed workingmen—so strangely at variance with the habits of the "party of order," the latter misinterpreted as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their silly plan to try, under the cloak of an unarmed demonstration, what Vinoy had failed to perform with his cannon and mitrailleuses. On the 22d of March a riotous mob of swells started from the quarters of luxury, all the *petits crevés* in their ranks, and at their head the notorious familiars of the Empire—the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, Henri de Pène, etc. Under the cowardly pretense of a pacific demonstration, this rabble, secretly armed with the weapons of the bravo, fell into marching order, ill-treated and disarmed the detached patrols and

sentries of the National Guard they met with on their progress, and, on debouching from the Rue de la Paix, with the cry of "Down with the Central Committee! Down with the assassins! The National Assembly forever!" attempted to break through the line drawn up there, and thus to carry by a surprise the headquarters of the National Guard in the Place Vendôme. In reply to their pistol shots, the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English Riot Act) were made, and, proving ineffective, fire was commanded by the general of the National Guard. One volley dispersed into wild flight the silly coxcombs, who expected that the mere exhibition of their "respectability" would have the same effect upon the revolution of Paris as Joshua's trumpets upon the walls of Jericho. The runaways left behind them two National Guards killed, nine severely wounded (among them a member of the Central Committee), and the whole scene of their exploit strewn with revolvers, daggers, and sword-canes, in evidence of the "unarmed" character of their "pacific" demonstration.

When, on the 13th of June, 1849, the National Guard made a really pacific demonstration in protest against the felonious assault of French troops upon Rome, Changarnier, then general of the party of order, was acclaimed by the National Assembly, and especially by M. Thiers, as the saviour of society, for having launched his troops from all sides upon these unarmed men, to shoot and sabre them down, and to trample them under their horses' feet. Paris, then, was placed under a state of siege. Dufaure hurried through the Assembly new laws of repression. New arrests, new proscriptions—a new reign of terror set in. But the lower orders manage these things otherwise. The Central Committee of 1871 simply ignored the heroes of the "pacific demonstration";

so much so, that only two days later they were enabled to muster, under Admiral Saisset, for that *armed* demonstration, crowned by the famous stampede to Versailles. In their reluctance to continue the civil war opened by Thiers' burglarious attempt on Montmartre, the Central Committee made themselves, this time, guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching upon Versailles, then completely helpless, and thus putting an end to the conspiracies of Thiers and his Rurals. Instead of this, the party of order was again allowed to try its strength at the ballot-box, on the 26th of March, the day of the election of the Commune. On that day, at the polls, they, these men of order, were blandly exchanging words of conciliation with their too generous conquerors, while muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due time.

Now, look at the reverse of the medal. Thiers opened his second campaign against Paris in the beginning of April. The first batch of Parisian prisoners brought into Versailles was subjected to revolting atrocities, while Ernest Picard, with his hands in his trousers' pockets, strolled about jeering them, and while Mesdames Thiers and Favre, in the midst of their ladies of honor (?) applauded, from the balcony, the outrages of the Versailles mob. The captured soldiers of the line were massacred in cold blood; our brave friend, General Duval, the ironfounder, was shot without any form of trial. Galliffet, the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasted in a proclamation of having commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards, with their captain and lieutenant, surprised and disarmed by his chasseurs. Vinoy, the runaway, was appointed Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor by Thiers, for his

general order to shoot down every soldier of the line taken in the ranks of the Federals. Desmarets, the gendarme, was decorated for the treacherous butcher-like chopping in pieces of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, who had saved the heads of the Government of Defense on the 31st of October, 1870. "The encouraging particulars" of his assassination were triumphantly expatiated upon by Thiers in the National Assembly. With the elevated vanity of a parliamentary Tom Thumb, permitted to play the part of a Tamerlane, he denied the rebels against his littleness every right of civilized warfare, up to the right of neutrality for ambulances. Nothing more horrid than that monkey allowed for a time to give full fling to his tigerish instincts, as foreseen by Voltaire.

After the decree of the Commune of the 7th of April, ordering reprisals and declaring it to be its duty "to protect Paris against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti, and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," Thiers did not stop the barbarous treatment of prisoners, moreover insulting them in his bulletins as follows: "Never have more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest men"—honest, like Thiers himself and his ministerial ticket-of-leave men. Still the shooting of prisoners was suspended for a time. Hardly, however, had Thiers and his Decembrist generals become aware that the Communal decree of reprisals was but an empty threat, that even their gendarme spies caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even *sergents-de-ville* taken with incendiary shells upon them, were spared—when the wholesale shooting of prisoners was resumed and carried on uninterruptedly to the end. Houses to which National Guards had fled were surrounded by gen-

darmes, inundated with petroleum (which here occurs for the first time in this war), and then set fire to. the charred corpses being afterwards brought out by the ambulance of the Press at the Ternes. Four National Guards having surrendered to a troop of mounted chasseurs at Belle Épine, on the 25th of April, were afterwards shot down, one after another, by the captain, a worthy man of Galliffet's. One of his four victims, left for dead, Sheffer, crawled back to the Parisian outposts, and deposed to this fact before a commission of the Commune. When Tolain interpellated the War Minister upon the report of this commission, the Rurals drowned his voice and forbade Leflô to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army to speak of its deeds. The flippant tone in which Thiers' bulletins announced the bayoneting of the Federals surprised asleep at Moulin Saquet, and the wholesale fusillades at Clamart shocked the nerves even of the not over-sensitive London *Times*. But it would be ludicrous to-day to attempt recounting the merely preliminary atrocities committed by the bombarders of Paris and the fomenters of a slaveholders' rebellion protected by foreign invasion. Amidst all these horrors, Thiers, forgetful of his parliamentary laments on the terrible responsibility weighing down his dwarfish shoulders, boasts in his bulletins that *l'Assemblée siège paisiblement* (the Assembly continues meeting in peace), and proves by his constant carousals, now with Decembrist generals, now with German princes, that his digestion is not troubled in the least, not even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clement Thomas.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMMUNE

ON the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunderburst of "Vive la Commune!" What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th of March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power." But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized State power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labor—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle class society as a mighty weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of medieval rubbish, seignorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies, and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of its last hindrances to the superstructure of the modern State

edifice raised under the First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semifeudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent régimes the Government, placed under parliamentary control—that is, under the direct control of the propertied classes—became not only a hotbed of huge national debts and crushing taxes; with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, it became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions and adventurers of the ruling classes; but its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes of society. At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class-antagonism between capital and labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labor, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The Revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the workingmen. The bourgeois Republicans, who, in the name of the Revolution of 1848, took the State power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of government to the bourgeois "Republicans." However, after their one heroic exploit of June, the bourgeois Republicans had, from the front, to fall back to the rear of the "Party of Order"—a combination formed by all the rival

fractions and factions of the appropriating class in their now openly declared antagonism to the producing classes. The proper form of their joint stock Government was the *Parliamentary Republic,* with Louis Bonaparte for its President. Theirs was a régime of avowed class terrorism and deliberate insult towards the "vile multitude." If the Parliamentary Republic, as M. Thiers said, "divided them [the different fractions of the ruling class] least," it opened an abyss between that class and the whole body of society outside their spare ranks. The restraints by which their own divisions had under former régimes still checked the State power, were removed by their union; and in view of the threatening upheaval of the proletariat, they now used that State power mercilessly and ostentatiously as the national war engine of capital against labor. In their uninterrupted crusade against the producing masses they were, however, bound not only to invest the executive with continually increased powers of repression, but at the same time to divest their own parliamentary stronghold—the National Assembly—one by one, of all its own means of defense against the Executive. The Executive, in the person of Louis Bonaparte, turned them out. The natural offspring of the "Party-of-Order" Republic was the Second Empire.

The Empire, with the *coup d'état* for its certificate of birth, universal suffrage for its sanction, and the sword for its sceptre, professed to rest upon the peasantry, the large mass of producers not directly involved in the struggle of capital and labor. It professed to save the working class by breaking down parliamentarism, and, with it, the undisguised subserviency of Government to the propertied classes. It professed to save the propertied classes by upholding their economic supremacy over the working class; and, finally, it professed to unite

all classes by reviving for all the chimera of national glory. In reality, it was the only form of government possible at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation. It was acclaimed throughout the world as the saviour of society. Under its sway, bourgeois society, freed from political cares, attained a development unexpected even by itself. Its industry and commerce expanded to colossal dimensions; financial swindling celebrated cosmopolitan orgies; the misery of the masses was set off by a shameless display of gorgeous, meretricious, and debased luxury. The State power, apparently soaring high above society, was at the same time itself the greatest scandal of that society and the very hotbed of all its corruptions. Its own rottenness, and the rottenness of the society it had saved, were laid bare by the bayonet of Prussia, herself eagerly bent upon transferring the supreme seat of that régime from Paris to Berlin. Imperialism is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labor by capital.

The direct antithesis to the Empire was the Commune. The cry of "Social Republic," with which the revolution of February was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a Republic that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that Republic.

Paris, the central seat of the old governmental power, and, at the same time, the social stronghold of the French

working class, had risen in arms against the attempt of Thiers and the Rurals to restore and perpetuate that old governmental power bequeathed to them by the Empire. Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of workingmen. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally workingmen, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual

force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.

The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centers of France. The communal régime once established in Paris and the secondary centers, the old centralized Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organization which the Commune had no time to develop, it is clearly stated that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of each district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the

mandat impératif (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally misstated, but were to be discharged by communal, and therefore strictly responsible, agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken; but, on the contrary, to be organized by the Communal Constitution, and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping preëminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and managers in his business. And it is well known that companies, like individuals, in matters of real business generally know how to put the right man in the right place, and, if they for once make a mistake, to redress it promptly. On the other hand, nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture.

It is generally the fate of completely new historical creations to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life, to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this new Commune, which breaks the modern State power, has been mistaken for a reproduction of the medieval communes, which first

preceded, and afterwards became the substratum of, that very State power. The Communal Constitution has been mistaken for an attempt to break up into a federation of small States, as dreamt of by Montesquieu and the Girondins, that unity of great nations which, if originally brought about by political force, has now become a powerful coefficient of social production. The antagonism of the Commune against the State power has been mistaken for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralization. Peculiar historical circumstances may have prevented the classical development, as in France, of the bourgeois form of government, and may have allowed, as in England, to complete the great central State organs by corrupt vestries, jobbing councillors, and ferocious poor-law guardians in the towns, and virtually hereditary magistrates in the counties. The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of France. The provincial French middle class saw in the Commune an attempt to restore the sway their order had held over the country under Louis Philippe, and which, under Louis Napoleon, was supplanted by the pretended rule of the country over the towns. In reality, the Communal Constitution brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and there secured to them, in the workingmen, the natural trustees of their interests. The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of course, local municipal liberty, but no longer as a check upon the now superseded State power. It could only enter into the head of a Bismarck—who, when not engaged on his intrigues of blood and iron, always likes to resume his old

trade, so befitting his mental calibre, of contributor to *Kladderadatch* (the Berlin *Punch*)—it could only enter in such a head, to ascribe to the Paris Commune aspirations after that caricature of the old French municipal organization of 1791, the Prussian municipal constitution, which degrades the town governments to mere secondary wheels in the police machinery of the Prussian State. The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure—the standing army and State functionarism. Its very existence presupposed the non-existence of monarchy, which, in Europe at least, is the normal incumbrance and indispensable cloak of class-rule. It supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions. But neither cheap government nor the "true Republic" was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants.

The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favor, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor.

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule.

With labor emancipated, every man becomes a workingman, and productive labor ceases to be a class attribute.

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense literature, for the last sixty years, about emancipation of labor, no sooner do the workingmen anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of Capital and Wage-slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intends to abolish that class-property which makes the labor of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labor, into mere instruments of free and associated labor. But this is Communism, "impossible" Communism! Why, those members of the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the present system—and they are many—have become the obtrusive and full-mouthed apostles of coöperative production. If coöperative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the capitalist system; if united coöperative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of capitalist

production—what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?

The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending, by its own economic agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility.

When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain workingmen for the first time dared to infringe upon the governmental privilege of their "natural superiors," and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently—performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority, is the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school board—the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labor, floating over the Hôtel de Ville.

And yet, this was the first revolution in which the

working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants —the wealthy capitalist alone excepted. The Commune had saved them by a sagacious settlement of that ever recurring cause of dispute among the middle class themselves—the debtor and creditor accounts. The same portion of the middle class, after they had assisted in putting down the workingmen's insurrection of June, 1848, had been at once unceremoniously sacrificed to their creditors by the then Constituent Assembly. But this was not their only motive for now rallying round the working class. They felt there was but one alternative—the Commune, or the Empire—under whatever name it might reappear. The Empire had ruined them economically by the havoc it made of public wealth, by the wholesale financial swindling it fostered, by the props it lent to the artificially accelerated centralization of capital, and the concomitant expropriation of their own ranks. It had suppressed them politically, it had shocked them morally by its orgies, it had insulted their Voltairianism by handing over the education of their children to the *Frères Ignorantins,* it had revolted their national feeling as Frenchmen by precipitating them headlong into a war which left only one equivalent for the ruins it made—the disappearance of the Empire. In fact, after the exodus from Paris of the high Bonapartist and capitalist *Bohême,* the true middle-class Party of Order came out in the shape of the *Union Républicaine,* enrolling themselves under the colors of the Commune and defending it against the wilful misconstruction of Thiers. Whether the gratitude of this great body of the middle class will stand the present severe trial, time must show.

The Commune was perfectly right in telling the peas-

ants that "its victory was their only hope." Of all the lies hatched at Versailles and reëchoed by the glorious European penny-a-liner, one of the most tremendous was that the Rurals represented the French peasantry. Think only of the love of the French peasant for the men to whom, after 1815, he had to pay the milliard of indemnity! In the eyes of the French peasant, the very existence of a great landed proprietary is in itself an encroachment on his conquests of 1789. The bourgeoisie, in 1848, had burthened his plot of land with the additional tax of forty-five centimes in the franc; but then it did so in the name of the revolution; while now it had fomented a civil war against the revolution, to shift on the peasant's shoulders the chief load of the five milliards of indemnity to be paid to the Prussian. The Commune, on the other hand, in one of its first proclamations, declared that the true originators of the war would be made to pay its cost. The Commune would have delivered the peasant of the blood tax, would have given him a cheap government, transformed his present bloodsuckers, the notary, advocate, executor, and other judicial vampires, into salaried communal agents, elected by, and responsible to, himself. It would have freed him of the tyranny of the *garde champêtre*,[1] the gendarme, and the prefect; would have put enlightenment by the schoolmaster in the place of stultification by the priest. And the French peasant is, above all, a man of reckoning. He

[1] The *garde champêtre* is a rural guard, appointed in each rural commune (corresponding in size to the smallest of our eastern townships), for the protection of crops, cattle and other farm property. While the mounted gendarmes police the national and departmental highways, he polices the fields and communal by-ways, enforces the communal ordinances and the game laws, arrests poachers, etc. On account of his acquaintance with every man, woman, and child residing in the commune, and of his dependence upon the bourgeois officials for his position, he is frequently required to act the part of a political spy and can in many small ways be very troublesome or even tyrannical.—*Note to the American Edition.*

would find it extremely reasonable that the pay of the priest, instead of being extorted by the tax-gatherer, should only depend upon the spontaneous action of the parishioners' religious instincts. Such were the great immediate boons which the rule of the Commune—and that rule alone—held out to the French peasantry. It is, therefore, quite superfluous here to expatiate upon the more complicated but vital problems which the Commune alone was able, and at the same time compelled, to solve in favor of the peasant, viz., the hypothecary debt (mortgage), lying like an incubus upon his parcel of soil, the *proletariat foncier* (land-holding proletariat), daily growing upon the land, and his expropriation from it enforced, at a more and more rapid rate, by the very development of modern agriculture and the competition of capitalist farming.

The French peasant had elected Louis Bonaparte president of the Republic; but the Party of Order created the Empire. What the French peasant really wants he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850, by opposing his mayor to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the Government's priest, and himself to the Government's gendarme. All the laws made by the Party of Order in January and February, 1850, were avowed measures of repression against the peasant. The peasant was a Bonapartist, because the Great Revolution, with all its benefits to him, was, in his eyes, personified in Napoleon. This delusion, rapidly breaking down under the Second Empire (and in its very nature hostile to the Rurals), this prejudice of the past, how could it have withstood the appeal of the Commune to the living interests and urgent wants of the peasantry?

The Rurals—this was, in fact, their chief apprehension—knew that three months' free communication of Com-

munal Paris with the provinces would bring about a general rising of the peasants, and hence their anxiety to establish a police blockade around Paris, so as to stop the spread of the rinderpest.

If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, a workingmen's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labor, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world.

The Second Empire had been the jubilee of cosmopolitan blacklegism, the rakes of all countries rushing in at its call for a share in its orgies and in the plunder of the French people. Even at this moment the right hand of Thiers is Ganesco, the foul Wallachian, and his left hand is Markowski, the Russian spy. The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honor of dying for the immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organizing police-hunts upon the Germans in France; the Commune made a German workingman its Minister of Labor. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of, Russia; the Commune honored the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. And, to broadly mark the new era of history, it was conscious of initiating, under the eyes of the conquering Prussians on the one side and of the Bonapartist army, led by Bonapartist generals, on the

other, the Commune pulled down that colossal symbol of martial glory, the Vendôme column.

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeyman bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work.

The financial measures of the Commune, remarkable for their sagacity and moderation, could only be such as were compatible with the state of a besieged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the City of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors, under the protection of Haussmann, the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the Orleans family. The Hohenzollern and the English oligarchs, who both have derived a good deal of their estates from Church plunder, were, of course, greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000 francs out of secularization.

While the Versailles Government, as soon as it had recovered some spirit and strength, used the most violent means against the Commune; while it put down the free expression of opinion all over France, even to the forbidding of meetings of delegates from the large towns; while it subjected Versailles and the rest of France to

an espionage far surpassing that of the Second Empire; while it burned by its gendarme inquisitors all papers printed at Paris, and sifted all correspondence from and to Paris; while in the National Assembly the most timid attempts to put in a word for Paris were howled down in a manner unknown even to the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816; with the savage warfare of Versailles outside, and its attempts at corruption and conspiracy inside Paris —would the Commune not have shamefully betrayed its trust by affecting to keep up all the decencies and appearances of liberalism as in a time of profound peace? Had the Government of the Commune been akin to that of M. Thiers, there would have been no more occasion to suppress Party-of-Order papers at Paris than there was to suppress Communal papers at Versailles.

It was irritating, indeed, to the Rurals that at the very same time they declared the return to the Church to be the only means of salvation for France, the infidel Commune unearthed the peculiar mysteries of the Picpus nunnery and of the St. Laurent Church. It was a satire upon M. Thiers that, while he showered grand crosses upon the Bonapartist generals, in acknowledgment of their mastery in losing battles, signing capitulations, and turning cigarettes at Wilhelmshöhe, the Commune dismissed and arrested its generals whenever they were suspected of neglecting their duties. The expulsion from, and arrest by, the Commune of one of its members who had slipped in under a false name, and had undergone at Lyons six days' imprisonment for simple bankruptcy, was it not a deliberate insult hurled at the forger, Jules Favre, then still the Foreign Minister of France, still selling France to Bismarck, and still dictating his orders to that paragon Government of Belgium? But, indeed, the Commune did not pretend to infallibility, the invariable at-

tribute of all governments of the old stamp. It published its doings and sayings, it initiated the public into all its shortcomings.

In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others mere bawlers, who by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamation against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. After the 18th of March some such men did also turn up, and in some cases contrived to play preëminent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil; with time they are shaken off; but time was not allowed to the Commune.

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris! No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees, American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serf-owners, and Wallachian boyards. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind. "We," said a member of the Commune, "hear no longer of assassination, theft, and personal assault; it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends." The *cocottes* had refound the scent of their

protectors—the absconding men of family, religion, and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!

Opposed to this new world at Paris, behold the old world at Versailles—that assembly of the ghouls of all defunct régimes, Legitimists and Orleanists, eager to feed upon the carcass of the nation—with a tail of antediluvian Republicans, sanctioning, by their presence in the Assembly, the slaveholders' rebellion, relying for the maintenance of their Parliamentary Republic upon the vanity of the senile mountebank at its head, and caricaturing 1789 by holding their ghastly meetings in the *Jeu de Paume*. There it was, this Assembly, the representative of everything dead in France, propped up into a semblance of life by nothing but the swords of the generals of Louis Bonaparte. Paris all truth, Versailles all lie; and that lie vented through the mouth of Thiers.

Thiers tells a deputation of the mayors of the Seine-et-Oise—"You may rely upon my word, which I have *never* broken!" He tells the Assembly itself that "it was the most freely elected and most liberal Assembly France ever possessed"; he tells his motley soldiery that it was "the admiration of the world, and the finest army France ever possessed"; he tells the provinces that the bombardment of Paris by him was a myth: "If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents trying to make believe that they are fighting, while they dare not show their faces." He again tells the provinces that "the artillery of Versailles does not bombard Paris, but only

cannonades it." He tells the Archbishop of Paris that the pretended executions and reprisals (!) attributed to the Versailles troops were all moonshine. He tells Paris that he was only anxious "to free it from the hideous tyrants who oppress it," and that, in fact, the Paris of the Commune was "but a handful of criminals."

The Paris of M. Thiers was not the real Paris of the "vile multitude," but a phantom Paris, the Paris of the *francs-fileurs,* the Paris of the Boulevards, male and female—the rich, the capitalist, the gilded, the idle Paris, now thronging with its lackeys, its blacklegs, its literary *bohême,* and its *cocottes* at Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain; considering the civil war but an agreeable diversion, eyeing the battle going on through telescopes, counting the rounds of cannon, and swearing by their own honor and that of their prostitutes that the performance was far better got up than it used to be at the Porte St. Martin. The men who fell were really dead; the cries of the wounded were cries in good earnest; and, besides, the whole thing was so intensely historical.

This is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the Emigration of Coblentz was the France of M. de Calonne.

CHAPTER IV

THE REPRESSION

THE first attempt of the slaveholders' conspiracy to put down Paris by getting the Prussians to occupy it, was frustrated by Bismarck's refusal. The second attempt, that of the 18th of March, ended in the rout of the army and the flight to Versailles of the Government, which ordered the whole administration to break up and follow in its track. By the semblance of peace-negotiations with Paris, Thiers found the time to prepare for war against it. But where to find an army? The remnants of the line regiments were weak in number and unsafe in character. His urgent appeal to the provinces to succor Versailles, by their National Guards and volunteers, met with a flat refusal. Brittany alone furnished a handful of *Choudas* fighting under a white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast the heart of Jesus in white cloth, and shouting *"Vive le Roi!"* (Long live the King!) Thiers was, therefore, compelled to collect, in hot haste, a motley crew, composed of sailors, marines, Pontifical Zouaves, Valentin's gendarmes, and Piétri's *sergents de ville* and *mouchards*. This army, however, would have been ridiculously ineffective without the instalments of imperialist war-prisoners, which Bismarck granted in numbers just sufficient to keep the civil war a-going, and keep the Versailles Government in the abject dependence on Prussia. During the war itself, the Versailles police had to look after the Versailles army, while the gendarmes had to drag it on by exposing themselves at all posts of dan-

ger. The forts which fell were not taken but bought. The heroism of the Federals convinced Thiers that the resistance of Paris was not to be broken by his own strategic genius and the bayonets at his disposal.

Meanwhile, his relations with the provinces became more and more difficult. Not one single address of approval came in to gladden Thiers and his Rurals. Quite the contrary. Deputations and addresses demanding, in a tone anything but respectful, conciliation with Paris on the basis of the unequivocal recognition of the Republic, the acknowledgment of the Communal liberties, and the dissolution of the National Assembly, whose mandate was extinct, poured in from all sides, and in such numbers that Dufaure, Thiers' Minister of Justice, in his circular of April 23d to the public prosecutors, commanded them to treat "the cry of conciliation" as a crime. In regard, however, to the hopeless prospect held out by his campaign, Thiers resolved to shift his tactics by ordering, all over the country, municipal elections to take place on the 30th of April, on the basis of the new municipal law dictated by himself to the National Assembly. What with the intrigues of his prefects, what with police intimidation, he felt quite sanguine of imparting, by the verdict of the provinces, to the National Assembly that moral power it had never possessed, and of getting at last from the provinces the physical force required for the conquest of Paris.

His banditti-warfare against Paris, exalted in his own bulletins, and the attempts of his Ministers at the establishment, throughout France, of a reign of terror, Thiers was from the beginning anxious to accompany with a little byplay of conciliation, which had to serve more than one purpose. It was to dupe the provinces, to inveigle the middle-class element in Paris, and, above all, to afford

the professed Republicans in the National Assembly the opportunity of hiding their treason against Paris behind their faith in Thiers. On the 21st of March, when still without an army, he had declared to the Assembly: "Come what may, I will not send an army to Paris." On March 27th he rose again: "I have found the Republic an accomplished fact, and I am firmly resolved to maintain it." In reality, he put down the revolution at Lyons and Marseilles in the name of the Republic, while the roars of his Rurals drowned the very mention of its name at Versailles. After this exploit, he toned down the "accomplished fact" into an hypothetical fact. The Orleans princes, whom he had cautiously warned off Bordeaux, were now, in flagrant breach of the law, permitted to intrigue at Dreux. The concessions held out by Thiers in his interminable interviews with the delegates from Paris and the provinces, although constantly varied in tone and color, according to time and circumstances, did in fact never come to more than the prospective restriction of revenge to the "handful of criminals implicated in the murder of Lecomte and Clement Thomas," on the well-understood premise that Paris and France were unreservedly to accept M. Thiers himself as the best of possible Republics, as he, in 1830, had done with Louis Philippe. Even these concessions he not only took care to render doubtful by the official comments put upon them in the Assembly through his Ministers; he had his Dufaure to act. Dufaure, this old Orleanist lawyer, had always been the justiciary of the state of siege, as now in 1871, under Thiers, so in 1839, under Louis Philippe, and in 1849, under Louis Bonaparte's presidency. While out of office he made a fortune by pleading for the Paris capitalists, and made political capital by pleading against the laws he had himself originated. He now hurried

through the National Assembly not only a set of repressive laws which were, after the fall of Paris, to extirpate the last remnants of Republican liberty in France; he foreshadowed the fate of Paris by abridging the, for him, too slow procedure of courts-martial, and by a new-fangled, Draconic code of deportation. The Revolution of 1848, abolishing the penalty of death for political crimes, had replaced it by deportation. Louis Bonaparte did not dare, at least not in theory, to reëstablish the *régime* of the guillotine. The Rural Assembly, not yet bold enough even to hint that the Parisians were not rebels, but assassins, had therefore to confine its prospective vengeance against Paris to Dufaure's new code of deportation. Under all these circumstances Thiers himself could not have gone on with his comedy of conciliation, had it not, as he intended it to do, drawn forth shrieks of rage from the Rurals, whose ruminating mind could understand neither the play, nor its necessities of hypocrisy, tergiversation, and procrastination.

In sight of the impending municipal elections of April 30th, Thiers enacted one of his great conciliation scenes on April 27th. Amidst a flood of sentimental rhetoric, he exclaimed from the tribune of the Assembly: "There exists no conspiracy against the Republic but that of Paris, which compels us to shed French blood. I repeat it again and again. Let those impious arms fall from the hands which hold them, and chastisement will be arrested at once by an act of peace excluding only the small number of criminals." To the violent interruption of the Rurals he replied: "Gentlemen, tell me, I implore you, am I wrong? Do you really regret that I could have stated the truth that the criminals are only a handful? Is it not fortunate in the midst of our misfortunes that those who have been capable to shed the blood of Clement

Thomas and General Lecomte are but rare exceptions?"

France, however, turned a deaf ear to what Thiers flattered himself to be a parliamentary siren's song. Out of 700,000 municipal councillors returned by the 35,000 communes still left to France, the united Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000. The supplementary elections which followed were still more decidedly hostile. Thus, instead of getting from the provinces the badly needed physical force, the National Assembly lost even its last claim of moral force, that of being the expression of the universal suffrage of the country. To complete the discomfiture, the newly-chosen municipal councils of all the cities of France openly threatened the usurping Assembly at Versailles with a counter Assembly at Bordeaux.

Then the long-expected moment of decisive action had at last come for Bismarck. He peremptorily summoned Thiers to send to Frankfort plenipotentiaries for the definitive settlement of peace. In humble obedience to the call of his master, Thiers hastened to despatch his trusty Jules Favre, backed by Pouyer-Quertier. Pouyer-Quertier, an "eminent" Rouen cotton-spinner, a fervent and even servile partisan of the Second Empire, had never found any fault with it save its commercial treaty with England, prejudicial to his own shop-interest. Hardly installed at Bordeaux as Thiers's Minister of Finance, he denounced that "unholy" treaty, hinted at its near abrogation, and had even the effrontery to try, although in vain (having counted without Bismarck), the immediate enforcement of the old protective duties against Alsace, where, he said, no previous international treaties stood in the way. This man, who considered counter-revolution as a means to put down wages at Rouen, and the sur-

render of French provinces as a means to bring up the price of his wares in France, was he not *the one* predestined to be picked out by Thiers as the helpmate of Jules Favre in his last and crowning treason?

On the arrival at Frankfort of this exquisite pair of plenipotentiaries, bully Bismarck at once met them with the imperious alternative: "Either the restoration of the Empire, or the unconditional acceptance of my own peace terms!" These terms included a shortening of the intervals in which the war indemnity was to be paid, and the continued occupation of the Paris forts by Prussian troops until Bismarck should feel satisfied with the state of things in France; Prussia thus being recognized as the supreme arbiter in internal French politics! In return for this he offered to let loose, for the extermination of Paris, the captive Bonapartist army, and to lend them the direct assistance of Emperor William's troops. He pledged his good faith by making payment of the first instalment of the indemnity dependent on the "pacification" of Paris. Such a bait was, of course, eagerly swallowed by Thiers and his plenipotentiaries. They signed the treaty of peace on the 10th of May, and had it endorsed by the Versailles Assembly on the 18th.

In the interval between the conclusion of peace and the arrival of the Bonapartist prisoners, Thiers felt the more bound to resume his comedy of conciliation, as his Republican tools stood in sore need of a pretext for blinking their eyes at the preparations for the carnage of Paris. As late as the 18th of May he replied to a deputation of middle-class conciliators: "Whenever the insurgents will make up their minds for capitulation, the gates of Paris shall be flung wide open during a week for all except the murderers of Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte."

A few days afterwards, when violently interpellated on

these promises by the Rurals, he refused to enter into any explanations; not, however, without giving them this significant hint: "I tell you there are impatient men amongst you, men who are in too great a hurry. They must have another eight days; at the end of these eight days there will be no more danger, and the task will be proportionate to their courage and to their capacities." As soon as McMahon was able to assure him that he could shortly enter Paris, Thiers declared to the Assembly that "he would enter Paris, with the *laws* in his hands, and demand a full expiation from the wretches who had sacrificed the lives of soldiers and destroyed public monuments." As the moment of decision drew near he said to the Assembly, "I shall be pitiless!"; to Paris, that it was doomed; and to his Bonapartist banditti, that they had State license to wreak vengeance upon Paris to their heart's content. At last when treachery had opened the gates of Paris to General Douai, on the 21st of May, Thiers, on the 22d, revealed to the Rurals the "goal" of his conciliation comedy, which they had so obstinately persisted in not understanding. "I told you a few days ago that we were approaching *our goal;* to-day I come to tell you the *goal* is reached. The victory of order, justice, and civilization is at last won!"

So it was. The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeois in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women, and

children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versaillese, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they are the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilization, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome. The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in massacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners: the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailleuses for the despatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not "the law in their hands," nor on their lips the cry of "civilization."

And after those horrors, look upon the other, still more hideous, face of that bourgeois civilization as described by its own press!

"With stray shots," writes the Paris correspondent of a London Tory paper, "still ringing in the distance, and untended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones of Père la Chaise—with 6,000 terror-stricken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair in the labyrinth of the catacombs, and wretches hurried through the streets to be shot down in scores by the mitrailleuse—it is revolting to see the *cafés* filled with the votaries of absinthe, billiards, and dominoes; female profligacy perambulating the boulevards, and the sound of revelry disturbing the night from the *cabinets particuliers* of fashionable restau-

rants." M. Edouard Hervé writes in the *Journal de Paris*, a Versaillist journal suppressed by the Commune: "The way in which the population of Paris (!) manifested its satisfaction yesterday was rather more than frivolous, and we fear it will grow worse as time progresses. Paris has now a *fête-day* appearance, which is sadly out of place; and, unless we are to be called the *Parisiens de la décadence*, this sort of thing must come to an end." And then he quotes the passage from Tacitus: "Yet, on the morrow of that horrible struggle, even before it was completely over, Rome, degraded and corrupt, began once more to wallow in the voluptuous slough which was destroying its body and polluting its soul—*ali prælia et vulnera, alibi balnea popinæque* — here fights and wounds, there baths and restaurants." M. Hervé only forgets to say that the "population of Paris" he speaks of is but the population of the Paris of M. Thiers —the *francs-fileurs* returning in throngs from Versailles, Saint Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain—the Paris of the "Decline."[1]

In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilization, based upon the enslavement of labor, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue-and-cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene workingmen's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodhounds of "order." And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilization! The Paris people die enthusiastically for the Commune in numbers unequalled in

[1] For further quotations from the capitalist press concerning the hideous events of the "Bloody Week," see Appendix, page 110.—*Note to the American Edition.*

any battle known to history. What does that prove? Why, that the Commune was not the people's own government, but the usurpation of a handful of criminals! The women of Paris joyfully give up their lives at the barricades and on the place of execution. What does this prove? Why, that the demon of the Commune has changed them into Megæras and Hecates! The moderation of the Commune during two months of undisputed sway is equaled only by the heroism of its defence. What does that prove? Why, that for months the Commune carefully hid, under a mask of moderation and humanity, the bloodthirstiness of its fiendish instincts, to be let loose in the hour of its agony!

The workingmen's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariat, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government of Versailles cries, "Incendiarism!" and whispers this cue to all its agents, down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its enemies everywhere as suspected of professional incendiarism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar!

When governments give state-licenses to their navies to "kill, *burn*, and destroy," is that a license for incendiarism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the Capitol at Washington and to the summer palace of the Chinese Emperor, was that incendiarism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burnt down, by the help of petroleum, towns like Châteaudun and innumerable villages, was that incendiarism? When Thiers, during six weeks,

bombarded Paris, under the pretext that he wanted to set fire to those houses only in which there were people, was that incendiarism? In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If their defenders have to retire, they themselves light the flames to prevent the attack from making use of the buildings. To be burnt down has always been the inevitable fate of all buildings situated in the front of battle of all the regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against their enslavers, the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good! The Commune used fire strictly as a means of defense. They used it to stop up to the Versailles troops those long straight avenues which Haussmann had expressly opened to artillery fire; they used it to cover their retreat, in the same way as the Versaillese, in their advance, used their shells which destroyed at least as many buildings as the fire of the Commune. It is a matter of dispute, even now, which buildings were set fire to by the defense, and which by the attack. And the defense resorted to fire only then, when the Versaillese troops had already commenced their wholesale murdering of prisoners. Besides, the Commune had, long before, given full public notice that, if driven to extremities, they would bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow, as the Government of Defense, but only as a cloak for its treason, had promised to do. For this purpose Trochu had found them the petroleum. The Commune knew that its opponents cared nothing for the lives of the Paris people, but cared much for their own Paris buildings. And Thiers, on the other hand, had given them notice that he would be implacable in his vengeance. No sooner had he got his army ready on one side, and the Prussians shutting up

the trap on the other, than he proclaimed: "I shall be pitiless! The expiation will be complete, and justice will be stern!" If the acts of the Paris workingmen were vandalism, it was the vandalism of defense in despair, not the vandalism of triumph, like that which the Christians perpetrated upon the really priceless art treasures of heathen antiquity; and even that vandalism has been justified by the historian as an unavoidable and comparatively trifling concomitant to the Titanic struggle between a new society arising and an old one breaking down. It was still less the vandalism of Haussmann, razing historic Paris to make place for the Paris of the sightseer!

But the execution by the Commune of the sixty-four hostages, with the Archbishop of Paris at their head! The bourgeoisie and its army in June, 1848, reëstablished a custom which had long disappeared from the practice of war—the shooting of their defenseless prisoners. This brutal custom has since been more or less strictly adhered to by the suppressors of all popular commotions in Europe and India; thus proving that it constitutes a real "progress of civilization"! On the other hand, the Prussians, in France, had reëstablished the practice of taking hostages—innocent men, who, with their lives, were to answer to them for the acts of others. When Thiers, as we have seen, from the very beginning of the conflict, enforced the humane practice of shooting down the Communal prisoners, the Commune, to protect their lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versaillese. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which McMahon's pretorians celebrated their entrance into Paris?

Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham of? The real murderer of Archbishop Darboy is Thiers. The Commune again and again had offered to exchange the archbishop, and ever so many priests in the bargain, against the single Blanqui, then in the hands of Thiers. Thiers obstinately refused. He knew that with Blanqui he would give to the Commune a head; while the archbishop would serve his purpose best in the shape of a corpse. Thiers acted upon the precedent of Cavaignac. How, in June, 1848, did not Cavaignac and his men of order raise shouts of horror by stigmatizing the insurgents as the assassins of Archbishop Affre! They knew perfectly well that the archbishop had been shot by the soldiers of order. M. Jacquemet, the archbishop's vicar-general, present on the spot, had immediately afterwards handed them in his evidence to that effect.

All this chorus of calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime.

The conspiracy of the ruling class to break down the Revolution by a civil war carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader—a conspiracy which we have traced from the very 4th of September down to the entrance of MacMahon's pretorians through the gate of St. Cloud—culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris, in which he saw perhaps the first instalment of that general destruction of great cities he had prayed for when still a mere Rural

in the Prussian *Chambre introuvable* of 1849. He gloats over the *cadavres* of the Paris proletariat. For him this is not only the extermination of revolution, but the extinction of France, now decapitated in reality, and by the French Government itself. With the shallowness characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. When has history ever exhibited before the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries, and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was, therefore, no belligerent. She had acted the part of a bravo, a cowardly bravo, because incurring no danger; a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood-money of five hundred millions on the fall of Paris. And thus, at last, came out the true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany! And this unparalleled breach of the law of nations, even as understood by the old-world lawyers, instead of arousing the "civilized" governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government, the mere tool of the St. Petersburg Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not to be given up to the hangman at Versailles!

That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the

crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are *one* as against the proletariat!

After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the workingmen of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again in ever-growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the vanguard of the modern proletariat.

While the European Governments thus testify, before Paris, to the international character of class rule, they cry down the International Workingmen's Association—the international counter-organization of labor against the cosmopolitan organization of capital—as the head fountain of all these disasters. Thiers denounced it as the despot of labor, pretending to be its liberator. Picard ordered that all communications between the French Internationals and those abroad should be cut off. Count Jaubert, Thiers's mummified accomplice of 1835, declares it the great problem of all civilized governments to weed it out. The Rurals roar against it, and the whole European press joins the chorus. An honorable French writer, completely foreign to our Association, speaks as follows: "The members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of

the Commune, are the most active, intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Workingmen's Association; . . . . men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the *good* sense of the word." The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself the International Workingmen's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced workingmen in the various countries of the civilized world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any constituency, it is but natural that members of our Association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Government would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labor—the condition of their own parasitical existence.

Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them.

APPENDIX

ANTI-PLEBISCITE MANIFESTO

(See notes, pages 23 and 24.)

IN the notes on pages 23 and 24 relative to the plebiscite submitted to the French people by Louis Bonaparte, reference is made to the "Anti-Plebiscite Manifesto" issued by the Paris Sections of the International in conjunction with the Federal Chamber of Labor Societies. The following translation of the manifesto has been made especially for this edition of *The Paris Commune:*

ANTI-PLEBISCITE MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE FEDERATED PARISIAN SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION AND THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF LABOR SOCIETIES.

To All French Workingmen:

Citizens—After the Revolution of 1789 and the Declaration of Rights of 1793, the sovereignty of labor is the only constitutive basis upon which modern society should rest.

Labor is, in effect, the supreme law of humanity, the source of public wealth, and the most efficient cause of individual well-being.

The workingman alone is entitled to the esteem of his fellow-citizens; he imposes even upon those who exploit him a sense of his honesty; he is called upon to regenerate the old order.

This is why we say to the urban and rural workers, to the small manufacturers, to the small business men, and to all those who sincerely desire the reign of liberty founded upon equality: It is not enough to answer by a purely negative vote this plebiscite that they have the audacity to thrust upon us; not enough to prefer the constitution of 1870 to that of 1852—a parliamen-

tary government to a personal one. Out of the ballot-box must come the most absolute condemnation of the monarchic régime, the complete, the radical affirmation of the only form of government that can give scope to our legitimate aspirations — the *Social and Democratic Republic.*

Insensate is he who would believe that the constitution of 1870 would enable him, any more than that of 1852, to assure to his children the benefits of integral, free, and obligatory instruction for all!

That it would allow the reformation and the reorganization of the great public services (mines, canals, railroads, banks, etc.) for the benefit of all, instead of being as they are to-day, a means of exploitation for the feudality of capital!

The complete changing of the mode of levying taxes, which until now have been progressive in the direction of poverty!

The restoration to the public domain of the properties which the clergy, secular and regular, have seized upon by subreption in defiance of the laws of 1789 and 1790!

The putting an end to the abuse of power by all the governmental functionaries great and small (constables, *juges d'instruction, commissaires de police,* etc.), whose arbitrary conduct is to-day covered by article 75 of the Constitution of the year VIII!

And finally, the suppression of the blood-tax (the standing army) by abolishing the conscription!

No! Citizens, such could not be the case. Despotism has the fatal quality of being able to engender only despotism. The test has been made.

And, moreover, we refuse to recognize in the executive the right to question us. This right would imply on our part a subjection against which the very name of the power that arrogates it protests when that power indicates that he is not the master, but only and nothing more than the executor of the sovereign will of the nation.

If then, with us, you desire to put an end to all the defilements of the past; if you desire that the new social compact, consented to by citizens, equals in rights as in duties, shall assure to each of you peace and liberty, equality and work; if you want to affirm the Social and Democratic Republic, the best means as we see it is either to refuse to vote or else vote against the constitution — and this without excluding the other modes of protestation.

Workers of all crafts, remember the massacres at Aubin and at la Ricamarie, the convictions at Autun and the acquittal at Tours; and, while you take your ballots to show that you are not indifferent to your civic duties, remember to abstain from voting.

Workers of the country districts! Like your city brothers you bear the crushing burdens of the present social system; you produce without ceasing, and the most of the time you lack the necessaries of life, while the *fisc,* the usurer, and the proprietors thrive at your expense.

The Empire, not satisfied at crushing you with taxes, takes

from you your sons, your only support, to make papal soldiers of them, or to strew their abandoned corpses over the desert plains of Syria, Cochin-China and Mexico.

We likewise advise you to abstain from voting, because abstention is the protest that the author of the *coup d'état* fears the most; but if you are compelled to cast your ballot, let it either remain blank or bear the words: *Radical change in taxation! No more conscription! The Social and Democratic Republic!*

For the Federated Parisian Sections of the International Workingmen's Association:

A. COMBAULT, rue de Vaugirard, 289.
REYMOND, rue de l'Ouest, 80.
GERMAIN CASSE, rue de Maubeuge, 94.
BERTHOMIEU, member of the Commission of the International.
LAFARGUE, member of the Vaugirard Section.
E. LEFÈVRE, rue des Martyrs, 99.
JULES JOHANNARD, rue d'Aboukir, 126.
J. FRANQUIN, rue de la Verrerie, 42.

For the Federal Chamber of Labor Societies:

A. THEISZ, carver, rue de Jessaint, 12.
CAMELINAT, bronze-mounter, rue Folie-Méricourt, 34.
AVRIAL, machinist, passage Raoul, 15.
D. ANDRÉ, cabinet-maker, rue Neuve-des-Boulets, 17.
DESTETTI, rue des Boulangers, 16.
PINDY, joiner, rue du Faubourg-du-Temple, 17.
ROBILLARD, gilder, rue de Sèvres, 113.
ROUVEYROLE, goldsmith, rue Lesage, 16.

"BLOODY WEEK"

CAPITALIST VENGEANCE. — THE QUICK-LIME DEATH-PITS OF MONTPARNASSE. — SLAUGHTER AT THE MUR DES FÉDÉRÉS. — THE MURDERER GALLIFFET AND THE TRAITOR MILLERAND. — COMMUNARDS BURIED ALIVE. — CHILDREN FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE INCLUDED IN THE SLAUGHTER. — DOOMED MEN COMPELLED TO WALK OVER THE CORPSES OF THEIR MURDERED COMRADES.

BY LUCIEN SANIAL.

(See page 98.)

The atrocities of the "Bloody Week" — *Semaine Sanglante* is the name under which that terrible week has passed into history — were but in part, and we may say in very small part, known to Marx when he wrote these lines; for at that particular moment, and for several days thereafter, he had no other source of information than the incomplete and disconnected reports of the London dailies. In order to form an approximate idea of their extent and savagery, it is necessary to read the thrilling account which Lissagaray gives of them in his *History of the Commune*. As the merit of his narrative is not only in its accuracy, but in its consecutiveness, and as we cannot here reproduce it in full, we shall not mutilate it into extracts. But the contemporary testimony of the capitalist press, which is not now so readily accessible as Lissagaray's book, has also a special value, and to Marx's quotation from a "Tory organ" we may add a few others, typical of the many of the same sort that might be made from the published letters of newspaper correspondents and editorial utterances of journalists who witnessed the horrible scenes which they described.

The Paris *Temps* stated that "immense pits ten meters (thirty-three feet) square and equally deep have been dug at the Montparnasse cemetery, in which layers of twenty corpses each, covered with lime, are superposed." According to the Paris *Liberté* the Champs de Mars was used for a similar purpose, and the bodies were thrown pellmell into deep trenches. The Théâtre

Français Square, the Pigalle Square, and many other places were used for hasty burial, in fear of pestilence. "There are," stated that paper, "streets in Paris in which the dead bodies are being accumulated and in every house of which a number of corpses are awaiting interment." . . . "On the Saint Michel Boulevard, stages are driven to each barricade and may then be seen slowly filling up as with a tide of cadavres. The sight of limbs hanging out of these stages is ghastly beyond expression." Numbers of those who had been shot at the Loban barracks and other places in proximity to the river were expeditiously thrown into it. The reporter of a conservative paper, says Camille Pelletan, took the trouble of counting those he had seen floating in the course of a short walk along the quay: he called that "*la pêche au fédéré.*" The *Petite Presse* noticed a long and persistent streak of blood in the river, passing under the second arch of the Tuilleries bridge and running swiftly far out of sight.

In his testimony before the legislative Commission of Inquiry, instituted with a view to whitewashing the Versailles government, the bourgeois senator Cambon had to declare that in his opinion the number of prisoners shot by the troops had been greater than the actual number of fighting men behind the barricades.

The last stand of the Parisian proletariat was at the Père la Chaise cemetery. In commenting on this final scene of the great drama, the *Temps* said two days later: "More than ten thousand Federals, killed at that place and in its immediate neighborhood, have already been buried. Many corpses are still lying piled up in family chapels." They were not all, of course, killed in battle. Many prisoners — men, women, and children — had been taken, two hundred at the time, to the foot of a wall now known as the Mur des Fédérés (the Federals' Wall), and been shot with mitrailleuses, their bodies immediately falling into a deep, wide, and long trench dug in front of them. On the day following the adjournment of the International Congress of 1900, the delegates went in a procession to the Mur des Fédérés. But the Millerand-Galliffet-Waldeck police cut the procession into several small bodies and would not allow more than one speech to be delivered.

The London *Daily News* of June 8, 1871, printed the following from its Paris correspondent: —

The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Galliffet and his staff dismounted

and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eying the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the center of the road, where a small supplementary column was thus soon formed. . . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Galliffet a man and a woman for some particular offense. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The General waited for a pause, and then with most impassable face and unmoved demeanor said: "Madame, I have visited every theater in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me" (*ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comédie*). . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbors. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose. . . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches.

This Galliffet, "the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire," went during the war by the name of the French "Ensign Pistol." And it was with this Galliffet, as Minister of War, that the "Socialist" Millerand, as Minister of Commerce, entered the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet of the so-called Republican Defense, formed at the time of the Dreyfus affair! The murderer Galliffet and the traitor Millerand! Fit colleagues indeed in a bourgeois conspiracy having in view the disorganization of the socialist movement and the consequent perpetuation of wage-slavery!

The London *Evening Standard* of June 8, 1871, printed this paragraph from its Paris correspondent:—

The *Temps*, which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the square round St. Jacques-la-Boucherie; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighborhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil. In consequence of this, exhumations

were ordered to take place. . . . That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest doubt. One case I can vouch for. When Brunel was shot with his mistress on the 24th ult., in the courtyard of a house in the Place Vendome, the bodies lay there until the afternoon of the 27th. When the burial party came to remove the corpses, they found the woman living still, and took her to an ambulance. Though she had received four bullets, she is now out of danger.

Other details of the capitalist atrocities during the "Bloody Week" appeared in the capitalist papers of Paris. A few extracts gleaned at random are here given: —

In the early morning a thick cordon of troops is drawn in front of the Chatelet Theater, where sits a prevotal court. From time to time groups of fifteen to twenty persons, composed of national guards, civilians, *women, and children fifteen or sixteen years old*, are seen coming out of the theater. They were taken in arms (?) or "otherwise convicted of participation in the resistance." Death is their sentence. They walk two by two, surrounded by chasseurs, and, following the quay, soon reach the Loban barracks. A minute later a musketry fire is heard: they are dead. — *From the Paris Débats, May* 31, 1871.

It is at the Bourse [Stock Exchange; a fit place, to be sure, for this sort of business] that there was to-day the largest number of executions. The doomed men who attempted to resist were bound to the iron railing. — *From the Paris Français, May* 28, 1871.

The Military School and the Monceau Park have been transformed into prisons. Executions are also taking place there. Some of the doomed men are displaying extraordinary indifference and energy. Compelled to pass over the corpses of those who have already been shot, they jump quite smartly. — *From the Paris Petite Presse, May* 26, 1871.

In the Madelaine church, our soldiers did not rest until they had killed with the bayonet every one of the many insurgents who had taken refuge there. — *From the Paris Soir.*

JULES FAVRE ON THE INTERNATIONAL

The following letter appeared in the London *Times* of June 13, 1871. It was written by the Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association, and affords a good insight into the character of Jules Favre. The few lines of comment following the letter are taking from the standard German edition of *The Civil War in France,* edited by Frederick Engels and published in Berlin in 1891:—

To the Editor of the Times:

SIR—On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Workingmen's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterize that document.

In the very preamble of our statutes it is stated that the International was founded "September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre, London." For purposes of his own, Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin beyond 1862.

In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote their [the International's] sheet of the 25th of March, 1869. And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International. This sort of manœuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance, "The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869." The General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the "Alliance"—*L'Alliance de la Democratie Socialiste* at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, and which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war, the General Council of the International

denounced the Prussian plan of conquest against France. Later on Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favor of the Government of National Defense; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made — certainly with the best of intentions — in spite of the General Council, which in its address of the 9th of September had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

What would Jules Favre say if in its turn the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Millière?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HALES,

Secretary to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

256 High Holborn St., W. C., June 12, 1871.

In an article on the "International Association and Its Objects," the London *Spectator*, like the pious informer that it is, quotes, among other similar meritorious performances, and even more fully than Jules Favre has done it, the above mentioned document of the "Alliance" as the work of the International; and that was done eleven days after the publication of the above rejoinder in the *Times*. This does not surprise us. Long ago, Frederick the Great used to say that of all the Jesuits the Protestant ones are the worst.

PERSONNEL OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The two manifestoes of the International Workingmen's Association on the Franco-Prussian War carried the following signatures: —

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

ROBERT APPLEGARTH
MARTIN J. BOON.
FRED. BRADNICK.
CAIHIL.
JOHN HALES.
WILLIAM HALES.
GEORGE HARRIS.
FRED LESSNER.
LAYSATINE.
B. LUCRAFT.
GEORGE MILNER.
THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD.
CHARLES MURRAY.
GEORGE ODGER.
JAMES PARNELL.
PFÄNDER.
RÜHL.
JOSEPH SHEPHERD.
COWELL STEPNEY.
STOLL.
SCHMITZ.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES

EUGENE DUPONT, for France.
KARL MARX, for Germany and Russia.
A. SERRAILLER, for Belgium, Holland and Spain.
HERMANN JUNG, for Switzerland.
GIOVANNI BORA, for Italy.
ZEVY MAURICE, for Hungary.
ANTON ZABICKI, for Poland.
JAMES COHEN, for Denmark.
J. G. ECCARIUS, for the United States.

WILLIAM TOWNSHEND, Chairman.

JOHN WESTON, Treasurer.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary.

Offices: 256 High Holborn, London W. C., September 9th, 1870.

The manifesto on the Civil War in France carried the following signatures: —

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

M. J. Boon.
Fred. Bradnick.
G. H. Buttery.
Caihil.
William Hales.
Kolb.
Lessner.
B. Lucraft.
George Milner.
Thomas Mottershead.
Charles Murray.
George Odger.
Pfänder.
Rühl.
Sadler.
Cowell Stepney.
William Townshend.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES

Eugene Dupont, for France.
Karl Marx, for Germany and Holland.
Frederick Engels, for Belgium and Spain.
Hermann Jung, for Switzerland.
P. Giovacchini, for Italy.
Zevy Maurice, for Hungary.
Anton Zabicki, for Poland.
James Cohen, for Denmark.
J. G. Eccarius, for the United States.

HERMANN JUNG, Chairman.
JOHN WESTON, Treasurer.
GEORGE HARRIS, Financial Secretary.
JOHN HALES, General Secretary.

Offices: 256 High Holborn, London W. C., May 30th, 1871.

THE BALANCE-SHEET OF BOURGEOIS VENGEANCE.

Twenty-five thousand men, women, and children killed during the battle or after; three thousand at least dead in the prisons, the pontoons, the forts, or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life; seventy thousand women, children, and old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France; *one hundred and eleven thousand* victims at least. That is the balance-sheet of the bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the eighteenth of March.

What a lesson of revolutionary vigor given to the workingmen! The governing classes shoot in a lump without taking the trouble to select hostages. Their vengeance lasts not an hour; neither years nor victims appease it; they make of it an administrative function, methodical and continuous.

Lissagaray's "History of the Commune of 1871."

The State is the curse of the individual. How is the strength of the state of Prussia purchased? By the absorption of the individual into the political and geographic concept. The butler makes the best soldier. The opposite may be exemplified by the Jews, the nobility of the race. How have they maintained their individuality in isolation, in poetry, notwithstanding all the brutality of the outside world? Through the fact that they have had no State to encumber them.... The State must be abolished....Changes in the form of government are nothing else than different degrees of trifling, a little more, or a little less—absurd folly. The State has its root in time; its top will culminate in time..... —*HENRIK IBSEN.*

The existence of the State is inseparable from the existence of slavery. —*KARL MARX.*

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