

# On Pamphlets and Class Struggle:

## Notes on The Communist Manifesto, Part 1

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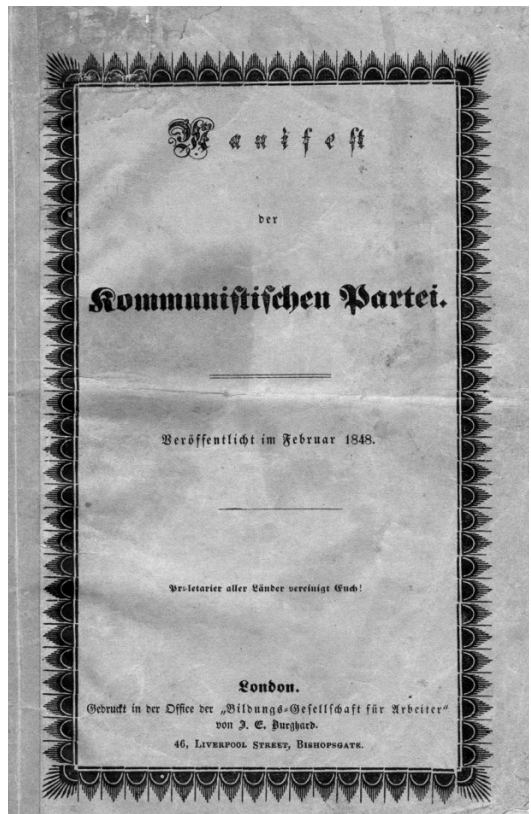


figure 1: First printing of Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (Manifesto of the Communist Party), produced for the Communist League and printed by Educational Society for Workers, 1848.

1 See Hal Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto (Alameda: Center for Socialist History, 1994); Eric Hobsbawm, introduction to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto (New York: Verso, 2012); Gareth Stedman Jones' introduction to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The

Communist Manifesto (New York: Penguin, 2002), 27–39.

2 Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto.

3 Parts two and three will be published in future issues of Counter-Signals.

For the past few years, I have been collecting different editions of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' The Communist Manifesto (hereafter CM) as an attempt to catalog one aspect of how revolutionary movements are reproduced and historicized. It is a surprise to no one that there are already several histories of The Communist Manifesto's early years that emphasize the pamphlet's distribution in Europe during its original printing in 1848, its surge of popularity after the Paris Commune in 1871, and its rise to infamy in the wake of the Russian revolution in 1917. There is no need to reiterate those same histories—they are readily accessible in several editions.<sup>1</sup> Despite voluminous scholarship on the early days of CM, there has not been much consideration of the distribution and reception of The Communist Manifesto in the United States. By collecting the various editions of CM, I have been afforded insight into which editions are most available, when they became available, how they were designed, and the contents of their introduction. This access to the material context of the publishing of CM provides me a unique opportunity to consider the reception of communism and Marxism in the US. In particular, I approach this interdisciplinary history by exploring the intersections of history and design—a space where both content and form are equally constitutive of the political imaginary. How do particular editions relate to the historical conditions surrounding their publication? How do publishers critically engage or work against those conditions? Each new edition of CM involves a struggle to maintain the text's use-value, here understood to mean propaganda and analysis in the service of a revolutionary movement. This use-value must be continually adapted and

renewed to open possibilities in the present.

In part one of this essay, I discuss three episodes in CM's history: the original printing from 1848 with regard to authorship and translation; a surprisingly subversive edition printed by German socialist Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1872 in the face of state censorship; and the recounting of International Publishers' 1932 edition and the publisher's complex relationship to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the first two episodes, which involve histories already written about at length,<sup>2</sup> I elaborate details less commonly discussed and the subversive potentials of the object itself as it relates to the historical context out of which it was born. I do this to lay some groundwork for how we might think about a history of a communist book, one that works between history, design, and Marxism in particular. In the third episode I more carefully and thoroughly outline the history of International Publishers' printing of The Communist Manifesto because, to my knowledge, this history has not previously been written. This text ends with a discussion of English-language and USSR-printed editions of the Manifesto of the Communist Party that appear in the US in the early 1950s.

I have chosen to end part one at this point because the emergence of mass-market publishing and an increasing anti-Soviet sentiment in the US in the mid-1950s drastically altered how, why, and for whom the Communist Manifesto was printed. No longer just an object for revolutionaries, CM became an object of interest for Cold War government analysts, academics at new institutes dedicated to the study of the USSR, and capitalists who realized Marx was a profitable author. Accordingly, part two<sup>3</sup> will cover time periods of

approximately 1955–1990, ending with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Finally, in part three, I will examine editions published after 1990 through the present day. This period is marked both by the “end of history” after the fall of Communism and the “revenge of Marx” in the wake of the global financial crisis in 2008.<sup>4</sup> Each period brings unique editions of CM and illustrates that the legacies of Marx and communism are still contested and projected into the future.

Who wrote The Communist Manifesto? Marx and Engels against Authorship

It is seldom discussed that the first printing of Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei [figure 1] in 1848 did not include the authors’ names—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels—anywhere on the pamphlet.<sup>5</sup> The cover included the date, publisher information, and a brief passage from the text: “Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!” (Proletarians of all countries, Unite!). Scholar Martin Puchner theorizes that Marx and Engels’ decision to not include their names was an effort to destabilize authorship, so as to distribute the publication’s influence more broadly on an international scale.<sup>6</sup> Because the communist movement had no single nationality and no single author, neither should its call to arms. This often-overlooked detail can help us to imagine how the authors envisioned the circulation of CM during their lifetime—what Puchner calls a “dream of world literature.”<sup>7</sup> Puchner argues that by withholding their names and nationalities, Marx and Engels made it easier for translations to take place. By blurring the origins of the pamphlet’s creation, CM could more easily move from country to country, region to region, language to language. Written in German and originally printed London, CM was already international. Marx and Engels wanted to maintain this international character by not tethering the text to a particular context.

As they say: “Proletarians of all countries, Unite!” Engels’ preamble promises readers that CM will appear simultaneously in six languages, an apparent dream of a new world literature where “all editions of the Manifesto in all languages are equivalent so that the conception of an original language no longer matters.”<sup>8</sup> In Engels’ 1888 preface, he further illustrates this dream: “In 1872, The Communist Manifesto was translated into English [and from] this English version a French translation was made.” This new unauthorized translation bypasses the “original” German entirely, denoting an autonomy of movement with regard to the circulation of the text. Foreshadowed by withholding their names from the pamphlet, Engels not only endorses others’ use of “their” text, but eschews the idea of the “original” entirely.<sup>9</sup> The rejection of the aura of the original creates the possibility for others within the communist movement to adapt and make use of the text as they saw fit. Initially, Marx and Engels demonstrate a commitment to the invention of circumstances that would allow their text to be used in a non-capitalist manner both in form and content, a task that corresponds to its use-value.

Disappointingly, Puchner’s enthusiasm for Marx and Engels’ dream does not appear supported by history. As early as 1850, Marx and Engels claimed authorship of their pamphlet. Socialist historian Hal Draper hypothesizes that the decision to claim authorship was a response to a split in the Communist League as a new faction was forming contra the politics laid out in CM; therefore, Marx and Engels emerged to defend the principles of CM.<sup>10</sup> Still, Marx and Engels’ decision to not claim authorship remains useful as we consider what a communist publishing practice might look like. This communist publishing practice would influence the material position that pushes against bourgeois notions of authorship, intellectual property, and “the original,” in favor of an increased

4 Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man (New York: The Free Press, 1992); Christopher Hitchens, "The Revenge of Karl Marx: What the author of Das Kapital reveals about the current economic crisis" *The Atlantic* April 2009 Issue.

5 Hal Draper likely deserves credit for being the first English-language scholar to point this out and suggest its significance. See Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 12-16; 28-29.

6 Martin Puchner, Poetry of the Revolution: Marx, Manifestos, and the Avant-Gardes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 51.

7 Puchner's claim could be supported with Draper's fastidious recounting of the conditions into which The Communist Manifesto was born. Draper suggests Marx and Engels withheld their names, as well as any suggestion it was a publication on behalf of the Communist League, because it was "written from a communist point of view," which is to say, it did not represent Marx, Engels, or the Communist League specifically but rather a "tendency or current of opinion" (14). This accounts for the inclusion of the much misunderstood Party in the original title, which captures a non-sectarian political current as opposed the

post-1917 Communist Party in the 20th century tradition we more commonly associate with the meaning. For more on what exactly is meant by the "communist current" of the 1840s, see Jones' "Introduction," 27-39.

8 Puchner, Poetry of the Revolution, 52.

9 While I find Puchner's commentary useful, he does not mention that this same 1888 preface is being used to promote the work of Marx in an entirely new context from CM's original purpose in 1848. If CM had dreams of becoming the text of the communist movement, in the way we think about it today, it had a long way to go in 1888. Much of CM's success in this regard, it has been suggested, is due to Engels' cheerleading for Marx's work after his death. While not anti-theoretical to Puchner, it does complicate this narrative. See Terrell Carver, "The Manifesto in Marx and Engels' Lifetimes," in The Cambridge Companion to the Communist Manifesto, ed. Terrell Carver and James Farr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 67-84.

10 Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 12-16; 28-29.

11 Walter Benjamin, "Author as Producer," in Reflections, ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken, 1978), 221-238.

12 Jones, "Introduction," 17-18.

circulation and open access to a text that can move beyond sectarianism and find use within a communist current.<sup>11</sup>

The Communist Manifesto against the Imperial State: Liebknecht's Subversive Edition

The Communist Manifesto's popularity was not immediate. Largely out of print and unavailable between 1852 and 1871 the text was, for all intents and purposes, forgotten. Three factors earned Marx a great deal of respect and reinvigorated interest in his writings. The first was the formation of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in 1864 and Marx's role on its General Council; the second, the publication of Capital in 1867; and third, the explosion of the Paris Commune in 1871.<sup>12</sup>

Due to Marx's increased popularity, German socialist Wilhelm Liebknecht had been trying to republish CM in Germany beginning in 1869, but without success. Despite (or because of) Marx's increasing popularity, it was difficult to publish a new edition of CM in Germany

due to censorship. It is likely that Marx and Engels' enthusiasm for a "forcible overthrow" of the bourgeoisie resulted in state repression. It wasn't until 1872 that an unexpected opportunity presented itself to publish CM and led to one of the most unique editions in CM's 170-year history.

Ironically, it was state repression that would make a reproduction of CM possible. In March of 1872, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Babel, and Adolf Hepner—all leaders of the Social Democratic Worker's Party of Germany (SDAP)—were tried for high treason for their outspoken opposition to the Franco-Prussian War. In an effort to supply evidence of the socialists' treasonous plans, the government introduced CM as part of the case and entered the text into the official record. This allowed Liebknecht the legal ability to publish the text as a transcript of the case. The result was Marx and Engels' manifesto published in the thousands by SDAP's press Volkstaat, not as The Communist Manifesto but as the third installment of the Leipziger Hochverratsprozess. Ausführlicher Bericht (Leipzig High Treason Trial: Detailed

**Report) in 1872 [figure 2].<sup>13</sup>**

Marx and Engels write in the preface to the 1872 German Edition, printed later and separately from Liebknecht's, that the practical application of the principles of **CM** will depend on the historical conditions of the time.<sup>14</sup> While one might be tempted to see Liebknecht's edition as reactionary, we should instead view this edition as the first "critical edition" which, in the most literal sense, explains the historical conditions out of which the text arises. Liebknecht recognized that state repression is also a form of communication. It is a promise and a threat meant to deter would-be subversives. In turn, **Leipzig High Treason Trial: Detailed Report** acts as a refracted image of the state, subverting its repression of communication into a form fit for eager communist readers' hands. Liebknecht's cleverness allowed not only **CM** to proliferate, but simultaneously proliferated a critique of the state that suppressed it. We might understand this as a proto-form of *détournement*—turning the state's communication against itself as a form of subversion. *Détournement* is most successful when the act of subversion becomes a productive project, generating new possibilities in its wake.<sup>15</sup> Because no other editions were available at the time, this "fake" edition of **CM** became the basis for several subsequent editions and translations.<sup>16</sup> In this way, Bismarck was partially responsible for the proliferation of socialist literature in Germany in 1872.

Manifesto of the Communist Party  
or The Communist Manifesto?

Marx and Engels at the Service of the CPSU

In the wake of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the founding of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) in 1919, Alexander Trachtenberg founded International Publishers (IP) in 1924. IP would prove to be one of the most substantial Marxist publishers in US history.

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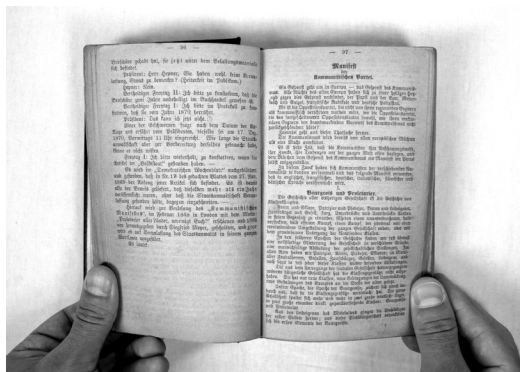
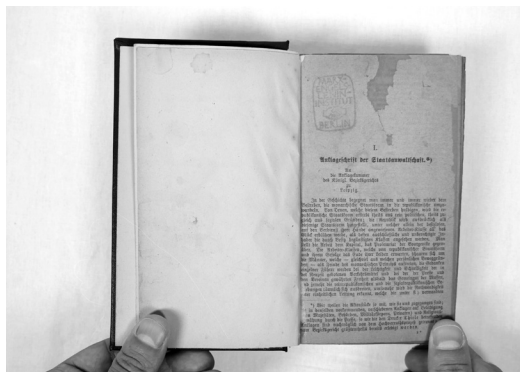
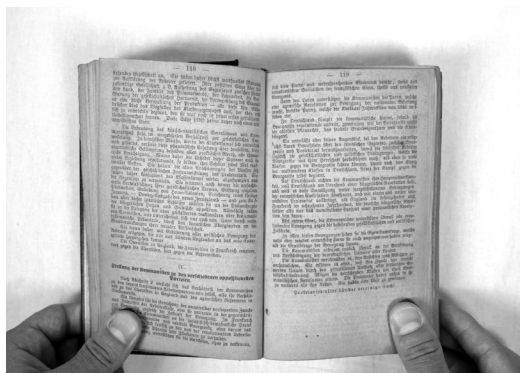


figure 2: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei printed in Leipziger hochverratsprozess. Ausführlicher bericht über die verhandlungen des schwurgerichts zu Leipzig in dem prozess gegen Liebknecht (Leipzig High Treason Trial: Detailed Report on the Trial of Liebknecht) Publisher: Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, 1874.

Although IP was never an official organ of CPUSA, Trachtenberg coordinated IP's publications with the shifting Party line of Soviet policy.<sup>17</sup>

In accordance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) ideological vision, IP's founding efforts were aimed at spreading the growing doctrine of



13 Jones, "Introduction," 16–17; Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 50–53. Beginning in 1872 the court transcripts were released in installments. In 1874 the 12 installments would be assembled and published in a 600-page book.

14 Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, 193–94. Marx and Engels wrote the preface for the German Edition of 1872 in the months after the High Treason Trial. This preface was not printed as part of the edition with the court transcripts because it had not been introduced to the court. Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 55.

15 Raoul Vaneigem, "Editorial Notes: Primary Communication," in Guy Debord and the Situationist International, ed. Tom McDonough (Boston: MIT Press, 2004), 134.

16 Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 55.

17 Letters between Trachtenberg and CPUSA Executive Secretary C.E. Ruthenberg (October 24, 1924) and CPUSA Literature director Nicolas Dozenberg (June 7, 1924) illustrate that Trachtenberg's intent was to serve the CPUSA as a publisher, but the letters also clarify, at least as of 1924, that there was no official organizational

connection. Letters retrieved from <http://www.marxisthistory.org/>. On the other hand, scholars have confirmed payments from the Comintern to Trachtenberg as early as 1934. See Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, The Soviet World of American Communism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 141; 148.

18 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 9–10. See also Draper, Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 93–94. I have been unable to view a copy from the 1932 printing, however, I can confirm that subsequent printings of the same edition from 1935 and 1939 each claim a print run of 100,000 copies. This lends support to the wide availability of this edition, as does anecdotal evidence that one can still track down copies from online sellers.

19 Draper verifies the title and page count of the 1932 edition in Adventures of the Communist Manifesto, 93–94. The 1937 edition, reproduced here, shares a title, page count, and confirms the 1932 edition as the 'first printing.' Based on this, although I cannot definitively confirm it, I speculate that the editions from 1932–1937 were identical.

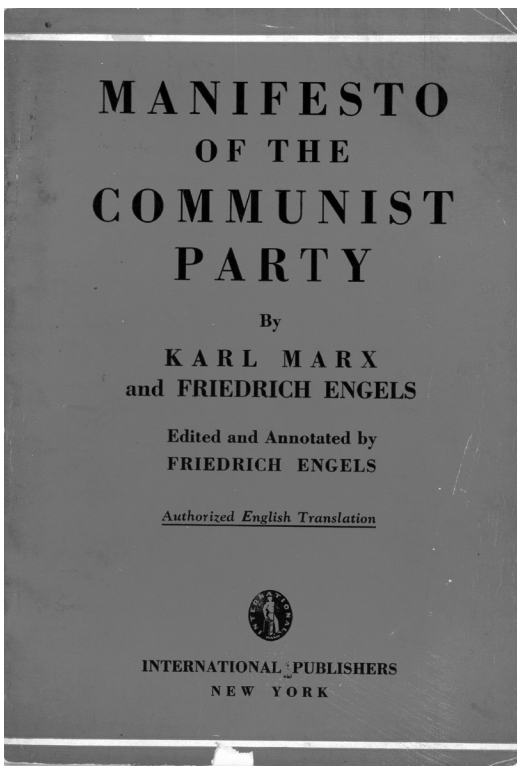


figure 3: International Publishers, 1937.

this orientation that IP would publish Manifesto of the Communist Party in 1932 in a print run numbering in the “hundreds of thousands”—the largest printing of the text in the US at that point in history.<sup>18</sup> The earliest IP edition I have been able to obtain is the 1937 edition [figure 3]. It is likely, however, that each edition printed between 1932 and 1937 share the same design.<sup>19</sup> The 1937 edition was a 48-page saddle-stitched pamphlet with an inexpensive paper stock cover. The title is letter-spaced and centered and reads “MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.” Authorship is attributed to “Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.” The type is a modern, Didone face, evidenced by the dramatic contrast between thick and thin strokes. It is likely that this reflects what type was available to the young press rather than any kind of conceptual decision. One aspect of the design that would have been within IP’s control is also the most striking aspect of this pamphlet: its bold red cover. This red acknowledges a long association of the communist movement with the red banner. It is believed that the modern socialist and communist relationship to red dates back to the

Marxist-Leninism. IP therefore prioritized bringing the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin into the US. It was from

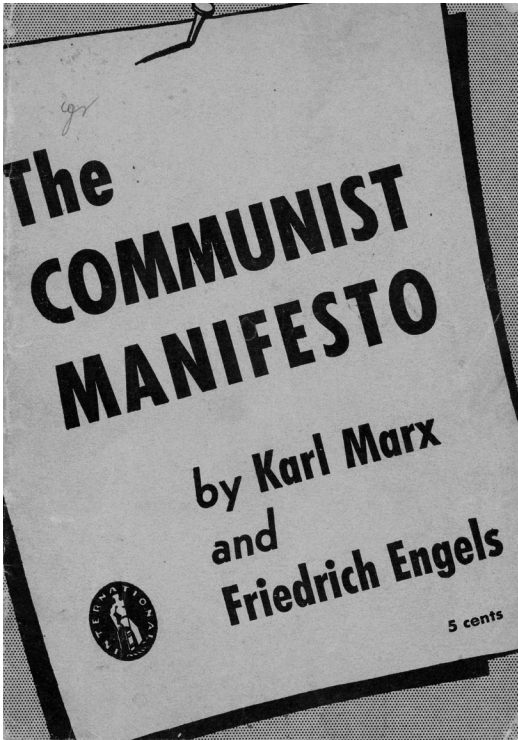


figure 4: International Publishers, 1939.

French Revolution (1789-1799), wherein the red was meant to honor the martyrs' blood. The red flag was used by the Paris Commune in 1871, and the Russian revolution would cement the color as synonymous with Communism in 1917.<sup>20</sup> In the lower half of the cover sits IP's logo, which depicts a shirtless, masculine worker with a large book. The book might simultaneously connote an anchor, a crutch, and a potential weapon. The figure is cloaked by the word "International," implying he is both a central part of, and supported by, the global Communist movement. The figure in the logo appears as white and male, universalizing the white masculine worker as the proletarian subject.

A significant aspect of the 1932–1937 edition is the use of "Manifesto of the Communist Party" rather than the more conventional "The Communist Manifesto."<sup>21</sup> The use of "Manifesto of the Communist Party" is the first effort in the US to associate an edition of CM with the

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revolutionary gravitas of CPSU, solidify CPSU as the true inheritors of Marx's legacy, and imply the Leninist Party form was somehow dictated by Marx (it was not).<sup>22</sup> The use of "Manifesto of the Communist Party" dubiously shifts emphasis from a less sectarian communist movement and attempts to retroactively extend Marxist-Leninism as the correct revolutionary doctrine and outgrowth of Marx's theory.

In either 1938 or 1939, IP changed the design of the cover and reverted the title from Manifesto of the Communist Party to The Communist Manifesto. At first sight, this is a strange decision given the implications described above; why would Trachtenburg and IP change the title at this particular time? My hypothesis is that this return to the less sectarian title reflects the Comintern's 1935 Popular Front strategy, adopted by the CPUSA at their June 1936 Congress. The Popular Front softened the political line of the CPUSA to aid in forming "an alliance with the democratic middle classes and capitalists through the Democratic party, and a long-term, 'center-left' coalition with 'progressive' trade union officials in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)."<sup>23</sup> In an effort to get in the good graces of FDR and Democrats, the CPUSA would progressively abandon their support for worker self-organization and rank-and-file militancy in favor of inserting itself into the CIO's union bureaucracy. Based on this timeline, IP printed their 1937 edition—Manifesto of the Communist Party—prior to a meaningful implementation of this policy. Subsequently, IP made plans for the next printing to reflect the new title of The Communist Manifesto in 1938 or '39.

This new 1938/1939 cover [figure 4] includes an illustrated page nailed to the wall that simply reads "THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 5 cents." The tacked page, appearing more as a bulletin than a classic text by the "founder of scientific socialism," suggests CM communicates

20 See Jean Jaurès, "The Insurrection of August 10, 1792," in A Socialist History of The French Revolution.

21 Up to that point, the majority of printings were produced by Charles. H. Kerr & Company. Founded in 1886, Kerr was significant to the American socialist movement prior to the Russian Revolution. Kerr was responsible for the first edition of The Communist Manifesto (1902) that was available to a sizable audience, was the first to publish Marx's Capital in English, and published the important monthly magazine International Socialist Review. For an excellent history on Kerr's early years see Allen Ruff, "We Called Each Other Comrade": Charles H. Kerr & Company, Radical Publishers (Oakland: PM Press, 2011). A full history of The Communist Manifesto could not be complete without a history of Kerr.

22 Scholar Gareth Stedman Jones claims that the new title arrives with the Soviet-run Foreign Languages Publishing House editions. This new title aided an effort to strong-arm Marxist organizations that existed prior to the Bolshevik revolution into organizing themselves in the image of the CPSU, and thus, the name change reflects those politics. At least regarding the United States,

this would seem only partially true if we consider the 1932 IP edition of Manifesto of the Communist Party an extension of CPSU. Jones provides no evidence for this claim, unfortunately, so I am unable to locate more specifics on this context. Jones, "Introduction," 22–24.

23 Charlie Post, "The Popular Front: Rethinking CPUSA History," in Against the Current 63, July/August 1996.

24 Charlie Post, "The Popular Front."

25 David A. Lincove, "Radical Publishing to 'Reach the Million Masses': Alexander L. Trachtenberg and International Publishers 1906–1966," Left History, Fall/Winter 2004, 113.

26 I am making this educated guess based in part on what I have been able to obtain from online retailers. I own a 1965 edition of Manifesto of the Communist Party, which confirms the first printing of the same edition was in 1952. The latest USSR printed edition I own is from 1971 from Foreign Languages Publishing House. While not very scientific, the many hours I have spent hunting editions of The Communist Manifesto on eBay bears out this basic time frame based on what continues to circulate in resale markets.

with, and remains relevant to, daily struggles of workers. It is a strange transposition of propaganda forms, retrofitting the book form to that of a poster. The implication is that the text belongs not in the library but in the street—CM is not only for intellectuals but workers. This would support CPUSA's adoption of the Popular Front strategy by rhetorically prioritizing mass appeal over vanguard militancy and subservience to CPSU that might be suggested with the former title. This cover would remain unchanged, except for the use of different color paper stocks for the cover, until at least 1948. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this newly designed pamphlet corresponds to the peak of CPUSA's membership in 1943 of 100,000 members. The popularity of the center-left policy would backfire with the massive purging of Communists from the CIO in the late '40s following the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, choking any radicalism the US labor movement may have acquired.<sup>24</sup>

With escalating state repression of the left in the late 1940s through the '50s, CPUSA membership plummeted and Marxist literature decreased in profitability. International Publishers was hanging

by a thread.<sup>25</sup> CPUSA abandoned the Popular Front strategy. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that at this moment we begin to see Soviet-produced literature appearing in the US from Progress Publishers and Foreign Languages Publishing House (FLPH) [figures 5–8]. I have been unable to find reliable scholarship on exactly when and how the USSR exported printed matter into the US; however, from anecdotal evidence, it seems that books from Progress begin to appear in the US in the early 1950s and continued to be available at least through the 1970s.<sup>26</sup>

One of the most common editions, first printed in 1952, is a perfect bound book and is longer than most previous printings of CM in the US at 94 pages, the greater page count being due to the inclusion of the various prefaces Engels wrote in his lifetime. The edition reproduced in this publication is printed in 1965, has a subtle yellow frame, and debossed lettering with gold leaf that reads: "K. MARX and F. ENGELS." The title is centered in a classic serif, printed in red, and reads: "MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY." There is an embossed portrait of Marx and Engels' profiles. This may be



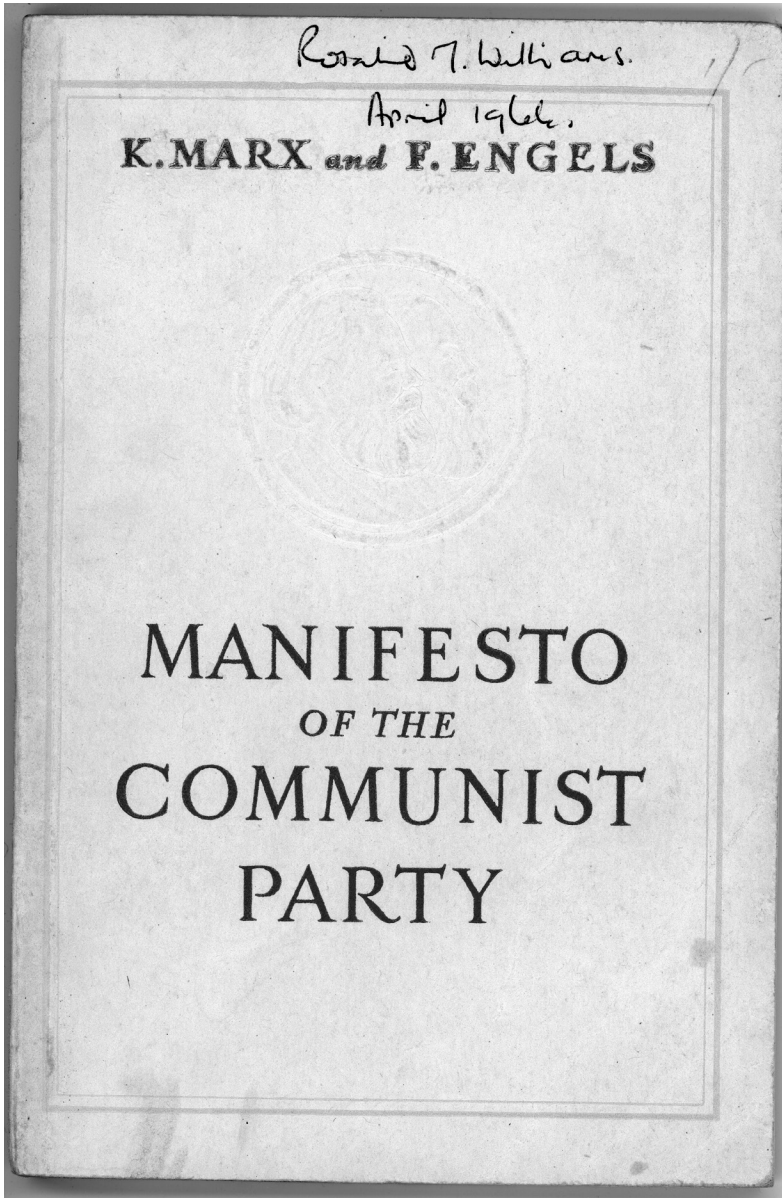


figure 5: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956.

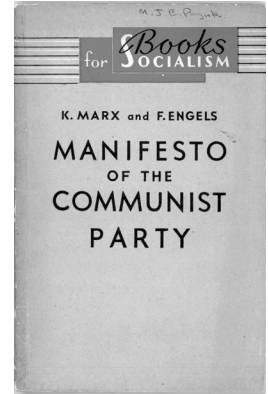


figure 6: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956.

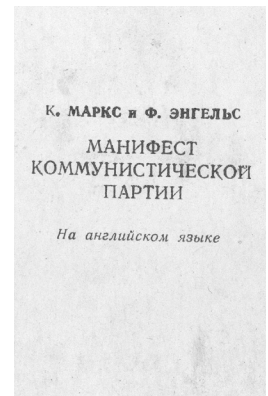


figure 7: back cover detail, Progress Publishers, 1965.

the first instance wherein Marx and Engels are visually portrayed as figures of great importance on CM. The relatively simple design is quite elegant, and its thick paper stock and glossy photos are of a higher quality than the IP editions made for cheaper distribution. One is tempted to analyze Progress' treatment of this book within the genre of the "classic." Classics

tend to be treated and understood in one of two ways: as timeless and ostensibly valuable to all (think Romeo and Juliet) or outdated but essential to understanding a particular time (think Uncle Tom's Cabin). The important difference between the subjects of the two types of treatment is that one is assumed to be living and still relevant for the present, while the other

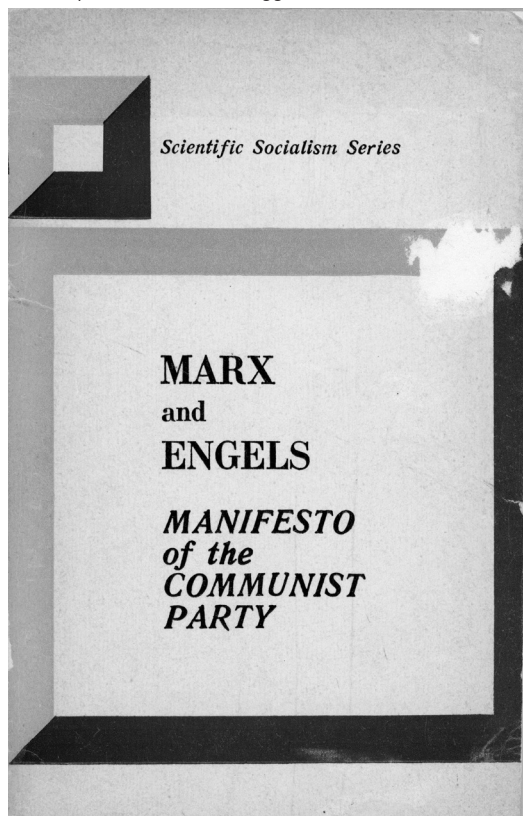


figure 8: Progress Publishers, 1971.

is considered to be dead and a relic of the past. The Soviet-produced editions were designed for and distributed in capitalist countries in order to further advance revolutionary class struggle. To understand these CMs as valuable to all would imply they have value to the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat, thereby erasing the dynamic of class struggle. The Soviet-produced editions tweak the tropes of the classic by including a long quote from Lenin on the first page of CM, contextualizing the book from their perspective. Lenin writes:

With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines the new world outlook, consistent with materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of class struggle and of the world-

historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

Lenin's words insist on the book's continued usefulness, cementing Manifesto of the Communist Party as a foundational text for the Communist Revolution to be led by the USSR. Lenin recontextualizes CM to help establish CPSU on a continuum with Marx and Engels' thought, refusing to let it fall into either the category of universal classic (an impossibility because the text is against the capitalist class) or dead classic (an impossibility because the text is a living document for the Communist revolution). The classic style of the design, coupled with Lenin's authorial contextualization, attempts to impart to the CM a transhistorical life as well as a partisan one in an effort to uphold the original use-value as a text for the proletarian revolution. We might revise "classic" to "Communist classic" in order to reflect a new genre, one that assumes the benefits of the classic while maintaining the antagonism inherent in the class struggle. Progress Publishers and Foreign Languages Publishing House will maintain this particular genre on behalf of the USSR through its dissolution in 1991.

## Conclusion

Each of these episodes provide a brief glimpse into the interplay between form, content, and history. This brief essay narrates only a small segment of the story, but great value could be found in a deeper historical excavation of The Communist Manifesto, one of the most circulated text in the world. This history will help elucidate how CM found its audiences and how these audiences have engaged with Marx's revolutionary theory. This is an essential question to the understanding of how popular audiences have inherited and read the legacy of Marxism, and thus how a communist movement might intervene in the reproduction of Marx's thought.