

COMMUNIST MANIFESTOS

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Since early 2016 I have been collecting copies of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *The Communist Manifesto* (hereafter *TCM*). The result to date is 52 (and growing) distinct editions ranging from circa 1902 to 2016. The history of these books as objects, taken as a whole, tells a complex story about history, global politics, revolution, communism, capitalism, and their representation. *TCM* is simultaneously treated as an essential document for revolution, an irrelevant relic of history, an academic object of scrutiny, a misguided tract to be scorned, and a series of ideas that might still offer a key to a better world. While plenty of ink has been spilled on various introductions to *TCM*, this project instead calls for some remarks as to why one would want to collect several editions of the same book. This introduction, then, can be considered an introduction to the various introductions; an introduction to representations of *TCM*; and/or an introduction to the material histories of how the books themselves have circulated in the world.

I should say clearly that, although there are multiple non-English-language editions (Spanish, Mexican, French, and German), this collection is primarily comprised of American editions of *TCM*; my remarks refer mostly to these editions and their surrounding contexts. As the collection grows, it is my hope that it will grow more diverse in order to broaden the at present extremely American and Eurocentric leanings in this collection. At this stage, the limitations of national or cultural diversity of the collection are practical, reflecting what I am able to afford and find at used bookstores and online sales platforms like Amazon.

If there is a spectre haunting *TCM*, it is an excess of crypto-ideologues and their commentary, tethered to these books in the

prefatory pages. To write an introduction to introductions, I feel I must point out some of these ideological underpinnings. Perhaps most commonly, the introductions assure the reader that what they are about to encounter is a historical relic, useful only to those who would study the turmoil of mid-nineteenth-century Europe. This trend is especially true in American editions after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Soviet Union in late 1991. For example, a widely-circulated introduction written by respected scholar Gareth Stedman Jones in 2002 boldly claims: "Belief in the possibility or even the desirability of a future communist society has become extinct."¹ This is an astonishing statement. In addition to the obvious fact that the author could know no such thing, this statement reflects the worst of academic distance from on-the-ground anti-capitalist struggles. This distance is evident given that Jones was writing his 180-page introduction prior to its 2002 publication date, a period when the alter-globalization movement continued to be incredibly active after it peaked in 1999 with the successful shut-down of World Trade Organization talks in Seattle (commonly referred to as "The Battle in Seattle"). This movement, known for its unofficial slogan "another world is possible," mobilized millions of people internationally against neoliberal globalization of capitalism and its myriad of adverse effects. And yet, Jones sees not a glimmer of communist desire?

In other editions Marx is painted as a madman who (inadvertently?) created the intellectual/theoretical conditions

1. Gareth Stedman Jones, introduction to *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Penguin Classics, 2002), 5. While I criticize Jones' almost off-the-cuff comment, I should note the introduction is indeed one of the more useful and comprehensive introductions. At 180 pages, he provides

for terrible visions of a future, somehow responsible for the horrors of Stalinism and “Communist” governments of the twentieth century. In his 1963 introduction, suspiciously titled “Marx the Romantic,” Francis B. Randall writes:

In the full sense of the term, the first chapter of *The Communist Manifesto* is a high Romantic drama on a vast scale [...]. One might ask why Marx threw himself so wholeheartedly into revolutionary work if he was convinced that the revolution would inevitably come at a given moment, no matter what he or the rest of the world did to hurry or prevent it. The answer, of course, is that Marx was possessed of an activist temperament, like many other believers in universal determinist schemes (e.g. Mohammed and Calvin). He was constantly driven from within to write, to make speeches, to organize, to act, driven by what the arch-romantic Goethe would have called *Daemon*, which means not a devil, but an insatiable psychic compulsion.²

One need not be an expert at rhetorical analysis to pinpoint the ways in which Randall evokes the worst aspects of religious zealotry and madness to illustrate Marx as a man possessed. Randall deliberately distances Marx from his intellectual, philosophical, and political commitments in order to render his thought not as stemming from a materialist analysis of economic and social conditions, but rather arising from metaphysical pseudo-truths

a thorough philosophical and historical background for Marx and Engels’ text, if not frustrating at particular moments like the one highlighted above.

2. Francis B. Randall, introduction to *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964), 30.

and personal compulsion. Randall implied that Marx, as the inevitable Father of Marxism, is at the center of his own “determinist” universe, i.e. a manipulative God with delusions of grandeur and mentally unstable with his compulsions. This kind of imagining of Marx, with his insatiable psychic compulsion and the dark religious associations of a soul possessed, creates an easy pathway for historians like A.J.P. Taylor to write in 1967:

Marxism has become the accepted creed or religion of countless millions of mankind, and *The Communist Manifesto* must be counted as a holy book, in the same class as the Bible or the Koran. Nearly every sentence is a sacred text, quoted or acted on by devotees, who often no doubt do not know the source of their belief.³

Taylor does not share with his reader what or who he is speaking of exactly. Certainly many Marxisms (Marxist-Leninism, Maoism, etc.) and their purported adherents—but more specifically those *governments and their state apparatuses*—who invoke Marx’s theories are responsible for plenty of atrocities. Many devotees of Marx have plenty of dogmatic commitments and religious zealotry on par with the worst of any other ideologies throughout history, religious or otherwise. What is useful to note is the way in which these two quotes illustrate an American attitude especially convenient during the Cold War, making it easier for capitalism and the US to claim a moral superiority in the war of propaganda with Communism as practiced by the Soviet Union. Each of these

3. A.J.P. Taylor, introduction to *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (England: Pelican, 1967/1971), 7.

editions discourages the reader from engaging with Marx for fear of becoming swept up in horrors of Communist history; this discouragement is supported by the use of academic authority that invites readers to trust their “objective” expertise. These quotes can only suggest that one cannot develop a communist praxis without enacting the same atrocious policies of the Soviet Union, China, etc. It would seem there is a willful conflation of *TCM* (written in 1848, 69 years before the Bolshevik Revolution) with the selective history of twentieth century Communist Parties that have invoked Marx as their political guide. This conflation in effect freezes the possibilities of *TCM* playing an active role in the development of ideas within a contemporary context. Because these particular introductions were written for a mass-market paperback (Pelican, Penguin, and Washington Square Press all published several editions), both Randall and Taylor’s introductions continued to be circulated widely in the US throughout the late 60s and into the early 70s—a period of American history with arguably the most active anti-capitalist, Marxist influenced social movements in the country’s history.

Although important to briefly discuss common trends in the introductory framing of *TCM*, the book you are holding in your hands is largely centered around the designs of the various editions. I believe the design of these books largely supports the ideological framings I have outlined above. By far, the most common trope in the designs of the various editions is the insistence that the tract is a “Classic.” At the time of this writing there are 52 editions in the collection. Out of 52, 27 (about 52%) are marketed as “Classics” either by utilizing visual tropes in design that suggest an esteemed importance or by including them in a specific series with other classic texts. “Penguin Classics” and Encyclopedia Britannica’s “Great Books of the Western World” each include a version of *TCM*. This inclusion automatically assures the reader the book is of a certain quality by

reiterating the text is a classic. The “classic” designation is often reinforced by the design of the book; for an example, the cover of the Barnes & Noble’s Essential Thinkers Series edition, (2004, page 20) utilizes a simple box to highlight the center-justified serif type. The box nods to earlier printing technologies in which a plate might have been required to typeset the text on the cover. Further, this particular edition has gilded pages with faux gold leaf and a silk bookmark sewn into the book itself, design characteristics most commonly associated with the Bible or other holy texts. Eleven of 52 (about 21%) use nineteenth-century paintings on the cover (for example Barnes & Noble, 2005, page 22, and Oxford World’s Classic, 1998, page 78), reinforcing the specificity of *TCM*’s nineteenth-century framework for engagement. From one perspective, the insistence on understanding *TCM* in its historical context is important. However, many of those who argue this blame Marx for the horrors of Communism, despite (as mentioned above) Marx and Engels writing *TCM* well before the Bolshevik Revolution—this is hardly situating the text within historical context. With this contradiction in editorial and representational logic, I interpret the largest effect of these covers as strongly re-centering white male Europeans as *the* subject of *TCM* and subsequently communism itself, in addition to suggesting the text’s obsolescence. In a sense this is understandable, as Marx and Engels used the English proletariat as the central subject of their thesis.⁴ However, if *TCM* indeed informs Communisms of the future like those under Stalin and Mao, it follows that this also opens the interpretive frame

4. Engels wrote an important 1845 study of the effects of Industrial Revolution on working class in England. See Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, (Penguin Classics, 2005).

considerably to include other, less problematic, Marx-influenced resistance movements that these authors and designers ignore almost entirely. This is in keeping with some of the worst traditions of Marxism that consistently centers the white male worker as the revolutionary proletarian subject. With regards to US editions, one of the byproducts of this Eurocentrism is—intentionally or unintentionally—an erasure of communist movements by people of color across the globe. Perusing these covers one would never know there have been several communist movements in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, or the Middle East. This is doubly reflected in a complete lack of diversity in scholars who have written supplementary material in these editions. Of the English-language editions included here, only white men have written introductions with three exceptions: Robin D.G. Kelley (Charles H. Kerr, 1998, page 60), Ellen Meiksins Wood (Monthly Review Press, 1998, page 70), and Tariq Ali (Verso, 2016, page 124). Given the diversity of communist and Marxist movements in the US (Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Panther Party, I Wor Kuen, Young Lords, Brown Berets, etc.), this is quite astonishing. Given the lack of diversity of popular Marxist scholarship in the western world, this surprises few.

In a few instances, the “classic” status of *TCM* is far more important than the actual content or even the context of the text; see, for example, the Dover edition entitled *The Communist Manifesto and Other Revolutionary Writings: Marx, Marat, Paine, Mao, Gandhi, and Others* (2003, page 36). Somewhat comically, the cover is an illustrated scene with several flags vaguely suggestive of Soviet Realism. In this instance the flags are non-representational: a few are pure red, a few pure blue, and a few are generic red, white, and blue stripes that do not link to any existing political or sovereign markings. What do these flags represent? What is the context of this propagandistic flag waving? The answer of course is there is

no context or politics present here beyond generic references to “revolutionary” movements—which are apparently only represented by non-specific but traditional twentieth-century militaries and their male soldiers. Can no popular social movements be revolutionary? No women? No guerillas? Here we see history, context, and content disregarded entirely in order to compress various political and historical contexts into a single, marketable book. This brings us to one of the great ironies of this project and these books themselves: Marx sells. The incredible number of American editions available is evidence, above all, of the marketability of *The Communist Manifesto* in a capitalist economy. This basic and obvious fact has led to the creation of bizarre compilations like those mentioned above, as well as publishers like Penguin who continue to publish and republish the same content year after year with only tiny design changes to each book that result in an endless cycle of “new” beautifully illustrated editions. This fact also helps to explain why *this* collection is possible, with credit due to an excess of mass-market paperbacks available at every local used bookstore and a vast network of booksellers connected by the uber-capitalist Amazon.

The recognition of the Amazon-ification of capitalism also warrants a brief comment on the printing of this book, printed by a print-on-demand service that has become increasingly common in the past decade or so. What may appear to some as the “democratization” of publishing is, as we have known for some time, instead reflective of a paradigm shift in capitalism that cannibalizes do-it-yourself politics and culture and prioritizes consumer data collection. Websites like Facebook, Etsy, Kickstarter, and Blurb (the printer of this book) mark not the diversification or democratization of culture, but the proliferation of what Guy Debord theorized as early as 1988 as *integrated spectacle*. Integrated spectacle is the culmination of the lessons of nineteenth-century *concentrated*

and *diffuse* capitalism (as represented by Soviet State Capitalism and American “democratic” capitalism, respectively): “...there remains nothing, in culture or in nature, which has not been transformed and polluted, according to the means and interests of modern industry.”⁵ This book, then, is subject to a hegemonic network of forces, reflective not of diverse or subversive culture, but its recuperation. This is the second contradiction of this project: just as the collection itself relies on capitalism, so too does this book.

Despite the cynicism present in my words thus far, there is a rich history of leftist publishers that have published and circulated *TCM* in the US beginning in 1902. Charles H. Kerr, International Publishers, and Foreign Languages Press all have published various editions that correspond to specific historical moments in communist struggle in the US. Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago is one of the oldest leftist publishers in the US. Founded in 1886 in the midst of the Haymarket affair, Kerr was likely the first publisher to introduce Marx to US readers. They first published *TCM* in 1902 and have published various editions since, including the important 150th anniversary edition with the great Marxist scholar Robin D.G. Kelley writing an excellent introduction. International Publishers has been publishing Marx and Marxist literature since their founding in 1924. They have an interesting and storied history, at times entwined with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and subsequently scrutinized by the House of Un-American Activities Committee in 1939. International Publishers has likely kept *TCM* in print for longer than anyone, with their first edition published in 1948.

5. Guy Debord, *Comments on The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Verso, 1990), 8-9.

Ever since, they have consistently published *TCM* in the same simple and affordable design (pages 52–55). Foreign Languages Press, founded in 1952, is a publishing organ for the Chinese Communist Party. Throughout the late 1960s and early 70s, Maoism was of great influence to many activists in the US New Left; in turn, vast quantities of Marxist and Maoist literature entered into US activist circles by way of Foreign Languages Press. As an interesting aside, the Foreign Languages Press edition of *TCM* is published as *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (page 44) in order to suggest Marx’s tract as the guiding principle for the Party. After the 1917 Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, many editions began to publish under this title to reflect the Party as *the* authority for the Communist Movement as apparently dictated by Marx.⁶ Each of these publishers played an important role in anti-capitalist and Marxist publishing history, and their individual histories deserve far more attention than I can grant them here.

More recently, Verso, Haymarket, and Pluto have contributed notable editions (1998/2012, 2005, and 2008, respectively) to this collection that continue the spirit of activist publishing despite the capitalist economy. Each of these editions include excellent introductions by Marxist scholars that insist *TCM* continues to hold valuable insights for a contemporary moment. Rather than encourage readers to read Marx as a figure of a lost and dead history, these authors assure us that Marx lives; we must revise his insights for our contemporary world. These activist-oriented editions are perhaps the most exciting editions in this collection because the objects themselves represent a tangled history of communist movements and publishing houses throughout the twentieth and into the

6. Jones, 19-24.

twenty-first century. While the USSR is no longer bank-rolling American publishers, and China is no longer shipping thousands of Marxist and Maoist pamphlets to leftist bookshops and activist groups, these publishers continue to serve activists, revolutionaries, and leftist intellectuals who see Marx as an essential critic of capitalism. If we juxtapose these editions from leftist publishers with many of the mass-market paperbacks, we might begin to view the mass-market editions as a capitalist and/or academic recuperation of *TCM*. We have known for a long time that capitalism is happy to sell whatever sells, including anti-commodity commodities like a book that would abolish all commodities!

Let us end on this positive note. In the following pages, you will find scanned images of each cover of the editions that I have collected thus far, as well as a few additional images of marginalia, notes, and drawings from these books' past lives. I submit this collection—alphabetized by publisher—hopefully not as a detached mausoleum of objects or an ironic collection of a contradiction (capitalist produced communist books). Instead, I hope it helps us find additional ways to converse with communist praxis and *The Communist Manifesto* itself, while considering the complexities of material histories, ideological underpinnings, historical context, design, and of course, the ideas themselves.

Heath Schultz

Austin, Texas, December 2016



• A BANTAM CLASSIC • A BANTAM CLASSIC • A BANTAM CLASSIC • A BANTAM CLASSIC • A BANTAM CLASSIC

The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels



With an Introduction by Vladimir Pozner

Bantam Classics
2004 (*originally published 1992*)

every day, about 30 mins into the afternoon, this same cat comes to sit in the shade under the bridge over the never-flowing creek, beside which, is the grass and shade of a tree I eat my lunch and read. The cat is grey on top and white undersided. He rolls about once, twice in the dirt, and then just lays there and observes, if his eyes aren't shut. Now he's got his head down, and it being almost one, I'm got to get back upstairs to my cubicle.

He also crawls in one of the pipes—that are part of the rain drainage systems. I also see him around the parking lot.

I've found out why this cat comes to this bridge! Someone leaves cat food under the planks on the south side of the bridge. No wonder he, and other cats I've seen, come back here. It's certainly not to make friends with me, and nor is my job to make friends with them, the guy one with the white belly. This is something I do on my breaks and lunch breaks to stay sane.



they'll pay me to sit and ^{just} so.
why not rather to sit and think?
^{just}

KARL MARX (1818–1883) is today considered one of the world's seminal thinkers, although at his death he was, in his own words, "the best hated and most calumniated man of his time." Born in Trier, Prussia, he was descended from a Jewish rabbinical family. At the University of Bonn and later at the University of Berlin, he joined a group of radicals who espoused the ideas of Hegel. After emigrating to Paris in 1843 he became deeply committed to communism and the overthrow of tyranny. Here too he began his lifelong association with Friedrich Engels. Finally settling in London with his wife and family, Marx lived the rest of his life in abject poverty while creating his masterwork, *Das Kapital*, and becoming the leading spirit of revolution throughout the world.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS (1820–1895) is known primarily as the intellectual companion of Karl Marx. The son of a German textile manufacturer, Engels became the collaborator and staunch supporter of Marx before and during the European revolutions of 1848, when together they created *The Communist Manifesto*. Although brilliant himself and a linguist familiar with twenty-four languages, he chose to play the role of disciple to Marx's genius and lived a double life—as a bourgeois factory owner during the day and a communist after hours. But it was his money that became Marx's only means of support, and when Engels outlived his friend by twelve years, he dedicated himself to editing Marx's manuscripts and completing the two volumes of *Das Kapital* left unfinished. A true friend to the end, he willed all his property to Marx's children.

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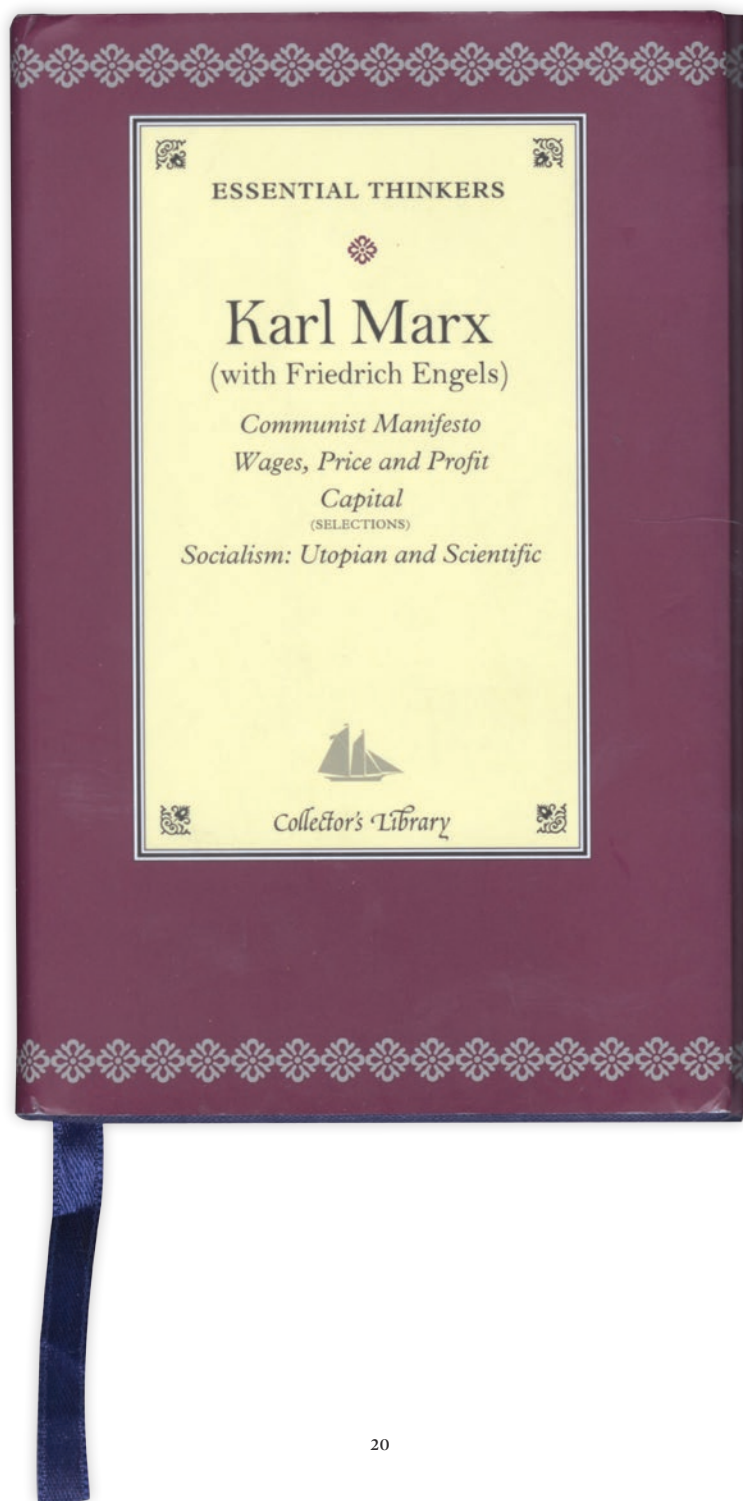
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY VLADIMIR POZNER

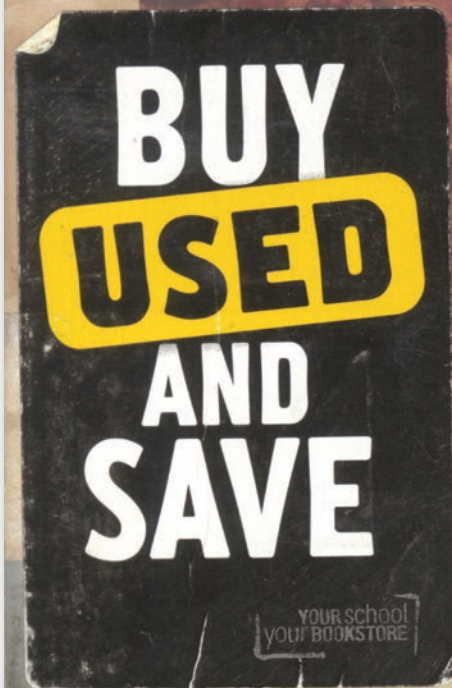
Bantam Classics
2004 (*originally published 1992*)



Barnes & Noble
2004

**THE COMMUNIST
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Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels



by Martin Puchner

Barnes & Noble
2005

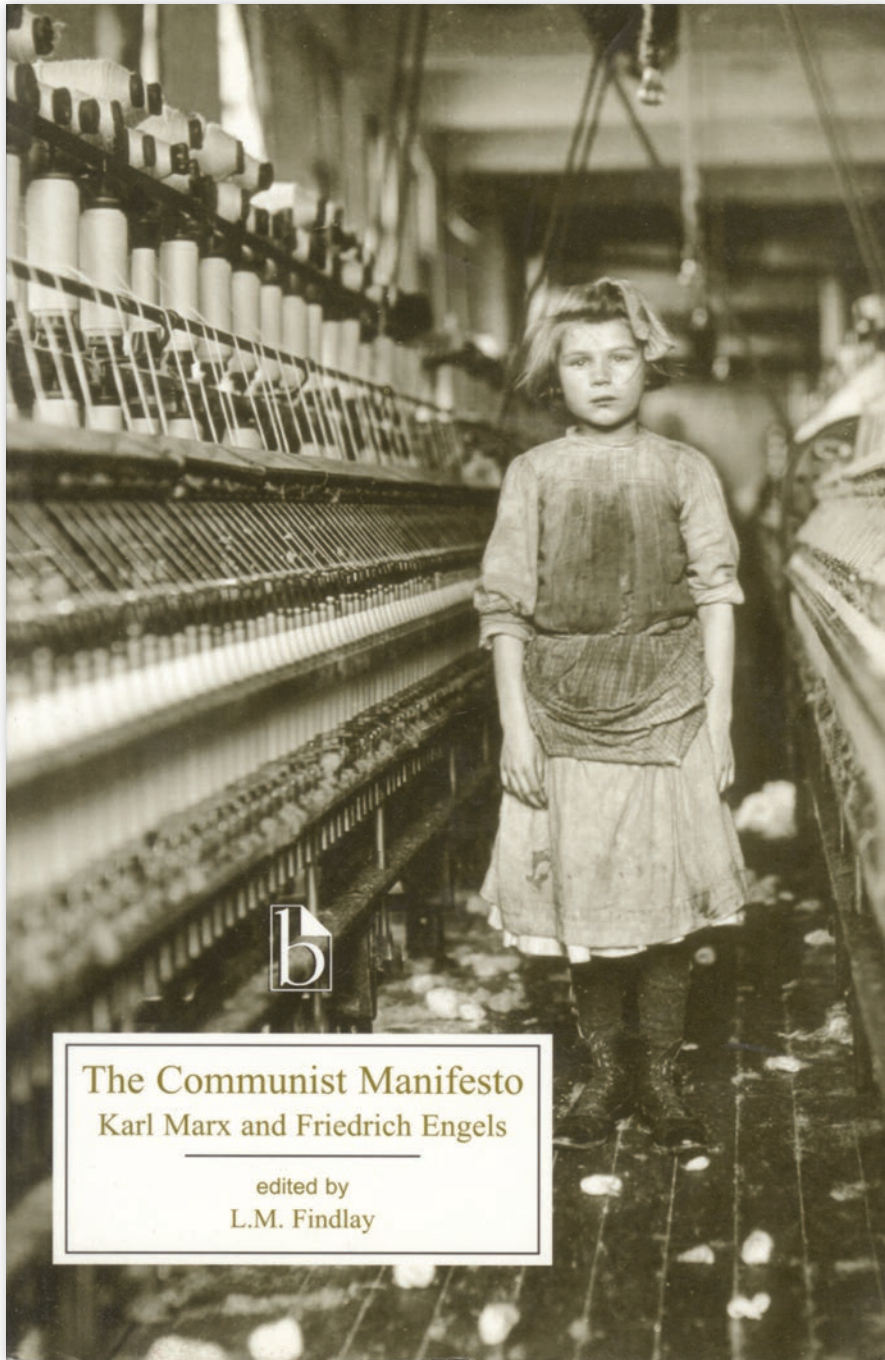
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by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
with Related Documents

Edited with an Introduction by John E. Toews



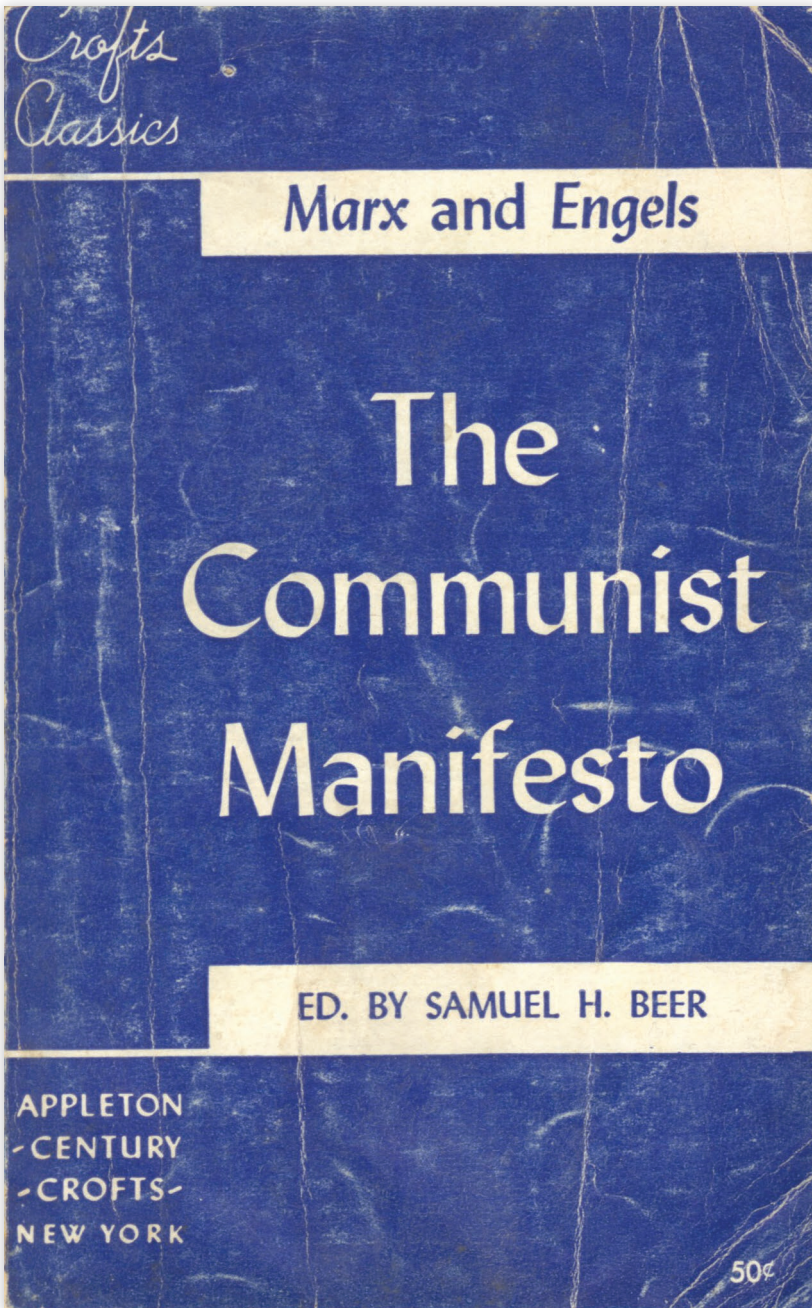
Bedford / St. Martin's
1991



The Communist Manifesto
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

edited by
L.M. Findlay

Broadview
2004



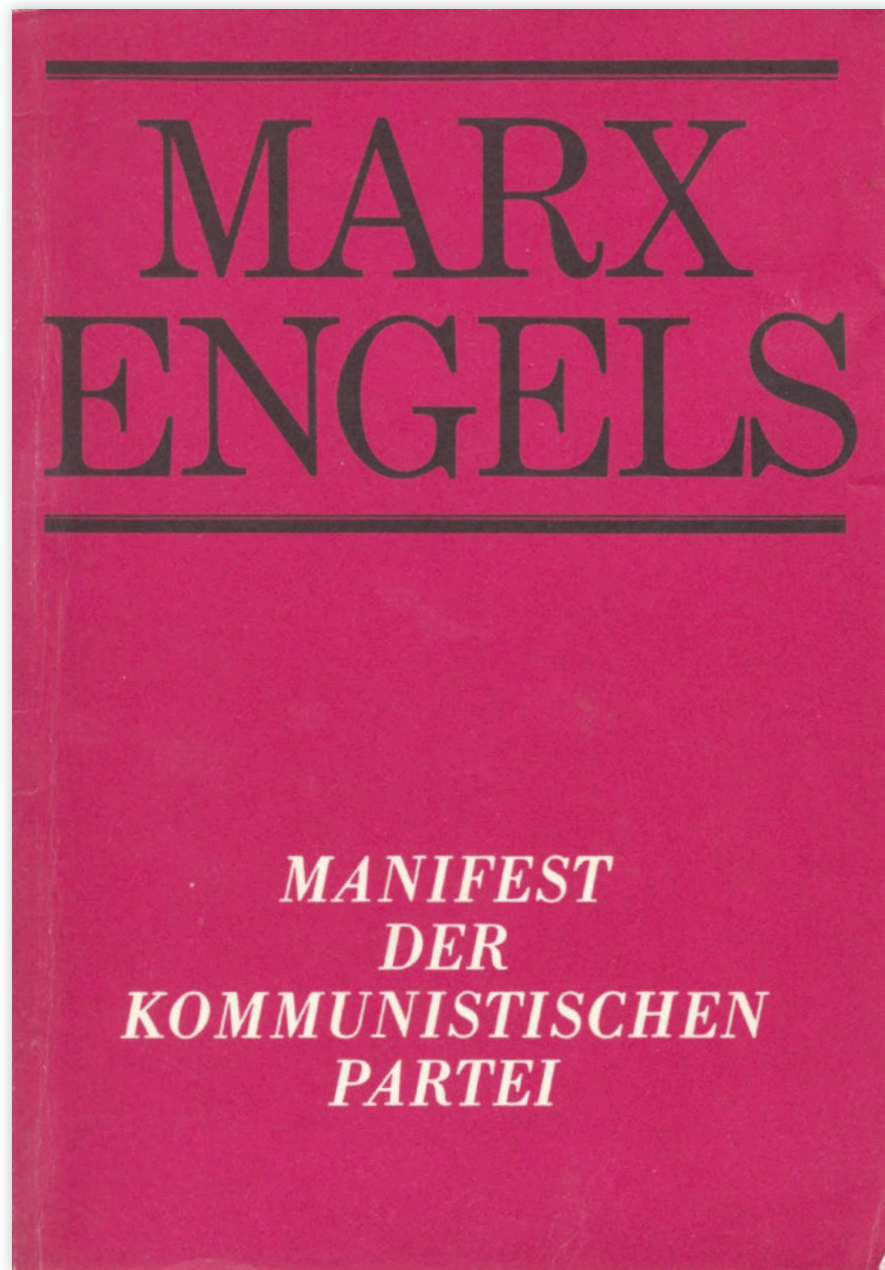
Croft Classics
1955

The Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels

Samuel H. Beer
Editor



Croft Classics / Harlan-Davidson
2011 (*originally published 1955*)



Dietz Verlag Berlin
1977

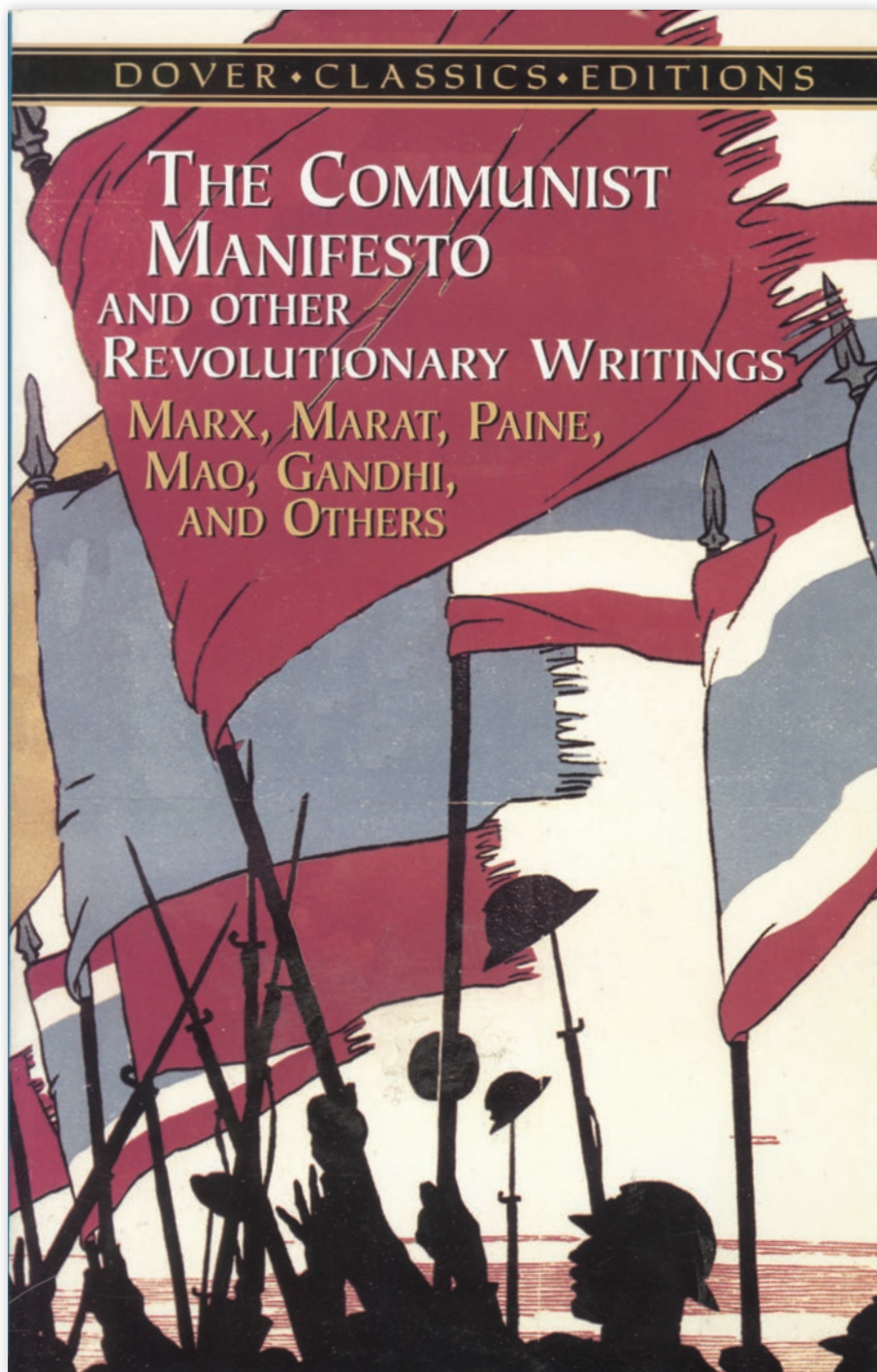
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FRIEDRICH ENGELS

*MANIFEST
DER
KOMMUNISTISCHEN
PARTEI*

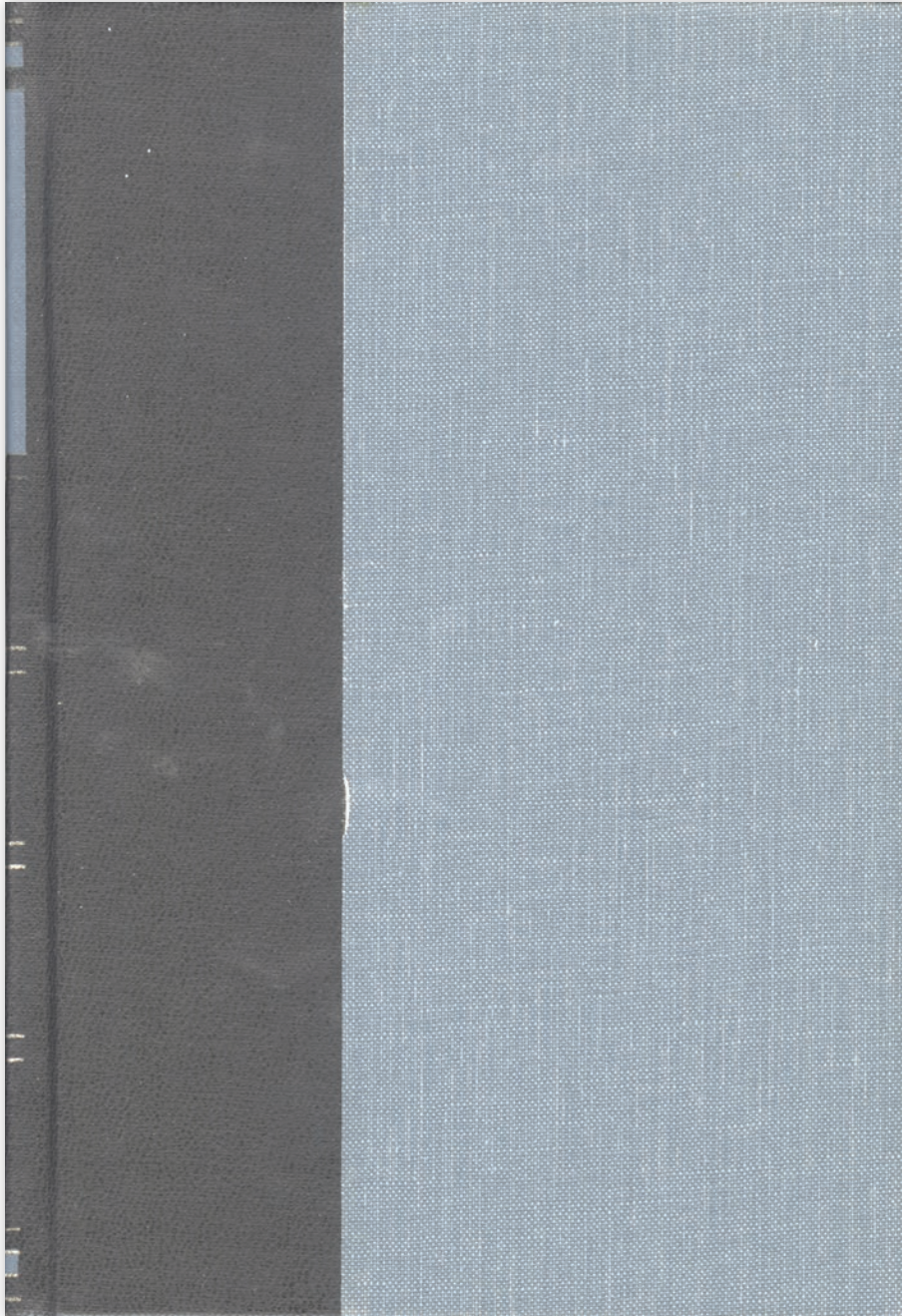


DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

1977



Dover
2003



Encyclopedia Britannica
1986 (*originally published 1952*)

GREAT BOOKS
OF THE WESTERN WORLD
ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, EDITOR IN CHIEF

70
MARX

Montmar, J. Allen, French Edition
Henderson, J. Allen, French Edition
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Henderson, J. Allen, French Edition
Henderson, J. Allen, French Edition
Henderson, J. Allen, French Edition
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CAPITAL, by Karl Marx

EDITED BY FRIEDRICH ENGELS

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY,

by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels



WILLIAM BENTON, *Publisher*

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, INC.

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The Communist Manifesto



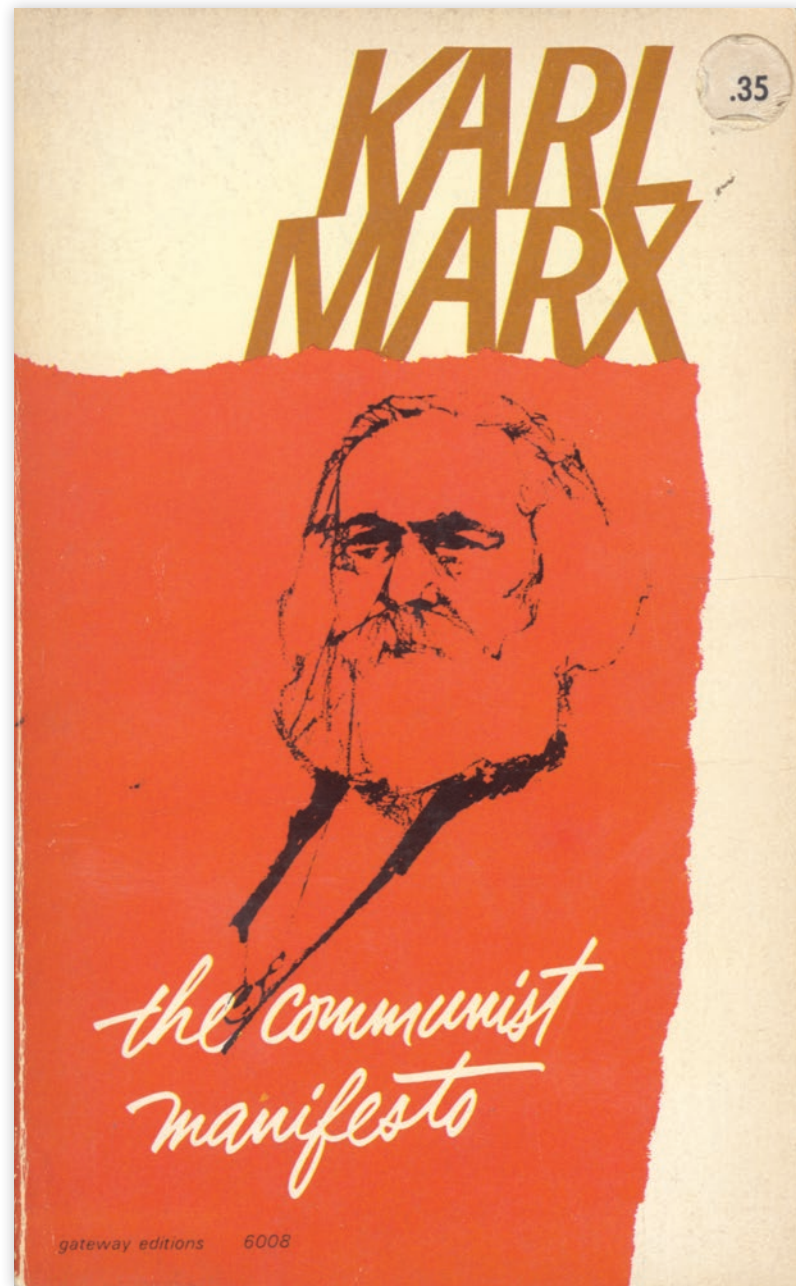
**Karl Marx
Frederick Engels**

Filiquarian
2005

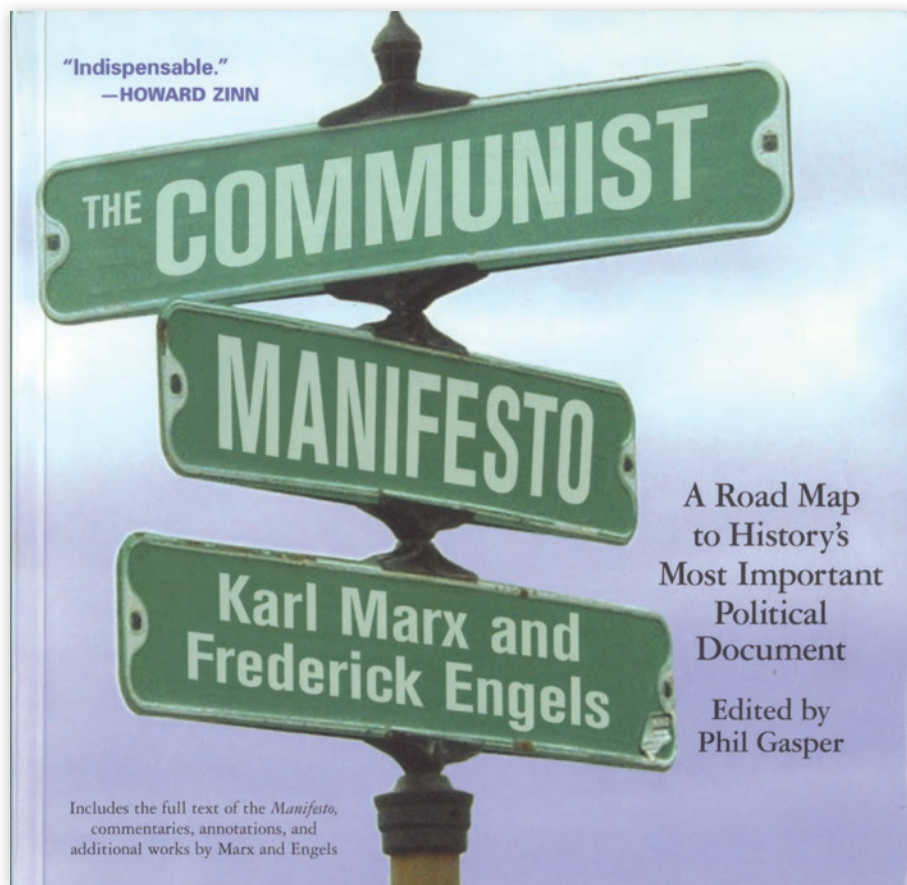
KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS

MANIFESTO OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

Foreign Languages Press
1972 (*originally published 1965*)



Gateway Editions
1965 (*originally published 1954*)



Haymarket
2005

BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

With text of the MANIFESTO,
all Prefaces by Marx & Engels,
early drafts by Engels, and
other supplementary material

Edited, with an introduction
by Dirk J. Struik

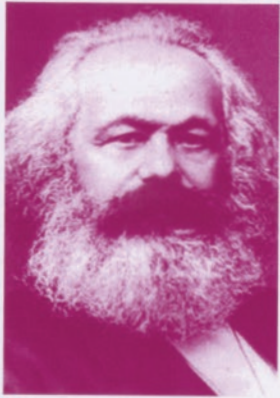
New World Paperbacks

NW-140 \$3.25



International Publishers
1971

THE Communist Manifesto



KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS

INTERNATIONAL



PUBLISHERS

International Publishers
2015 (*originally published 1948*)
1975 (*pages 54-55*)

LITTLE MARX LIBRARY

Popular editions of the classic writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, a companion series to the Little Lenin Library which contains the shorter basic works of V. I. Lenin.

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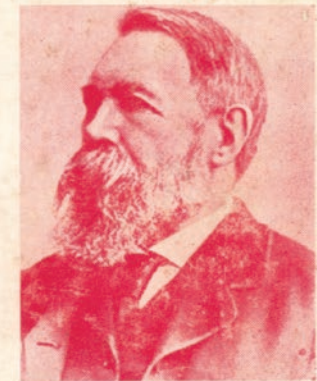
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THE Communist Manifesto



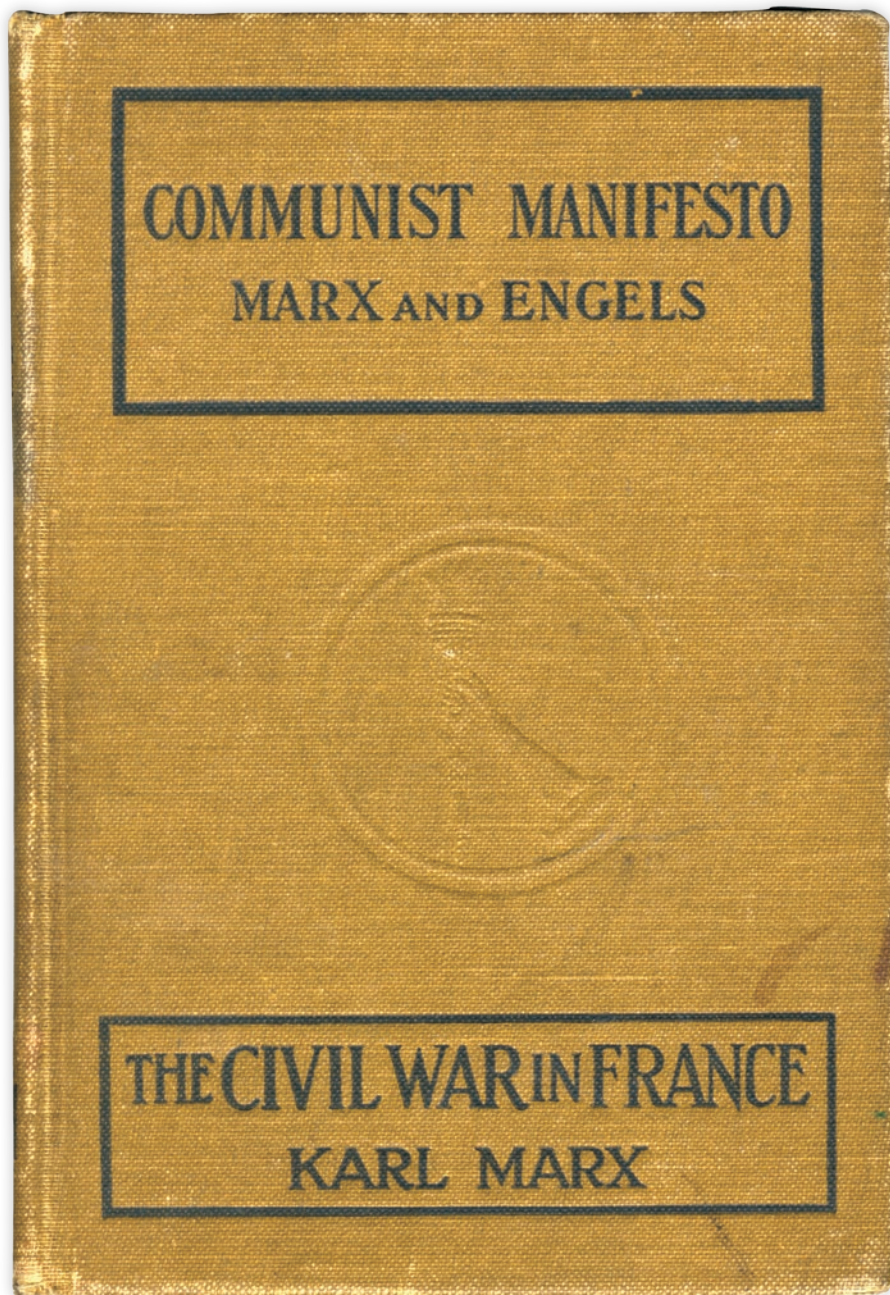
KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS

INTERNATIONAL



PUBLISHERS

31 *Kleinbürgererei* in the German original. Marx and Engels used this term to describe the reactionary elements of the urban petty bourgeoisie who supported the rule of the feudal nobility and the absolute monarchy. The ideal of these elements was the guild system of the Middle Ages. In Germany this section of the population was very numerous in most of the cities and towns.—Ed.



Charles H. Kerr Publishing
c1902

Karl Marx & Frederick Engels

The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

**150th Anniversary Edition
1848-1998**

**Introduction by
Robin D. G. Kelley**



Revolutionary Classics

Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company

Established 1886

Charles H. Kerr Publishing
1998

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Karl Marx
Friedrich Engels

Manifeste du Parti communiste

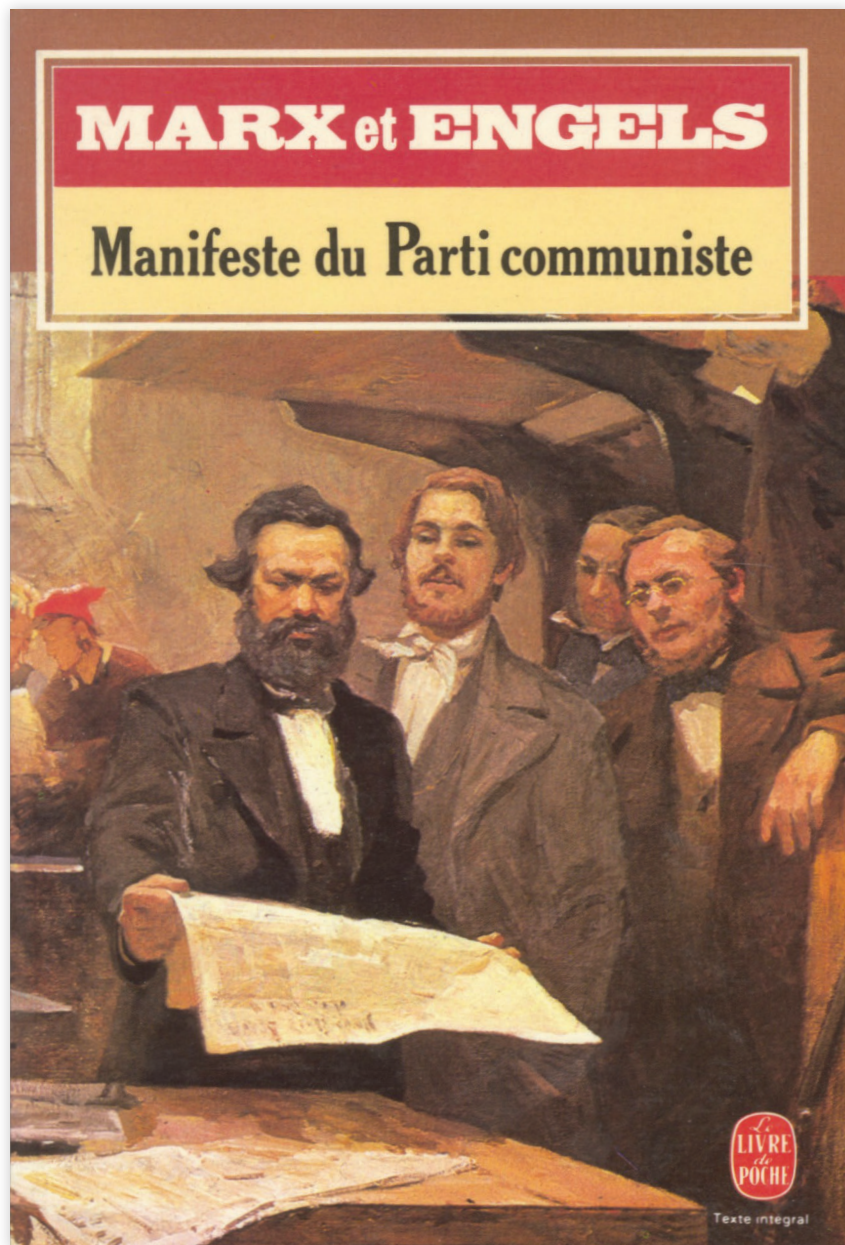
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Document



Texte intégral

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1998



Le Livre de Poche
1973



The
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

(Manifesto of the Communist Party)

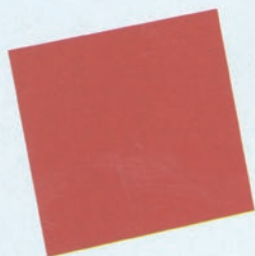
Marx and Engels

Martino
2003

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Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels

MANIFIESTO DEL
PARTIDO COMUNISTA




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ediciones

Mestas Ediciones
2003

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO



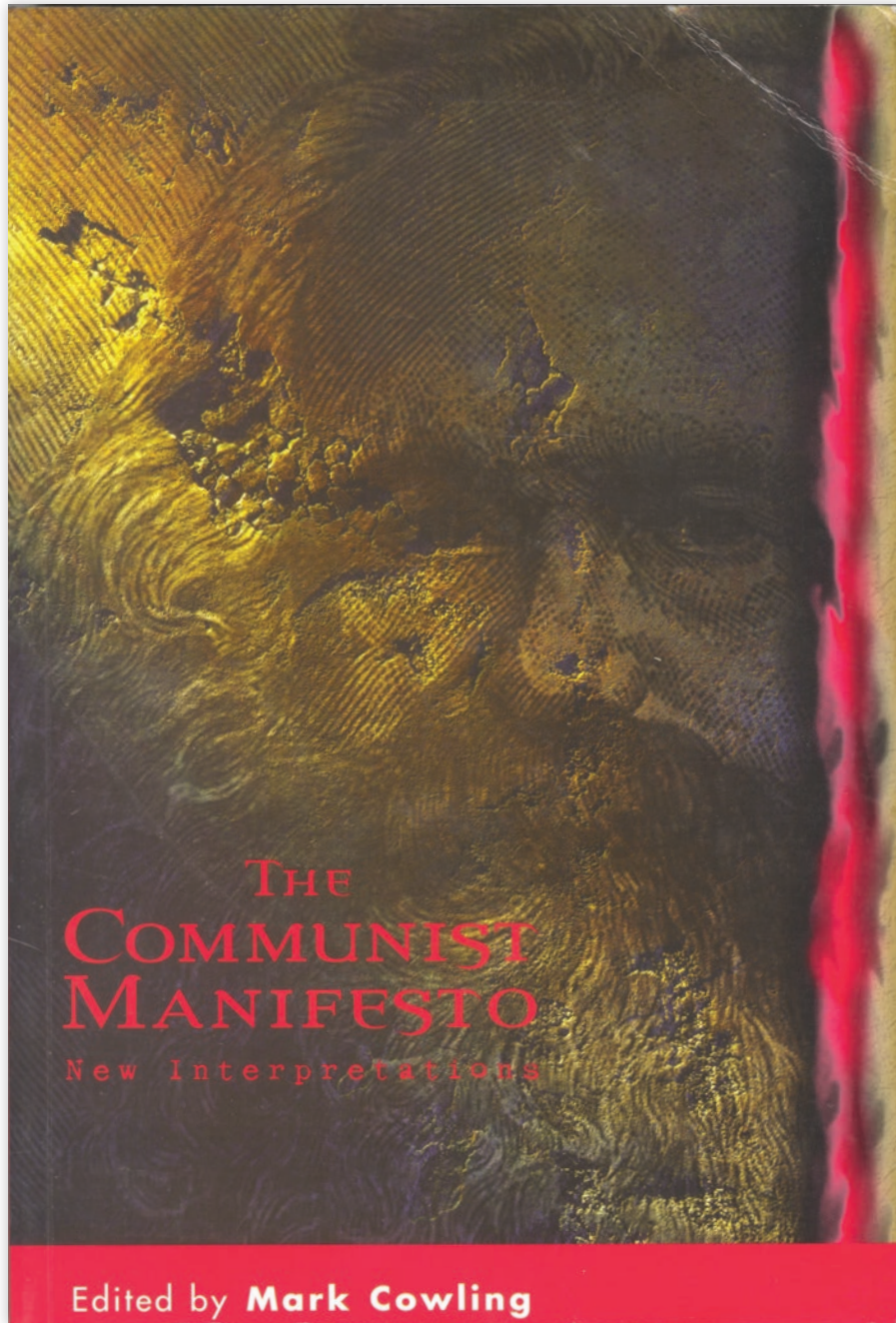
KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Foreword by Paul M. Sweezy

Principles of Communism by Friedrich Engels

The Communist Manifesto After 150 Years by Ellen Meiksins Wood

Monthly Review Press
1998



New York University Press
1998

Karl Marx
Friedrich Engels



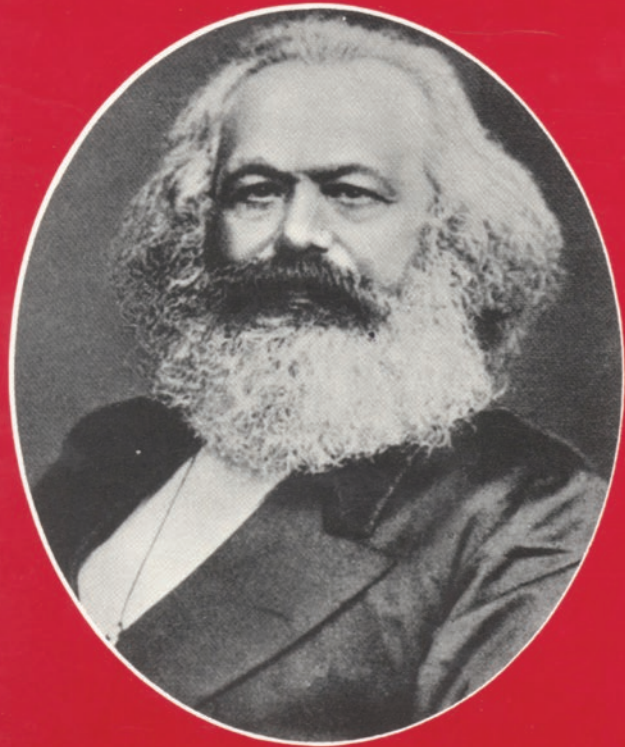
MANIFEST DER KOMMUNISTISCHEN PARTEI

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KARL MARX
THE
COMMUNIST
MANIFESTO

EDITED BY FREDERIC L. BENDER

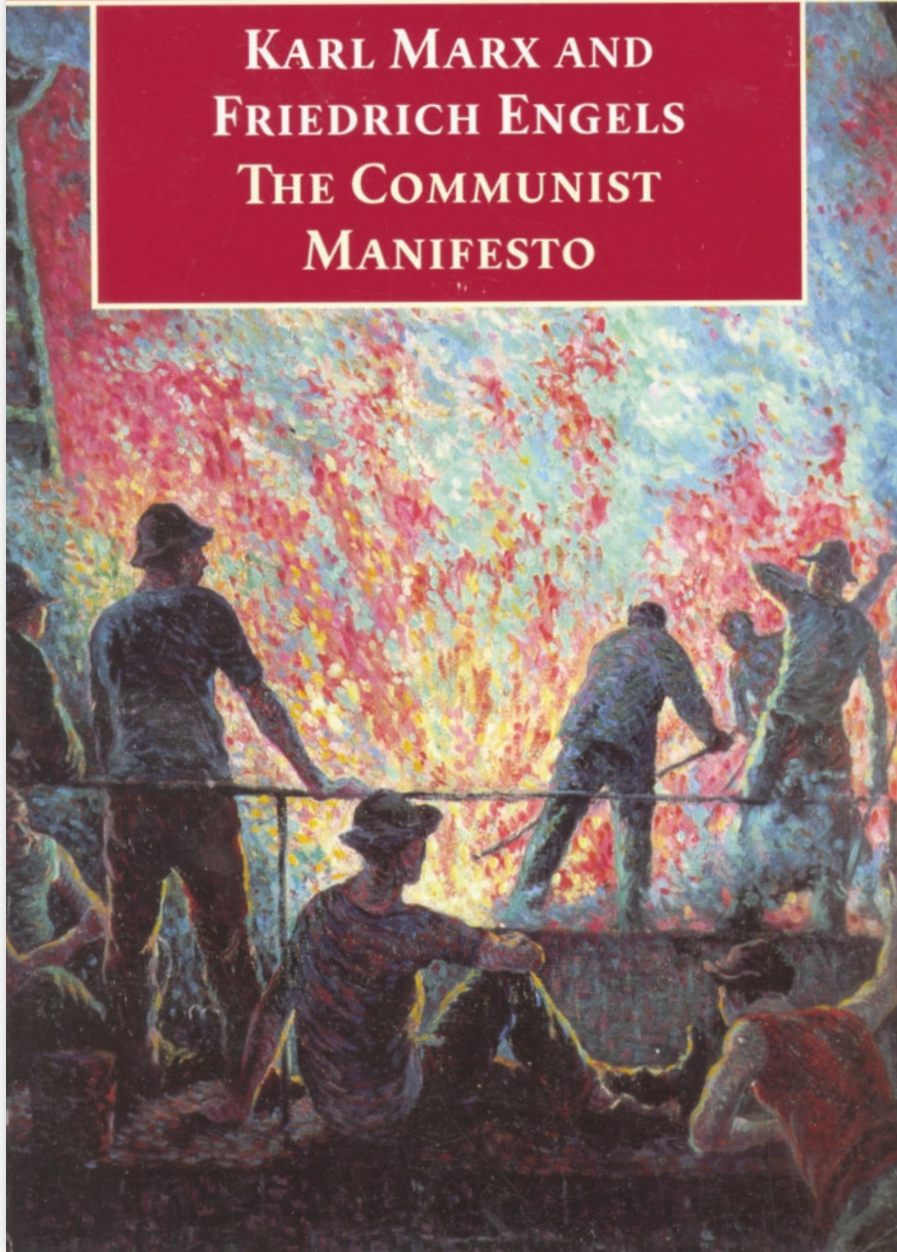


A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

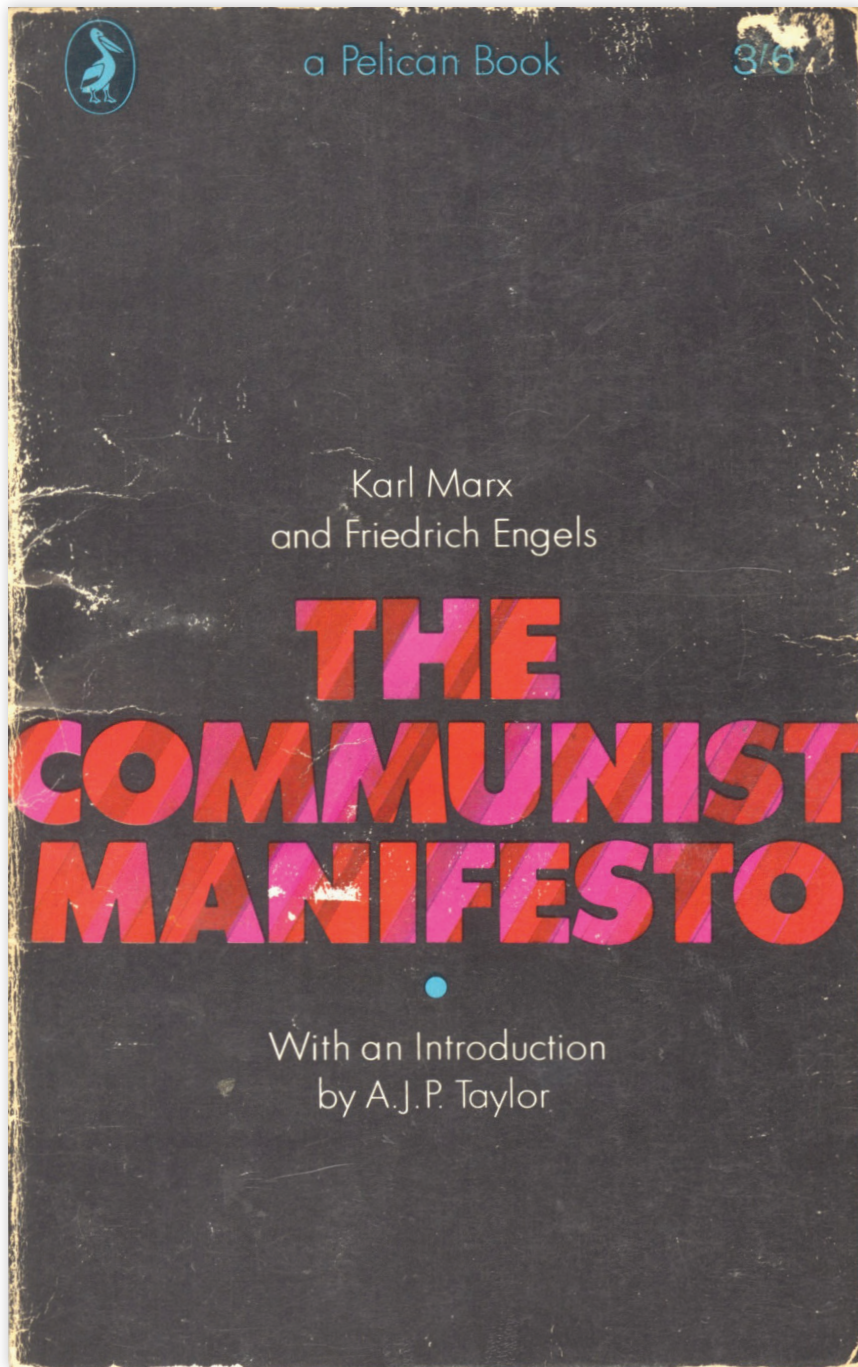
Norton Critical Edition
1988

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

KARL MARX AND
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THE COMMUNIST
MANIFESTO



Oxford World's Classics
1998 (*originally published 1992*)



Pelican
1967



a Pelican Book

**Karl
Marx
Friedrich
Engels**

**The
Communist
Manifesto**

With an Introduction by

A.J.P. Taylor

Pelican
1975 (*originally published 1967*)

PENGUIN CLASSICS

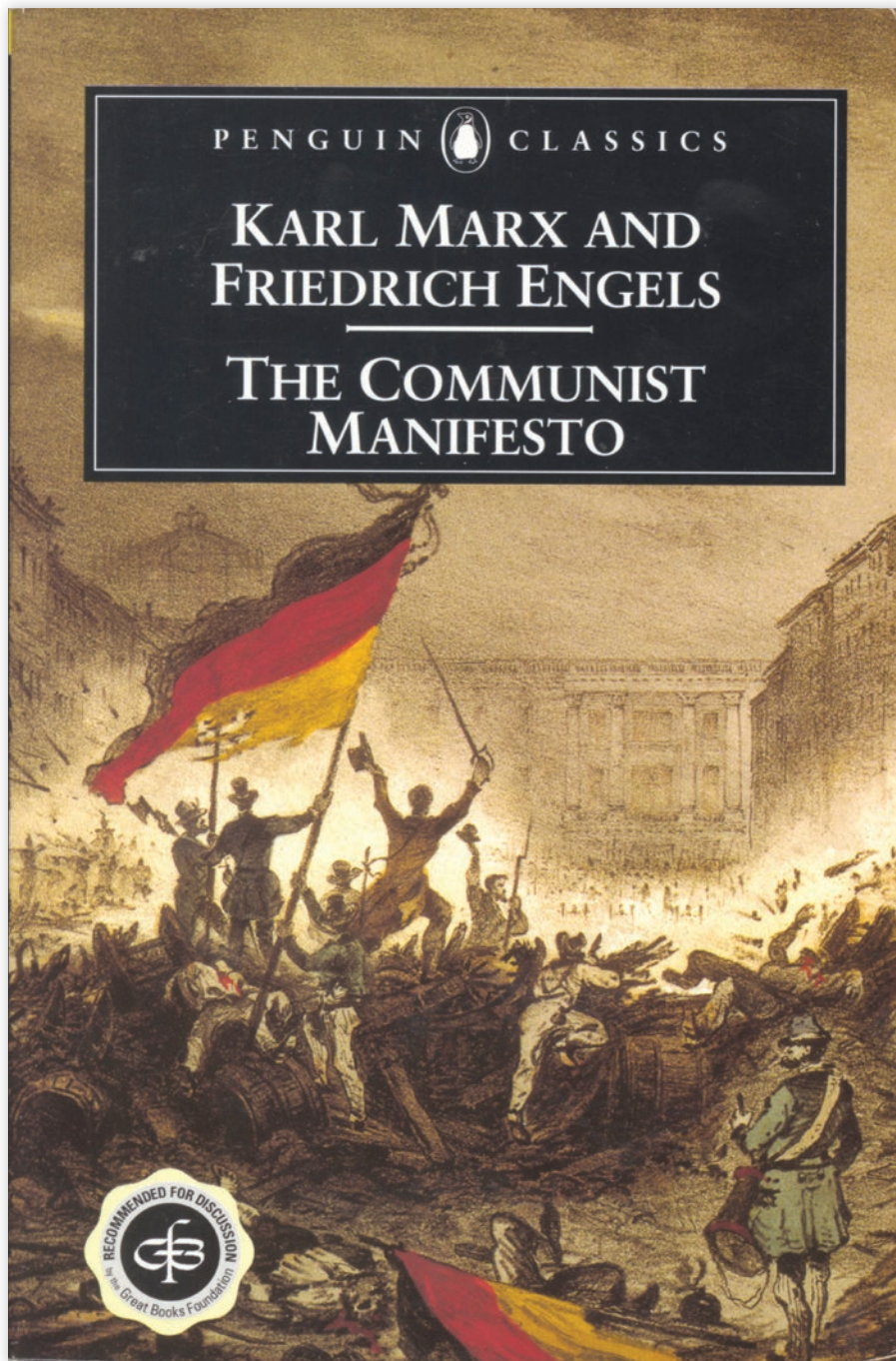
KARL MARX AND
FRIEDRICH ENGELS

THE COMMUNIST
MANIFESTO

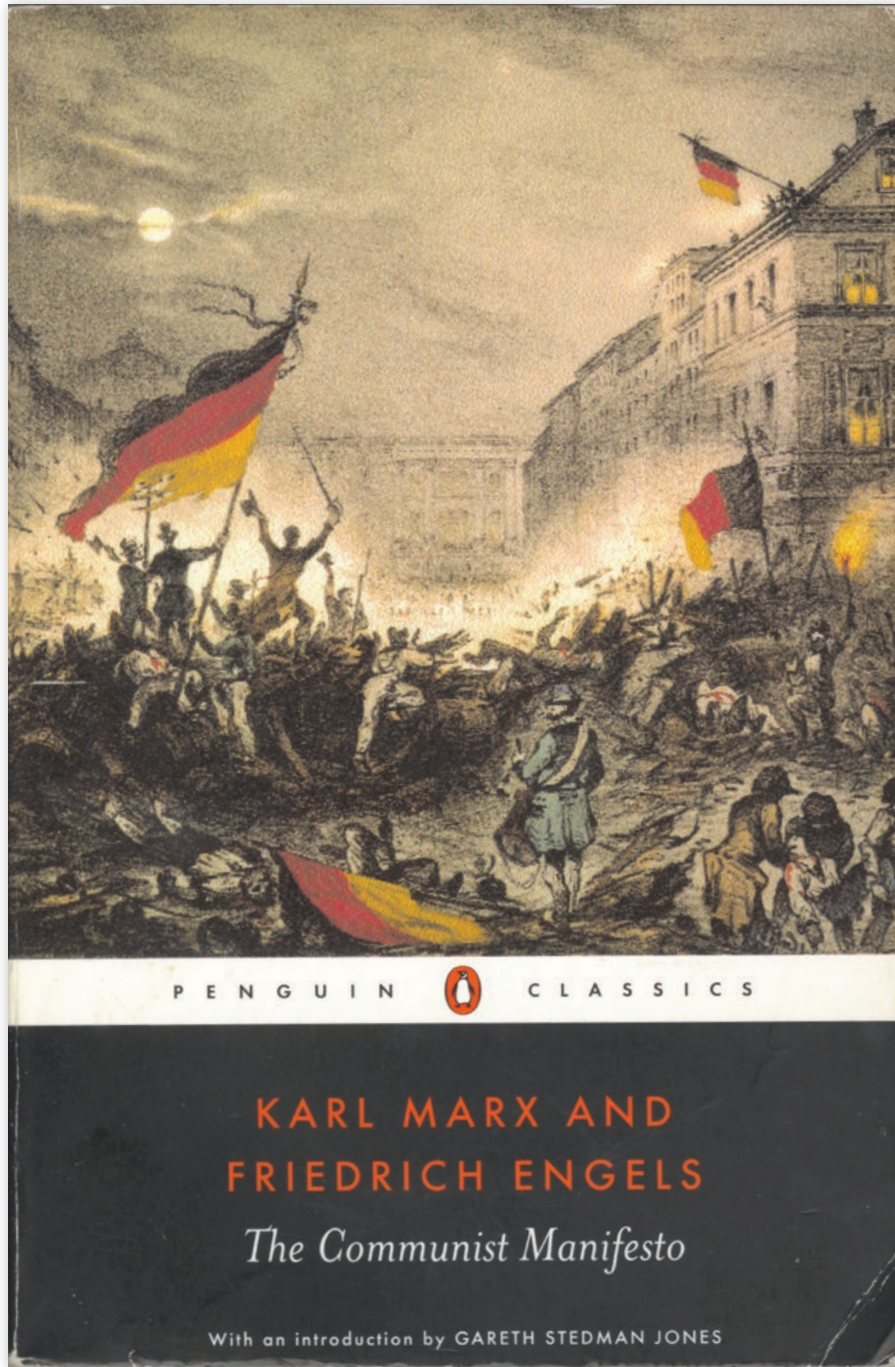
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY A J P TAYLOR



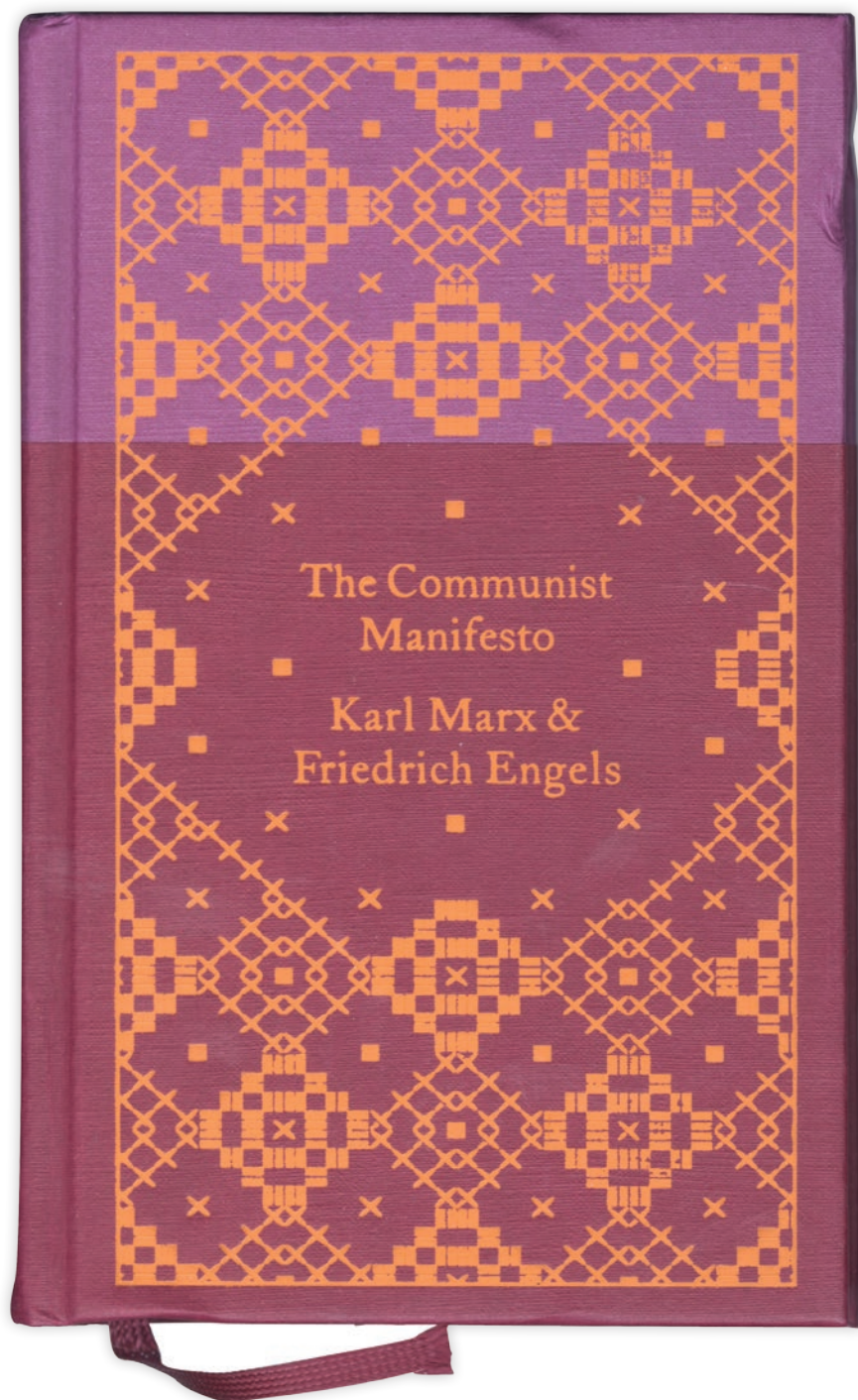
Penguin Classics
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**Let the ruling
classes tremble
at a Communist
revolution.**

**The proletarians
have nothing to
lose but their
chains.**

**They have a world
to win.**

**Working men of all
countries, Unite!**

**The Communist
Manifesto**

**Karl Marx &
Friedrich Engels**

Penguin Books Great Ideas

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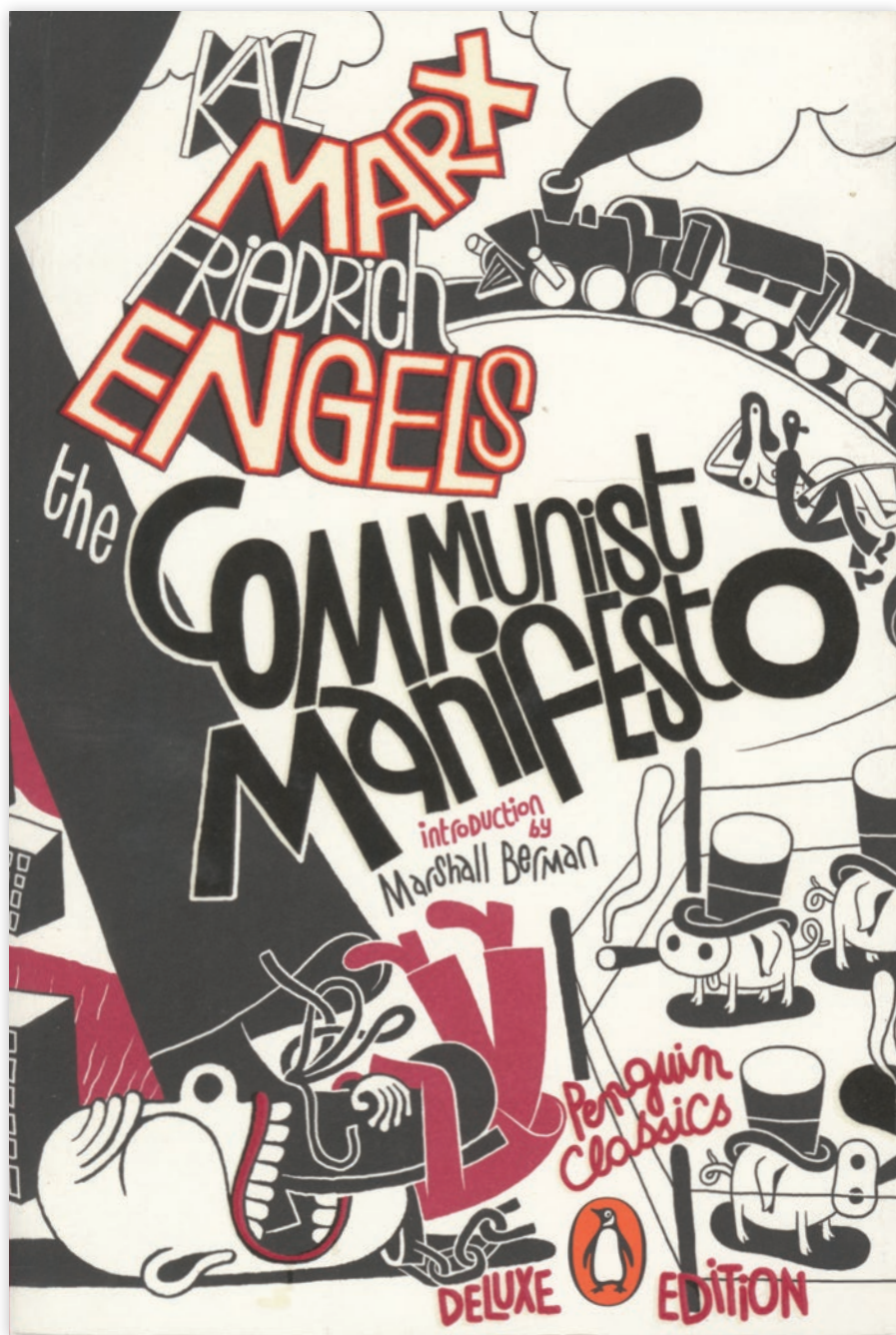
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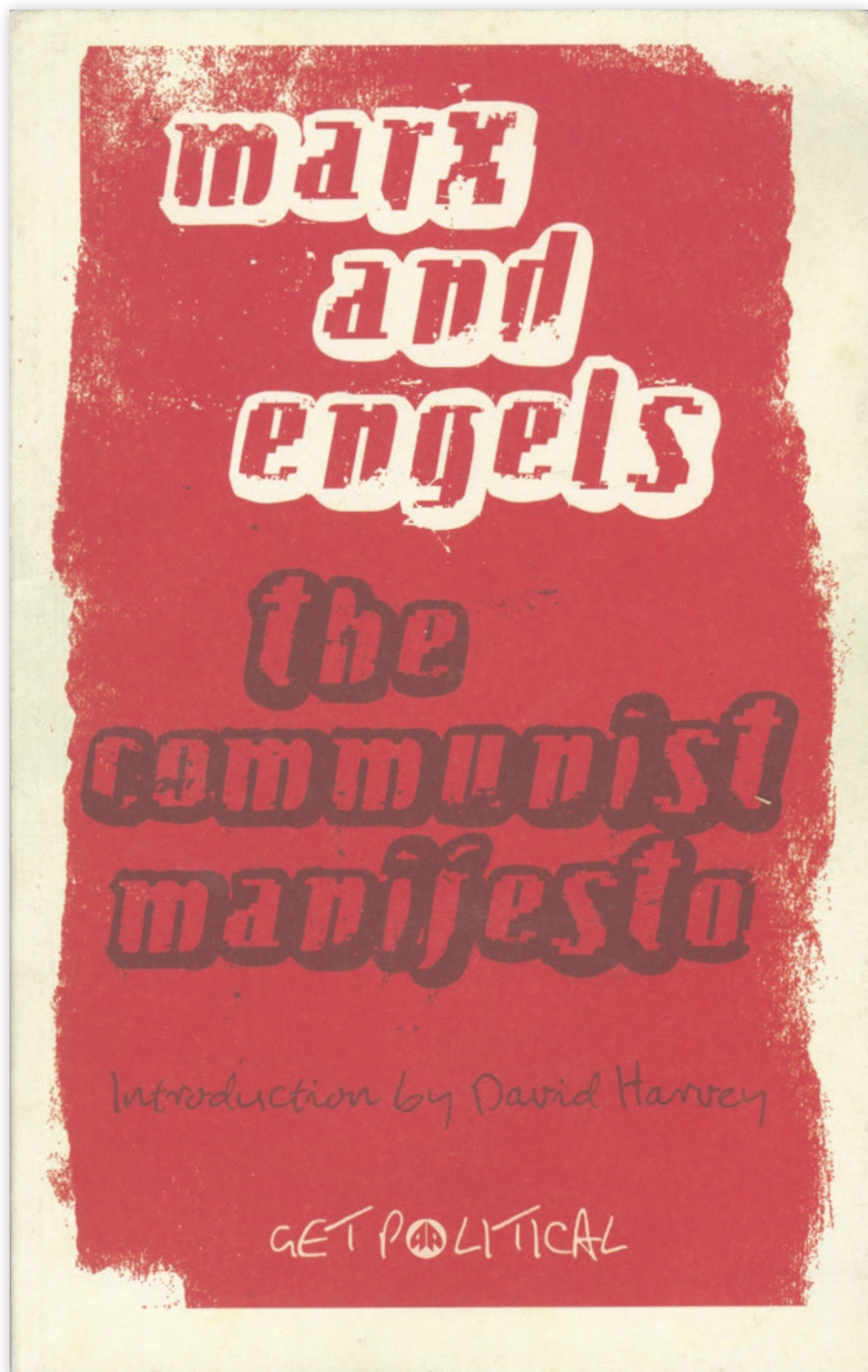
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Pluto Press Get Political
2008

ECONOMIC AND
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MANUSCRIPTS
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KARL MARX

TRANSLATED BY
MARTIN MILLIGAN

and the
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

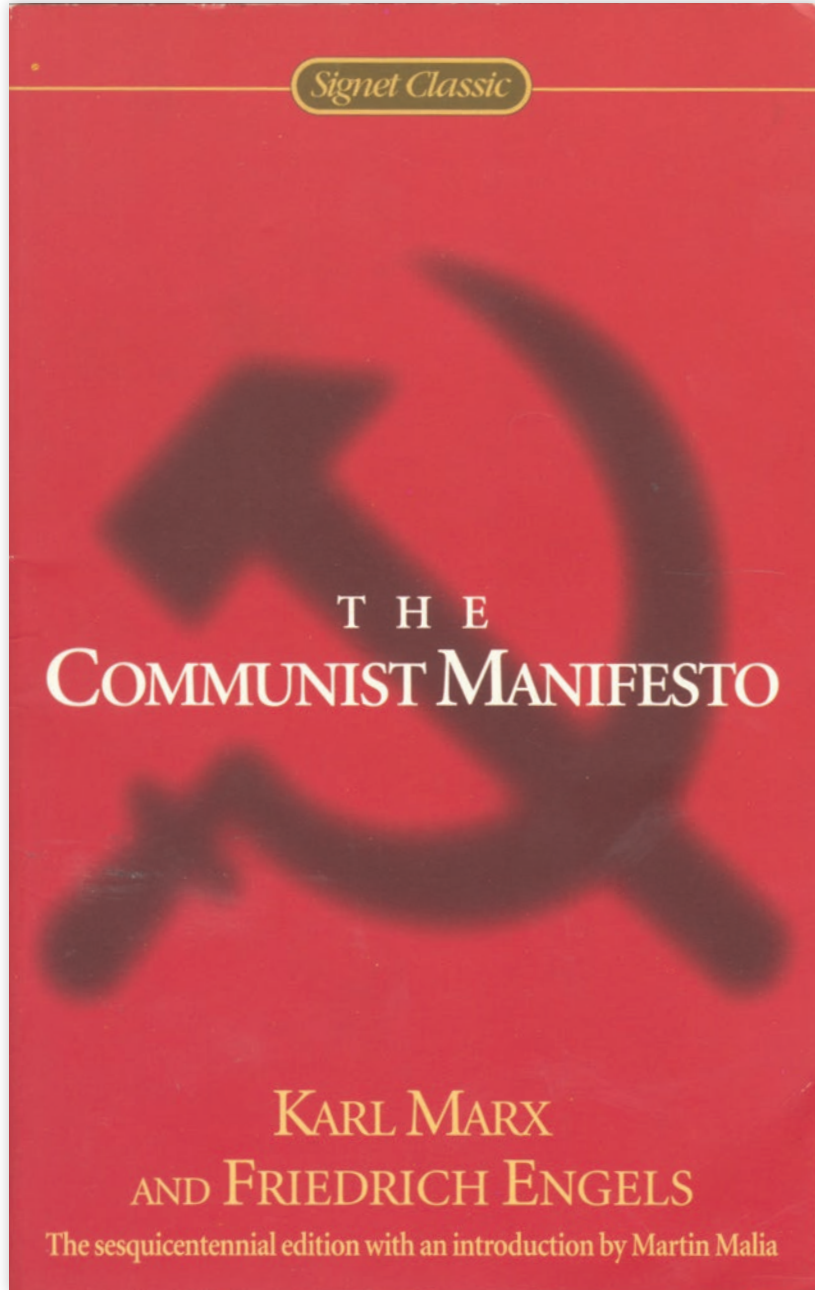
by KARL MARX
and FREDERICK ENGELS

GREAT BOOKS IN PHILOSOPHY

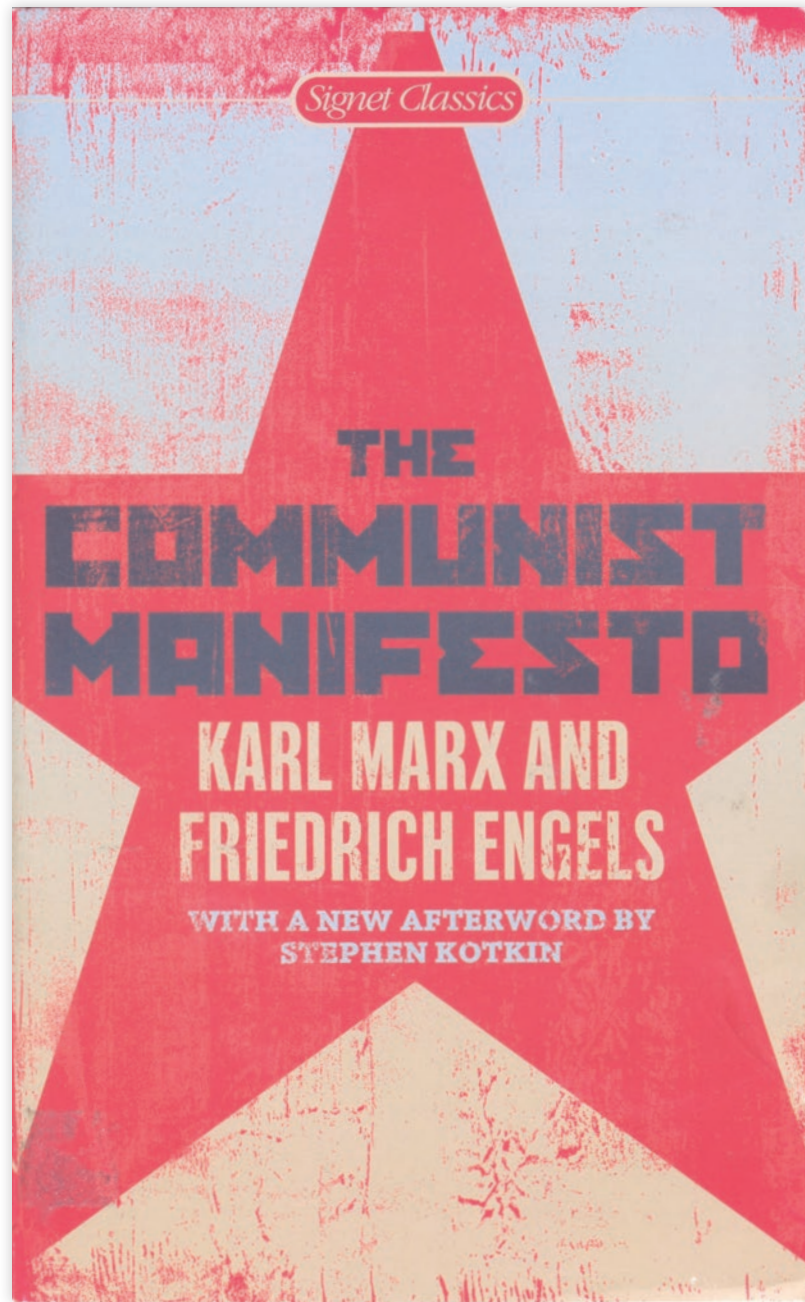
Prometheus
1988



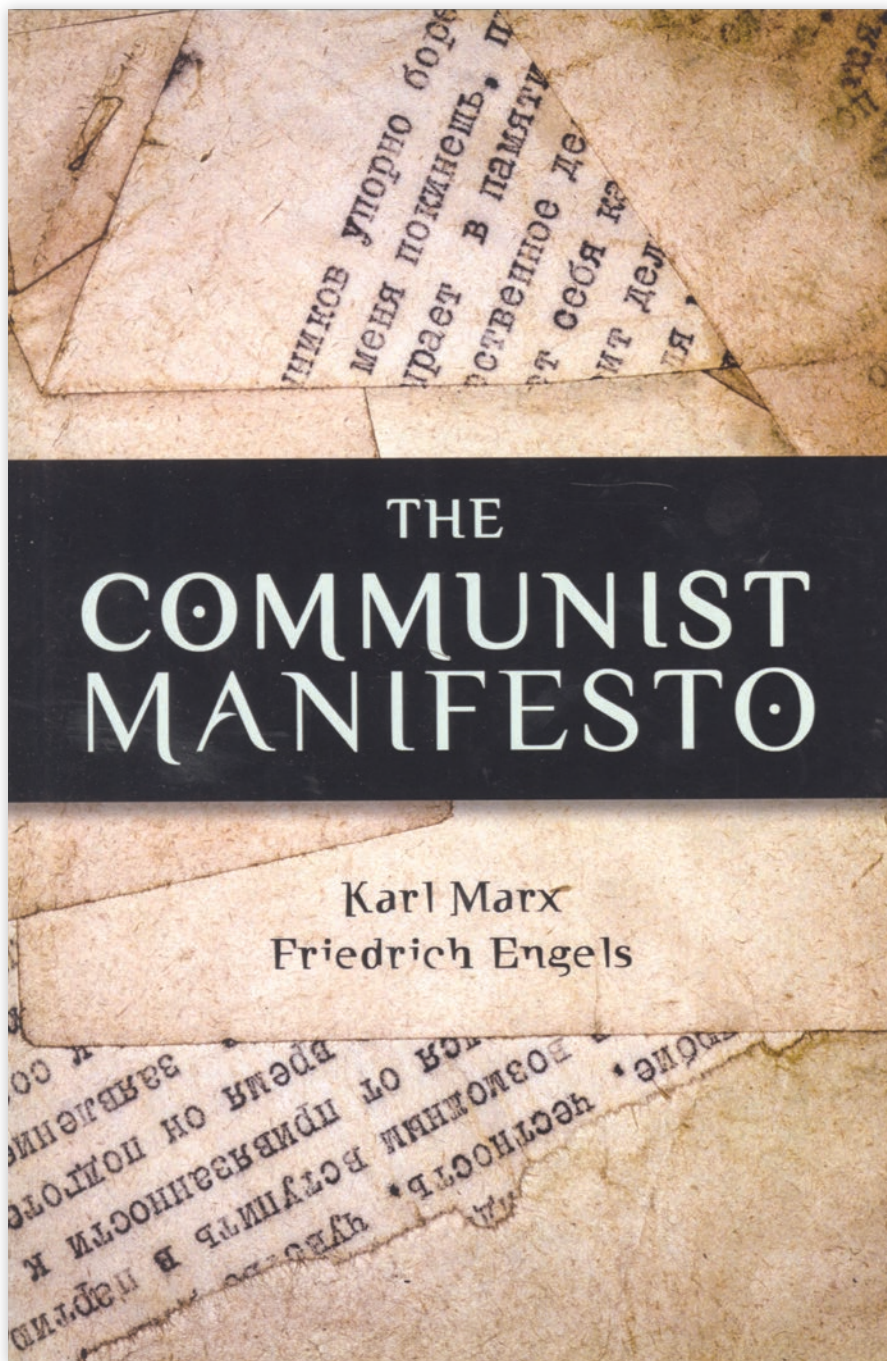
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2014



Signet Classic
1998



Signet Classics
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SoHo Books
2011

Manifiesto Comunista



Marx, el hombre del Milenio

Carlos Marx

Federico Engels

Ilustrado por: Ro Marcenaro

Ediciones Unios
2000 (*originally published 1976*)

....PREPARANDO CRISIS MÁS EXTENSAS Y MÁS VIOLENTAS
Y DISMINUYENDO LOS MEDIOS DE PREVENIRLAS.



LAS ARMAS DE QUE SE SIRVIÓ LA BURGUESÍA PARA DERRIBAR EL FEUDALISMO SE VUELVEN AHORA CONTRA LA PROPIA BURGUESÍA. PERO LA BURGUESÍA NO HA FORJADO SOLAMENTE LAS ARMAS QUE DEBEN DARLE MUERTE, HA PRODUCIDO TAMBIÉN A LOS HOMBRES QUE EMPUÑARÁN ESAS ARMAS: LOS OBREROS MODERNOS, LOS PROLETARIOS.



EN LA MISMA PROPORCIÓN EN QUE SE DESARROLLA LA BURGUESÍA, ES DECIR, EL CAPITAL, DESARROLLOSE TAMBIÉN EL PROLETARIADO, LA CLASE DE LOS OBREROS MODERNOS, QUE NO VIVEN SINO A CONDICIÓN DE ENCONTRAR TRABAJO, Y LO ENCUENTRAN ÚNICAMENTE MIENTRAS SU TRABAJO ACRECIENTA EL CAPITAL.



ESTOS OBREROS, OBLIGADOS A VENDERSE AL DETALLE, SON UNA MERCANCÍA COMO CUALQUIER OTRO ARTÍCULO DE COMERCIO, SUJETO, POR TANTO, A TODAS LAS VICISITUDES DE LA COMPETENCIA, A TODAS LAS FLUCTUACIONES DEL MERCADO.

MERCADO

EL CRECIENTE EMPLEO DE LAS MAQUINAS Y LA DIVISIÓN DEL TRABAJO QUITAN AL TRABAJADOR DEL PROLETARIADO TODO CARÁCTER SUBSTANTIVO Y LE HACEN PERDER CON ELLO TODO ATRACTIVO PARA EL OBRERO.



EL OBRERO MODERNO, POR EL CONTRARIO, LEJOS DE ELEVARSE CON EL PROGRESO DE LA INDUSTRIA, DESCENDE SIEMPRE MÁS Y MÁS POR DEBAJO DE LAS CONDICIONES DE VIDA DE SU PROPIA CLASE.



EL TRABAJADOR CAE EN LA MISERIA, Y EL PAUPERISMO CRECE MÁS RÁPIDAMENTE AÚN QUE LA POBLACIÓN Y LA RIQUEZA.



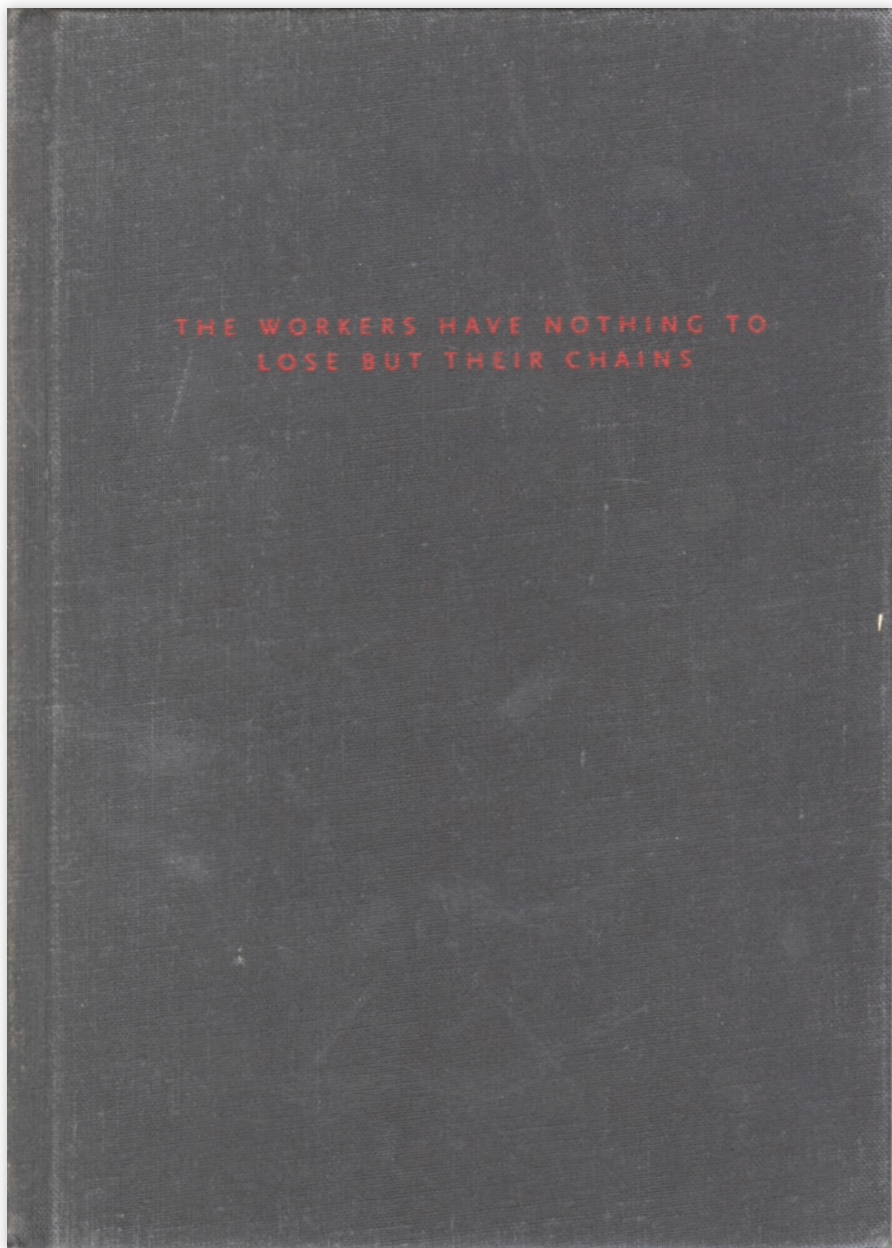
ES PUES EVIDENTE QUE LA BURGUESÍA YA NO ES CAPAZ DE SEGUIR DESEMPEÑANDO EL PAPEL DE CLASE DOMINANTE DE LA SOCIEDAD NI DE IMPONER A ÉSTA, COMO LEY REGULADORA, LAS CONDICIONES DE EXISTENCIA DE SU CLASE. NO ES CAPAZ DE ASEGURAR A SU ESCLAVO LA EXISTENCIA NI SIQUIERA DENTRO DEL MARCO DE LA ESCLAVITUD, POR QUE SE VE OBLIGADA A DEJARLE DECAER HASTA EL PUNTO DE TENER QUE MANTENERLO, EN LUGAR DE SER MANTENIDA POR EL. LA SOCIEDAD YA NO PUEDE VIVIR BAJO SU DOMINACIÓN; LO QUE EQUIVALE A DECIR QUE LA EXISTENCIA DE LA BURGUESÍA ES, EN LO SUCESIVO, INCOMPATIBLE CON LA DE LA SOCIEDAD.



LA
CONDICIÓN

ESENCIAL DE LA EXISTENCIA Y, DE LA DOMINACIÓN DE LA CLASE BURGUESA ES LA ACUMULACIÓN DE LA RIQUEZA EN MANOS DE PARTICULARES, LA FORMACIÓN Y EL ACRECENTAMIENTO DEL CAPITAL. LA CONDICIÓN DE EXISTENCIA DEL CAPITAL ES EL TRABAJO ASALARIADO. EL TRABAJO ASALARIADO DESCANSA EXCLUSIVAMENTE SOBRE LA COMPETENCIA DE LOS OBREROS ENTRE SÍ. EL PROGRESO DE LA INDUSTRIA, DEL QUE LA BURGUESÍA, INCAPAZ DE OPONERSELE, ES AGENTE INVOLUNTARIO, SUSTITUYE EL AISLAMIENTO DE LOS OBREROS, RESULTANTE DE LA COMPETENCIA, POR SU UNIÓN REVOLUCIONARIA MEDIANTE LA ASOCIACIÓN. ASÍ, EL DESARROLLO DE LA GRAN INDUSTRIA SOCAVA BAJO LOS PIES DE LA BURGUESÍA LAS BASES SOBRE LAS QUE ÉSTA PRODUCE Y SE APROPIA LO PRODUCIDO. LA BURGUESÍA PRODUCE, ANTE TODO, SUS PROPIOS SEPULTUREROS. SU HUNDIMIENTO Y LA VICTORIA DEL PROLETARIADO SON IGUALMENTE INEVITABLES.





Verso
2001 (*originally published 1998*)

or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

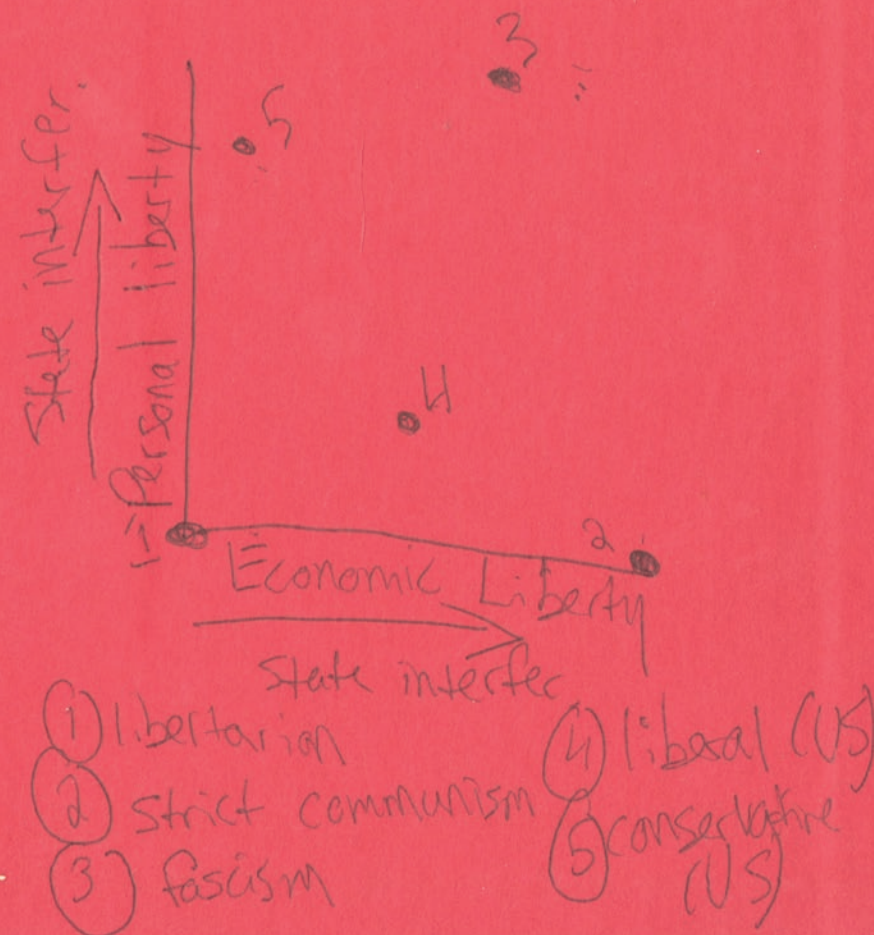
These measures will of course be different in different countries.

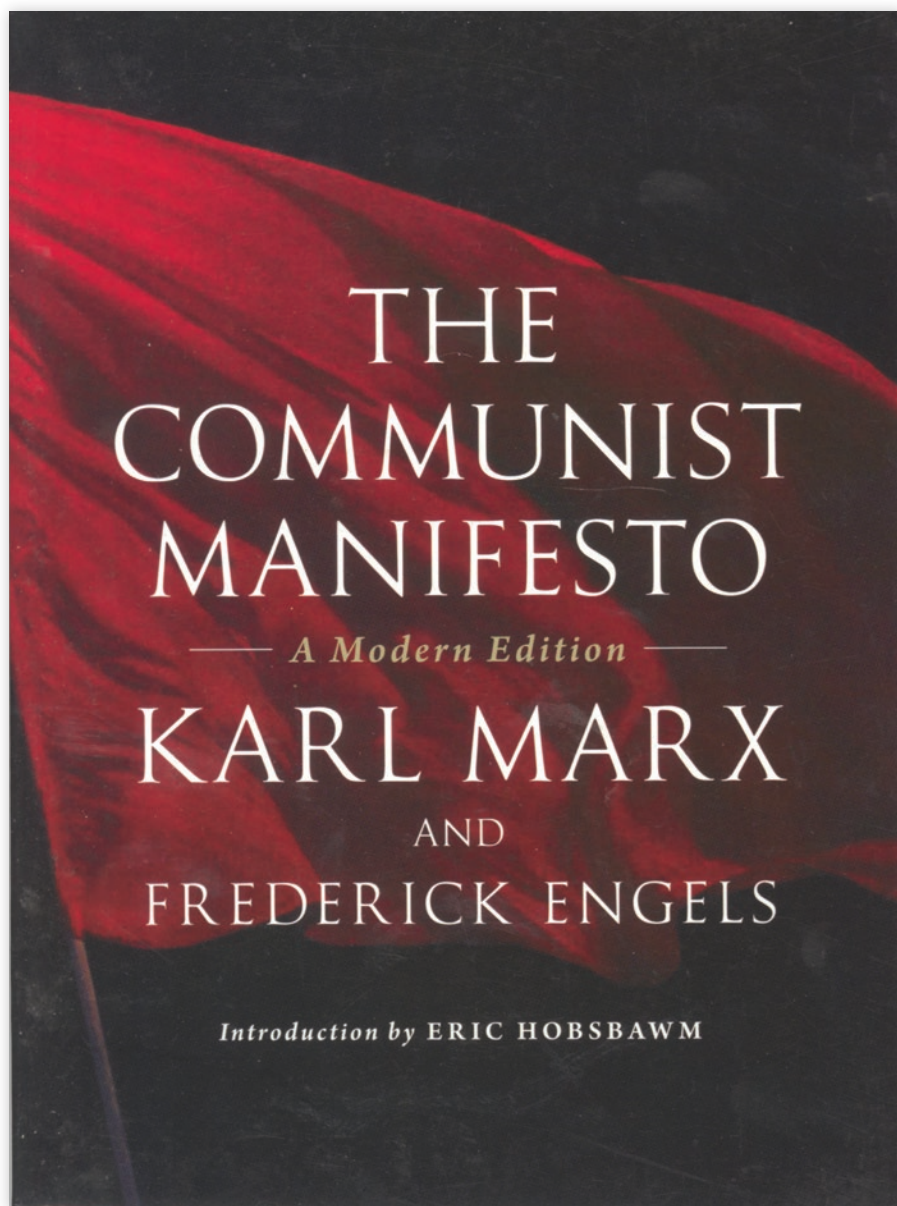
Nevertheless, in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

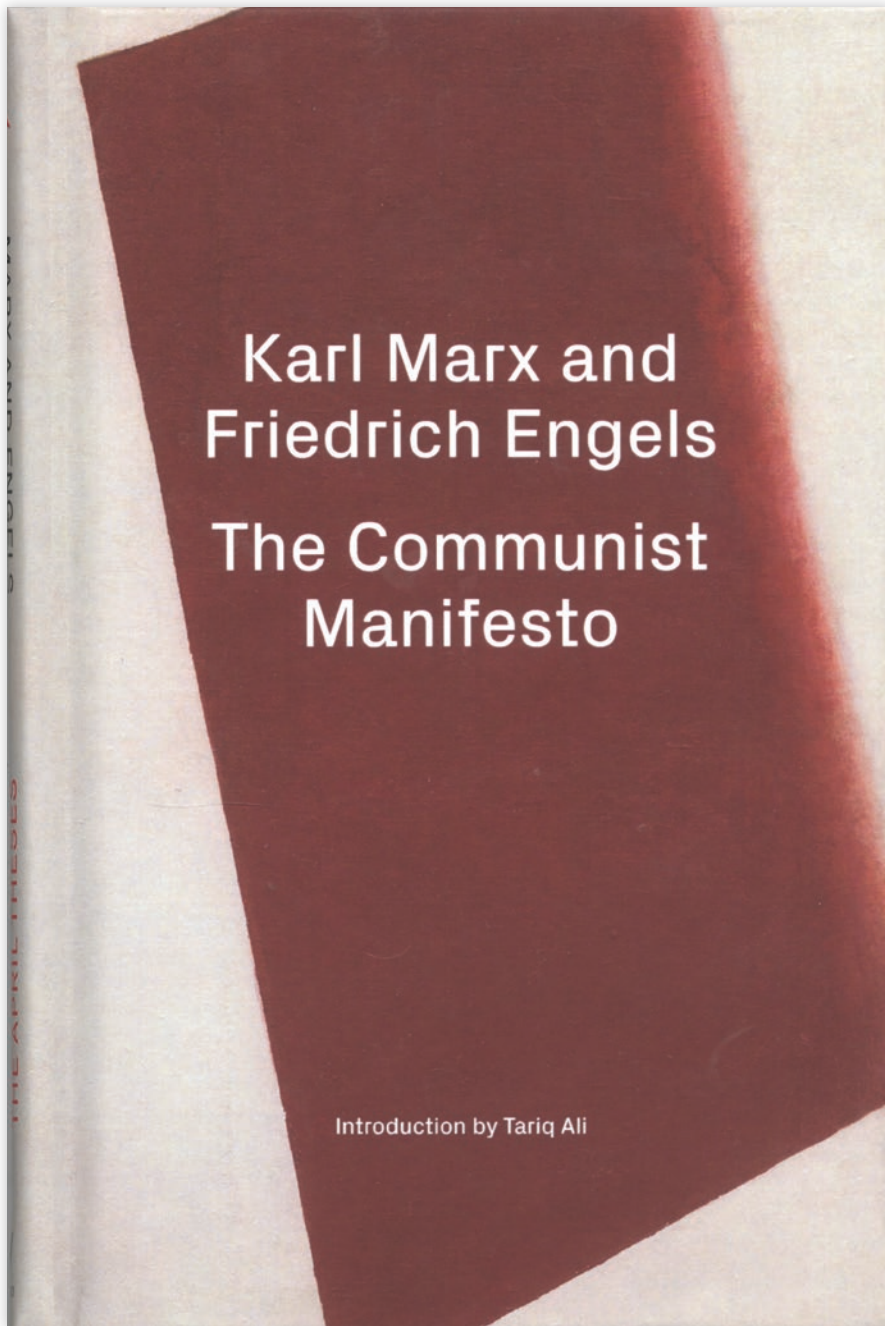
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have

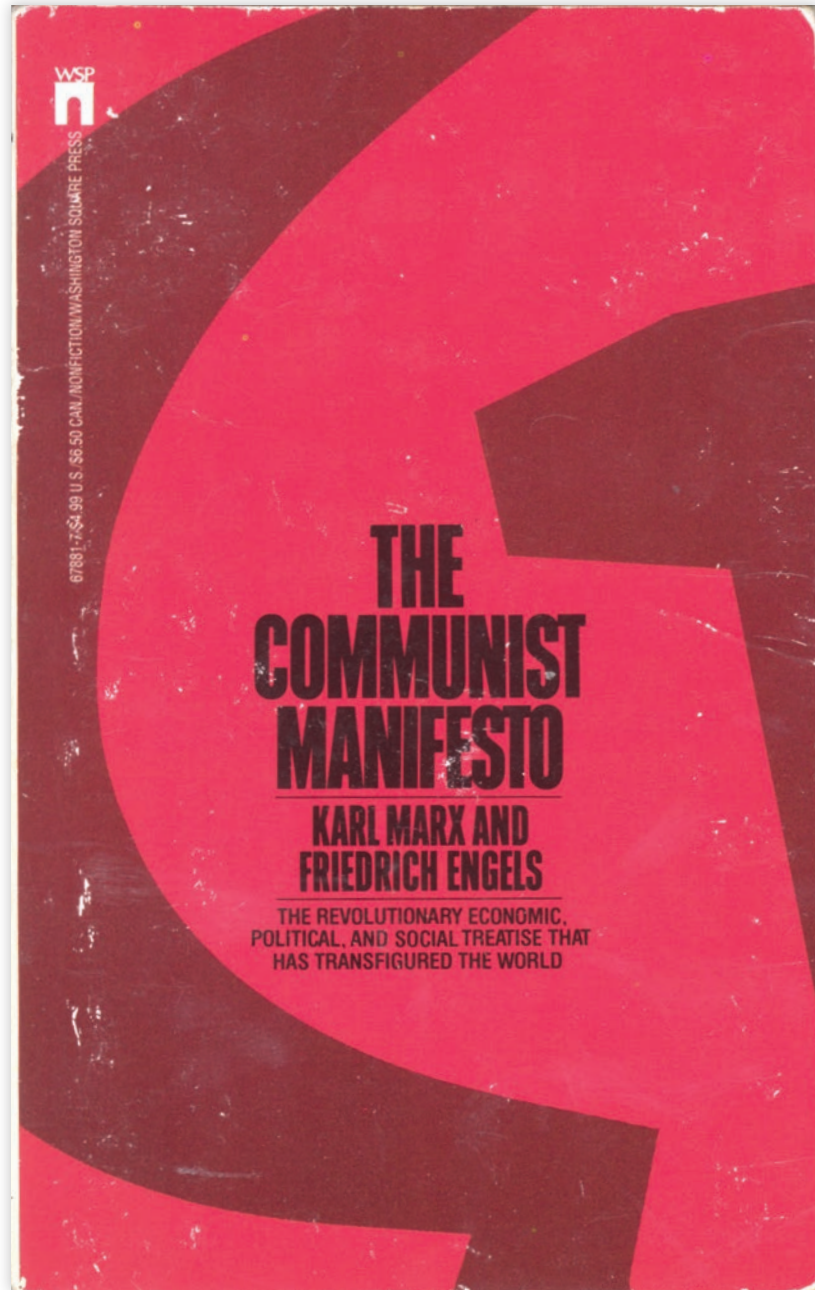




Verso
2012 (*originally published 1998*)



Verso
2016 (*originally published 1998*)



Washington Square Press
1964



Cover of the First Edition of the Manifesto

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

KARL MARX AND
FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Introduction by Francis B. Randall,
 Sarah Lawrence College
 Translation by Samuel Moore
 Edited by Joseph Katz



WASHINGTON SQUARE PRESS
 PUBLISHED BY POCKET BOOKS
 New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore

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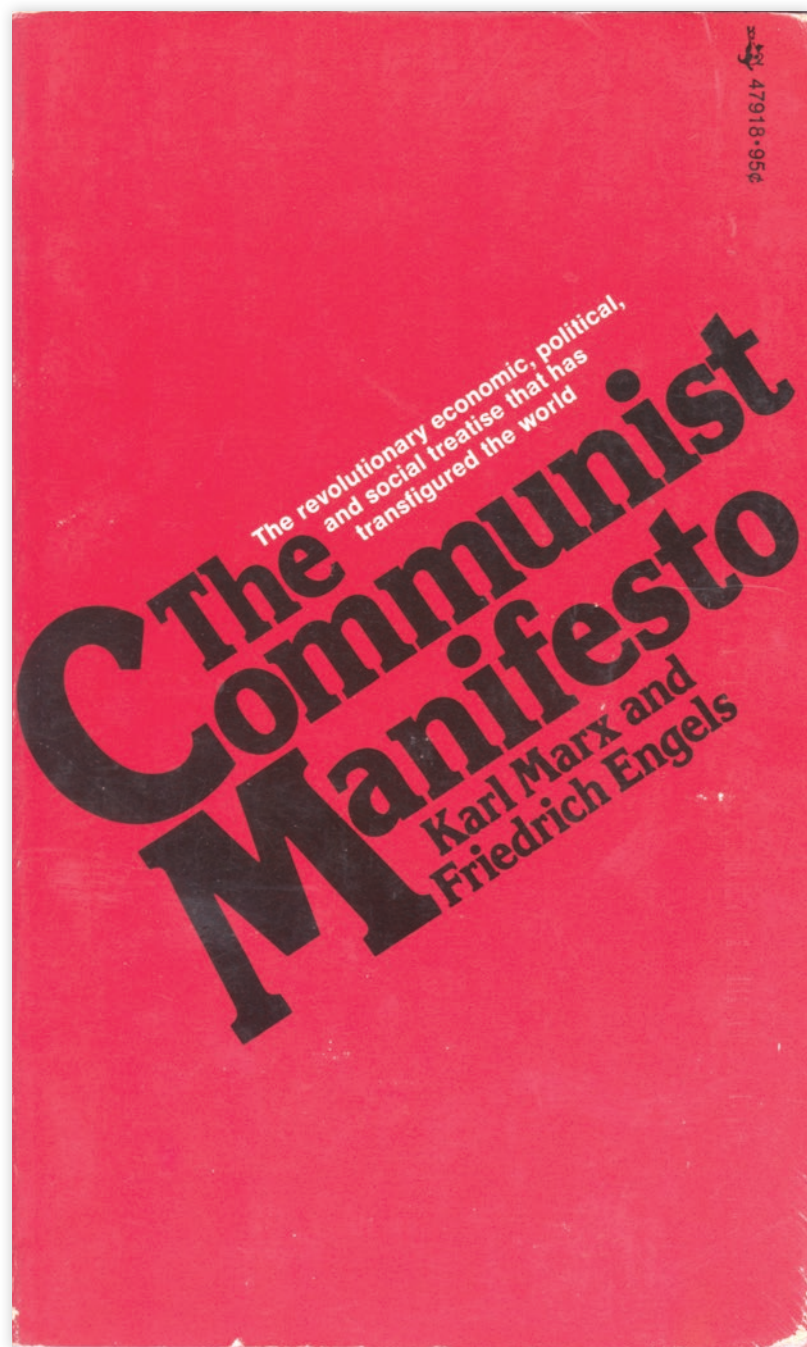
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

**KARL MARX
and FRIEDRICH ENGELS**

The revolutionary economic,
political, and social treatise
that has transfigured the world

WSP
WASHINGTON SQUARE PRESS

Washington Square Press
1971 (*originally published 1964*)



Washington Square Press
1974 (*originally published 1964*)

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THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

KARL MARX & FRIEDRICH ENGELS



Wordsworth Editions
2008



