

Endnotes

¹ The first Russian translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party was made by Bakunin, who despite being one of Marx and Engels' most pronounced opponents in the working class movement, saw the great revolutionary importance contained within the *Manifesto*. Published in Geneva in 1869 (printing it in Russia was impossible due to state censorship), Bakunin's translation was not completely accurate, and was replaced a decade later by Plekhanov's translation in 1882, for which both Marx and Engels wrote a preface.

² A reference to the events that occurred in Russia after the assassination, on March, 1, 1881, of Emperor Alexander II by Narodnaya Volya members. Alexander III, his successor, was staying in Gatchina for fear of further terrorism.

³ This preface was written by Engels on May 1, 1890, when, in accordance with the decision of the Paris Congress of the Second International (July 1889), mass demonstrations, strikes and meetings were held in numerous European and American countries. The workers put forward the demand for an 8 hour working day and other demands set forth by the Congress. From that day forward workers all over the world celebrate the first of May as a day of international proletarian solidarity.

⁴ A reference to the movement for an electoral reform which, under the pressure of the working class, was passed by the British House of Commons in 1831 and finally endorsed by the House of Lords in June, 1832. The reform was directed against monopoly rule of the landed and finance aristocracy and opened the way to Parliament for the representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie. Neither workers nor the petty-bourgeois were allowed electoral rights, despite assurances they would.

⁵ The famous final phrase of the Manifesto, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!", in the original German is: "*Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch!*" Thus, a more correct translation would be "Proletarians of all countries, Unite!"

"Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains!" is a popularisation of the last three sentences, and is not found in any official translation. Since this English translation was approved by Engels, we have kept the original intact.

⁶ In their works written in later periods, Marx and Engels substituted the more accurate concepts of "sale of labour power", "value of labour power" and "price of labour power" (first introduced by Marx) for "sale of labour", "value of labour" and "price of labour", as used here.

⁷ Engels left half a page blank here in the manuscript. The "Draft of the Communist Confession of Faith," has the answer shown for the same question (Number 12).

⁸ Engels' put "unchanged" here, referring to the answer in the June draft under No. 21 as shown.

⁹ Similarly, this refers to the answer to Question 23 in the June draft.

¹⁰ The Chartists were the participants in the political movement of the British workers which lasted from the 1830s to the middle 1850s and had as its slogan the adoption of a People's Charter, demanding universal franchise and a series of conditions guaranteeing voting rights for all workers. Lenin defined Chartism as the world's "first broad, truly mass and politically organized proletarian revolutionary movement" (Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 309.) The decline of the Chartist movement was due to the strengthening of Britain's industrial and commercial monopoly and the bribing of the upper stratum of the working class ("the labour aristocracy") by the British bourgeoisie out of its super-profits. Both factors led to the strengthening of opportunist tendencies in this stratum as expressed, in particular, by the refusal of the trade union leaders to support Chartism.

¹¹ Probably a references to the National Reform Association, founded during the 1840s by George H. Evans, with headquarters in New York City, which had for its motto, "Vote Yourself a Farm".

¹² A top-down system of appointing officials in bourgeois systems, where high-up officials appoint many or all lower officials.

¹³ Girondins – The party of the influential bourgeoisie during the French revolution at the end of the 18th century. (The name is derived from the Department of Gironde.) It came out against the Jacobin government and the revolutionary masses which supported it, under the banner of defending the departments' right to autonomy and federation.

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¹⁵ A reference to the Paris Commune's decree of April 16, 1871, providing for payment of all debts in instalments over three years and abolition of interest on them.

¹⁶ On Aug. 22, 1848, the Constituent Assembly rejected the bill on "amiable agreements" (*concordats à l'amiable*) aimed to introduce the deferred payment of debts. As a result of this measure, a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie were utterly ruined and found themselves completely dependent on the creditors of the richest bourgeoisie.

¹⁷ *Frères Ignorantins* – Ignorant Brothers, a nickname for a religious order, founded in Rheims in 1680, whose members pledged themselves to educate children of the poor. The pupils received a predominantly religious education and barely any knowledge otherwise.

¹⁸ *Alliance républicaine des Départements* – a political association of petty-bourgeois representatives from the various departments of France, who lived in Paris; calling on the people to fight against the Versailles government and the monarchist National Assembly and to support the Commune throughout the country.

¹⁹ The law of April 27, 1825 on the payment of compensation to the former émigrés for the landed states confiscated from them during the preceding French Revolution.

²⁰ The Vendôme Column was erected between 1806 and 1810 in Paris in honour of the victories of Napoleonic France; it was made out of the bronze captured from enemy guns and was crowned by a statue of Napoleon. On May 16, 1871, by order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was pulled down.

²¹ During the Second Empire, Baron Haussmann was Prefect of the Department of the Seine (the City of Paris). He introduced a number of changes in the layout of the city for the purpose of crushing workers' revolts.

²² In the Picpus nunnery cases of the nuns being incarcerated in cells for many years were exposed and instruments of torture were found; in the church of St. Laurent a secret cemetery was found attesting to the murders that had been committed there. These facts were exposed by the Commune's newspaper *Mot d'Ordre* on May 5, 1871, and in a pamphlet *Les Crimes des congrégations religieuses*.

²³ The chief occupation of the French prisoners of war in Wilhelmshöhe (those captured after the Battle of Sedan) was making cigars for their own use.

²⁴ Rich landowners who hardly ever visited their estates, but instead had their land managed by agents or leased it to petty-bourgeois who, in their turn, sub-leased the land at high rents.

²⁵ *Francs-fileurs* – literally rendered: "free absconder," the nickname given to the Paris bourgeois who fled from the city during the siege. The name carried brazen historical irony as a result of its resemblance to the word "*francs-tireurs*" ("free sharpshooters") – French guerrillas who actively fought against the Prussians.

²⁶ A city in Germany; during the French Revolution at the end of the 18th-century it was the centre where the landlord monarchist émigrés made preparations for intervention against revolutionary France. Coblenz was the seat of the émigré government headed by the rabid reactionary de Calonne, a former minister of Louis XVI.